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THE

PENN MONTHLY.

DEVOTED TO

Literature, Art, Science and Politics.

VOLUME X.

JANUARY TO DECEMBER, 1879.

PHILADELPHIA:
PUBLISHED FOR
THE PENN MONTHLY ASSOCIATION,
BY EDWARD STERN & Co.,
Nos. 125 & 127 NORTH SEVENTH STREET,
1879.

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THE
PENN MONTHLY.

JANUARY, 1879.

THE MONTH.

THE opening of the winter has been signalized by a large number of deaths among persons of eminence. That of the Grand Duchess of Hesse has undoubtedly excited the greatest emotion, and the liveliest sympathy. The Princess Alice was the most gifted of all Queen Victoria's children,—the one who had inherited from her father most of the excellencies of mind and heart which made him a power in England. She was, very naturally, his favorite child, and more than any other exemplified that law of heredity by which the intellectual capacity of the father is transmitted to the daughters rather than the sons. Her life at Darmstadt was rich in all the qualities which characterized that in which she, herself, had been brought up. The stiff shackles and restraints of courtly etiquette were not allowed to rob the palace of its character as a home, or to substitute artificial for natural relations among the members of her family. She was a good wife, a good mother, as she had been a good daughter. She was warmly, but not universally, beloved by her husband's people. She found Hesse the scene of a fierce struggle between the orthodox Protestants, who hold fast to the letter of their Confession, and those of a more progressive and less dogmatic belief. As she shared in the religious convictions of her parents, and did not feel obliged to exercise their reserve and caution in making these known, she threw herself strongly on the side of the Liberals, and was speedily recognized as the champion of their cause. Some of the orthodox, we fear, came to look

upon the bright young princess as a modern version of "that woman Jezebel," sent to bring affliction and persecution upon the faithful in Israel.

Goethe has lost two of his greatest disciples in one month. George Henry Lewes, whose *wife* is a great author, will be best remembered in literature as the author of the best biography of the great Pagan. He turned his hand to many things in literature; he made a conspicuous failure in its lighter but more artistic branches, but did well in more serious work. His *Physiology* was a distinct success, and his recent elaborate philosophical treatise, *Problems of Life and Mind*, marks the opening of a new era for the empirical school, by its confession that something beyond the empirical (metemperics) is disclosed by a candid analysis of human knowledge. While in no sense a man of the first order, he did many things well, and none badly. His marriage—by Scotch ceremony, after a Scotch divorce from his first wife—to the most eminent of living novelists, has been the occasion for many slanderous reports. But those who best know the whole story, pronounce these altogether unfounded. Whether and how far the marriage was a literary partnership, has been the subject of conjecture. We have heard it suggested that the chapter mottoes in George Eliot's later works are, for the most part, his running commentary upon her work, and that she has thus enjoyed the advantage of submitting it, step by step, to the judgment of a first-class critic.

Mr. Bayard Taylor's sudden death is a sad close to the bright prospects with which he entered upon the Berlin mission, and a real loss to the literature of America. He rendered great services to our people, by the books of travel which busied his earlier years. He hit, somehow, the style of descriptive writing which would catch and hold American attention. He awakened an interest in other lands, and broadened the popular horizon. He was not a descriptive writer of the highest order: Mr. Hawthorne, Mr. Olmstead, Prof. Hoppin, Mrs. Hunt-Jackson, to say nothing of foreign authors, have gone beyond his best work. But he was able to reach hundreds of thousands, who would have been insensible to the excellency of better work, and, in some degree, to train them to recognize the best. His novels, although far less circulated, were better done, and will not be forgotten, especially as they describe sides of American life which no one else has

touched. His poetry was the work of a polished scholar, possessed of the technical arts of verse, but rarely moved by any genuine afflatus from the sacred Nine. His version of *Faust* is no doubt his best piece of work in this line, and competes with that of Mr. Brooks for the place of the best English translation of the great poem. Personally and socially, he was greatly beloved and universally respected. Those who knew him in the privacy of his own circle, knew something better than a great writer,—a genuine, lovable man.

THE Afghan war still goes on, but at such a distance from the telegraphic base, that it is hard to make out what is going on. The Afghans seem to have done nothing as yet to justify their renown as a military race; they have not had many encounters with the English, but nowhere have they maintained themselves against their enemies. On the other hand, the Sepoy troops are not able to stand the severe weather, and are dying, like sheep, of the cold. The English papers lay much stress on the "flight" of the aged Amcer, leaving his son Yakoub Khan in command; but this probably means no more than would the Queen's withdrawal to Balmoral in the face of a French or German invasion of England.

The line of policy adopted by the Opposition in Parliament has called forth some very unjust censures of their conduct. The one situation in which no Opposition can indulge in unlimited criticism and antagonism, is the case of a foreign war. The Whigs suffered for twenty years for their opposition to Pitt's war policy, while, on our side of the ocean, the Federalists were preparing the utter ruin of their own party by a similar policy. The issue made against the Government, while a secondary one, was as direct as was practicable. It will not do for the Liberals to go before the country with any such burden on their shoulders as a popular suspicion that they are wanting in patriotism. And as a general election is impending, and they have good hopes of securing a majority, they have done well to take no needless risks.

The Opposition have not failed to secure a good deal by their activity. They have obliged the Government to repudiate any intentions of annexing Afghanistan, and to declare that they regard it as no more than a frontier war. And they have shown

how disingenuous was the attempt of the Government to throw the blame of the war upon its immediate predecessors in the control of Indian policy. But they have not cleared away the ugly record of deceit and treachery in dealing with the Afghans, which the newly published papers bring to light,—a record hardly equalled by that of our treatment of Black Hawk and the Indians of northern Illinois.

THE English have been very slow to take up the work of popular education as a matter incumbent on the whole community, but since they began the work, they have pressed it forward with characteristic energy; the last report of the London School Board shows that there are in that city 614,857 children of school age, and that school accommodation is now furnished for over seventy-five per cent. of this number, thirty per cent. in schools established by the Board, and forty-five in those established and controlled by voluntary effort. The average attendance in the Board schools has risen steadily from seventy per cent. in 1874, to over eighty-one per cent. in 1878. This has been secured partly by rewards for good attendance, but also by a thorough and steady visitation of the poor streets and districts by volunteer visitors, and by the enforcement of the laws to compel attendance. One result has been the great reduction of juvenile delinquency. One gaol reports that the number of these delinquents is but forty per cent. of what it was eight years ago, while another has but one child of school age under punishment. For especially uncared for cases, industrial school-homes have been established, where the children are taught trades, and, as a rule, these turn out very well. Also the Board has secured a training ship for boys and named it the *Shaftesbury*.

The education given in the schools is confined to the elementary branches, but includes singing, drawing, and, in the girls' school, plain needlework. As yet they have not attained their own ideal as regards the best and most lively ways of teaching, and seem to think they could learn something from America. Discipline is well kept up, although corporal punishment is administered only by the principal, and must always be reported to the Board. The behavior of the children on the play-ground, and even in the streets, seems much improved.

The schools are supported partly by school fees, which are apportioned in relation to the ability of the parent to pay; partly by a school rate levied by the Board under Government authority.

The Board is rapidly extending its operations. In seven years the supply of teaching and school room has been increased by seventy-seven per cent.; when the works now in progress are completed, there will be provision for eighty-three out of every one hundred children, instead of for seventy-five, as at present. But even then, it will be seen that the work of teaching will be more largely in the hands of schools aided and inspected by the government, but privately endowed and managed, than in those of the non-sectarian schools of the Board. And this seems to be the case throughout England.

THE advent of the new Governor-General of Canada has been the occasion of one of those laughable collisions between the manners and habits of the old and the new world, which remind us of the more Democratic character of life on this continent. The local grandees of the Dominion, with whom knighthood stands for nearly as much social position, wealth and culture, as squireship in a New England village, seem to have thought this would be an excellent opportunity to screw up the manners of the people to the English level. Lord Dufferin, with his easy, Irish ways, never gave them the opportunity; but the Argyles are a different stock from the Sheridans, and, besides, the rank of the princess seemed a good fulcrum for their new measures of elevation. Local committees took it upon themselves to prescribe the etiquette to be observed in balls and in processions of carriages in the streets, to the indignant disgust of the Canadian community, and the great amusement of profane Yankees across the border. Only a distinct repudiation of all responsibility for these restrictions saved the vice-regal pair from reaping a very large harvest of unpopularity during the very first weeks of their residence in the Dominion.

The mistake of these busy-bodies is the more to be lamented, as it will help to foster some bad tendencies in American and Canadian society. To transplant the etiquette of the old world to the new, is a folly which needs no reproof. The folly we are the

most in danger of is the opposite—the divesting place and power of every external symbol of respect, and treating the occupants of high office as deserving no more regard and courtesy than is the due of every man. This slovenliness came into fashion with Jefferson, and has not yet been dissociated in the national mind from a democratic love of equal rights. Hence the raptures with which we used to hear of a President of the United States (now dead and gone) refusing a private room in a railway hotel, performing his ablutions at the public washing place, and drying himself on the public towel. The republics of the old world knew better. They knew that a free government can least of all dispense with those outward shows of reverence to the representatives of the people's unity and greatness, which form strong bonds of social unity, while they give color and variety to social life.

THE present session of Congress is the greatest possible contrast to the last. In that, a "fierce Democracie," with a sense of great majorities in the future, and outrageous "frauds" in the past as political capital, met with a resolution to make their enemies squirm. They adjourned in the same high mood, after a long, picturesque, useless, but highly entertaining session. But they have come together again with the conviction that soft stepping should be the order of the day, until they get a Democrat into the White House, at any rate. Who knows what a vacation may bring forth? Cipher despatches, losses at the polls, misbehaviors in the South, a solid North—these elements disturb the Democratic peace at present. There is a growing conviction among the party leaders that they were over hasty and over confident, and that they will do well to set their house in order.

The indisposition to take up the cipher despatches as a subject of investigation is very natural. They can only make matters worse for themselves by going into that business. Mr. Tilden's declaration that he knew nothing of these villainies is already before the public, and is believed by all who can believe it. It is the very utmost that a Committee of Investigation could produce on the same side. And, luckily for the Democrats, they are under no obligation to make the investigation. Not one of the offenders, principal or secondary, holds any office under the United States.

An investigation cannot be forced until Mr. Tilden is chosen president. In that event, it will be.

Meanwhile, the session promises to be short, uneventful and business-like. Even the process of reform by refusing to vote the money needed for the business of the government seems to have been dropped, and the saving of time through the evident purpose of the majority to abstain from speeches about Fraud, will leave room for a good deal of business. This session will be as different from the last, as is a country school when the master has stepped out and up the road, from the same school after his return. There is a consciousness of cane, in its most unpleasant relations to human palms, which the honorable gentlemen cannot get out of their minds.

When Mr. Blaine, in 1876, shook "the bloody shirt" in the air, he made the greatest mistake of his political life. That shake cost him the Republican nomination. It alienated from him the large section of the party who were tired of helping carpet-baggers and ignorant negroes to plunder and outrage the South. It brought him into prominence as a crafty politician, who would rather appeal to the prejudices than the reason of his hearers, and who seemed devoid of all magnanimity towards a fallen foe. Mr. Blaine was thus spoken of in these pages at that time; and we look back upon that criticism with satisfaction.

But when Senator Blaine rises in his place in 1878, to call attention to the outrages perpetrated on the colored voters at the South, the people of America rise with him. When he rehearses, in words chosen and guarded, the facts known to every one as to the wholesale robbery of political franchise by terrorization and fraud, every ear is listening. And when he shows that the effect of reconstruction, in connection with such doings, has been to make the white Southerner's vote count for twice or three times as much as that of a northern citizen, he commands such attention as no man has had for a year past. *Tempora mutantur*. The South cannot lay it to heart too soon. The majority of the American people has distinctly made up its mind that certain measures and acts are intolerable; that no parchment wall will protect them from its hot indignation, any more than that wall could defend slavery. The South should have learnt before this that written compacts about government are made for times of peace and quiet

when things go tolerably well. But when things become intolerable, when justice, the great end of government, is defeated in the name of law, then all conventions are but the green withes that bind a Samson.

If the South will settle with Mr. Blaine and his like in Congress, they will do well. It is not the Blaines who are their danger. It never was the politicians who represented the people's hatred of the wrong of slavery. The cue of the politicians was to go no farther than they could be pushed. It is with what is behind Mr. Blaine, with the popular hatred of wrong, oppression and injustice which stood four years of war without flinching, that they have to deal. And we can assure them that the temper of the last election, which solidified the North, is not the temper of the North to-day. For it is since those elections, that the huge black, damning atrocity of the elections at the South has been brought into people's notice.

Resumption is not to be interfered with, after all. The point of real resumption, the equality of paper with gold, was reached some fortnight before the date fixed by law. This, we hold, covered everything that was wanted, and would have come without any law on the subject. It is a state of things much easier to maintain than a similar equality will be under the law's operation. For the law provides the exact contrary of what the legislation of every other civilized country seeks. It lays bare the nation's stock of coin to the onslaught of all the selfish speculators in the land, and vests in no one the power to check the outflow of gold in response to their demands. The Bank of England, as that of France, checks excessive outflows by controlling the rate of discount. Thus it stopped, not so long ago, a borrowing operation on the part of our Treasury, by making everybody pay excessive rates for loans. The consequence of these sudden advances is to force large sales, to foreigners, of goods and stocks, and thus turn the tide of gold toward the Bank again. But the Treasury will have no such power. It is to place the whole supply of coin at the mercy of speculators engaged in foreign loans, or in large importations of foreign goods; and this not for this year, or any limited series of years, but throughout all our future. For if the

Secretary and his friends be right, then resumption involves all this, and anything less is repudiation.

The action of the New York banks, refusing to treat silver as interchangeable with other forms of money, is still the subject of hot debate. We are not of those who favored the recoinage of silver at the old standard; we think that the nation could have done better than to attempt to float millions of a debased coinage, although, as everybody knows, there is nothing new in the experiment. It has been tried, and under careful management it has succeeded, notably in France. But when once the nation decided to make the experiment, the margin of option left to the National Banks in the matter was a very narrow one. Institutions incorporated by the government, and invested with valuable franchises by the nation, have not the same choice as have private bankers in such a matter as this. They cannot, with any show of legality, make a discrimination between two forms of money which are equal in the eye of the law. Such a step is altogether inconsistent with their legal position and their national relations, and if we had a Secretary of the Treasury who cared an iota for the national dignity, or for anything but a financial theory, it would never have happened.

The measures of retaliation which have been proposed in Congress, are, for the most part, impracticable. A much shorter and easier way of bringing the New York banks to their senses, would be to abolish a great abuse of our present system. The country banks are at present allowed to keep part of their reserve on deposit in New York, where it only avails to centralize the monetary power of the country, and to facilitate gambling operations. Let Congress repeal the Acts and parts of Acts which allow of this, and require the banks to keep their reserves at home. The effect would be wholesome in every way, for it is just these reserves which make Wall Street so over-confident and insolent. Jeshurun has waxed fat and kicks; put him on a more thinning and cooling diet.

* THE Secretary's critics have been calling attention to the way

* According to the Washington correspondent of the Philadelphia *Public Ledger*, Secretary Sherman is reported to have said that—"the large coin balances reported as being held on the funding account by National Banks are apparent and not real coin balances." In view of this, would it not be well for Congress to direct Secretary Sherman to report immediately whether any of his other balances be *apparent and not real*.

in which the sale of bonds was so manipulated as to secure to certain National Banks the use of great sums of government money, without any payment of interest on their part. It will be remembered that we called attention to this last summer, when it was shown, on the authority of the organs of the Treasury, that the whole condition of the money market was seriously altered by this procedure. Judge Kelly called attention to the matter at once, when Congress opened, and succeeded in getting an order for a report of the figures. A report was made, but nothing of it was allowed to transpire, except the statement that it was shown that no bank had more than it was entitled to. Not a fact or figure beyond this reached any of the papers.

More recently, Mr. Abram S. Hewitt has been taking the matter up, and has succeeded in making Mr. Sherman admit the nature of his operations. It seems that banks which subscribed for the new bonds, were allowed to get them simply on the deposit of old ones as security. From the day of their subscription, the banks drew interest on both. When, after the lapse of months, the time for settling came, they either allowed their deposited bonds to settle their subscriptions or they handed in the gold. And the Secretary, with skilful instance on the wrong shape in which the charge was formerly brought, urges that no favoritism was shown to any particular bank, and, *therefore*, no wrong done to anybody. As to the question between one bank or another, the Secretary may have a clear case. *N'importe*. It is not as the protector of National Banks that Mr. Sherman holds his high office. It is as the guardian of the interests of the American government, and in that capacity he seems to us to have been guilty of something verging on breach of trust. He has so conducted his sale of the four-per-cents as virtually to place large sums of government money at the disposal of the banks, without exacting any consideration therefor. He has acted, indeed, within the letter of the law, but in the most wasteful and injudicious method which the law allows of. In Mr. Hewitt's words,—“ he has exercised his discretion to the advantage of the banks and not of the government.”

As to the motive which has induced this line of action, we believe it was nothing worse than the determination to make the sale of four per cents a success by any and every means the law would

sanction. For this reason their sale was arranged on the easiest of terms, and the money market kept "easy" with all the means at his disposal. The money paid by the real purchasers of the bonds was left in the hands of the agents, with no inducement to pay it in for three months, and with every inducement to so lend it as to favor the sale of still more bonds. In this way results, unattainable without management and manipulation, have been reached, and these results have been held up to admiration as the evidence of the Secretary's foresight and ability, just as though they had been effected without any such tampering with the market.

One great stamp of incapacity is on all Secretary Sherman's financiering. It is all make-shift. It takes no large outlooks upon the future. This refunding business is the height of its folly. Does any body seriously suppose that four per cent. bonds will ever be wanted by any body in this country, except in hard times when the ordinary outlets for investment are generally closed? Or is it expected that these bonds will be paid off before times are better? If they are not, then our debt will be once more shipped off to the money markets of Europe, as soon as business is better, and we will once more pass under the yoke of the European money-lender. We shall be sending our gold away to enrich other lands, and for the sake of two per cent. interest saved, we shall put on a burden heavier than would be ten per cent. interest owed and paid at home.

MENTAL LIFE BELOW THE HUMAN.

II.

IT is impossible to account for all the acts of animals by this organic impulse of instinct. It has its limitations like every other force. There are daily recurring emergencies which it seems inadequate to meet, and so it has been created with possibilities of modification; and there also have been given it as auxiliaries, first, the senses which sometimes are marvellously developed; and second, the rudiments of all intellectual faculties, not excepting, as I will endeavor to show, reason itself.

It may, at first, appear as against the theory that instinct is an organic impulse, the fact that its action can in any way be modified; but, experiment has proved that even those impulses clearly organic, those that give appearance and determine the habits of animals and plants can be more or less modified by the hand of man, or even by a change in the surroundings effected by natural causes. Ivy planted against a wall or tree supports itself by radicles, yet²³ when reared as a standard it has been observed to send forth none. The florist, the fruit-grower and the stock-raiser have amassed fortunes on these artificially produced modifications; and Darwin, Huxley, Wallace and other experimenters and investigators have confidently founded a theory of creation upon the modifications which they have discovered or effected in the modes of working of those unquestionably organic forces that build up plant and animal organisms. Though seriously questioning the soundness of their conclusions, we can but grant their statements of fact. If such modifications are possible among confessed organic forces, it should not surprise us that we meet them in instinct. Some birds²⁴ to avoid snakes, wholly change their mode of building, hanging their nests to the end of branches and making the exit from beneath.

Ants in Siam construct no nest on the ground, but in trees, that country being much subject to inundations. Dogs which the Spaniards left in the island of Juan Fernandez were found to have lost the habit of barking when Juan and D'Ulloa visited that famous spot in their journeyings in South America. Dogs in Guinea only howl, and those taken there from Europe become like them after three or four generations. Hens, ushered into life in the chicken-hatching ovens of Paris, are said to lose the instinct of incubation.

The instincts proving inadequate, may, besides being themselves modified or lost, being either injurious or useless through changed circumstances, be supplemented by habits which in lapse of time bear to them a resemblance so close that they have been erroneously placed in the same category. The mistake has happened in this way. Certain acts, at first done consciously and with definite design, after a while become unconscious and automatic,

²³ Bridgewater Treat. Vol. xi, page 248.

²⁴ Brougham's Works. Vol. vi, page 263.

changing in some instances the bodily structure. They have even been transmitted to offspring. But it is utterly impossible for instincts proper to have any such origin, as I have already shown. Failing to note this vital distinction, Darwin has attempted to draw the conclusion, from some instances of habits, having thus been changed into pseudo-instincts and carried down from one generation to another, that such must be the nature and origin of all impulses that are instinctive. The skill acquired by dogs in hunting is known to be inherited by their pups, so that South American dogs will, the first time they are taken to the chase, hunt in line, while those from other lands will rush on singly and be destroyed. Here is knowledge and skill, first acquired through experience, appearing in subsequent generations as apparently instinctive perceptions and impulses. It will be found that many of the acts of animals which are supposed to be prompted by instinct are really and only confirmed habits.

Instinct is also, as we have remarked, associated with the bodily senses developed often to marvellous acuteness, and associated so intimately with them that its work and theirs have frequently been confounded. It is by the odor of the carrion plant that the flesh-fly is so fatally misled to deposit its eggs in its tissues. The bee is attracted by the scent of the nectar-cups, and it keeps sweet and healthful the air in its hive by enclosing in propolis any offensive, foreign substance found within and too cumbersome to handle. A dog's power of smell so immeasurably transcends our own we would not believe such subtlety of sense possible were it not demonstrated hourly in our presence.

In the wide contrast between the conduct of bees and that of winged ants on leaving their homes, the important part played by the sense of sight may be noted. All bees, even queens entering upon their marriage-flight, carefully reconnoitre, while, without an instant's hesitation or a single glance backward, ants fly away so far that to retrace their course becomes a practical impossibility. The ants have no thought of return and hence make no provision for it. They are simply in search of suitable sites for the new colonies nature has appointed them to establish.

The powers of observation of carrier-pigeons and the tenacity of their memories, together with their undying local attachments, at least partially account for their wonderful achievements. Those

who have them in training first throw them a few yards from their dove-cots, and then a little farther, each time lengthening the distance and changing the direction until the features of the landscape become perfectly familiar and indelibly impressed. Still this is only a partial explanation, for they will readily find their way back not only after the lapse of years, but even across trackless seas, though their schooling made them acquainted only with the immediate neighborhood of their old home. So, too, the flights of bees can thus be but partially explained. The flowers they are to enter and empty may be nodding in a meadow a mile away. Their eyes, it is true, are suited for long range and are, no doubt, brought into full requisition, but when after visiting flower after flower, taking in cargo of pollen or nectar, they rise in circles through the air they must have some other and surer guide than any known organ of the body, to enable them to dart, as they do, direct as a ray of light over hill-top and river-course and meadow-land to their home again, for it now is to all seeming beyond the range of both their sight and scent. When, however, a bee chances to miss its aim and reaches the wrong hive, it corrects its error only by circling again in the air, showing that acute observation and a tenacious memory are largely concerned in the act.

No doubt it is, sometimes, by aid of the senses that sheep and dogs, when taken long distances from home, find their way back. They prowl over wider areas than we are apt to suppose, and only by learning their full history can we reach any safe conclusion. The sight of the eagle and the scent of the carrion bird have become proverbial. All the architecture of ant and bee inside hive and hill is wrought in carefully darkened chambers, through the delicate touch of antennæ. Indeed, in all their systematic co-operative work, in their accurate measurement of surfaces and angles, in their mastery of the complicated affairs of their thronging colonies, even in their interchange of thought, as we will find, they rely largely upon the aid of these restless, sensitive, hair-like processes with which they have been provided.

But as the fact that all animals are endowed with one or more of the five senses, as guides and allies, is universally conceded, no further argument or even statement is required. The real questions at issue are these: are the senses the elements that go to make up the instinct, or is this a unique faculty, a distinct organic impulse,

and they but its servitors? and, if the latter be true, exactly where do the actions of each commence and terminate? All that is needed here is perhaps a word of caution against attributing to instinct what is really referable to the sometimes preternaturally developed organs of sense.

In the life below our own we find, not only instinct and the bodily senses, but the rudiments, at least, of all the mental faculties with which we ourselves have been endowed.

Late one fall in a hive of the elder Huber one of the centre combs, proving too weak for its load, broke, and in its fall lodged against one of its neighbors. But the bees, in whom we would least expect conscious intelligence, so thoroughly instinctive are nearly all their acts, promptly propped the suspended fragment with pillars of wax, which they constructed out of unfilled comb, and then fastened it securely above and at the sides. This done they tore away the under supports, and thus left the avenues of the hive again free. These insects must have noticed that the fragment was insecurely lodged, and fearing lest it might be jarred or weighed down by themselves before they could tie it, resorted to this precautionary measure. Here must have been deliberative thought, an exercise of some sort of reflective faculty. How else can the incident be explained?

This same acute observer tells us that he has known bees both to discover a mistake and to remedy it. He once placed blocks of wood in a glass hive, in such positions that, if the combs were carried down perpendicularly as commenced, the passages would be left too narrow. The bees not only became aware of this, but actually curved their combs and in consequence changed the form of the cells. Here the God-given, ideal model itself, which we suppose the insect to work out under the spur of blind impulse, the insects themselves change by some conscious act of superior intelligence. Huber glazed roof and floor, and the bees began to build horizontally, and when he again interposed glass, they curved the combs to reach the wooden supports at precisely the right distance from the obstructions; thus not only varying their usual rules of architecture, but varying them by concerted action, different workers being busy on different parts requiring different changes in order that the whole might be developed symmetrically.

The younger Huber²⁵ states that he one day saw an ash-colored ant building one side of an arched building. It was too low to meet the opposite partition. Another worker, chancing near, discovered the mistake, tore down the arch, raised the wall the requisite height, and then built a new arch with the fragments of the old. This author, in the same connection, remarks that the ash-colored ants do not build methodically, but take advantage of whatever they may happen to find on the selected site; varying the size, distribution, number and shape of the rooms according to circumstances. Whichever one first conceives a feasible plan gives a rough sketch, and its companions help it to complete it. Their abodes are water-tight, several stories high, and have many apartments and connecting galleries.

Huber also informs us²⁶ that a female ant, if she is needed at home, is seized by the workers before she can follow out her instinctive impulse to fly away and found a new colony, is stripped of her wings, made prisoner and placed under close surveillance until her desire to wander ceases. The ants, in this instance, unquestionably shape their actions to meet a new and unforeseen emergency. They deliberately and by concerted action plan to thwart the female in her endeavors to follow her instinctive promptings. They not only break off her wings and place her under close guard, but they seem to go so far as to seek to divert her attention by a thoughtful hospitality, and by a formal presentation to her of her spacious palace-home.

Captain King²⁷, in Cook's last voyage, gives a singular instance of sagacity in the use by bears of means, and almost of weapons. The wild deer are far too swift for these lumbering sportsmen. The deer herd in low grounds. Bears track them by scent. When near, they climb some adjoining eminence and from thence roll down pieces of rock; nor do they quit their ambush and pursue until they find that some have been maimed.

Rev. M. Smith, in his *Elements of Mental Science*, narrates that a fox was once seen to run down into the water with a lock of wool in his mouth, and then to sink, inch by inch, until only the wool

²⁵ On Ants, page 41.

²⁶ On Ants, page 116.

²⁷ Brougham. Vol. vi., page 256.

could be seen, and this, on being picked up afterward, was found full of fleas. To have conceived and so successfully to have executed this device for ridding the body of these pests, demanded a train of connected reflections on the part of a self-conscious mind. The fox, in some way, must have made the discovery that fleas cannot live under water, and then he must have reflected that as he slowly sank they would take their departure, provided he furnished them some way of escape. He must have gone in search of the wool or other substance, and afterwards stepped down into the stream, revolving this plan which with such marked deliberation and conscious forethought he had so happily originated.

By this same author we find given another instance of fox-sagacity. The wily thief was observed in a field playing around a group of pigs as though the larger swine were objects of terror. The fox suddenly caught up a piece of wood, about the size of a pig, and running toward the fence jumped through an opening. Then he dropped the wood and returned, seized a pig and bounded through the self-same place. Did he compare the size of the block with that of a pig, and then make a trial trip so that he might not fail of escape; or did he design to throw the mother off her guard? In either case he deliberately, consciously planned, exhibiting powers of comparison and judgment.

Lord Brougham, in his *Dialogues*, calls attention to the habits of an American bird, called the "Nine-Killer," which catches grasshoppers and strings them upon the twigs of trees as bait for small birds with which it proposes to supply its larder. This bird may, however, be as unconscious and instinctive in laying its snare as the spider. The same may be true in the case of ants domesticating and milking the aphides, or of the Man-of-war birds in their life-long robbery of the spoils of more skilled fishermen. But there are enough well authenticated instances to force upon us the conviction that animals can originate and carry out plans to meet unforeseen emergencies, that are so complicated and so sagacious that we must accord to them self-consciousness, powers of observation, memory, imagination and judgment. The Duke of Argyll, in his *Primeval Man*, claims that man stands radically apart from the lower creations in the fact that he alone is a tool-maker. Had hands been given to the animals, and were they less marvellously endowed with implements of industry or with weapons of war,

necessity might, for aught we know, have become with them, as with us, the mother of inventions.

President Bascom, in his *Comparative Psychology*, argues against the belief of the lower animals possessing reason; their highest faculty being a memoriter or associative judgment. This is, as he defines it²⁸, but a quasi-judgment, the union of two impressions in consciousness, referrible to the simple fact that they have been so united in experience, memory being the basis. Doubtless there have been cited, as proofs of reason, many instances which really indicate no higher faculty than that here designated. An incident cited by Dr. Wilson, a former Bishop of Calcutta, of the conduct of an elephant under most trying circumstances is, perhaps, a case in point. The elephant had become almost blind. A surgeon had cauterized his eye, causing him to utter a loud cry of pain. He got well. Some time afterward it was thought best to touch the other eye with the nitrate of silver. For a while his keeper thought it would be unsafe to bring the surgeon into his presence, knowing the elephant's memory and fearing his revenge. But, to his utter surprise, the elephant lay down of his own accord, evidently to submit to another operation.

But the conduct of animals under entirely novel circumstances, of which I have given a few examples, the philosophy of President Bascom necessarily fails to explain. And, further, there is to my mind abundant incontrovertible evidence that there exists among the lower animals a rational language, and to this I now invite special attention.

Max Muller, in his *Lectures on Darwin's Philosophy of Language*, maintains that though there is in every human language a layer of interjectional, imitative, purely emotional words, the great bulk of men's speech, not excepting that of the lowest barbarians, can be traced to roots which are signs of general concepts; that the origin of these abstract terms marks the beginning of rational intercourse, and that the language of the lower animals is exclusively emotional and imitative,—absolutely no trace of a power of abstraction being found in the language of even the most advanced of Catarrhine apes. Interjections and imitative words are, as he maintains, the very opposite of roots; one being vague and varying in sound

²⁸ *Comp. Psych'y*, page 198.

and special in meaning, the other definite in sound but general in meaning ; and that hence the first could not have developed into the second through the lapse of however protracted a period. Analysis of all given languages leads us back to roots ; experience gives us interjections and imitative words as the only conceivable beginning of human language. If the two can be united the problem of its origin is solved. Go back to the beginning of conceptual knowledge. The simplest general concept is dual. We have, for example, a word for *father* and one for *mother* ; to express the concept *parents* we would combine the two. This is actually done. In Sanskrit *pitar* is father and *matar* is mother ; *mata-pitaren*, parents. But this sort of combination is cumbersome. The faculty of abstraction has helped us out. As long as sheep, for instance, are alluded to as sheep, or cows as cows, baa and moo will answer, or if they are alluded to as combined, then baa-moo ; but when more animals are included, or when all, an abstraction, a compromise of sound is needed. This phonetic process, this friction or dis-specialization of imitative sounds, Muller claims, runs exactly parallel with the process of generalization of our impressions, and through this process alone are we able to understand how after a long struggle the uncertain phonetic imitations of special impressions become the definite phonetic representations of general concepts. This eminent linguist maintains that in the formation of these roots there was called into play a generalizing power peculiar to man, that right here the languages of the lower animals and of man diverge.

It is no doubt true that there has never yet been discovered outside the human race any articulate speech ; the employment of any series of conventional sounds distinguishable by us, for the communication of rational ideas ; but does this fact offer sufficient foundation for the belief that rational thought does not exist, or that the lower animals are left wholly unprovided with adequate means for its expression. It does seem strange that, having organs of articulation and living with man for so many thousands of years, they have not in a single instance made the least advance towards communicating with him. But words are not the only avenue of rational thought. The congenital mute possesses general concepts, and expresses them through other channels. Infants understand articulate speech long before they attempt to use it ; and how

often do we meet with accounts of intelligent dogs and horses which have given clear evidence of understanding the wholly unimpassioned language of their masters. The fact that the lower animals make no attempt to use their organs of articulation for the conveyance of thought is, therefore, by no means fatal to a belief in their possessing reason. Lord Brougham expresses the opinion that when the bird, dog or horse is taught by tone of voice or gesture to do certain things, it abstracts, connecting the sign with the thing signified. The fear of disobeying or the incentive to obedience is the motive. This does not give him the means of connecting the act with the sign,—the sign is as purely arbitrary in this case as in human language. There have come to light some most marvellous facts, that strongly suggest not only that they have rational ideas, but that they have ways, yet unknown to science, of communicating them to each other.

The sacred beetle²⁹ after having deposited its egg, as is its wont, in a ball of refuse, rolls it about in search of some fit place to bury it. In its strange journey it now and then meets an obstacle it is unable to master. Having exhausted its own ingenuity and strength, by no means inconsiderable, it leaves the ball, seemingly in discouragement, as having abandoned the enterprise. But instead of that, after a little, back it comes with one or more helping comrades. The right spot being finally reached, through their assistance, the beetle digs a hole, rolls in the ball and covers it. Must not this insect, after discovering its inability, single-handed, to effect its purpose, not only have deliberately thought out this plan of relief, but afterwards have rationally talked it over with its fellows? Must they not have intelligently listened to the recital and to a certain extent, at least, have reflected as to the nature of their reply? The act of depositing the egg must have been instinctive, for the beetle could not have known that heat was necessary to hatch it, and that the ball's decomposition would produce that heat. But the insect's blind impulse is afterward supplemented by conscious reasoning to meet an unforeseen emergency, and rational thought is, as we have every reason to believe, interchanged through some channel yet undiscovered.

There is a singular story told by Dupont de Nemours in Autun's *Animaux Celebres*,³⁰ of an occurrence which he says he himself

²⁹ Duncan's Transformations of Insects, page 280.

³⁰ Brougham, vol. vi., page 262.

witnessed. A swallow had slipped his foot into the noose of a cord attached to a spout in the college *des quatre Nations*, at Paris, and by endeavoring to escape had but tightened the knot. Its strength exhausted, it uttered piteous cries which called about it a vast flock of other swallows from the large basin between the Tuileries and Pont Neuf. After crowding around and for a while apparently consulting how best to proceed, one of the number darted out and struck the string with its beak; another followed, and then another in quick succession, each aiming at the same spot, the entire company thus, for a space of thirty minutes, forming themselves into the rim of a whirling wheel, until, by their joint efforts, they finally cut the cord. Though now there was nothing further that they could do, they seemed very loth to disperse, hovering about till nightfall. A marked change, however, seemed to come over the spirit of the assembly. Instead of that anxious, agitated tumult of voices at the first, Nemours thought he recognized a contented, happy chatter, suggesting an interchange of congratulations over their truly remarkable exploit.

Herds of wild horses, flocks of pigeons and geese, communities of beavers, swarms of bees, colonies of ants, all appoint sentinels and have concerted signals. Wild horses have been observed even to take their turn on guard; an act hardly possible unless by some rational intercourse they have mutually agreed to such stated relief. Bees and ants are especially noted for their division of labor. Among the first, besides the patrol of watchmen, there are foragers, wax workers, nurses, scavengers and fanners. The fanners, about twenty in a company, form a line along some thoroughfare in the hive, fasten themselves by their feet to the floor, and for a half hour vibrate their wings with great vigor and constancy. When they become fatigued others take their places. By this most unique method, ventilation, so essential to the life of the swarm, is maintained.

Reaumur informs us that when a forager, whose duty it is to scour the fields, meets any hungry comrade who has not had time to leave home, it stretches out its trunk so that the opening to its honey-stomach extends a little beyond its mandibles, and the proffered food is promptly accepted. If the forager has not thus been met, it often makes a tour of the hive, offering a lunch to bees it finds busily polishing and bordering the cells, and

thereby enabling them to continue their work without interruption. This same courtesy has been observed among ants. We learn from Huber³¹ that if a new queen is introduced into a hive, after an interregnum of twenty-four hours, there is a general buzzing announcing the arrival. There is assigned to her a train of picked attendants, who draw up in line on her passing by, caress her with the tips of their antennæ, and offer her honey. When a swarm is ready to move, delegates are selected and sent out to find a suitable site for the new colony. Sometimes two swarms coalesce, and then fly in an almost direct line to their new home, showing that their report has been intelligently rendered and adopted.

A saucer³² of syrup was once placed in a recess, and a bee conveyed to it. It remained there five or six minutes, and then flew back home. In about a quarter of an hour, thirty other bees issued from the same hive and regaled themselves from the saucer. Their visits continued as long as the syrup lasted, but the inmates of no other hive in the apiary made their appearance.

The younger Huber³³ one day took an ant's nest to populate one of the glass bells he had contrived for making observations. One part of the colony he set at liberty, and they established themselves at the foot of a neighboring chestnut tree. The rest were kept four months in close confinement; but, on being removed into the garden, a few escaped. They, meeting their old comrades, made every demonstration of recognition, gesticulating and caressing with their antennæ, and taking each other by the mandibles. Then they all entered the nest at the foot of the tree. Very soon, however, they reappeared, accompanied by many others, to look for those still under the bell. In a few hours the bell was abandoned.

This same painstaking observer remarks³⁴ that he often amused himself by dispersing in his chamber fragments of ants' nests. The inmates, instead of following in each other's tracks, as caterpillars, in search of shelter, would diverge on every side. They frequently would encounter each other, for a long time wandering about at random. At last one of the number would find a chink

³¹ On Bees, page 107.

³² Sir Benjamin C. Brodie's *Psychological Inquiries*, page 189; who quotes from M. Dujardin's "*Annales des Sciences Naturelles*," tome xviii., page 233.

³³ On Ants, pages 171-23.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 1545.

in the floor, leading to some cavity hid away in the dark, and then returning to its companions would, by touch of antennæ, appear to tell them the good news. It would even accompany some to the hole, and these in their turn would act as guides. Every time they met, they would stop and strike each other with their antennæ, apparently imparting information as to the route.

Ants of the same species,³⁵ having the same form and color, will often be at war. They will be inhabitants of different cities. How do they distinguish between friend and foe? When, through any inadvertence, they chance to make a mistake, they no sooner discover it than they relax their hold and affectionately caress. The affairs of the two republics, whose citizens are thus met in battle, go forward without either confusion or delay, the same as in times of peace, except that now and then reinforcements will march out of the villages, or prisoners be borne in. In a battle once waged between Sanguine and Fallow ants, the two parties placed themselves in ambuscade, and soon after commenced the attack. When the Sanguines perceived the enemy pouring out upon them in overwhelming numbers, couriers were instantly dispatched to bring up the reserves; and it was not long before from the village of the Sanguines there issued a considerable army, which flanked the Fallows and drove them from the field.

Dupont de Nemours, in his *Memoirs*, relates that to guard his sugar basin against the ants he placed it in a dish of water. But they soon climbed to the ceiling directly above, and dropped. As the ceiling was high, and there was in the room a strong draught of air, some fell into the water. Their companions running around on the rim of the vessel, not having yet ventured to make the daring leap, tried every way to rescue the unfortunate adventurers. Clinging to the shore, they stretched out their bodies to the utmost over the water, but to little purpose. At last, growing extremely uneasy at the sight of their friends drowning helplessly, just beyond their reach, a bright thought seemed to strike them. A few were seen to hasten to the ant-hill, and then to reappear, bringing with them a squad of eight powerful, large-framed warriors. These, without the least hesitation, plunged into the lake, swam vigorously to the drowning ants, seized them with their pincers, and brought eleven of them straight to land. They then

³⁵ Huber on Ants, page 193.

rolled them in the dust, brushed and rubbed them, and stretched themselves upon them to impart some of their own warmth, and then again rolled and rubbed them. Four fully revived; another being but partially brought to life, was carried most carefully to the home-hill. The remaining six, though dead, were not abandoned, but affectionately borne back for burial. This seems like a tale of fairyland, yet Dupont de Nemours testifies that he himself was an eyewitness of the scene, and his account is in consonance with what is narrated by other observers of the exploits of these truly wonderful creatures.

There is no necessity for further multiplying instances under this head. If what I have recounted is true, and I have taken the precaution to select my incidents from only well accredited authors, it seems to me quite impossible to deny that at least some of the animals below us have in some way, to at least a limited extent, interchanged rational thought. The channel of communication is still, and perhaps ever will be, a mystery, and as we can only note results which to us presuppose the existence of such interchange, we are liable, it is true, to have our interpretations of scenes, which partake largely, almost entirely, of pantomime, colored by our own experiences. Yet while this reflection should place us on our guard and lead us to inquire diligently whether some other interpretation is not possible, yet when it alone is found adequate to answer the conditions of the problem we ought no longer to hesitate in adopting it as the true solution. But at best we are not warranted in ascribing to even the most advanced of the lower animals anything more than the first faint glimmerings of reason,—just enough of this higher faculty being granted them to meet the demands of exceedingly rare emergencies when even instinct, which generally is so trustworthy and masterful, reaches the limitations of its power.

The next question that confronts us in this inquiry is, do the lower animals possess any moral discernment, do they ever act on principle, do they know what it is to have an approving conscience or to feel the pangs of remorse. This subject is too broad to receive the attention it deserves, and original investigators, upon whose care and candor we can rely, have gathered for us too few facts to warrant any settled conclusion. However, I am at present strongly inclined to answer in the negative. At all events the

vast majority of the acts of animals, which at first seem to be prompted by either some worthy or unworthy motive, evincing moral character, are on further examination discovered to be solely the results of unconscious, instinctive impulse, to which not the least responsibility attaches. It is only in some of those rare, exceptional emergencies to which allusion has been made, that the lower animals act consciously and with deliberation. When a lioness endures every manner of privation in care for her cubs, or even exposes herself to most imminent peril in their defence there is in fact no moral heroism in her devotion, for her conduct is purely instinctive. She is driven to it by a blind impulse which it is absolutely impossible for her to resist. Among all the animals, after a certain set season this maternal love is succeeded by indifference, and in many instances by absolute estrangement and marked antipathy; and this alienation succeeds the love with such regularity it has come to be regarded as controlled by unchangeable law. With us, but never with them, this instinctive love is followed by a rational one.

When the spider spins its web, or pounces upon the fly struggling in the meshes; when any beast of prey tears the flesh and sucks the life-blood of its victim, it at the first appears to us as heartlessly cruel, as the very epitome of selfishness, as ruthlessly trampling down most sacred rights; but, on second thought, we exculpate it from all blame, for He who gave the weapons of attack gave also the carnivorous instincts. As well blame a bursting volcano that burns and buries a peopled city. Bees show no hard-heartedness when they dispatch the drones with their poisoned daggers. They are not justly open to the charge of traitorous conspiracy when they without ceremony strike down a useless queen to whom they have till now, their lives through, apparently paid the highest honors. It would be a different matter if British subjects, or even if British officials, should thus summarily dispatch their sovereign because she had outlived her usefulness. It would be equally idle for us to charge a young queen-bee with jealousy whose first act is to stab in their cradles all those helpless royal infants which may some day battle with her for sovereignty.

Dragon flies³⁶ are perhaps the most blood-thirsty creatures

³⁶ Duncan's *Transf. of Insects*, page 355.

known in nature. Their vision is acute and they fly with amazing rapidity in every direction without being subject to the delay of turning; their mouth is strengthened to the utmost; their stout jaws end in sharp points; their mandibles are provided with keen teeth and their lower lips are very large with palps short and thick. Thus armed, they chase and pull down every fly, moth or butterfly within their reach. They rend and destroy these delicate creatures often from wanton cruelty we would be apt to think, as they make no use of them, just for some demoniacal passion for inflicting torture on the helpless. It would be very natural for us to pronounce upon them our severest maledictions. But such judgment would be world-wide of the truth. They are as innocent as a buzz-saw, whose teeth tear the fingers of a careless workman.

Is the cuckoo reprehensible because she lays her eggs, when possible, in the nests of other birds? or are her children, which thus become the nurslings of strangers, prompted by base ingratitude when they crowd out of the nest the offspring of those very ones which have thus kindly befriended them? It is pretty well settled that both are controlled by instinctive promptings, though the mother has been observed to occasionally build her own nest and rear her own brood. The man-of-war bird, whose exclusive food is fish, has neither the implement nor instinct for catching them; and so, perforce, turns freebooter, plundering more expert divers whenever an opportunity offers.

There are some ants with mandibles arched, narrow and sharp, meant for war not work. They belong to the species *Polyergus*. They inhabit underground nests, built for them by Brown and Mining ants, the workers of other colonies, which have been taken captive by them in battle. Huber, in his seventh chapter, gives an extended and very interesting account of an engagement between these tribes, which he himself witnessed near Geneva, in 1804. His attention, he tells us, was first arrested by a great mass of large, russet-colored ants crossing the road. They marched rapidly, in a solid column eight to ten feet long, by three to four inches broad. They soon came near a nest of blackish-colored ants. The several sentinels stationed about the door, no sooner saw the approaching army, than they spread the alarm and boldly dashed upon the front of the column. A crowd came rushing out

from the enclosure. The invaders quickened their pace, pushed back their assailants and clambered up the sides of the dome. Some forced a passage along the widest avenues; others, with their mandibles, made a breach in the walls. Through this opening the main army then poured in, and the inhabitants of the city at once fell an easy prey to the pillagers. In three or four minutes the victors issued forth in great haste, each one holding between its mandibles a larva or nymph, which it bore in triumph to the home-hill. The children thus stolen grow up, we are told, into serfs, and are assigned the household cares and labors of their captors. Here is an organized and thoroughly armed band of robbers, who positively refuse to do a stroke of work themselves, but make it their life-profession to invade the firesides of the weak and kidnap their helpless infants, in order that they may have drudges and slaves to build and nurse and forage for them, while they idle and fight. Have we presented us in the life-habits of these insects an actual counterpart of that barbarous African slave-trade and system of Southern servitude, that once brought us under the Divine displeasure, that cost us our good name, and nearly our national life? or are these little creatures only blindly obeying impulses they have no power to resist? Is the responsibility upon them, or upon Him out of whose armory they received their weapons, and in whose academy they were trained for fight?

Verreaux states³⁷ that a custom prevails among ants belonging to an Austrian genus called *Thynus*, in which the males have long bodies with wings and straight antennæ, and the females short ones without wings and with twisted antennæ, for the male to carry the female about with him in his flights, and treat her with chivalric politeness, placing her on flower after flower, that she may sip their nectar. Frequently, however, other males, without mates, chance in the vicinity, and become enamoured. At once deadly jealousies are seemingly enkindled, and a fight follows. If the protector perceives himself being gradually overborne, as a last resort, in order that he may dissappoint the suitors, he falls upon her ladyship, and unceremoniously eats her up.

Ants have frequently been seen carrying tired comrades and feeding hungry ones. They have been seen succoring the wounded

³⁷ Duncan's *Transf. of Insects*, page 217.

and helping them off the field during the progress of an engagement. The sacred beetle, we have remarked, will, upon invitation, assist a comrade, and under such extraordinary circumstances it would seem that he was conscious of the act, and actually entertained a benevolent purpose. In most instances in which animals appear conscious of having done wrong, of feeling remorse, their conduct can be traced to simply a remembrance of former correction, and to a fear that it may be repeated. The gentle, loving faithfulness of our old dog Tray, it is difficult to believe is as blindly instinctive as the conduct of his wild brother, the wolf, when he devours, without sign of compassion, any comrade that, in the chances of the chase, is so unfortunate as to receive a wound. But we may clear our vision somewhat on this most perplexed question, if we reflect on our own instincts,—for we are by no means left wholly without such guides. Who has not checked himself in the act of striking the stone which has caused him to stumble? This anger is simply the instinct of self-preservation. It is instantaneous, and for the moment resistless, until after long discipline our reason supplants it. How many persons, of naturally generous temperament, receive praise for acts equally characterless? As well commend a thirsty traveller on some burning desert for lifting a cup of cool water to his lips. In either case, there is a response to the call of only a blind, unreasoning impulse. The evidence of the existence of free choice and of moral motive would appear in resisting the impulse. True, such choice and motive might exist, and they often do, when the act is in the line of the impulse; but we are left absolutely without proof of it until we have examples in which such impulse existed and was withstood. The ant, that helped his comrade off the field of battle, was, for aught we know, as unthinkingly following an instinct as the wolf that ate up his wounded brother.

The Darwinian school of thinkers have attempted to show that, in matter of moral discernment and accountability, the difference between man and the lower animals is not radical, but one only of degree. Darwin represents that man³⁸ is urged at times by opposing instincts; that he will follow the stronger,—and that if the one that is for the moment stronger leaves on the mind, after its

³⁸ Descent of Man, Vol. i., page 87.

gratification, a less vivid impression than the one denied, then remorse or regret will ensue by the retrospect; but if it leaves one more vivid, then there will be experienced a feeling of satisfaction. This remorse or satisfaction, as the case may be, Darwin defines as conscience; remarking that the migratory birds who leave their fledglings to perish at the North, and join company with the noisy, restless crowd of emigrants for the sunnier clime, would, in common with man, have twinges of conscience at the thought of their deserted little ones, were their memories equally vivid, their maternal and their migratory instincts urging them oppositely, and the less noble with the greater power. But, we may ask, can nobility be predicated of instincts, if, as he himself allows in the same volume³⁹, the very essence of an instinct is that it is followed independently of reason? Where instincts have the mastery would it not be cruel in the Creator to make remorse possible? Indeed, in the very nature of things, could it be possible? Are not it and its opposite, concomitants of the power and privilege of choice?

Herbert Spencer, in a letter to John Stuart Mill, quoted in Bain's *Mental and Moral Science*, remarks "I believe that the experiences of utility, organized and consolidated through all past generations of the human race, have been producing corresponding modifications, which, by continued transmission and accumulation, have become in us faculties of moral intuition, certain emotions responding to right and wrong conduct, which have no apparent basis in the individual experiences of utility." Darwin, Spencer and Mill, though by no means disciples of the same school of philosophy, are, from the very exigencies of their separate creeds, forced to assert that in spite of the great present difference between ideas of useful and right, they are in their origin one, being but differentiations of pleasurable and painful sensations. Right, according to them, as Sir George Mivart remarks in his *Genesis of Species*, is but the gradual accretion of useful predilections, which, from time to time, have arisen in the minds of a long line of ancestors. Inheriting a tendency to useful habits, we, as they hold, come at last to consider it innate and independent of all experience. Self-gratification, which was the initial motive, is finally

³⁹ Ibid, pages 95-6.

by the power of inherited habit lost sight of, and it comes to be considered true that our perceptions of right and duty are intuitive ; in other words, according to utilitarianism supreme self-love becomes at last the noblest self-abnegation.

In the lower animals there are useful acts which resemble moral ones, and Darwin from this argues that we in our moral nature are but developed brutes. Rev. W. W. Roberts has exposed the contradictory position of John Stuart Mill who was one of the most able of the utilitarians. Mill in his writings, speaking of God, says, "I will call no being good who is not what I mean when I apply that epithet to my fellow-creatures ; and, if such a being can sentence me to hell for not so calling him, to hell I will go." Of course he would advise every one to take this same stand. Rather than compromise his moral convictions, he here expresses himself willing not only to forego the joys of Heaven ; but, if need be, even to endure the hopeless miseries of the damned. In the glow of his nobler intuitions as a man the cold, hard crystals of his philosophy thus melt like frost-work.

The maxim, "*Fiat justitia, ruat cælum,*" Mivart justly argues could never have come out of utilitarianism. Although the ultimate result of virtue is joy, yet virtue, not joy, is the end sought by the truly virtuous. Moral abhorrence of the impure and wrong, self-sacrificing devotion to the right can not grow out of mere notions of utility. Water will not flow higher than its fountain-head. The real truth is, these intuitions have been forced to stem the tide of utilitarian objections from age to age and have survived despite their influence. If there were no incentive to right action but notions of utility, moral disruption would ensue. Spencer asserts that the fact that exact retribution is meted to all in this life will act as an effectual preventive. In the first place, present retribution is not proved, and in the second, most men do not believe it, history and biography witnessing pointedly against it. Spencer's model man could only be actuated by the intensest self-love.

If then it be true that the lower animals in their best estate of conscious thought reach no higher than to entertain questions of mere utility, which seems quite probable from the facts thus far brought to light, there exists between them and us in matters of moral discernment and motive and accountability not only a marked, but a positively radical difference.

We cannot properly conclude our present inquiry without at least calling attention to a further and, if possible, a still more difficult question than any we have yet considered. It is this:— Have the lower animals any share with us in immortality? It might be urged that the very fact that some of them, at least, have, to a certain extent, reached a state of self-consciousness, and had dawned upon them, however faintly, the light of reason, furnishes presumptive evidence that they have actually stepped upon the threshold of an endless life. The majority of Christian thinkers regard the Bible as disfavoring this theory. But the proof-texts usually quoted in this connection have, I think, been clearly shown⁴⁰ to be wholly irrelevant. There are, however, considerations drawn from the peculiar nature of the Mental Life below the Human, which incline me to the belief that there is in it no promise of perpetuity. The most conclusive arguments upon which we base our hopes, outside the Divine Revelation, are drawn from certain mental traits we possess, which are in pointed contrast to those with which the lower animals have been endowed. With them instinct is supreme; with us, reason; and as widely as these endowments differ, so do our experiences, our purposes and our prospects. They are born experts. They have no incentive to growth, having no necessity for it; they consequently make no progress, and desire none. They have, it is true, a certain amount of curiosity, but none which leads to true mental development. In a certain sense, it may be said, they make slight improvement. The cat teaches her kittens to hunt; ants join in mock battle; lions practice leaping; birds slightly improve their nests. Instincts are susceptible of some modifications, and on rare occasions and under the pressure of most extraordinary emergencies have, as I believe, been supplimented even by reason. But this higher faculty, thus vouchsafed for present maintenance, disappears the moment the pressure is removed, and instinct reasserts its sovereignty. During the four thousand years of our acquaintance with their history, they have remained substantially stationary. They have no ambition, and seemingly no faculty for advancement. Any impetus given them by man, proves temporary; they, under a law of atavism, dropping back again to the old level, when man's hand is removed. They

⁴⁰ Vide Rev. J. G. Wood's *Man and Beast*, opening chapter.

are admirably equipped for this life, but for this alone. Instinct's sole mission is to care for the body, and instinct is the dominant form of their mentality; their reason, what little they have, being simply instinct's assistant, charged as it is with this specific trust. There is thus, as far as we can discover, no ulterior purpose than to conserve the body of the individual and to perpetuate the species. We can detect in them no unsatisfied longings. Their mental horizon seems bounded by the Now and the Near. We do not know of their making any preparation for another existence, of sacrificing anything for principle, of jeopardizing the interests of the life they now have, as though they regarded it as secondary and transitory, or of their thoughts ever reaching beyond the present to a wider, grander destiny.

Although it is extremely difficult, as we have seen, if not impossible, to draw sharply the dividing line between the mineral, the vegetable, the lower animal and man, yet no one can rise from a careful examination of their prominent characteristics without carrying with him a most profound conviction that each marks not only an important but a radical departure in creation. This series of changes is an ascending one, constituting four successive steps in the evolution of a Divine Ideal, and this Ideal, thus finally finding embodiment in Being—is a perfected Individuality through the largest Liberty under Law.

The chemical forces are unalterably conditioned. Here is the reign of absolutism, of mathematical formulas, of fixed fate. Their energizings are marked by the utter absence of choice. In the vegetable forces we note the first, faint gray dawn of a day of liberty. The species are slightly modified by climatic influences, by differences in soil, moisture or sunlight, and by cross-breeding; so that varieties have been multiplied and improved by both natural and artificial changes in their environment, though these modifications have proved extremely circumscribed and unstable. Some types of vegetable life, as the carnivorous Sun-dew family, even give out strange prophecies of the coming of still higher forms of force. In the lower animals, appear self-consciousness, free locomotion and the instinctive impulse; supplemented by memory, imagination, comparison, the emotions, even rational thought; and so closely

do these creatures border on responsible free-will, we are left somewhat in doubt whether they are accountable, and will share with us in an immortal life.

While in man there appear all these lower forms of force, the chemical, the vegetable, and the animal, in him alone we find the clear light of reason, the power of moral discernment, full freedom of choice, a vivid sense of accountability, and the promise of an endless growth. Though in vast numbers of the human race the Divine Ideal has not been attained, yet in all it is certainly attainable. The progress of the ages is hopefully toward the breaking of every fetter, and the final evolution, in Christ-born Sons of God, of a perfected Individuality, through the largest Liberty under Law.

WM. W. KINSLEY.

WRITERS AND THEIR CRITICS.

IT was a remark of the historian Hume that, "There is such a superiority in the pursuits of literature above every other occupation, that even he who attains mediocrity in them, merits the preëminence above those that excel the most in the common and vulgar professions." Though the boast is one that few literary men would care to make, it is not without basis in fact, nor has it been unsupported by the suffrages of mankind. The writer who, by the aid of a lofty and vivid imagination, gives expression to noble thoughts in befitting words, who sings for the world of the deeds of its heroes and sets before men the brilliant conceptions of what is and may be, was called by the Greeks, a Poet, or Maker, for they felt the reality of his creations. All men, in all ages, have, as Sir Philip Sidney said, honored the poet's triumph, and in a less degree they have felt that men who write, dealing as they do in ideas and exerting their influence directly upon mind, are engaged in an honorable and essentially elevated labor. As mind is above matter, so the intellectual is superior to the material worker.

The general acceptance of ideas like these shows itself in many ways, and in none more commonly than in the universal curiosity that men have regarding the persons and surroundings of writers. Everywhere authors are cherished and looked up to in a deferen-

tial manner. Even the writer for the local weekly newspaper is in many regions made the recipient of attentions, simply because he is a "literary man"—because he has the ability to express thought in words, to make methodical presentations of subjects of more or less public interest; or, perhaps, to venture upon modest swallow-flights of song. Even when an author is slighted by his friends and neighbors, his reputation is sustained by them abroad as a matter of local pride.

This feeling is not, by any means, confined to the rude and uncultivated, for the American scholar is glad to see and know the English Poet Laureate or treasure up any words spoken to him by such a one as the Sage of Chelsea; and on the other hand, the scholar who comes to see the New World from the venerable shades of old Cambridge counts it among his most memorable privileges if he can visit our Seer at Concord or sit for an hour among the books that crowd the shelves of the venerated poet of New Cambridge. This sentiment does not arise from an acquaintance with the author's work, for the lady who had only "worried through" a portion of Mr. Longfellow's poems was as desirous to see him as was he to whom each verse was as familiar as household words; and the visitor at Stockbridge, who knows the name only of Jonathan Edwards, goes to look at his study with as great an appearance of interest as he would show if he approved every one of the great theologian's doctrines, merely because both the divine and the poet are celebrated as "makers,"—as men of thought, and workers in words of weight and grace.

In his essay on Chaucer, the late Professor Reed says, "The autobiographical passages in the writings of eminent men are those which are always seized on with avidity," and Dr. Holmes writes, in *The Poet at the Breakfast Table*, "I shall say many things which an uncharitable reader might find fault with as personal. I should not dare to call myself a poet if I did not, for if there is anything that gives one a title to that name, it is that his inner nature is naked and is not ashamed. But there are many such things I shall put in words, not because they are personal, but because they are human, and are born of just such experiences as those who hear or read what I say are like to have had in greater or less measure. I find myself so much like other people that I often wonder at the coincidence." In these words we are pointed

to the real source of the interest that men have in writers. It is the human sympathy begotten between them. We are pleased to know that the man of intellect has a heart which beats in harmony with our own; that he has had experiences corresponding to our own joys and sorrows; and that he is a man like us. Mr. Lowell says:

“ Then the poet brought heaven to the people, and they
Felt that they, too, were poets in hearing his lay.”

The poet raises the reader to a loftier plane and shows him things that he had never seen before.

The true poet proves that he is a maker, when he takes an old tale or common style of story telling and makes it new and original. Chaucer, for example, after visiting Italy, adopted in his *Canterbury Tales* a form that had been used by Boccaccio in his *Decameron*, but he made it finer. The Italian brought together a company of gay persons, flying from their homes in a plague-stricken city, and made them revel in immoral tales, without a single sentiment of sympathy for the suffering ones they had left behind. The English poet gives us a group of pilgrims, representatives of all classes of life in his country, and makes them tell stories which, still more exactly than his descriptions, indicate the habits and manners of the day. In the former, the immorality is the point and burden of the stories; and though Chaucer did not purge his pages from all that was objectionable, he made such strokes not the end at which he aimed, but rather incidents necessary to the complete presentation of his subject. In details, this difference is equally apparent; for if Chaucer takes for his model in *Troilus and Cryseyde*, the Italian's *Filostrato*, he is careful to purify it, to cut out objectionable passages, and to amplify when opportunities occur which enable him to introduce refined and delicate pictures. By this process, he gives to the chief persons of his poem new characters, more vigorous and individual, and more true to life. He takes Boccaccio's common-place, gay and easily-won Griseida, and makes of her the beautiful, delicate, modest Cressida, whose moral beauty fascinates us; and he shows her won only after a long courtship, being finally overcome by surprise. He analyses the workings of her heart, proving it to belong to a true woman, and not to a coquettish widow, calculating the chances and advantages of securing the love of a king's handsome son. The process is

the same as that by which Shakespeare transmuted old plays and dull chronicles into works of genius. The dramatist showed his superiority to the earlier poet by the manner in which he used this very story, for he still more improved it, making it, to even a greater extent than Chaucer had made it, the setting for graceful and beautiful conceptions. In this transmuting process, he shows his hand in many single strokes; as, for instance, to refer to another play, in the interview between King Henry the Sixth and the man who was supposed to have had his sight restored, when he puts into the mouth of the devout monarch the words, not in the earlier play,

"Let never day nor night unhallowed pass,
But still remember what the Lord hath done."

Thus it is that the man of letters exhibits his power, by unveiling the thoughts and feelings of our hearts, by making speaking word-pictures of the doings of men, and by expressing weighty thoughts and graceful fancies in such a manner as to give them immortality. Like Chaucer, Shakespeare or Longfellow, he warms the hearts of his fellows by expressing his sympathy with them; or, like Spenser, Bryant or Coleridge, he forces them to admire his brilliancy or grandeur. In whatever way he display his wonderful faculty, he proclaims, of necessity, the nobility of his calling, and causes men to do him honor.

There are, however, two sides to the picture; for though the man of letters is thus honored and sought, his productions are more sharply criticised than those of most other workers of the human family. All genius is subject to this sort of animadversion; but the painter and sculptor, though often made the mark for the sharp and barbed arrows of an ignorant or a malicious censure, escape much that it falls to the lot of the writer to hear. From the nature of their productions, each specimen of which requires their individual handling, a smaller number is able to discuss them than can criticise the result of the author's toil, which, by the mechanical operation of the press, is multiplied by the thousand. Besides, there are many who willingly confess themselves unable to sit in judgment upon works of art; but who ever saw yet the man, woman or child who considered himself unfitted to criticise a literary work?

"Nature fits all her children with something to do,
He who would write and can't write, can surely review,
Can set up a small booth as a critic, and sell us his

Petty conceit and his pettier jealousies ;
 Thus a lawyer's apprentice, just out of his teens,
 Will do for the Jeffrey of six magazines.
 Having read Johnson's Lives of the Poets half through,
 There's nothing on earth he's not competent to ;
 He reviews with as much nonchalance as he whistles,
 He goes through a book and just picks out the thistles.
 It matters not whether he blame or commend,
 If he's bad as a foe, he's far worse as a friend ;
 Let an author but write what's above his poor scope,
 And he'll go to work bravely and twist up a rope,
 And, inviting the world to see punishment done,
 Hang himself up to bleach in the wind and the sun."

 II.

The brotherhood of critics is divided into six classes; the lowest order being as remote from the highest, as the shallowest rhymester is from the epic poet. There is, first, the Ignorant critic. Knowing nothing about any subject requiring thought, he might treat every book impartially, if he desired, but feeling that he must hide his emptiness in a wilderness of words, there is nothing that he dares not do or say,—except it be to speak well of a book. It is of him that Pope wrote :—

" All books he reads, and all he reads assails . . .
 For fools rush in where angels fear to tread."

He dare not be generous and say that the author's work is well done, for the simple reason that he does not know whether it is done well or ill; but he can point out an error of the press, or find a flaw in the construction of a sentence. If Shakespeare introduce a lion into Europe, or make Bohemia a maritime country, or if he violate any of the canons of criticism laid down in the books, your Ignorant critic holds him up to scorn as an author no longer worthy of respect. The critic of this class garnishes his article with hackneyed words from foreign tongues, which he has discovered at the end of his dictionary, and though he sometimes misapplies them, they give him a reputation for erudition, among readers who are as empty as he is himself. Occasionally the Ignorant critic will venture to speak well of a work, but authors dread his condemnation less than his flattery; for praise from such a source is apt to be unmeasured and ill-applied, and not infrequently it brings the real faults into bold relief.

It is a great step upwards from the Ignorant to the Destructive critic. He is lofty in his tone, and often has some learning; but

he stalks about among the authors with the same delicacy as is exhibited by a bull in a china shop, and looks upon books as things to be knocked over, like ten-pins in an alley. Authors have no rights that he is bound to respect,—in fact, though he lives upon them, he considers them a pestiferous race that is multiplying with too great rapidity. He begins a review by stating that “We took up this book with the expectation and desire of saying a good deal in its favor,” and then runs on with pages of cheap utterances about the vicious plan and worse execution that he has found; finally, imitating the unfortunate impertinence which the Edinburgh Review hurled at Wordsworth, he exclaims,—“It is in no spirit of unkindness that we tell the author of this book that it will never do.” Again, the Destructive critic boldly assumes that he knows facts or names that are only hinted at in the book before him, and builds up a shallow fabric of inferences from the summit of which he proclaims the destruction of the unfortunate author. This is he who, after sifting the wheat, magnificently hands the chaff to his readers as the result of his work. They irresistibly suggest Gratiano’s words,

“I am Sir Oracle,
And when I ope my lips let no dog bark.”

They are described by Johnson as “A certain race of men that either imagine it their duty or make it their amusement to hinder the reception of every work of learning or genius, who stand as sentinels in the avenues of fame, and value themselves upon giving Ignorance and Envy the first notice of a prey.” This critic does not stop to think of the long days of study involved in the production of a book, nor of the author’s weary waiting for the day of its appearance; he does not reflect that words which might have been of use if spoken to the author before ink and type had fixed the form of his address to the world, may be of less value if uttered afterward. He has, apparently, no mercy and no judgment, his only aim being to exalt the critic and blast the author.

Less harmful than the Destructive, is the Genial critic. He is very nearly related to the “But” critic. The first seldom censures, and the other balances faults and excellencies in a way that is very discouraging to the reader in quest of an opinion, though it fills the review with lines and paragraphs admirably adapted to the use of the publishers in their advertisements, enabling them to

give the public the impression that the book noticed is all that is demanded in the way of brilliancy of style or interest of plot, though it may be, in truth, inconsequential and inconclusive. Suppose the *But* critic is forced to allow that the plot is poor, he can add—“*but* the story is written from the stand-point of an elevated morality;” or if the moral tone be low, he will say—“*but* the sentences are constructed after faultless models, and every page scintillates with the corruscations of the author’s brilliant wit.” The publisher cares nothing for what goes before the “*but*,” for few will see it in comparison with those who, by his ingenious means, will see the remainder of the sentence.

The Genial critic, good, honest soul, will be a party to no such transactions, not he; but he will err in a way that is not much better. He sympathizes with authors—knows their trials and anxieties, and would make their burden less. He wishes to encourage literature, and he accomplishes his purpose by means of indiscriminate praise. He looks for the good points, and makes mention of them only, which is not criticising, but puffing, and tends to reduce writers to a dead level. The Genial critic, like the genial man, makes many friends among the poorer sort of authors, and, of course, all publishers like him; but he does not encourage literature, nor find himself respected as a judge by those who produce and read the best books. He does encourage mediocrity. He is unjust to good writers, for after lavishing his commendations on authors of a low class, he has nothing better to say for those who are worthy. The Genial critic is allied to the Careless critic, and possesses some traits in common with the Ignorant reviewer.

Two classes remain to be mentioned, and they are both useful. The Descriptive reviewer simply rehearses, condenses or outlines the contents of the current books. He expresses no formal opinion, but by letting the reader and writer come face to face, as it were, he makes them pleasantly acquainted, and enables the buyer to form an opinion relative to the value of a book for his shelves. Undoubtedly there is a place for this reviewer. His mission is not a lofty one, but it is useful and beneficent. The glass in our windows has a modest position, but it is useful, insomuch as it furnishes a medium through which we can get views of many things which, though they pass rapidly before our eyes, give us much entertainment, and not a little information and pleasure. The

Descriptive reviewer is such a medium. Through his eyes we read many books, which, if we were obliged to depend upon a single pair of eyes apiece, we should not be able to enjoy.

The highest class of reviewers may be styled the Learned or Wise critics. They are men and women of generous sympathies, extensive general cultivation and exact special acquirements. No single member of the body felt that he is qualified to write reviews of all the products of the press, but each one restricts himself to the treatment of some subject upon which his information is extraordinary and exact. They do not necessarily make their readers feel conscious of the weight of learning that they bring to bear on a book, nor do they make their notices of remarkable length. They rather show their abilities in the conclusions they arrive at and the reasonableness of their judgment. At the first blush one would be tempted to say that this is the only proper, true and honest way to criticise, for it seems strange that a writer should attempt to decide questions regarding which he is completely ignorant. And yet, in fact, it often occurs that Sir Oracle pronounces in the same breath upon the worth of books as different from each other as a treatise on Greek Poetry and a Handbook of Crochet-Work, an essay on The History of the Norman Conquest and a Muck Manual.

In the prominent magazines and reviews the Learned critic finds constant employment and the minor journals are beginning to find that such reviews as he produces are the ones demanded by their readers. It is not strange that editors are learning this lesson, for they form the class most prominent before the reading public and their work is most sharply and frequently criticised. The editor is, generally, obliged to suffer in quiet, for the nature of his work renders it impossible for him to give reasons for his particular acts. He is criticised because he furnishes too much verse, or too many stories; his review department is too extensive or it is not extensive enough. He rejects a certain article which is better than many that he publishes—the disappointed author being judge; he writes too much himself, or, he is idle and does not give his readers enough from his own pen. Now the editor is unable to explain his acts in these regards and is at the mercy of critics—though it must be confessed that as the censures reach him they generally neutralize each other or are made less hard to bear by the good

words which come from other sources. A rejected article sometimes stands in the way of the production or appearance of a better one, and the writer of the good one cannot understand why it is not accepted. Besides all this, the true editor should not be found fault with for the details of his work, nor should he be asked a reason for his treatment of every particular article. He has in his mind an ideal magazine or journal, and all of his efforts tend to its realization, though he never perfectly embodies his vision so as to present it to the gaze of the world. He is a patient artist in mosaics and from the thousands of glittering pieces laid upon his work-table, each of which is the result of loving labor by other hands, he selects such as appear to him at the moment to be the best adapted to harmonise with the design that exists in his mind. It is not always the best that he chooses, but it is always the best for the present purpose, and it may often happen that a piece of unusual brilliancy rests unused in full sight of the editor's eye month after month, simply because a fitting place cannot be prepared for it sooner. Sometimes it must serve as the cap-stone of a series of articles, which exist in the editor's mind only, to be prepared by various hands, and no one but an editor knows how necessary the right perspective and proportion are in such cases, how difficult they are to obtain, and how nearly unmanageable are those brain-workers who prepare the best pieces for the editor's table. The impatient author of the brilliant piece does not see what the editor knows so well. He watches the journal as it regularly appears without his darling production, and becomes more and more irritated, it may be as time wears on. He may notice that the way is preparing for it, and when at last he sees it in print he is satisfied that it came before the world at the proper moment ; for, as the poet says,

"Many things by season seasoned are,
To their right praise and true perfection."

We plead for charity. Authors do not demand praise, but they ask to have their works recognized as the conscientious efforts of men and women who are as much in earnest as the rest of mankind. They ask to be told of their faults in a kindly manner, for as Lessing said,—“The coldness with which the world is wont to convince certain people that they do not suit it, if not deadly, yet stiffens one with the chill.”

In one of his essays, Dr. Johnson writes:—"The diversion of baiting an author has the sanction of all ages and nations, and is more lawful than the sport of teasing other animals, because, for the most part, he comes voluntarily to the stake, furnished, as he imagines, by the patron powers of literature, with resistless weapons and impenetrable armor, with the mail of the boar of Erymanth, and the paws of the lion of Nemea." It is not true, however, that all authors come before the public with this overconfidence. The best of them give to the world that which in its every detail is the result of prolonged thought; and their distress can be imagined, when they see their work tossed about by the Ignorant critic, trampled under foot by the one whom we have called Destructive, impertinently handled by the man of Buts, and fulsomely praised by the Genial critic.

Happy he who falls into the hands of the Descriptive or the Learned critic! Happy is that author who is reviewed by a writer willing and able to put himself into sympathy with the subject discussed, and to write from an honest and unprejudiced mind.

The people have always been proud of their authors, and as the scholarship and ability of reviewers advances, critics and criticism grow also in the popular favor.

ARTHUR GILMAN.

OUR WEAK ONES.

WITHIN a comparatively recent period two remarkable articles have appeared. One is by Dr. S. Weir Mitchell, under title of "Rest in Cure of Nervous Diseases." Like all else from the pen of that gifted writer, it teaches many good things directly, and suggests many more which are not less important,

The other comes from the pen of Frances Power Cobbe. In this, a real masculine vigor of thought and expression outcrops from beginning to end. Its heading:—"The Little Health of Ladies," is sufficiently clear. The great good fortune of it is that it comes from one who speaks with authority, and to whom the right to use the plainest of terms is freely conceded.

Yet with all the thoroughness and keen right-and-left thrusts

which abound in these papers, room appears for another one, which with fairness might go under the heading :—"Action in Cure of Nervous and Other Diseases."

Both action and rest, of course, must combine in producing an ideal of perfect vigor. They stand in the same relation that depletion and generous diet do, one as the counterpart of the other ; but, an excess of the former leading of necessity to an absolute need of the latter.

Going back to the commencement of the unnatural and hence unhealthy preponderance in certain classes of inaction over action, would land us in that somewhat shadowy region we speak of glibly enough under the title of Antiquity, which embraces so much of the vague that it were well to handle it gently.

For centuries the mere contemplation of a state of quietude has soothed the soul of the Buddhist. Indeed, for aught I know, the Queen of Sheba may have been a languid invalid and never have walked a whole mile in her life. It is certain, however, that a genuine high toned effeminacy existed two thousand years back, and was then, as now, a source of pride ; that in gladiatorial times flabbily muscled persons of both sexes staked preposterous sums on the brawn of the swordsman who dared to risk his life for their sport in the arena.

It were equally vain to assume that high mental culture was then, more than now, associated with high physical vigor ; Hypatia may never have handled an escharion.

Supposing, however, that the "well to do" classes then produced the present proportion of weakly ones, and the upper classes their legions of valetudinarians, this would furnish no reason for accepting the present state of things as inevitable and as a portion of the original scheme of human life. Neither do the rickety children of those who live now, because they must, on a scanty diet and amid filthy surroundings, nail home as true a supposition that to all, alike, disease is the normal condition of mankind. From these extremes we can never discover the final truth without the addition of a mean term. This missing element, evidently, must be the medium standard of health in those who live most in accordance with well proven hygienic law. Where shall such be found ? Probably among the well nourished, well clad, clean, virtuous and moderately active around us ; or better still, among our

ancestors, a generation or two back ; or to day, in our rural and frontier *agricultural* (not mining) districts. Those who first settled on our northern Atlantic sea-board doubtless were a physically select set ; but, making proper allowance for the average number of weakly ones, it is almost beyond doubt that there were more vigorous frames then than now. In other words, their offspring has been deteriorating. Remembering the fact, also, that healthy parents should beget healthy children (and that all the parents were not healthy), the residual vigor among the first born generation of the country compels us to look to the mode of life for its cause. Couple this with the rejuvenescence of our invalids who betake themselves to it and the case would appear clear.

Do I here lose sight of the fact that the learned doctor advises rest, while I, might and main, prescribe action? Not at all, good lady ; you whose carriage awaits your nod at the door. I imagine it is not so much for you as for your sewing girl, overworked physically, tortured with mental anxiety as to how, after dressing decently enough to appear as your servant, she can still "make the two ends meet," that he would advise this salutary rest ; and, I may add, rest in recreation. For you he might have a word about muscles unused, missing some healthy stimulus which they absolutely need ; and another about textural nutrition failing to go on as it should, in want of this action. He and I are doubtless in perfect accord in your case.

But you *know* you do need rest ; you feel so weak, so languid, so generally used up when you make any exertion, and hence you are quite sure from your own experience that you do. Before going further, allow me to ask—first, rest from what ? and second, have you ever taken exercise enough to tire a healthy frame ? Your term is a misnomer, at least it is unfortunate. But you "can't exercise." Yes, all this any physician of ordinary knowledge will admit ; though he will hardly exempt you from trying. You cannot run a mile, neither can you climb a mountain ; but, unless some real, organic disease be present, if you persevere systematically, in spite of fatigue, doing, within bounds, a little more each day, impossible things will become possible, and the morning walk or task, in your increasing strength, will be transformed into an anticipated pleasure.

Not long since, a young girl, whose parents were healthy and

active, was brought to bed by "an obscure nervous affection." After the real disease was removed, her illness continued as a pure emotion, and this, engrafted on an hysterical disposition, precluded all ideas of getting her up. The sympathy of her kind-hearted friends confirmed the tendency of the mental disease. She grew worse and weaker, had to be turned in bed, and lifted in and out. Her muscles wasted and became soft, her cheeks hollow, and at last, her stomach, fed on drugs instead of generous diet, refused its office, declining longer to be a party to the cheat. For a while life hung trembling in the balance. The prospect of death so near, was a new emotion, a real cause of terror; and frightened her into doing what her judicious physician had long before insisted she should, that is, *trying to get well*. She was propped up in bed, put out on the floor, assisted to make one step and another, then she learned again to walk; and, let me tell you, in a month that pale, emaciated girl, that death had almost marked as his own, sat at the table with her friends, and in another month had succeeded in convincing herself that she was well. It is unnecessary for me to make any application of this bit of clinical history. Parallels can always be found for such emotional affections. I firmly believe, however, that if at any time during the year she was confined to her bed, and after the disease proper had been removed, an alarm of fire had been sounded in the house, and the flames appeared in the one door, she would have, unassisted, escaped at the next, and would have been cured.

My object in alluding to this case, is to show how unsafe a guide your feelings may be. Place a plant in a greenhouse, nail it firmly against the wall, that artificial support may be provided, and all necessity for action on its own part be obviated: but allow one of the branches to protrude through the side of the house, where it can be buffeted by the winds and forced into action,—that branch will become stronger than the main stem. Action has driven the nutrient juices into every fibre, and a vigorous, healthy life is the result.

Now, how about your own case? Is it surprising that your muscles, long untried, will not respond as you wish them to? Will a day spent in bed develop their latent powers? Will a languid walk from room to room harden them? Will the daily drive give you confidence in your own resources? Will medicine

take the place of substantial food, which, to enjoy and digest, you must in some way deserve?

For that class, unfortunately too large, who make their undue effeminacy their pride, of course one can have nothing to say, except to tender sympathy for a "mental imbecility so utterly helpless and hopeless." They are beyond the pale of reason.

Another "case" comes to mind. A young lady of active body and mind, and accustomed to use both in household duties, suddenly found herself deprived of the spur of necessary action. In a year or so she had gone into a condition of chronic invalidism. She married, and remained unimproved, until the recent "shrinkage in stocks" again drove her to action. She now is a well, "helpful, hopeful woman." Allow these "cases" to illustrate, as they do, not isolated examples, but great classes, and my generalizations will hardly be too sweeping. Almost any physician can duplicate them.

It is well, of course, to cure; but it is infinitely better to prevent this condition of affairs. How is it to be done? Evidently by seeing that your children, your girls especially, have a normal period of youth between babyhood and their majority; that no high-heeled shoes turn walking into torture, and change the beautiful foot into a misshapen mass of bones and flesh; that no pull-back skirts limit the freedom of the limbs; that no tight dress compresses the chest, hampering the lungs, frowning the liver, and driving the abdominal viscera downwards. Do this, and the emancipated organs will furnish the basis for a substantial life-structure. What if the unrestricted lungs do, in moments of joyous, youthful enthusiasm, exceed the conventional shriek? It may be hoydenish, but it is surely a sign of an abounding vitality.

Under the head of exercises, I do not include, *as a first choice*, either calisthenics or feats in the gymnasium. They are doubtless well enough in their way, i. e.—as a substitute for some productive action, which shall bind itself to life habits as a duty. The one curse of the age is the idea that *useful* work is, in some way not clearly defined, degrading to a person of large means or of liberal culture, and had better be delegated to the hireling. This vice of education lies at the bottom of an endless string of social ills. The young woman cannot marry until her prospective husband can support her as she was in her father's house. She cannot

allow the idea to intrude itself that she, as the partner of his joys, is also the sharer of his business perplexities. If married, when trouble overtakes him, her woman's nature does outcrop in assurances of sympathy and love; but education has so sublimated these that they vanish *too often* when the stern realities of doing something to help him are presented. None of the so-called physical trainings are of service here. Besides, it is really a matter of some doubt, our medical men tell us, as to whether the mere muscular good accomplished in the gymnasiums is not more than counterbalanced by the injury resulting from a periodic overstraining. To the young of the cities, such institutions doubtless have a certain sphere of usefulness; and where suitable outdoor exercises cannot be had, they may fairly supplement the want.

The better class of them, too, are free from some rather disreputable associations that once lingered there. The English brawn developed in them, it is more than hinted by one of the transatlantic lights, is also largely hardened by English "brutality."

This, then, would narrow us down to home duties, in the main, as the proper sanitary means to be employed. By the term "home duties," I mean those of the substantial kind; not fancy or other needlework entirely.

It may appear to be a startling proposition, that the term *the weaker sex*, as generally applied, has but slight foundation in nature. Yet we are almost so persuaded. After all, we are built upon the same general plan as the rest of the animals with back-bones. To an almost absolute degree, our organs are homologous with theirs, and our human vanity will not admit that they are of weaker or poorer material. Hence then, the lower animals may fairly supply a point of comparison. Among these, the female not unfrequently is the larger individual of the two, and is rarely of less hardness or strength. Indeed, some of the knowing ones select, among horses, the females for endurance. Even among certain human races, the female is, weight for weight, by all odds stronger than her companion. Savage custom makes her his beast of burden, and, though all our human instincts revolt against such a spectacle, it still has its use in showing what the lurking capacity of the sex is for feats of strength. It also enables us to divest our minds of the idea that the essential feature of womanhood is anatomical or physiological weakness.

One other point might with fairness be alluded to here. I refer to the necessity (not the fact) which exists among so many mothers of assigning to another a duty which was evidently (unless anatomy be at fault) intended as a maternal privilege. With the question as to which is the better source from which the infant should receive its nourishment, we have nothing to do. The important conclusion I would note is, it is inconceivable that any human female, or class of human females, in whom this power is wanting, can be otherwise than in a state of physiological degeneracy, and this augurs badly for the future vigor of the offspring. Here then the inquiry will recur: do not the conditions under which this occurs connect themselves in our minds with habits of ease and of luxury? To whom do we look when in search of one in whom the capacity exists, save among those whose life has been that of enforced activity? Indeed, in a large proportion of cases, eighteen years suffices to change the daughter of hardy, competent parents into a helpless mother. The really vital question is, perhaps, not so much the effect this constitutional deterioration will have upon the first as upon the second generation; and where shall the physical degradation end? Of course the reply will be, why have no disastrous results out-cropped in the modern Englishman of rank? This, however, answers itself. Maternal nourishment is withheld from custom, and not from inability to supply it. Then, too, mark the subsequent career of the growing John Bull. Cricket, rowing, riding and boxing are part of his education. At Oxford or Cambridge he may neglect Homer and Thucydides, and remain forever ignorant of the profounder mysteries of the calculus. On this score his conscience is at rest; his athletics he cherishes as a religious duty.

Here, this enthusiasm over a physical life is among our boys largely, and among our girls lamentably, wanting. The thick-soled walking shoes of an English miss would, if offered to her American cousin of the same age and relative station, provoke an expression of contempt, probably, almost certainly of aversion. How many of our lads pass through college, and yet scarcely know they have a biceps? and how very few ever take any hearty pride in its culture. It is the love of his biceps and its relatives that sends a current of healthy blood, generation after generation, through the arteries of the Englishman of rank, in spite of certain maternal neglect.

In the highways and byways of reading, passages are sometimes found strikingly *a propos* of one's thoughts; for example, Parkman, in the *Old Regime in Canada*, (p. 228) remarks of that country: 'The climate was supposed to be particularly favorable to the health of women, which is somewhat surprising in view of recent American experience.' Then, at second hand, I quote from next page of the same volume: "The first reflection I have to make," says Dollier de Casson, "is on the advantage that women have in this place (Montreal) over men, for though the cold is very wholesome to both sexes it is incomparably more so to the female, who is almost immortal here."

Further on, at page 242, we read, "A poor man, says Mother Mary, will have eight children and more who run about in winter with bare heads and bare feet and a little jacket on their backs, live on nothing but bread and eels, and on that grow fat and stout." "With such treatment," the author Parkman adds, "the weaker sort died; but the strong survived and out of this rugged nursing sprang the hardy Canadian race of bush-rangers and bush-fighters.

Then and now! Perhaps neither system tends to develop the highest type of man or womankind; certainly a combination of the two would blend the vigor of the one with the comfort and culture of the other. There is that unfortunate idea in the last quotation, "the weaker sort died." This shocks our humanity; but then, apart from all emotion, the fact is, the children of the survivors would be a stronger, more resisting race, with fewer descendants for fate in a supreme mercy to drop from the living list. Now, the weakly current appears to be an increasing one; a stream which squares itself in proportion to the distance traversed. Into what wide ocean of physical helplessness and suffering will it at last empty?

Of course it will work its own cure. The further the pendulum swings to one side, the more powerfully will the eternal laws operate to bring it back to the other. But our philosophy must be of the objective kind if it find any comfort in the thought that weak constitutions and bad social and domestic customs are to be prevented from permanently impairing the vigor of the race by their early burial.

There appears to be a kind of rotation in crop even among our

gifted humanity. Neither one field nor one family will produce wheat forever. Indeed the laudable pride of "blue blood" must find its chief nourishment in the fact that so little of it retains its cerulean hue quite pure for any great number of generations. When it *does*, it is a thing to boast of. The drop of water on the crest of the wave will, ere long, be in the depths of the trough; but, somewhat, after being buffeted here and there with other struggling drops, it will eventually find itself nearing the summit. Possibly, in all this we may read the lesson that each drop in the ocean of humanity has much the same essential constitution, and in the long run much the same destiny; that nature intends none of her children to permanently float on the surface or to forever struggle in the depths; and, most important of all, that what is usually good for one cannot, as a rule, be bad for another.

J. T. ROTHROCK, M. D.

ART INDUSTRY AT THE PARIS EXPOSITION OF 1878.

(Adapted from the Report of Hofrath J. Von Falke of Vienna.)

VI. RUSSIA AND SPAIN.

BOTH Russia and Spain are not remote from eastern lands. Eastern invaders have left their mark upon the art-industry of both countries, and traces of it are still perceptible in our day, in the decidedly Asiatic character of purely native Russ work, and in the Moresque-Arab flavor clinging to some of the very best productions of modern Spain.

Viewed from this point, the art-industry of both countries possesses a national character which is of far greater value than the spirit shown in the productions in the modern European taste.

The exhibition of Russia is incomplete, naturally, because of the late war; that of Spain is neither very complete nor very well arranged, but there is enough shown by both to enable us to make a comparison, the result of which is the conclusion that the national character, whilst making progress in Russian, is decidedly on the wane in Spanish art-industry.

The Russian national architecture and the various fabrics of the peasants give evidence of an original style of ornament peculiar to the country. We find it in the decorations of their wooden dwelling-houses, in red and blue embroidery on linen for domestic use, in metal work retaining much of its original Asiatic form, many centuries old, also in the Byzantine element of their sacred art. (The latter has remained separate ground in Russia, a sort of China, jealously shut off from the outer world of industry and art, being altogether monopolized by the monks.) These elements of ornament are those which have given life to Russian art-industry, having been picked up and utilized for the distinct purpose of creating a Russian style. The designs of the peasants' needle-work, adapted to linen for table or bed-chamber use, pervade the most aristocratic mansions, and Russian ladies use these designs in their own delicate embroideries. The architectural decoration of their wooden houses, their geometrical patterns and gay painting, have found their way into gold and silver smiths' work. I do not mean either to endorse or to deny the artistic taste of these, but I wish only to state that the impression made by the Russian exhibition indicates the growth of a national tendency in art. Ample illustration of this young growth is to be seen in the show of table-covers, portières, furniture-stuffs in red and blue patterns, embroidered, woven or merely printed, carved furniture, tables, billiard tables, arm chairs, stoves with glazed tiles, all carrying out the ornamental ideas suggested by the decoration of the peasants' dwellings.

The progress in goldsmiths' work is less conspicuous, though in previous exhibitions it excited attention by its finish, as well as by the use of gay and rich enamel. This year Persian designs, if we are not mistaken, are largely used by the Russian goldsmith, and the native Russ ornamentation seems to be rather out of favor, —from a purely artistic point of view, possibly not a change for the worse. At any rate, when he does not follow Persian or native Russ models, the Russian gold and silver smith often commits absurdities, like silver bread-baskets actually imitating real plaited wicker work, perhaps even with a sham cloth of silver over them, an infraction of the laws of common sense of which the art-industry of our times should not be guilty. The Toula work, too, has degenerated since 1867. The specimens of it here shown, display

views of churches, etc., on the convex side of spoons, a subject of decoration clearly not in the fitness of things. If Russia cannot do better than this, the Toula work of Paris or Vienna will soon beat its Russian prototype. Neither do the silks or brocades seem to have made any progress, though their debüt in 1867 was brilliant, because of most effective and original patterns. A very meritorious effort, however, is shown by a painter of pottery, Egoroff, whose faïence has a deep, rich color, the designs being Russian figures in conventional and slightly Byzantine treatment, and they are both originally and typically Russ.

Praise of the latter kind cannot be bestowed upon the Russian work in the native precious minerals. Malachite or lapis-lazuli, applied in thin veneer on vases, is our old and rather commonplace acquaintance from previous exhibitions, and we see no improvement in the designs. Then there is jade, from Irkutsk on the Baikal lake, running a very weak competition with the Chinese jade, blood-stone and rock crystal; all these worked in small vases or objects of modern and unmeaning shapes.

The exhibition of Finland completes that of Russia. Notwithstanding its political union with the latter, Finland has not abjured its sympathy for Sweden or forgotten its ancient ties, hence its art-industry follows Swedish model and style in its best efforts, and never bears the brand of the Russ. But there is much of tis work that might be classed as modern European of the unhappy kind, as an illustration of which I will only mention some arm chairs, the seats of which are so ingeniously carved that sitting in them is a punishment.

The various kinds of fabrics bearing the national type of Spain have again made their appearance this year, though, as stated before, the objects themselves are not the best of their kind, and they are huddled together without any sort of arrangement. This applies in particular to the pottery, of which we saw better examples in Philadelphia, in 1876, notably in Alhambra-pattern tiles. Besides these, and those of geometrical designs, we meet again our old acquaintances, the pottery of Pickman of Seville, in imitation of ancient work, and the large majolica plates, with landscape and figure painting on rather heavy, black ground.

The charming gay blankets of Spain are here again, but they are exhibited in places where they can barely be seen; there is also

a lot of furniture and wall-hangings, the good points of which, if any, do not rise above the ordinary. The gold- and silver-smith's work shown, chiefly ecclesiastical, is either in the worst styles of the last century, or in badly conceived Gothic and altogether a failure, artistically speaking.

The color of the plaited matting is spoiled by the introduction of modern green and aniline red dyes which are generally fatal, in the artistic sense, to the articles they are meant to adorn. The same thing applies to the Portuguese matting.

The one redeeming feature of Spain is its inlaid iron work, the favorite of every exhibition. The demand for it seems to have grown, for, besides the two former exhibitors, Zuloaga and Barzabal, there are two others who, however, exhibit small objects only. The growth of the manufacture into wholesale production seems to have tempted the two first named into inordinate increase of size of their vases, etc. The nature of this excessively fine work would seem to prescribe certain limits of size which are surely exceeded by the gigantic vases and candelabras here shown. The desire for novelty and the lack of the really new, has called into life forced and exaggerated work, in this case just as elsewhere, where brain or fancy refuse to bring forth new ideas—this applies in particular to the French, as our report on them, later on, will show. Hence, it appears, these Spanish gentlemen, tired of the limited sphere of their line, have drifted into sizes altogether beyond its scope; and, feeling urged, too, to produce something grand or extraordinary for the exhibition, they achieved the monster pieces, the sizes of which clash sadly with the decoration, the essence of the latter being delicacy and minute finish.

Lastly, we must mention the Spanish mantillas of silk lace, black and white, also light blue blonde. They have preserved intact their peculiar designs, dating from the end of the seventeenth century, composed of large, rich flowers on wide-meshed net ground, very beautiful, especially when running in somewhat regular patterns. Such lace over a colored dress will be sure to make a telling effect, but we must, on the other hand, admit that it somewhat exceeds the legitimate limits of this art, the true character of which is airiness, grace and extreme delicacy.

VII. BELGIUM AND HOLLAND.

The interval between the international fairs of 1873, 1876 and the present one is unquestionably too short to justify expectations of great novelty or marked improvement in art-industry, even in the larger countries; and, naturally much less is to be expected from the smaller states. Still, as some of the latter are intent upon striking out an independent line of taste, even they show some things novel or marking improvements or alterations which, at any rate, are deserving of notice. This applies, in particular, to Belgium, which country exhibits this year on a larger and more important scale than it did on previous occasions.

One of the novelties, is the faïence of Boch Brothers of La Louvière, in blue and white after the style of ancient Delft ware, simply an imitation of this essentially decorative pottery, which is getting to be a favorite model of the copyists. The Belgians do not approach the original in tone, delicacy or beauty of coloring, the effect is dull, comparatively speaking; but it is, at all events, a good, beginning, and the workmanship is not without merit. The quality of Professor Tourteau's, and his pupils' or followers', majolica is of equal grade. Their kind is already known to visitors of former exhibitions, and though they do not come up to their Italian models as to soft, rich tone and harmony, they are very vigorous and free in treatment, and belong to the better class of modern work.

The Belgian table glass occupies a place only half way up the ladder, being not precisely bad, but not above the ordinary. The "Cristalleries de Namur" and the "Société de Boussu" both exhibit cut table glass after the English fashion, as well as plain blown glass, the former mostly clumsy and heavy, the latter, in some instances, delicate and effective.

The Belgian show of furniture and house decoration is of higher importance. The taste of the country seems to be inclining to the Flemish Renaissance, the stamp of that period being borne either by entire rooms, such as those furnished by Verlat of Brussels, or by single objects, such as panelling or wainscot, carved furniture of sixteenth or seventeenth century design, and especially by numerous copies of ancient Brabant and Flemish tapestry, embroideries and the "Haute-lisse" tissues of Arras and Brussels, used either as wall hangings and portières, or as chair covers, etc.

Many of them successfully render the tone of the original, others are too crude and modern in color. The main representative of this taste is a gorgeous room in the Renaissance style, with high wooden wainscot, carved mantelpiece, stained glass windows, and portières of antique gobelins, etc., all carried out consistently and on a scale of great splendor. It is not quite as effective as it might be, partly because of a cross light, partly because the furniture itself is too heavy and too large altogether.

J. J. Labaer, of Antwerp, exhibits imitations of ancient brass-beaters' work, in every variety of plates, dishes, etc., decorated in figures, historical portraits and what not. Immense quantities of this ware are annually exported by Belgium, and there is hardly a bric-à-brac shop in Europe without a choice specimen or two of it, nicely toned and doctored to represent the genuine article of the later Renaissance period. Although the latter is still its favorite, Belgium cannot quite give up its old fondness for French taste, and hence we see, in this show, a good deal of upholstery in the Louis XVI. style, some of it—that by Pohlmann & Dalk, in Brussels—prettily and delicately designed and carried out, also gobelins thoroughly eighteenth century in design and color, such as those of the Ingelmünster factory. Other specimens seek to combine the styles of these various periods; we see this in some ebonized furniture, and in the attempt to use brass instead of carved ornament on some wooden wainscoting. It might have answered on furniture, but neither on the wainscot nor anywhere on the more than lavish scale used here.

The same combination of various styles is evidently aimed at by the very numerous bronzes exhibited by Belgian makers, in particular the lamps, chandeliers and mantel ornaments, and, except that they make a rich show, very little else is to be said about them. The prominent makers are "Compagnie des Bronces" of Brussels, and Wilmotte of Liège.

Whilst, as to the foregoing, we have discovered traces of an independent movement towards development of the national taste, though not a very vigorous movement, the manufacture of lace, we regret to say, has not changed or moved one step in advance since the Exhibition of 1867, being still of identically the same kind and design, although the lace of other countries has improved vastly since then.

The slim but well meant efforts of Belgian manufacturers towards improving the national standard of taste, offer a striking contrast to that of their neighbors in Holland. The modern work of the latter is so utterly wanting in every respect, that there is only one portion of the Dutch show worthy of notice, viz.,—the antiquities and, perhaps, the rare traces of ancient tradition still shown in the country folks' work. No evidence could be more fatal than Van Kempen's silversmith's work, gorgeous beyond measure, but stiff, heavy and absurd to a degree. We could not imagine a more senseless piece of composition than his large cup in silver, in the shape of a nautilus, which nautilus reposes upon reeds, amongst which, and the waves agitating them, a lot of lions are gambolling playfully. If these lions be meant for representatives of the Dutch Lion, we should advise the manufacturer to keep him in the Dutch coat of arms, and not to let him loose, to roam at will in the neighborhood of the reed-covered canals or amongst the bathers on the beach of Scheveningen.

We are glad to speak more favorably of the copies of oriental carpets from the factories of Deventer and Delft. Those which follow the Smyrna models precisely, are the best; those infected by modern taste and coloring are either muddy or crude in color. J. Thoof's (of Delft) attempts at imitating the celebrated old Delft faïence are far behind the original, both in beauty and vigor of the blue ornament, as well as in purity of body and glaze, which latter has a bluish or grayish look. They have as little charm as the Dutch furniture, of which only isolated pieces, after the ancient Dutch fashion, would pass muster.

It is a comfort to turn to some very pretty pictures of Holland's past, very fairly presented at this Exhibition. Passing quickly through a room of the eighteenth century type, full of inlaid furniture, trophies of arms, etc., of the period indeed, but not exclusively Dutch in character, we enter a room in a burgher's house in the style of the seventeenth century, Nothing could be more thoroughly Dutch, or more complete in everything pertaining to a burgher's house of the time, from the quaint, turned, carved and painted furniture, the wainscot oak with little turned columns, the porcelain and Delft on the shelves, down to the spittoon on the tile floor.

Another pleasant picture of Old-Holland is shown in the

"Annex," outside of the Champ-de-Mars building. It is nothing but a gin-shop, but stately of its kind, and fit for a back-ground of one of Jan Steen's merry pictures, not one of the low hovels portrayed by Teniers, Ostade, and their school. The whole of it, furniture, decorations, and even the bar-maids, full of local color. We would recommend you, gentle reader, to treat yourself to a glass of bitters, curaçao or gin, in order to pay your footing in this most cosy of Dutch taverns. We, for our part, vastly prefer this bit of Old-Holland to all its modern magnificence.

VIII. ENGLAND.

Of all countries, England, from her contributions to the Exhibitions of 1867, 1873 and 1876, led us to look for great things this year. Ever since that unæsthetic, matter-of-fact country of shop-keepers surprised the world by initiating its reformatory movement in the domain of industrial art, it has, in each of the three last World's Fairs, maintained its leadership for refined and pure taste, as well as originality, novelty, and enterprise in introducing successful novelties on a large scale.

Our expectations were far from being realized this time. Indeed, if it were not evident from the British show in Philadelphia, in 1876, that England is not fairly represented in Paris this year, we should be inclined to assign a much lower rank to English industrial art than it is actually entitled to; but still the fact remains that England shows no marked progress since 1876, and that many British exhibitors who elicited our admiration in Philadelphia, shine this year only by their absence. We miss the carefully designed work of the Royal School of Art Needlework, the admirably finished eighteenth century furniture of Wright & Mansfield, Messrs. Morris's quaint and original wall papers and hangings, etc., etc. On the other hand, there are several new exhibitors from the provinces, whose productions, for meretricious ornament and bad taste, rival the worst efforts of the cheap furniture stores in the New York Bowery.

We have already commented on the very short interval between this Exhibition and the previous one. French exhibitors had not gone to great trouble and expense in 1876, and could afford to make an effort for the glory of their country; but British exhibi-

tors had been at great pains and expense at the Centennial, and did not, probably, feel encouraged, only two years later, to incur the same sacrifices without prospects of substantial returns in the shape of orders. English furniture-makers and house-decorators (and it is with these that we are principally concerned) have a number of customers in America. Whilst formerly wealthy Americans confined their purchases in this line to Paris, if they did not employ French firms in New York, their taste of late years has been rather apt to follow the English fashion, and their purchases from British makers in this line probably amount to far more than those of all the Continental customers put together. A Frenchman purchasing English furniture being quite a *rara avis*, it is easy to understand why, notwithstanding the Prince of Wales's good-natured efforts in behalf of this Exhibition, the British manufacturers did not come forward in Paris this year as they did in Philadelphia in 1876.

But, whilst deploring the condition of the British section as a whole, we must admit that it contains still abundant evidence of a high standard of taste among the better classes of art-manufacturers.

It is not many years since English furniture was the type of all that was clumsy, vulgar and hideous. Even as late as 1862, at the Exhibition of that year, English furniture did not seem to have emerged from its former condition, whilst the cabinet of Fourdrinois, in the French section, was the admiration of all the visitors. To-day the best furniture of France is still of the Fourdrinois cabinet type; nay, we are not sure but it is the identical 1862 cabinet that does service again this year. English furniture, on the other hand, not following in the old groove, has developed itself in original designs of remarkably pure and severe taste. The growth of the latter seems almost vigorous enough to compel even the architecture of the country to follow where it leads. Thus we observe, in the commencement of the reformatory movement in English industrial art, a change in the prevailing taste in buildings from debased Gothic to Elizabethan-Renaissance, and again later on, with the change in taste as to furniture, to Jacobean Gothic (or Jacobean-Renaissance) and to the style of the time of Queen Anne. Hence we now see, in town and country, mansions in all these styles, not always carried out in all the severity of the

period, but glorying in gaily tinted brick and terra-cotta, quaint stained glass and wrought iron work, and all sorts of fanciful but effective bays and corners to break the monotony of the façade—quite a contrast to the Parisian architecture of our day, which fatigues the eye by an endless repetition of the same model carefully dressed on straight lines, like so many soldiers drawn up in review order.

The above named styles of architecture, frequently leavened by Oriental ornament or decorative material, embrace almost the whole of the furniture shown in the British section. Though the models of Chippendale, Hipplewhaite and Adams (the latter half of the eighteenth century) are now being frequently copied or adapted to British furniture, the Paris Exhibition contains scarcely any examples of these, and we must therefore confine our remarks to the principal pieces of furniture there exhibited. The chief objection that might be urged against these are—excessive elaboration of ornament, complicated construction, and excess of detail generally. England seems not to be satisfied with the use of marqueterie alone, (which was hitherto monopolized by French and Italians,) but it is lavish in the insertion of various woods, ivory faïence, and of panels more or less artistically painted. Good taste in marqueterie is represented by Messrs. Graham & Jackson's inlaid cabinet, than which nothing could be more delicate or perfect, though it costs the price of a good-sized house. The worst examples are the cheap productions of provincial makers, who do their very best to spoil originally fair designs, by overloading with carving, engraving, gilding, and every possible variety of ornament in the shape of tiles, painted panels and what not.

Marqueterie is less typical of English furniture than its outlines, its constructive features. These do not strictly conform to Elizabethan or Jacobean or Queen Anne models; on the contrary, they are often so peculiar that their prototype is hardly to be recognized. They are, generally and chiefly, of an architectural character, with pilasters, lintels, galleries, etc.; the side-boards rise very high, finishing with a cove, as though it were intended to carry the construction of the piece of furniture into the ceiling itself. All the various parts are mostly delicately treated, the relief low, the pilasters quite flat and the columns merely slim spindles. The decoration consists, frequently, of tiles or painting on gold ground (either

flowers or figures conventionally treated), Tables, chairs and sofas are of equally lean construction ; scarcely, one would think, strong enough to support a well fed Briton. The wood employed is less frequently oak than mahogany or rose wood or American black walnut, all stained a very dark color, highly polished, but "dulled down." Very quaint, too, is the furniture after Norman Shaw's designs, stained a reddish or greenish tint and decorated with raised gold lacquer representing flowers, branches and leaves of conventional design.

Whilst the first described style seems to be the favorite at the exhibition, there are a few examples of other models which are to be found in the better class of English dwellings. In this minority those combining a slight flavor of the Japanese element with the more severe styles of the Jacobean and Queen Anne time are perhaps the most conspicuous. Of such is the furniture of Collinson and Lock (most highly finished and the Japanese ideas carefully subdued), whilst in Watts's "Anglo-Japanese" furniture there is less repose as the two ideas are fighting each other for supremacy. Unquestionably, the English have learnt during the last fifteen years to exercise individual taste in the decoration of their houses, and no better evidence could be had of this fact than the great variety of styles exhibited by their furniture makers.

Besides numerous highly finished cabinets exhibited in the British section, there are also several rooms shown, carried out consistently in the styles above mentioned, as well as in others. Such exceptions are chiefly in the Renaissance taste, with a touch of the English in it; witness the rooms fitted up by Messrs. Howard (in oak), by Messrs. Trollope (in Spanish cedar) and the banqueting hall in the Prince of Wales's Pavilion, by Messrs. Gillow (in oak). The drawing-room in the latter structure is again in the first described style, the Elizabethan-Jacobean with some Japanese element in it which is, by no means, inappropriate. Both rooms are well harmonized as to color. The Princess's rooms, on the other hand, belong to neither of these styles ; but, rather to that of the Louis XVI. period, bordering on that of the first Empire in some respects, principally in the very straight, slightly stilted lines. The furniture is of wood inlaid in ivory and mounted in ormolu. It is very gracefully constructed and the coverings and hangings are very delicately tinted. This mixture of Louis XVI. with Empire style,

which is most suitable indeed for high class marqueterie work, is quite the fashion for English boudoirs, though, of course, it requires a long purse. The wall decoration of the Princess's boudoir caps the climax as to luxuriousness: it is of yellow silk covered with white lace, and could hardly be more dainty or more feminine in taste.

The Elizabethan-Jacobean style of furniture requires naturally the decoration of the walls, as well as the curtains, portières, to be in thorough keeping, and the show of wall papers and curtain stuffs—though it is a remarkably small show—answers these requirements very fully. Amongst the curtain materials there are some splendid and costly stuffs. As to the paper-hangings, whilst formerly red was the stereotype color for the British dining room, green—i. e., never a pure, but a toned green—is the prevailing tint now, with sometimes a gay border or frieze under the cornice. The flower patterns are ever flat and conventional, often beautifully arranged, and sometimes merely printed in gold. When in colors, they are mostly harmonious, and never coarse or obtrusive as they were in former times.

Though the carpets have about the same characteristics as to arrangement of colors, they are rarely of the same designs as the foregoing. The English carpet of twenty years ago, than which nothing more horrible could be imagined, has changed its character completely, and inclines now to the Oriental, as to design; other patterns are of rare occurrence, and even when they remind us of European taste, the Oriental principles of distribution of color are observed and thus a quiet effect is obtained; in fact, if they strike us unfavorably at all, it is by excessive severity. Harmony is never lost sight of, though it may be a little dull and quiet, sometimes; but we are tempted, as in the case of the Indian carpets, which combine color with severity and repose, to wish for something with slightly more life in it.

Though we do not subscribe to one and all the principles guiding the furnishing and the decoration of English houses of the period, we must admit that they create many charming results, and that they are typically British. The same may be said of other branches of English industrial art, although it is difficult to discern in them styles so distinctly marked as in the former.

Suppose we turn to the manufacture of pottery and porcelain,

which has assumed great importance in our day. A practiced eye will easily tell an English piece of faience or pottery from a French one, but it is hard to indicate where the two kinds differ. The French are more easily grouped and classified than the English, although several manufacturers amongst the latter bear very distinctive features. More peculiar than any of them are Doulton and Company of Lambeth, whose manufacture of pottery has been considerably enlarged, and perhaps forced a little of late. On the whole, the exhibition of this firm two years ago impressed us more favorably than the present one. Minton, Wedgwood, the Worcester Works, etc., show little that the visitors of the 1873 and 1876 exhibitions are not already acquainted with. As a rule the colors are quite as brilliant as ever, and sometimes only too much so; and it seems a pity that the beautiful *pâte sur pâte* work of Monsieur Solon, the French artist employed by Messrs. Minton, is wasted on vases of not always well harmonized tints and, generally, overloaded with gilding in imitation of ormolu mounts. Whilst there might be a question as to the admissibility of such mounts, if real, there could hardly be a doubt that their imitation on the porcelain itself is not legitimate, to say the least. Excepting the enamel on porcelain after the Limoges fashion, shown by the Worcester Works, a kind of manufacture now extinct at this factory, most of the British pottery and porcelain makes the impression of the makers being desirous to show off the perfection of their workmanship in unnaturally forced objects and of their neglecting the really useful for the sake of merely ornamental things. We must admit, however, that this remark applies in a less degree to England than to France, as we shall see hereafter.

The manufacturers of glass are less frequently guilty of vagaries of this nature, because glass—in so far, at least, as it is used for domestic purposes—requires the work to be more strictly confined to the natural limits of the material itself. British glass is remarkably clear and perfect in its prismatic colors, and in this respect it excels all its Continental rivals. Since the reformatory movement began in British art-industry, the manufacture of glass may be said to have followed two artistic lines, one being the cutting of the surfaces into facets, and striving after the greatest possible effect from the breaking of the rays of light, whilst the other resembles the rock-crystal work of the Renaissance period in graceful form

and ornament, the latter being not only engraved, but often carved in relief. Both are very fully represented this time, and they make a very strong, but not always a very happy effect. Particularly amongst the nobler kind—the engraved glass—there are frequent instances of lack of artistic judgment, and there are generally one or more objectionable features to be found in most of the pieces shown, whether it be that the handles are too heavy, the joints faulty, the feet too clumsy, or the design itself not up to the costly and highly finished character of the work. A perfect piece is quite a rarity. Amongst the first-mentioned kind—the cut glass—there are some rather queer things, topped by such monstrosities as a side-board, a sofa and arm-chairs, all of cut glass and beautifully cushioned, into the bargain, in real red silk. Fortunately, such utter want of sense is of rare occurrence in English industry, which, above all, has a sincere regard for the fitness of things.

The two lines above named, followed by British glass-makers, are completed by a number of attempts at novelty, by copies of Venetian glass as well as of classical models. Thus, there is not only a perfect copy in glass of the Portland Vase, but there is an entire string of similar objects, real works of art in similar style, produced by the cutting of white glass laid over glass of dark ground. The imitations of Venetian glass are not meant for slavish imitations, embodying all the faults and irregularities of the originals, but they borrow from the Venetian only technical or artistic elements, forming thus a new and peculiar style which, quite in accordance with the material itself, is British and not Venetian. Though these attempts include some failures, there is much that is charmingly effective, and, as an effort to create an original style, they are certainly worthy of all praise.

British metal work does not rank equally high, showing no novelties whatever. Neither does the work in precious metals bear the purely British type. It is well known that distinguished French artists design much of it, as, for instance, Morel Ladeuil does for Messrs. Elkington. On the whole, this department is not as well represented in Paris as it might have been; jewelers proper have hardly put in an appearance. Amongst the goldsmiths, Elkington is so prominent that one might fancy he were the only one in Great Britain; but he, too, shows no novelties. His principal piece is still the old and well known Helicon Vase; along-

side of this there is a row of other work, partly by Morel Ladeuil, and less gigantic but at least as beautiful. These works are, however, purely ornamental and artistic, and are quite distinct, as such, from those destined for domestic use. Whilst the latter are generally of styles and designs peculiarly their own, there is nothing typical whatever in the former. The meretricious realistic designs of former times have indeed disappeared, but the present ones have no sound foundation. Some of them remind us of the Renaissance, others affect Egyptian shape and ornament, with rarely a quaint touch here and there to show that they are English.

The work in coarser metals, especially in brass, offers a striking contrast in the latter respect. There is no doubt of its being British to the back-bone. These ecclesiastical candlesticks, reading-desks, clocks, etc., originally made for sacred use, have of late years been adapted to domestic purposes, and they are largely and very properly used in halls and vestibules, especially in country mansions. Besides the old and well known exhibitors in this line, Messrs. Hart & Son, there are several others, and this manufacture seems to have grown in extent and importance. There seems to be little change in its character, except, perhaps, that, instead of a mere coat of lacquer, there are more frequent instances of repoussé work and combinations of various metals, as well as examples of inlaying in gold and silver, of which latter kind J. W. Singer, of Frome, shows excellent work. But we venture to question the desirability of similar combinations of metals, and in particular that with red copper, as of doubtful merit, even if, as it seems to be the case, it is likely to become the fashion.

IX. DENMARK, SWEDEN, NORWAY, SWITZERLAND.

Although of too recent existence to warrant us in expecting novelties from it, a vigorous movement, in the three Scandinavian States, towards elevating art-industry and popular taste is still plainly to be perceived in this Exhibition. And, hence, the manufactures of Denmark, Norway and Sweden here shown, though already known to us, are clearly improvements upon their efforts in former years. We notice no important or decided change for the better, but certainly an indication of something in the future.

Denmark, considering its small size, has generally managed to cut a pretty respectable figure at international fairs. Its artists, ever fond of the antique, have somehow inspired its manufacturers with the classical principles of simplicity of construction, and of correct proportions coupled with consistently carried-out designs. There used to be a certain air about Danish work, severe and noble, yet not free from a shade of affectation, and perhaps even a little stilted. Essentially, this is still the character of Danish art-industry at this Exhibition, but, evidently, the manufacturers are now making an effort to shake it off. This desire to enter upon the more substantial designs of the Renaissance period is illustrated by some of their furniture, though these are not very successful examples, and we hardly know whether this change of style be really an advantage, for it means abandoning ground peculiarly Denmark's own.

Of the Renaissance period, too, is a row of beautiful book-covers (by B. Schroeder of Copenhagen), with gilt tooling, after sixteenth and seventeenth century patterns. Embroideries, on the other hand, are still wallowing in the depths of realistic ways in the matter of embroidered pictures, animals, and scenes from domestic life.

Otherwise, the Danish exhibit comprises chiefly our old acquaintances, though slightly changed since the last exhibition. The graceful pottery after the antique, by Ipsen, Scholl, etc., is more numerous than ever, only instead of Greek ornament it now favors the Egyptian. Coarse modern flower ornament still sticks to the graceful outlines of the vases. Christen's silver and jewelry, after the antique, are also old friends whom we hold in friendly and respectful remembrance. They are gracefully clad in classical garb, and are as successful in this way as Van Kempen's, the Dutch maker's, work in the same line would fain wish to be. We must not forget the Royal Porcelain Factory, whose graceful dinner and tea services (our old favorites) in blue and white, are much more genuine than its pretentious realistic paintings of plants and insects, which are as stiff and absurd as they can well be.

Crossing over to Sweden, though this is not an easy matter in the Champ de Mars building, because we are obliged first to pass through Russia, Italy, Spain and other countries, we find that its

most important pottery and porcelain works, those of Roerstrand and Gustavsberg, have nothing strictly novel to show. Neither seems to have altered its character, but it is pleasant to behold how both works are striving to improve and refine their drawing, composition and painting. Whilst the chief aim of Gustavsberg is delicacy and graceful outline in dinner services (most successful specimens of work, these), also contributing statuettes in *biscuit* ware, Roerstrand seeks its forte in faïence, though it also admirably copies or imitates a variety of makes, such as Sèvres *pâte sur pâte*, and furnishes immense tile stoves and fire places as well. Both these works, in their way, are the pride of their country. The iron and steel work of Eskilstuna might well aspire to equal honors; it is highly artistic, but very poorly represented here.

Of special interest, too, is the wooden building in the Swedish style in the Trocadero Park, comprising the exhibition of a Swedish society, whose chief object is to preserve ancient specimens of artistic handicraft and popular art, for the benefit of the nation and to improve national taste.

The silversmiths' work is very weak; purity of outline is perceptible, now and then, in the dinner plate of A. Bräese, of Stockholm, but good intentions in this instance are overridden by realistic and hackneyed eighteenth century ornamentation.

Although Norway, too, has now an art-industry museum of its own, we cannot expect more from this youthful plant than a promise of its tendencies and good intentions. The latter may be said to be proved by a beautiful collection of Northern jewelry and Northern embroideries, both equally interesting and original, also by some carvings in wood, of ancient Scandinavian design, something like the Swiss work, but in better taste and of superior workmanship. Norwegian modern art-industry is derived partly from ancient designs transmitted by tradition. The silver filigree work, jewelry, candlesticks, etc., first introduced by Thostrup, are of such kind, and now there are two new exhibitors, Olsen and Lic. Partly, and especially as regards interior decorations, the art-industry of Norway, such as it is, inclines towards Denmark, just as that of Finland does towards Sweden. Their union is severed politically, but in culture and art it exists still. This explains why a newly established pottery factory of Christiania takes to imitation of classical shapes in the same manner, as gracefully and as del-

icately, as the Copenhagen makers; also why a room exhibited in the Norwegian section is decorated after the antique as thoroughly and as correctly as a Danish artist might have decorated it, but it also equals the Danish in baldness and lack of delicate perception of color.

Switzerland possesses various industries, but certainly no taste of its own. It has splendidly developed certain branches of industry, but its artistic tendencies simply follow the French, only they remain far behind the latter. Originality is not to be expected here, unless, indeed, we acknowledge as original a savage kind of wood carving which really is not worthy of being mentioned. Some few things, however, have improved; others show a faint trace of an effort for independence. The former remark applies to the white lace curtains, etc., the ornamentation of which is better and more appropriate—the hitherto customary wealth of adornment in the shape of gardens, landscapes, figures, palaces, etc., has almost entirely disappeared. There is a certain amount of style now in these objects, and, if not very well defined, the ornamentation in flowers, such as it is, is at least gracefully arranged.

Nothing of the kind can be said of Swiss watches, or rather of their decoration; neither of that of the trinkets accompanying them. These objects are exhibited in a hall as tastefully decorated in gilt leather as they, themselves, are devoid of taste. They are as meretricious, as arbitrary and illogical in form and decoration as they used to be, with extravagant use, into the bargain, of engraved realistic designs and polychromic gold, in particular, red gold which is excessively vulgar. The same thing applies to watches, the ornamentation of which is precisely the same as ever, though niello has come into favor again elsewhere, and though enamels both graceful and various in kind are now produced in France and other countries. The Swiss only use the same enamel they have used for years, with few exceptions, however, amongst which we note a charming jewel case, by Rossel and Fils, in translucid enamel, though the design is not a very happy one. Marc Dufaux also exhibits a number of small objects in which translucid is combined with Limoges enamel. These specimens demonstrate that the old work can be remodelled and improved.

In all this, Swiss taste is completely modern and does not pretend to be anything else. Only in isolated cases does it venture to

look back to things of ancient date and peculiarly Swiss. Ancient Swiss dwellings testify to the high standard of Swiss art in former times; we will mention nothing but their tiled stoves and stained glass. A Swiss architect, Chiodera, now attempts a reproduction of this old Swiss style, in a small room in which every detail is in keeping: the wooden wainscot and ceiling, the bay windows with stained glass, the gaily colored tiles on the stove, etc. The whole makes a fair impression, only the detail is a little wild and complicated, too rich and heavy for the space at command. In this connection, too, we may mention a new kind of majolica by Kuenzi of Hennberg. It is coarse pottery, rather quaint, consisting of all sorts of plates, vases, jars and other vessels, mostly in dark colors and ornamented in flowers and birds after the Italian Sgraffito majolica. It strives after refinement, but lacks artistic guidance. However, the idea alone deserves every acknowledgment, as an effort in the right direction, namely, helping Switzerland to develop its national industry by the aid of the remnants of ancient art still preserved in the country. For the present, it is only a weak beginning occupying a very modest place, indeed, by the side of modern Swiss industry.

Translated by Gustavus Natorp.

NEW BOOKS.

PRINCE BISMARCK'S LETTERS TO HIS WIFE, SISTER AND OTHERS, FROM 1844 TO 1870. Translated from the German by Fitz'h Maxse. New York: Scribners, 1878. Pp. 279.

The old adage that no man is a hero to his valet, is pretty well exploded, and nothing has done more to help this on than the absolute publicity in which every one of note is obliged to live nowadays. The last evidence of the fact is the publication (in this country, by Scribners) of Prince Bismarck's letters to his wife, his sister and others, from 1844 to 1870,—and, apart from the wonder as to how such intimate, familiar correspondence could get into print, it is certainly a capital little book, giving an admirable idea of the domestic and interior life and mind of the great man of our day and generation. It is in curious and striking contrast to the ponderous volumes of Senior's Conversations with Thiers and

other distinguished persons,—and certainly, in the comparison, Thiers, as the representative Frenchman, does not show to advantage, with his theatrical expressions and his constant aiming at effect and struggling for notoriety; while the great German Chancellor writes in a hearty, simple, wholesome, natural tone, that bespeaks a healthy mind in a powerful body. Whether in his callow days, busy with the petty cares of his county office, looking after roads and dykes, farming or hunting, or in the midst of the hard work of making peace in Vienna or France, he talks with a straightforward energy that marks the man whose will has made Germany what it is to-day. Then there is such a steady stream of pure fun, innocent quizzing, honest affection, rising, at times, into noble strains of sympathy for losses that have befallen near and dear ones, that it is plain there is a prodigious reservoir of natural strength, from which he can draw fresh supplies of argument, of invective, of raillery, of earnest appeal, to meet every emergency of the great political career through which he has led his king and his country, enabling him to-day to defend his policy and to maintain what he thinks necessary for the safety of the empire.

Like all thoroughly great men, his greatness shows itself in little things as well as great ones; in Holland he hits off a capital description of the country in a few words,—“It is one equally green and level grass meadow, with many clumps of bushes on it, much cattle grazing, and *several houses cut out of picture books placed upon it*,—no plough at all.” From Frankfort, where he spent some wearisome years in attendance on the old German Confederacy, he writes:—“I am quite home-sick for country, woodside and laziness, with the indispensable addition of loving wife and well behaved, trim children. If a cry of one of these hopeful creatures reaches me from the street, my heart fills with paternal gratitude and educational maxims.” When he goes on an important political mission, he traces, as he travels, the scenes that he and his wife passed through on their bridal journey; and when he goes to the embassy in Paris and London, he carefully examines the houses and describes the discomforts for his wife and children, if he has to bring them there to live. He gives a lively picture of a fashionable hotel in Paris,—“Five fire-places and still cold, five clocks going, yet never know how late it is, eleven large looking-glasses, and my necktie is always awry.” And the same cleverness at hitting off the details of a picture, makes his accounts of landscapes in Russia, in France, wherever he travels in his long career, very attractive, indeed,—his love of nature enables him to overcome the fatigues of office, and the burthens of both war and peace, for his passion for field sports is strengthened by his zest and enjoyment of open-air life, and of beautiful scenery. Then he

gives his sound judgment about the advantages of parliamentary government—even now only partially understood, and practiced in Germany,—for already in 1854, he wished to see Prussia's position “become subject to the dissecting knife of the sharpest criticism of the Chambers and the Press; from such, the king, his ministers and their policy, if they understand their trade, can reap nothing but profit.”

He advocates “forcible, competent and straightforward debate;” and certainly he has invited and maintained it, even in the very recent discussion of his measures to repress socialism. Very characteristic of the man's downright, straightforward nature, is his sharp criticism of the German Federation, and his quotation of Heine's violent vituperation is of itself an evidence of independence, for in those days Heine's name was, of course, an offence to the conservative Prussian. In the same strain he advocates the use of a venal press in the interest of good government, while he declares his reliance on the weapons that he used so freely,—“ferro et igni;” with sword and fire he repaired the errors of Prussia in its progress to German Empire. Then, in his old, familiar strain, he describes the Empress of Russia, motherly in her amiable and natural manner, dressed in black, on a couch, in a balcony with a view on the fresh foliage, knitting with long needles at a white and red woolen shawl, laughing and scolding in her deep voice,—so home-like; and gives a picture of scenery from her window, that would set up a painter or a novelist with stock in trade for long descriptions; yet he ends his cheery letter with a few words of terrible significance, read in the light of to-day:—“I fear less for Austria than for France in a war with Germany.” A little later he writes, in the same strain,—“the first shot on the Rhine threatens Paris;” and even then, for this was in 1859, he anticipated that Austria would try to help France,—he effectually prevented that by his short, sharp, decisive campaign, in advance of the great blow with which he levelled France and raised Germany. It took eight years of hard work to show him that he had nerves, and could be sick; but he is much sooner roused from his fancy that he would be content to be a diplomatist forever, living in a dull place with beautiful scenery, by adverse newspaper criticism, and he declares roundly that he had never given any other advice than reliance “on our own force and that of the German people, whose national power, in the event of a war, it would be a duty to arouse;” and then ends with a bitter phrase, not usual, at least in these letters, but strongly characteristic,—“men are not to be relied on, and I am thankful for every impulse that drives me into myself.” A few years later, he “asks no change in his position, till he retired to set the carpenter at his coffin without unnecessary haste;” “the ambition to be a minister quits a man,

nowadays;" (note the bad translation, characteristic of the whole volume,) and "in Paris or London I should exist more comfortably, and a change of abode is half way to dying;" and then, with his mind still bent on his old farming pursuits, he speaks of inquiries about health as "indispensable manure on the sterile soil of conversation." Then comes a letter of condolence to his brother-in-law, on the death of a son, that is a masterpiece of excellence, simply, as a friend and a brother, telling him how he feels his sufferings as if they were his own, "how all small cares and vexations, which daily accompany our life, vanish at the iron appearance of real misfortune," and how "the circle of those whom we love contracts itself, and receives no increase till we have grandchildren;" it is full of the loftiest confidence in an immortality that is beyond all doubt, and is even stronger, as an unconscious confession of faith, than the somewhat labored defence in answer to some good Christian pastor, who makes careful inquiry about his soul's welfare and gets rather a sharp rap about uncharitable and arrogant censure. He goes forward bravely in advocacy of a conservative national representation, a closer consolidation of the German force for defence,—showing that, in 1861, he was far in advance of his party, or indeed, of any party in Germany; and he has no wish to make a career, and has "as downright a fear of being minister as of a cold bath;" yet on reading over his letter, declares that he is neither dissatisfied with nor tired of life, roundly denounces the vulgarities of vain and malicious men in public life, and then asking, answers his own question, "who is not?" "It all depends how life ripens the nature of one or the other,—with round holes, with sun or with wet weather,—bitter, sweet or rotten,"—he is first of all thinking about his crops in his cold north country. Then he chafes at official life in Berlin, giving, as a sample of his experience, that of one day when he left the house at eight in the morning, returned in great haste five times to change his dress, and got back finally at eleven, longing for Paris; then he roundly declares that "rest is in the grave, at all events I hope so;" although he denounces, in a wholesome, hearty way, the smells of drainage and dry rot in the hotel of the Prussian Embassy, sends his sister a plan showing its intolerable inconveniences, especially the narrow, dark, steep stairs, which he "cannot pass on account of his breadth of shoulders,—and without crinoline;" but he finds time to ask for "baumkuchen" and after the health of his chestnut mare. Then comes a journey in the south of France, and his letters are redolent of light and life and love, tenderness for his wife, anxiety to give her a perfect picture of all he sees and does, and a natural zest in new scenes and fine scenery, that tells the man's wholesome mind. Even when he is in the midst of the struggle for control in Berlin, he complains

that life in a glass case is somewhat uncomfortable, yet he finds relief from the hard work in good black puddings and home-made sausages. He needed a substantial breakfast, for he describes "the load of work growing from day to day,—from 8 to 11, diplomacy; from 11 to 2-30, ministerial councils; then till 4, personal report to the king; from 4 $\frac{1}{4}$ to 4 $\frac{3}{4}$, a gallop in the rain; at 5, dinner in the palace; from 7 till the present hour of 10, work of all kinds; but healthy and good sleep, strong thirst," and he is an amateur in beers, wisely attributing the good and bad characteristics of Germany, to the greater or lesser merit of the beer supplied its various districts.

He has the happy faculty of enjoying a journey because it enables him to roam through mountains and woods in sweet forgetfulness of the world, and of making a political progress with the king, a tender incident in recalling to memory the happy days spent with his wife in their honeymoon on the same route. He recalls the sixteen years of his happy life as husband and father, speaks of his empty bachelor days, and then he describes a lovely scene, as he says his boy would do, as "a huge dish of cabbage, deep and narrow, and garnished at the edges with hard boiled eggs," but he soon talks with the grave earnestness that marks and strengthens his new pictures of scenery. Over and over again he complains of his hard life as a minister, wishing that some intrigue would turn him out of office, so that "he could turn his back with honor on this uninterrupted flow of ink," and he thinks it no life "for an honest country gentleman." He hates to be looked at, by the people, like a new rhinoceros, although he found consolation for that in very good beer, and he finds it "uncomfortable, this existence on the stage, when one wants to drink a glass of beer in peace." When he hoped for two days in idle repose, "couriers, inkstands, audiences and visits whiz about me without interruption," yet soon after, at Biarritz, he finds that "the bad habit of working has taken such deep root, that he feels some uneasiness of conscience about doing nothing," and has almost home-sickness for his office in Berlin.

The neglect to write to his sister on her birthday is followed by a cry of distress, "there is so much *must* in my life that I seldom get as far as the *will*. The tread-mill goes on with its grinding day after day, and I seem to myself like the tired hack on it, who pushes it on underneath him without himself moving from the spot." Even in the busy days of '65, he declares that "he who calls me an unconscientious politician does me wrong; let him first put his own conscience to the proof on this battle-field," and then come his letters to his wife during his first experience of real war, the Austrian Campaign of 1866,—full of kindness for the dead and wounded, the sick and suffering, asking for segars and newspapers

for the hospitals, and a novel to read, declaring that is impossible in the turmoil to realize the situation,—recalling again his journey with his bride twenty years before, through the same scenes that were now marked by his great victories, yet hoping for a peace that will be worth the trouble, and taking, for his part, the ungrateful task of pouring water in the foaming wine, of making the visitors see what limits they must put upon their demands, even in the midst of their success,—“we are so bold that the Austrian positions of to-day are fixed for our head-quarters to-morrow.” The little book closes with the famous letter to his wife written from France just after the surrender of the Emperor Napoleon at Sedan,—it was captured by franc-tireurs and published by a French newspaper, with that happy disregard, that characterizes the Gaul in his pursuit of starting sensations, of all the warnings to be silent,—Bismarck tells briefly the story of the day, “it cost France, one hundred-thousand men and an Emperor, it is an event of great weight in the world’s history, a victory for which we will humbly thank the Almighty, which decides the war, even if we have to carry it on against France shorn of her Emperor.”—While we may thank the French for thus publishing this curious commentary on their own future, by their own conqueror, we may also gratefully acknowledge our thanks for this little collection of a letters as a very valuable contribution to the means of forming a judgment of the foremost man of his generation, although we wonder how it came to see the light.

THE RELATIVE PROPORTIONS OF THE STEAM ENGINE. A Course of Lectures on the Steam Engine, delivered to the Students of Dynamical Engineering in the University of Pennsylvania. By William D. Marks, Whitney Professor of Dynamical Engineering, With numerous illustrations. Pp. 161, 12mo. Philadelphia, J. B. Lippincott & Co.

Professor Marks’s work was going through the press at the time when our article, “Some University Books,” appeared. Hence its omission from the list then passed in review.* It is a work which especially aims to supply a want felt by practical engineers. Even outside observers can very well see the importance of the subject. Those who have read the history of Watts’s discoveries, and that of John Fitch’s experiments, will remember how they were brought to a standstill by the lack of a knowledge of the right proportions of the parts of an engine. It was to a seemingly accidental

* By an oversight, Dr. Edgar F. Smith’s book was there described as a *Manual of Quantitative Analysis*. It should have been *Qualitative Analysis*. It gives us pleasure to add that it has been adopted as a text book in the laboratories of the Johns Hopkins University and several other eminent colleges and technical schools.

discovery in this regard that the latter owed nearly all his success. And the great question of making a steam engine remunerative to the highest point, is closely bound up with this of the right proportion of its parts. Anybody can make a structure which will move; but science is needed to insure that, on the one hand, not a needless ounce of steel or iron is carried, and, on the other, that no part is likely to give way through flimsiness of construction.

It might therefore be supposed that all these questions of proportion would, ere this, have been settled with mathematical accuracy and put into a shape at once accessible and intelligible to the members of the craft. But this is not the case. A few rule-of-thumb maxims have been brought into currency, as the outcome of crude, undigested experience, without ever being submitted to strictly scientific investigation; and these rules cover only a part of the subject. Professor Marks is actually breaking new ground in the English literature of the steam engine, and, while he can point to discussions of these subjects in elaborate French and German treatises, he has prepared the first handy book on the subject.

Without being able to view the work with the insight of an expert, we can say that the author has written with clearness, precision and a close attention to his main themes. All his discussions are based on mathematical science, but they are as intelligible in their results as the case permits of. And what experts think of it is seen by the fact that it is already the text-book in use in the Sheffield Scientific School of Yale College, in Lehigh University and in the University of California.

THE HISTORIC MANSIONS AND BUILDINGS OF PHILADELPHIA: with some Notice of their Owners and Occupants. By Thompson Westcott. Philadelphia: Porter & Coates.

While Mr. Westcott's book is unquestionably a valuable addition to literature of its kind, the information it embodies is, for the most part, presented in so uninviting a shape that it is not likely to prove very attractive to any save those who are especially interested in antiquarian research. The book is so good that one cannot help wishing it were better. The learned author, with all his accurate knowledge concerning every branch of his subject, his shrewd judgment in the nice task of sifting the enormous mass of material at his disposal, and his perfectly intelligible if somewhat formal literary style, fails to produce so readable a book as Watson has given us, notwithstanding the recklessness of the latter as to dates, his child-like credulity as to tradition, and his slovenly, unscholarly diction. The reason of this is plain enough: Mr. Westcott has overlooked the picturesque side of his subject. He has peopled his "Mansions" with nothing more lively than the

pale spectres of a by-gone time, (save in the Landsdowne paper—which introduces some good company of the Revolutionary period,) while the garrulous old Annalist evokes for his readers the very individuality of the ancient Philadelphians and, clothing them in the quaint garb they were used to wear, sees them in motion in the streets and houses he loves so well and about which he prattles so pleasantly. In the paper on "The Letitia House," so called after Penn's daughter, Mr. Westcott gives us the first clear account that has yet been published of her marriage with the Englishman William Aubrey and the money difficulties that presently arose between her husband and her father, all of singular interest as confirming the beauty of Penn's character, his patriarchal affection for his family, and his prodigal self-sacrifice in money transactions. But we get almost nothing of the personality of the wilful damsel of whom her father writes regretfully to Logan—that he cannot prevail with "Tish" to remain in Pennsylvania, and who herself, it appears, wrote threatening letters to Logan concerning the unproductiveness of her American properties.

It may, perhaps, be urged that the plan of "The Historic Mansions" is of too serious a nature to admit of the embellishment of fancy, but we cannot help thinking that a somewhat more graceful pen might have added much interest to these pages without necessarily sacrificing historical accuracy. Even as it is, we cannot be too grateful for anything that may serve as a reminder of a period in our history of which the more tangible memorials are disappearing so rapidly under the march of utility. In spite of its faults of omission, the book fills an important niche in our slenderly furnished department of antiquarian literature and will doubtless keep its place as a topographical directory of Colonial and Revolutionary times in Philadelphia. It is, besides, a handsome specimen of the printer's art, and enriched by many copies of those curiously interesting old wood-cuts of the last century, in which it seems to be always Sunday afternoon and cold.

ROUND ABOUT FRANCE. By E. C. Grenville Murray. London: MacMillan & Co., 1878. Pp. 368.

This is a volume of papers contributed to *The Daily News*, like those that appeared some years since of the letters of M. Louis Blanc from England to the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, but less suggestive and philosophical. The style is vivacious and effective, sustaining the interest of the reader; marked occasionally by violent similes, which have been hitherto considered Americanisms, and by the indifferent use of purisms like the Court of the Carrousel, the Princess of Lamballe, the "Univers," the "France," with the unaltered French like the Duc d' Audifret-Pasquier, the Champs de Mars, the Compte de Morny, rarely by an inelegant mixture,

such as the Count de Clermont. The book will interest the reader, but we doubt whether it will leave him much the wiser. Some of the subjects discussed are very extensive, important, complicated and technical, such as the Jesuits, the French Clergy, Press, Finance, Procedure, Army and Elections. To an instructive treatment of any of these, at least two things are necessary: to wit,—a knowledge of their principles and organization, and an acquaintance with the practical results of their administration. The former supposes more or less technical study, and the latter very general as well as correct observation. But Mr. Murray's papers are hasty contributions to the daily press, and it detracts nothing from their worth as such, to say that they are not at their best when given to the public to read at leisure in book form. They do not betray much research, and the value of one man's observation of a limited number of priests, prefects or soldiers, on a limited number of occasions, combined with the usual amount of hearsay, is not very great in helping others to form just opinions about the French clergy, government, or army. Yet, upon these diverse subjects, positive and final judgments are offered, which call to mind the judicial maxim, *audi alteram partem*. Papers like those on the customs of the duello, the anniversary of the Commune, an ill-used town, the expenses of the French army officers, are not open to these criticisms; but nothing could be more superficial than the paper on French finance, and especially on the Credit Foncier. About the latter, the uninformed reader will carry away only some vague intimations of inside frauds; but, besides this, he will remain ignorant of its functions and methods, and even of the existence of a kindred institution, the Credit Mobilier. Very few English or American lawyers, unfamiliar with the civil law, would consider themselves competent to offer an opinion upon the French procedure, but here are three or four clever articles upon the subject, which reduce it to a malicious system of administering injustice, through the medium of inequitable principles and dishonest and incompetent officials. To it, indeed, the author ascribes the many French revolutions, and we are left to wonder why France, in changing governments—to adopt the phrase—as often as a Frenchman does his shirts, never seriously meddled with this *causa causans*. The truth is, that an Englishman accustomed to the public oral examination and jury trials of the common law, cannot appreciate the merits—inferior no doubt, but still the merits—of the civil law.

The papers upon political questions disclose the author as an eloquent advocate of the Republicans. Some of the disingenuousness and oppression attributed to the conservative administration in 1877, we hope may be due to this partisan temper; otherwise, another revolution is to be expected, and in the meantime we have

to congratulate ourselves that political shortcomings are not confined to the United States.

THE BIRD OF PASSAGE. By J. Sheridan Le Fanu. Appleton's New Handy Volume Series.

The *Bird of Passage* is unworthy of even Sheridan Le Fanu. An English gentleman who finds his ideal of womanhood in a beautiful gipsy girl who threatens to break an offending potato pot "with one whack of the poker," and speaks of an enemy as a man "awful good at the cudgel," will fail to interest those in whose minds social proprieties have any place. Such a temper Mr. Le Fanu would consider to be an impulse from Satan, deadening such generosity as rises in readers who, in the fine frenzy of his hero, will long to throw off the "cowardly and suicidal" life of the world, and to find their recompense among children of Nature, and moralizings, like this of the gipsy maid, on the vanities of life,— "Ain't we queer cats, and never think o' one thing—no, not half an hour? * * * Cryin' comes in change and time, and time and change will dry our tears again."

MISERICORDIA. By Ethel Lynn Linton. Appleton's New Handy Volume Series.

Misericordia begins with an outbreak of jealousy and an engagement broken by Millicent Despard, whose lover, Noel Thorburn, is drawn six days in the week to the cottage of the heroine, Mrs. Fairclough, by the fascination of their mutual tastes for the palette and the brush. Frank Hardisty, an old lover of Millicent's, induced by her to trace the former life of Mrs. Fairclough, who passes for a widow in England, chances on her husband, the Marchese Capozzi, to whom he unwittingly betrays the hiding-place of his most unhappy wife, and Millicent is avenged by Capozzi's coming upon her at the moment in which Noel Thorburn is offering his love. So far, the story goes on its own merits, but the sequel is Gwendolen and Grandcourt, of which story this is far too suggestive. The Marchese has all outward attractive qualities, but through his half-shut eyes sees, hears, suspects all things of the woman whom he has taken back to the old life of misery in Italy. Then a yacht trip in the Bay of Naples, the fire-flies, music and soft lights, with the Marchese hissing insults into her ear, while the captain and crew rejoice to see, in his smile and manner, the evidence of the good feeling between them. A gust of wind, two white arms raised in the air, a scream, a splash, the Marchese overboard, with eyes fixed on his wife, sinks in the waves. She returns

to England, meets Frank Hardisty, and puts before him the wrong he did to her to gratify Millicent, whom he is about to marry, and the honest Englishman is heartily ashamed of his experience as an amateur detective. The evil of her life is over, and her marriage to Noel fixed; but one day an argument arises between them, supposing a similar case of a man drowned,—if the woman with him pushes him in, could anything justify the crime? Noel's condemnation of any one, even of herself, who could not or would not resist temptation, is uncompromising. After three days he receives her picture, with *Misericordia* engraved upon the back, with two dates, that of the drowning of the Marchese, and that of their last interview three days past. He never sees or hears from her again, or knows that at Naples the sister *Misericordia* is praying that her sin may be taken away.

The story is well told, but in its strongest part it reads like an echo of George Eliot.

GORDON BALDWIN. PHILOSOPHER'S PENDULUM. By Rudolph Lindau. Appleton's New Handy Volume Series.

This is the record of lives in which everything is out of joint. George Forbes, a bachelor of tastes and selfishness, a born ennuyé, "polite and regardless of others," is rather the hero of the first story of this book than Gordon Baldwin, a merchant of Japan, who brings letters of introduction to Forbes in Paris. The heroine, Jane Leland, loves the indifferent Forbes; but attracts Baldwin, who is rejected by her family as a resident of Japan. Forbes having many sins to answer for, it seems unjust that evil fortunes should follow him because, being a millionaire, he hesitates about buying out Baldwin's business interest that he may be free for Miss Leland. He returns to Japan, reappears in Paris years afterward, marries Miss Leland, never tired of waiting for Forbes, and she, after marriage, detests him. In a quarrel he strikes Forbes who falls on a stone and is killed. No one ever suspects the fact except his wife who leaves him and he goes to Japan to meet a heroic death in carrying a line to a stranding ship.

Henry Warren, of the Pendulum, was in his youth a teacher, and without declaring himself a lover of Ellen Gilmore, whose marriage drove him into wandering, to seek forgetfulness, till the story opens with his visits to an old friend in Germany and the development of the Pendulum theory. The pendulum of life being raised to high ambitions, swings back to despair and then falls off till, at absolute repose, it stops. Evidently Warren was not of the stuff of which strong souls were made, for in this nothingness years pass till he meets Ellen, a widow, and immediately runs to Europe where he prepares to end his "life logically in strict accordance with

my whole past, by making my first avowal of love on my death-bed." Ellen arrives and whispers to the dying man, "I have always loved you," and he answers "I knew it from the first," and the aimless life is done. The wise counsellor of the *Confessio Amantis* could have given no help here,

"He hath the sore which no man heleth,
The whiche is cleped lacke of herte."

THE FISHERMAN OF AUGÉ. By Katharine S. MacQuoid. Appleton's New Handy Volume Series.

This is a pretty story of French village life, of its love-makings, disappointments and marriages. The strong home feeling of the French peasant, the reverence for parents and the parental interest, not only for the welfare, but for the happiness of their children, the graceful chattering of the old women, are all well drawn. In our ruder social life we lack one of the greatest charms of French society, the *vicille femme*, but in the higher civilization coming to us year by year, we may hope for an old age in our women, which household drudgery and petty cares will not have so far deadened to the beauties and graces of life as to deserve banishment from its rightful place as the authority of the *Salon*.

OLD MARTIN BOSCAWEN'S JEST. By Marian C. L. Reeves and Emily Read. Library of Choice Novels. New York: D. Appleton & Co.

The two writers of this book have done little justice to men in their three male characters. Martin Boscawen is a miser, whose nephew, Stephen Badger, tries to poison him and is prevented by Martin's acknowledged granddaughter Madelon. The crime would have proved useless as the old man dies in a few moments, and his will, leaving Stephen heir, is the jest, the bulk of the property being devised to Madelon, who is betrothed to another nephew, Anstell. No one except Madelon knows of Stephen's attempt, and when he finds that she will not marry him he secures himself by charging the crime upon her as an impatient and impulsive child. He tells this tale to Anstell, the third sorry male, who believes it, and Madelon, too angry to justify herself to one who should have had faith in her, runs away to relatives in France. After many years, Anstell, believing her dead, traces out these relatives who are her heirs and falls in love with Madelon, as a Breton maiden Ninorche. All is made right and the book closes with their taking bread and salt with Stephen after Austell has again heard, unchallenged, his accusation of the girl whom they both know to be innocent.

Elizabeth Barrett Browning gave us a rule for reading, that every book having a "beauty and salt of truth," she would not bargain with it "so much help by so much reading." But the instinct for the best in the great army of readers being less true, there is no sadder sight, to one who knows books, than to see them eating husks among the swine, who might be feasting with the gods. This is not too harsh language to use of books such as this under consideration, when we think of the early singers of English poetry, of the giants of old left unread by the children of to-day. And it is to such books as this that we owe the decline of poetic appreciation, far more than to the predominance of scientific reading, to which Steadman attributes it. "Our school girls and spinsters wander down the lanes with Darwin, Huxley and Spenser under their arms, or if they carry Tennyson, Longfellow and Morris, read them in the light of spectrum analysis, or test them by the economics of Mill and Bain." To these readers science has fairy tales, and displays life and being in a way not less fascinating or beautiful than the most admired productions of pure imagination. No one line of good reading ever conflicts with any other: it is that which is false to nature which blinds the eyes and dulls the ears.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

The Diary of a Woman. From the French of Octave Feuillet. (Collection of Foreign Authors, XVI). Price 50 cents. New York: D. Appleton & Co. [Porter & Coates.

Paper Money. By H. W. Richardson. Sw'd. 16mo. Pp. 59. Price 15 cents. New York: D. Appleton & Co. [Porter & Coates.

Social Etiquette of New York. Cloth. 16mo. Pp. 187. Price \$1.00. New York: D. Appleton & Co. [Porter & Coates.

The Beaconsfield Cartoons. (From London Punch). Sq. 8vo. Sw'd. Price 60 cents. Cloth \$1.25. Boston: Estes & Lauriat. [Claxton, Remsen & Haffelfinger.

The Return of the Native. By T. Hardy. (Leisure Hour Series). Price \$1.00. New York: Henry Holt & Co. [Porter & Coates.

Principles of Political Economy. By William Roscher. 2 vols. Cloth. 8vo. Pp. 464, 465. Price \$7.00. New York: Henry Holt & Co. [Porter & Coates.

Harvey and His Discovery. By J. M. Da Costa, M. D. Cloth. 12mo. Pp. 57. J. B. Lippincott & Co.

American Ornithology; or, the Natural History of the Birds of the United States. By Alexander Wilson and Charles Lucien Bonaparte. Popular Edition. Cloth. Large 8vo. Two vols. in one. Pp. CXXXII, XVI, 390 and 426. Price \$7.50. Philadelphia: Porter & Coates.

The Bohemian; a Tragedy of Modern Life. By Charles De Kay. 16mo. Cloth. Pp. 107. Price \$1.00. New York: Chas. Scribner's Sons. [Porter & Coates.

THE
PENN MONTHLY.

FEBRUARY, 1879.

THE MONTH.

THE Afghan war has been, thus far, rather a struggle with the difficulties presented by nature than one with living men. The hill tribes in the British rear have done the most of the fighting, and Gen. Browne's skirmishes with them, and his onslaught on their defenceless villages, have been exalted in the despatches to the level of great battles and important victories. Jellalabad is the farthest point reached, and is hardly more than on the outskirts of a country as large as France. But the point aimed at in the present campaign is Candahar, and we hear that Gen. Stewart is "within one day's march" of it, and so forth. But even Cabul is still in the hands of the new sovereign, Yakub Khan, who is raising an army by every effort and has a high reputation as a soldier.

The English correspondents have distinguished themselves by the magnitude and the audacity of their canards during this war. The most respectable London papers have been victimized by despatches announcing the collapse of Afghan resistance, the surrender of Yakub Khan, and the like. There is not the slightest authority for these broad statements. The English have hardly more than got through the mountains, and it is safe not to credit their stories of places being evacuated, or no resistance contemplated, until they are definitely in possession of them.

The future of the war is still uncertain. This only is sure, that the English cannot stop where they are. Cries for a cessation of

hostilities begin to be heard at home. The *Times*, which has been for some time the most jingoish of papers, drags in America as groaning together with England for the return of "the piping days of peace." But no peace is possible until Afghan resistance has ceased. Any independent ruler would be thrown into the arms of Russia, and the precedent set by this English invasion would not be lost upon the Muscovite. It would not then require a strong glass and a clear day to enable an observer to see from the frontier of one empire to that of another. In Afghanistan, as in western Asia, the policy of the English cabinet would have brought England and Russia into immediate neighborhood.

But to reduce Afghanistan to obedience, either to the English or to a prince favorable to them, will be no slight undertaking. Yakub Khan would have been such a prince, if they could have waited till the death of his father. Each successive emir has been alternately the friend of England or of Russia, from sheer antagonism to his predecessor, and England's turn would have come next, had she had patience. But now the ablest leader and the finest soldier of his race is forced into a desperate quarrel with the very people he would have befriended, and finds it made a point of honor for him to fight while an Englishman remains on Afghan soil. The nature of the country offers splendid facilities for resistance in detail. Its immense, roadless distances,—its sanitary deficiencies,—even the atomic nature of the tribal divisions,—make a guerilla warfare possible for a century to come. It is a country of passes and of ambuscades, filled with a people whose military qualities are exactly suited to the country. The English situation, therefore, will be one of extreme difficulty, not unlike the proverbial embarrassment of the man who holds a mad bull by the tail.

THE financial situation in Europe grows daily worse. England, which in 1877 congratulated herself that through the adoption of arbitration she had got a step beyond trade strikes, has seen her internal travel interrupted, and the lives of her travelling population endangered, by a railway strike of large dimensions. The poor in all her great cities are thrown by thousands upon the charity of the rich; factories stand idle and mines empty; the "plant" of large iron establishments can be bought for a percentage of what it cost. Nor is it easy to see where this is to end.

The Premier says that business is reviving in America, and that must soon effect an improvement at home. But the extent of the revival with us is, as yet, little more than infinitesimal; and even were it greater, the benefit to England would be very slight. It is easy to mislead one's self in this matter, by recalling the experience of by-gone days which were essentially different from our own. Our manufacturers are now fully equipped to supply our people with nearly every variety of goods as cheap in price and as fine in quality as they can be brought from Europe. Our markets are definitely lost to the European producer. The lingering prejudice in favor of foreign articles, which enabled him to retain some markets longer than he ought, is disappearing before the diffusion of a juster intelligence of what our producers have done and are ready to do. Better times will bring no such revival of the import trade as they used to bring. Our seaboard cities will no longer hold their preëminence as the great emporiums of trade, or they will hold it as the centres of great manufactures.

The English themselves see that a "wave of protection is sweeping" around the world. Even in England there is a state of feeling which Cobden would not have thought possible. Genuine champions of Free Trade have come down from the lofty heights of contemptuous pity for the ignorant and the unwary. They admit that "the growth of protectionism is alarming," and they dip their pens into their most vinegary ink to combat it. The *Spectator* says that in this country "the profoundest ignorance as to the very elements of commercial prosperity still prevail;" calls Bismarck's epistle to the German council "a silly and ignorant letter" which "shows that all the fallacies of protection are flourishing within him with the luxuriance of weeds in a rich soil," and that "his financial wisdom is dense ignorance and folly" except on the one point that direct taxation is irritating. These tiger-lilies of speech remind us of the countryman's judgment in witnessing the Latin disputation—that the man who lost his temper was getting the worst of it. There are only three topics in the world on which the *Spectator* cannot write fairly—dogs, Free Trade, and A. J. C. Hare.

On the continent, the drift towards protection is more marked than at any time since 1851. In France we hear nothing of the renewal of the Cobden Treaty of 1860. The negotiations were

interrupted by the political troubles of 1878, and have never been renewed. An association embracing several senators, many members of the lower house, and a host of officials, professors and professional men, has been formed for the discussion of economical questions on an experimental and national basis, in hostility to English political economy. On the other hand, the Free Trade minority have taken the alarm, and have been holding a public meeting in Paris. M. Frederic Passy informed his fellow-citizens that you might as well have a different chemistry for each country, as a different economic policy, and the *Spectator* solemnly applauds the argument.

Switzerland was long *the* Free Trade country of Europe, the country which boasted that she never had had a protective tariff * and never would have one. But America has ceased to buy her ribbons, and is driving her leather, her watches and her cheeses out of the European markets. She has already authorized her Federal Council to retaliate by protective duties upon countries which thus exclude her own products,—a blow from which our own commerce may recover,—and is about to vote on a law to put a protective duty upon many articles made in the country and others which ought to be. The great need of Switzerland is a greater variety in her industries. She has hitherto confined herself to a few industries, but is fast losing her markets through the progress made by other countries. Let her cease to import what she can make for herself, and she will regain her prosperity.

Bismarck has declared for protection in Germany, but not before a majority of the German Parliament had declared, formally and in writing, their readiness to support such a measure. His letter to the German Council shows that he is governed chiefly by political reasons. The present system of direct taxation, by which each of the integral parts of the Empire is required to contribute its quota to the Imperial Treasury, has been found to be a source of discontent and disunion. By imposing excise duties, and also heavier duties on exports, he believes it possible to effect a great reduction of this direct taxation. Some of his excise measures have been already before the Parliament; he is now prepared to advocate protective duties there, and we believe he is quite sure

* The *Mercur* of Berlin shows that her leading manufactures took their start at a time when Napoleon and his Continental system supplied her with one.

of a large majority. But he keeps the industries of the Empire as well in view as its political interests. He hopes by protection to restore their prosperity and to make the country competent to furnish itself with an ample supply of the great staples. He sees that protection broke down in 1863 and in 1873 by being one-sided. It left out of consideration the agricultural interests, and these he intends to include. He will rally his old friends the *Junkers* to its support by a duty on foreign grain, which comes into Germany chiefly from the Ukraine.

We rejoice in the change of programme, for Germany's sake. If there be any country in the world which could not be led by the English economists it must be that in which Lasalle and the Socialists have carried the maxims of that economy to their legitimate conclusions, and where the contrary truth was first proclaimed by Frederick List. And we are glad to believe that our own country has not been without its influence in this decision. We say nothing of the example set by America; but "Carey receives more honor in Germany than in his own country," the *Spectator* tells us,—a mark of a true prophet in all ages.

THE Chancellor's war upon the Socialists is still waged in the same unwise fashion. Books, newspapers and clubs are proscribed as hostile to the interests of society, with the certainty of securing a wider reading for proscribed literature, and of stimulating an unwholesome growth of secret societies of the worst kind. Socialism driven from the light of day, becomes irrefutable, because no longer exposed to refutation. The wildest statements and falsest theories will pass current as facts; and the excitable, combative classes will be rallied by proscription to a cause for which they might have felt no sympathy.

The worst measure of all is that project of a law which is to abridge freedom of speech in the legislative assemblies of the empire, by providing that those who transgress the proper bounds of utterance shall be handed over to the civil authorities. This law is nothing but a logical inference from those which preceded it. It would be absurd to proscribe free speech in clubs and local assemblages, and then to allow it on the floor of diet and parliament. If socialist and destructive doctrines are not to be taught

at all, they should not be proclaimed in a place from which they will find access, through the columns of every newspaper, to every corner of the empire. That the Socialists know how to use this opportunity, they showed last year, when they proclaimed war on society, with a frankness and eloquence which commanded universal attention. The war of repression must strike at this last refuge of free speech ; to this *reductio ad absurdum* Bismarck's logic has led him.

We trust not only that the law will not pass, but the arguments which will be urged in its favor will lead many to a juster view of the other laws for the violent repression of Socialism. There are signs of a staunch resistance from even the staunchest conservative papers; the German people are not prepared to stultify themselves in the eyes of the world by declaring that they cannot tolerate a liberty which no other country of western Europe thinks of abridging.

The Chancellor was trained in the wrong school to become a good leader for a free people. The *Funkerthum* of the last generation, the golden age of Prussian officialism, was the soil from which he sprung; and its traditions cling to him still. His contempt for intellect and its representatives is not in the least affected by his late alliance with the champions of the *Kultur-Kampf* against the claims of the Catholic Church. His methods of "strong government" were not impossible in a divided Germany, when Prussia was played off against Austria, and microscopic despotisms spread their net across the land. But the day for that policy is gone by. Both the war on Catholic priests and bishops, and the war on Socialist clubs and newspapers, for which the former has been abandoned, are anachronisms in this quarter of the nineteenth century.

FRENCH Republicanism is now to undergo the trying ordeal of success. The election of senators has given the Republicans a decided majority in the upper house, and it remains to be seen whether the good sense and self-control which has hitherto characterized their measures will continue to do so after the removal of every check on their power. This is the question which will decide the fate of the Republic. The people have freely, deliber-

ately, and with great unanimity, voted their preference for it, and their rejection of its rivals. But the decision is far from irrevocable, and the close of the century may see a king or an emperor, instead of a president, ruling over France.

It seemed as if the very opening of their tenure of undivided power was to be marked by an outburst of passion which would be of ill omen for the future. M. Gambetta's quarrel with M. Dufaure's cabinet was not on any question of general principle, but on the propriety of making such changes in the command of the army as would prevent its being a source of danger to the Republic. It seems that M. Dufaure was, at heart, by no means averse to these changes, but that the President offered such resistance as forced him to waive them for the present, and to assign the portfolio of war to Macmahon's nominee—a very moderate Republican—who would be certain to make none. The quarrel seemed to approach an open rupture and the formal defeat of the ministry, when all at once it was announced that a compromise had been effected, and the *Corps* passed a vote of confidence. It is difficult to make out exactly what happened, but it seems not improbable that the thunders from the Left were for stage effect chiefly. M. Dufaure, we conjecture, was not unwilling to be bullied a little by his more zealous friends; and the President was brought to yield by being shown that further resistance would only end in giving him a more objectionable cabinet than he already had. So the army is to be made more Republican and safer, and M. Gambetta is not to be Premier until M. Dufaure is President,—and does not want to be.

THE investigation of the last election, voted by the Senate on motion of Mr. Blaine, so far fully sustains the charges brought against the white population of the Southern States. If there were no other evidence than that presented by the testimony of Southerners themselves, it would be quite evident that their attitude of mind towards the colored voter is altogether inconsistent with any sort of fair play in politics. Any reference to the era of slavery and the former status of the colored people, is regarded as incendiary. Any criticism of wages and prices, is pronounced communistic, and is treated with an emphasis which would satisfy

Bismarck himself. In Louisiana, where the investigation was begun, Governor Nichols had distinguished himself as the only Southern governor who denounced these outrages and demanded their punishment; but the evidence collected goes far beyond the facts which had come to his knowledge.

These Southern election outrages have been leading reflecting people all over the country to ask whether the results of the war are as secure as it was thought the amendments had made them. Certainly no such state of things as the present would have been thought possible ten years ago, and it is widely felt that some readjustment of the central to the state authority cannot be avoided. There is still too much of state rights left in our system of government to allow us to count ourselves a fully organized nation. The rights of an American citizen can only be protected against foreign invasion or outrage. The worst extremities may be inflicted on him at home, in retaliation for the conscientious discharge of his duties as a citizen, and it seems without redress. The measure proposed by Senator Edmunds and supported by Senator Bayard, but opposed by the Democracy, would do something to meet the case. It would treat the voter, while engaged in the election of the President or a Congressman, as a citizen engaged in the discharge of a public duty and entitled to the national protection. But even this the South and its Northern allies will not tolerate.

Fortunately for the cause of nationality and of justice, the South are furnishing us with the comment which explains their acts. First comes the Legislature of Virginia with a series of resolutions, in which it is declared that the only function of the general government, as regards the protection of individuals, is to declare that the acts of a state are unlawful. It cannot pass any laws to enforce the parts of the Constitution which were enacted to give such protection. It can only protest and declare. Therefore, the Civil Rights Bill and similar acts are unconstitutional, and the interference of the United States Courts with the rights of the state must be "prevented by appropriate legislation."

Then come the Democratic minority in the United States Senate with their resolutions, which declare that when unconstitutional and unlawful acts have not been commanded by the laws of the states they do not fall within national jurisdiction. It is only when the

state has violated the Fifteenth Amendment by abridging the right of suffrage, that the nation acquires the right to interfere. Acts of individuals, therefore, however violent and illegal, and in whatever connection or with whatever intention committed, cannot be taken up by the United States Courts, but belong to those of the state; and if the state will not punish them, they must go unpunished.

The two sets of resolutions are not quite consistent, but their spirit is the same. They mean that Calhounism is the accepted creed of the Southern whites to-day as really as fifty years ago. They both mean that the national government is to be made as nearly a cipher as possible, and that the great changes effected since their folly brought on the deluge in 1861, are to be reversed as far as may be. They both mean that no restraints are to be put upon the ex-slaveholders, when they see fit to stop their former chattels from "fooling with politics."

That these theories still find a certain support in the letter of the law is of much less importance than their authors suppose. We have outgrown, in the last two decades, the notion that the Constitution is a sacred compact which creates an unalterable status. We have come to see in it a convenient and respectable document, to which "amendments are always in order," even although they vitally affect the relation of the states to the national government. And the war has brought about a new status,—a condition of feeling and purpose in the public mind,—which even the Constitution as amended does not express, but which it will express at no distant day. We have come to know that the nation is a higher thing than its constitutions and compacts, and that at times we must step outside the bounds of the lesser thing in order to save the greater. And whenever any provision stands in the way of justice, the great end of national existence, or of the nation's unity and perpetuity, that provision must be wiped out, whatever be the sanctions which cling to it.

Let the North consolidate this time to some purpose, and give the national courts the rights of appellate jurisdiction in every case where the court is satisfied that the courts of the states will not give speedy and just judgment.

THE example set by Great Britain and Canada in establishing Post Office Savings Banks, is not, it seems, to be followed by our government. A substitute for that plan, proposed by Secretary Sherman and supported by Mr. Garfield, has passed the House. It provides for the issue of Certificates of Deposit, bearing three per cent. interest, to any one who has ten dollars to lend the government, and makes these convertible into four per cent. bonds. This scheme has no advantage over Post Office Savings Banks, except the saving of trouble. But if it pays private savings banks to take this trouble, and if other governments find it profitable to take their work off their hands, why should not ours? The Post Office system furnishes governments with especial facilities for establishing such banks cheaply, while their great number and wide diffusion furnish the opportunity of profitable saving to much greater numbers of people, and are found thus to add greatly to the amount deposited.

The first objection to these certificates of deposit is that they are limited to one amount. A man is led into saving by the readiness of the savings banks to take his dimes and quarters, and a vast quantity of small deposits accumulate, while any bank which said "we will take nothing less than ten dollars in one deposit," would get but little. And this, we fear, will be the case with these certificates.

A second objection is that it proposes to the poor a new and, to them, altogether unusual method of investment. They are, in general, the least intelligent class. They have learnt, by slow degrees, to appreciate and understand savings banks, which they therefore prefer to more novel but more profitable methods of investment. If the government had given them the opportunity of lending to it their small savings in the way they are accustomed to invest these, something might have come of it. But we fear they will not buy these certificates of deposit.

This is to be regretted, as nothing could have been better for the country at large than to enrol the thrifty class of the poor as government creditors. It would have added to the stability of the debt, while it would have deducted from the power of the demagogue in an equal degree. As it is, this class is left to go on with the private banks, a large proportion of whom have been proven altogether unworthy of popular confidence.

We hope that the all but certain failure of the Certificates of Deposit, will lead to a reconsideration of the whole subject and to the establishment of Post Office Savings Banks throughout the land.

A month of "resumption" enables us to take a closer and more careful look at that costly procedure, and to take measure once more of Secretary Sherman's capacity as a financier. We call the measure costly with good reason. To say nothing of the injuries and sufferings inflicted during the long process of forcing the greenbacks up to the level of par with gold, and the indirect injuries to business effected by making this, for years past, the great aim of national finance, it will be seen from the national balance sheet of the past year that great losses have been incurred in the process of resumption. That magnificent energy exhibited by the American people in extinguishing the national debt, which excited Mr. Gladstone's admiration, has been all but suspended. During 1878, the reduction was less than nine million dollars, and in several instances the Treasury was obliged to announce that during the month past there had been a positive increase of indebtedness. On the other hand, nearly two hundred and thirty millions, in coin, are lying in the Treasury vaults, representing that amount of bonds upon which the people are to go on paying interest for the sake of resumption. And where the process of accumulation is to stop, unless Congress intervene, it is hard to say, for Mr. Sherman, as we shall see, has no confidence in his ability sustain resumption with the amount now at his disposal. We think it the clear duty of Congress to say how much the people are to pay for their new luxury, and we hope to see the passage of a law requiring all further accumulations to be expended in redemption of interest-bearing debt.

No one will dispute that there is some advantage in substituting a convertible for an inconvertible currency, and in giving an approximately stable value to our paper money. And if the present measures to that end had been adopted after making a trial of others less objectionable, severe and expensive, there might be a case for the resumptionists. But, on the contrary, these have been chosen to the rejection of every other, while the reduction of the debt and other equally large interests have been sacrificed to

them. And, as we said last month, a sudden though slight change in the rate of exchange with Europe might strip the Treasury of so much of its reserve of coin as to seriously impair the public confidence, and cause a run on the remainder. None of the checks by which European countries guard against this danger exist among us.

THAT Secretary Sherman has no confidence in resumption, we infer from the unmistakable evidence of his acts. When a bank resorts to all sorts of tricks to lengthen the process of redeeming its notes in coin, the plain inference is that the officers have no confidence in their ability to meet all demands. But Mr. Sherman's style of resumption bears the closest possible resemblance to that sort of trickery. It means resumption in coin in New York alone, but *resumption in greenbacks* everywhere else. The law prescribes that the interest of the debt shall be paid in coin, and this has been one of the provisions which has secured to each commercial centre the moderate supply of gold coin needed for its ordinary occasions. But after New Year's day the sub-treasuries in other cities than New York refused to pay the interest in coin, and gave the bondholders their choice between greenbacks and a gold-check on New York.* The consequence of this measure would be the centralization of our whole gold supply in New York, the one locality in which the Treasury practises the conversion of greenbacks into coin. For several weeks before resumption, it was easy enough to get gold for greenbacks or bank notes in any of our cities. But after resumption this stopped and gold could only be had at a premium. A resumption so adjusted as to restore the premium on gold, is a feat of financiering to which we did not think even Mr. Sherman was equal!

When Mr. Sherman's attention was called to this, he replied in the tone of a person whose smartness has been seen through, and promised to have it corrected at an early date. Subsequently, however, if we may trust Washington correspondents, he changed his tone and said that the day has gone by for favoring the bondholders rather than any other class of the people, and that

* Within the last few days, the Secretary has been paying interest due at Philadelphia, in coin.

both alike are to be treated on the supposition that treasury notes are as good as gold. But this little matter of favoring the bondholders happens to be a part of the law of the land, which prescribes that the interest of the debt shall be paid in coin and not in promises to pay of any sort. And the arrangement by which coin was obtained in exchange for coupons, if not a part of the law of the land, was a part of the contract between the nation and its creditors. The bonds were bought with the understanding that the coupons would be paid in gold at any sub-treasury. If it would be a breach of faith to pay silver where "coin" was specified, it was far more clearly a breach of faith to make New York the only place of payment in coin, when other cities were understood to be such. Mr. Sherman was putting weapons into the hands of his opponents.

If any one city must be selected as the solitary point at which Mr. Sherman would venture to offer gold for greenbacks,—the one counter at which he would display his financial courage to an admiring world,—it might have been supposed that Washington and the National Treasury would have been chosen. But no; *resumption in greenbacks* was the situation in the Treasury itself. Not a gold coin could be had from the government at its own headquarters in exchange for greenbacks.

THE Secretary's want of confidence in resumption seems to be shared by his friends the New York bankers. The First National Bank, which is managed by former partners of Jay Cooke, appears to be the especial pet of the Treasury. It made by far the heaviest profits out of the peculiar funding operations, by which the government paid interest, at the same time, on both the new four per cent. bonds and the old which were to purchase these. It took the lead in the questionable transactions by which one sort of legal tender coin was to be tabooed for the future by New York banks, and by which the same banks pledged themselves to make, for the future, no discrimination between gold and treasury notes, and to accept no special deposits of gold. If any bank ought to know what the Treasury can do, and ought to have the fullest confidence in its ability to maintain resumption, it is the First National Bank of New York. But, since the date of resumption, this very bank has

broken its pledge to the other banks, by accepting a special deposit of gold, and lending thereon an equal amount of treasury notes; and, although the gold cannot, according to the contract, be reclaimed except on the return of those notes, the bank distinctly required *three days' notice* of every withdrawal of gold! The significance of this will be seen when it is remembered that those treasury notes *ought* to be convertible into gold in five minutes at the sub-treasury, just across Wall Street. If these things be done in the green tree, what shall be done in the dry?

We are glad to see that there is to be an inquiry into the profits which this and other banks made out of the funding operations. The way in which the organs of the Treasury denounced every attempt to look into those accounts, and the emphasis they lay on the expense incurred by setting Treasury clerks to overhaul the books, should be a spur to public curiosity.

ONE class of promises which will soon be presented for redemption, are those assurances of the immediate return of prosperity after resumption. That the event has not thus far produced the shadow of a change for the better, is a fact which admits of no dispute. Even the insults to Congress, as the great obstacle to a business revival, have ceased. The legitimate representative of the popular will has waived its objections to the measure; it has stood aside to see it fairly tested, and to await the result.

And one result is to disprove the clamor which charges the present era of distress to our "monetary derangement." The oft-repeated illustrations about a yardstick of varying length, and the like, have lost their point. Every obstacle to "a sound restoration of business activity on a specie basis" is out of the way, but the restoration is, nevertheless, about as far off as ever. The most that can be claimed is, that it is coming by advances so slow as to be imperceptible; and, certainly, nothing that happened on New Year's day has helped to make it either more rapid or more visible. The year 1879 will see about as many mercantile failures as its predecessors. It will see merchants groaning over excessive stocks of goods; it will see companies running their works in the hope of making their taxes and keeping their working men together. It will not see any great revival of business confidence or

rise in prices, even although the balance of trade may not again turn against us. At most, we are better off than they are in Europe, but only for the reason given in a saying said to be current in Europe:—"When America takes to wearing her old shoes, she can lay the world under contribution." And we will not put off our old shoes because of Resumption, nor in 1879.

We, like England, are going through a very trying winter, and we have no good reason to believe that this is to be last of such winters. The new organizations for charitable relief in Philadelphia have been making a more thorough investigation of the condition of the poor than has ever been possible before, and they have found, even in the thrifty wards and among thrifty classes, an amount and a degree of destitution which they could not have expected to see. The cry is general that no work is to be had for numbers of persons who are willing to take the worst paid employment. We believe that we are in much better condition than are other large cities, where no such pains has been taken to probe this social evil to the depths. We hear no such stories of death by hunger, or suicide under the pressure of want, as come to us from other quarters. What is true of our city, in this respect, we believe to fall far short of the truth as regards other cities; and the pressure of cold and hunger throughout our land is a still more serious evil than the losses to capitalists and the suspension of profits, with which it is associated. From both rich and poor there will soon be troublesome questions as to the blessings which were promised to accompany resumption.

THE transfer of our city elections to February gives our people an opportunity of taking municipal affairs out of party politics, of which they show little disposition to avail themselves. The ordinary party machinery is as busy as ever in "fixing the slate" before the elections, and the selections are made with reference to services to the party rather than ability or probity. Not only in the less intelligent and wealthy wards, but in those which stand at the very summit in this regard, the control of matters has fallen into the hands of men to whom, the people of these wards would entrust nothing else; and men of notorious dishonesty and impurity of life are put forward as fitting candidates for places of

responsibility. And when an office-holder has shown any just regard for the public service, he runs a smart chance of being left at home next time, without even a vote of thanks. There are exceptions, such as the loyalty of the fifteenth ward to Mr. Caven, but the tickets nominated by the two parties this winter are, on the whole, a disgrace to them and to the city.

In some wards there is a third party movement, under the title of Tax Payers' Associations, which take from the other tickets such names as they believe deserving of confidence, and fill up the remaining places with others selected from the class who do not seek office. The title of this third party is not indicative of lofty aspirations, but it has a business-like sound which will probably commend it to the good sense of an over-taxed people.

Partly, the fault is in our municipal system. The concentration of responsibility in the Mayor, by giving him the appointment of many of the officials now elected, and the introduction of the principle of permanence in office, wherever this is practicable, would relieve this busy generation of a duty it does not discharge,—the duty of watching politics with as much energy and sacrifice of time as is needed for success in business. Till we make that change, we will have professional politicians to do our duty for us, and they will be, in the main, men unworthy of our confidence. The Report of the Municipal Government Commission, which is now before the Legislature, recognizes these principles. But we fear that its chances of passing into law are none of the brightest at present.

OUR city has lost two excellent citizens by the deaths of Doctor Morton McMichael and Doctor Elias R. Beadle.

Mr. McMichael was one of our most public spirited citizens, and a man endeared in many ways to the people of our city. No praise could be spoken after his death that had not already found utterance while he was alive. As the owner and manager of our oldest daily paper, as the mayor, for a time, of the city, as a man to be depended on when anything was to be undertaken for the honor or welfare of Philadelphia, he had made a record of usefulness and probity second to none in our midst. He was, besides all this, a hearty friend, whose presence will be missed from many social

circles, and a Christian gentleman whose name was lifted high above all reproach. The proprietors and managers of this magazine are indebted to Mr. McMichael for great kindness and much encouragement. From the very inception of their enterprise they had his good word, both publicly and privately spoken, although there were many points of difference of opinion between them.

Dr. Beadle's life was spent first as a medical missionary to Syria, and then as a pastor in both the extremes of our own country, so that he was already a man of large and wide experience when he came among us. And no place seemed to suit him so well as Philadelphia. With every year he grew in the respect and affection, not only of his own church, but of the public at large. Our scientific life, next to the relations he sustained to his people in the venerable Second Presbyterian Church, attached him to our city. He was a devoted student of conchology, and one of the most active workers in the Academy of Natural Sciences. He retained a vigorous interest in the medical profession, and some of his sermons to medical students were among the finest and most characteristic of his pulpit discourses.

ART INDUSTRY AT THE PARIS EXPOSITION OF 1878

(Adapted from the Report of Hofrath J. Von Falke of Vienna.)

X. FRANCE.

THE French exhibit is a conundrum in every sense of this slangy but expressive term. We are astonished, dazzled and puzzled by it at every turn and corner; it is barely possible to get away from it, because it fills more than one-half of the entire building on the Champ de Mars, and it is crammed full. There seems to be no end to the long rows of furniture and decorative objects, goldsmith's and silversmith's work, pottery, porcelain and terracotta, bronzes, lamps and chandeliers, carpets, furniture stuffs and gobelins. Surely the French manufacturers must bear a high reputation and must be revelling in orders from all quarters of the globe, to produce all this mass of wealth! At any rate, mere ambition, or the desire to glorify their country at this exhibition could not

be the sole stimulant actuating them. Honorable mentions, diplomas or medals may help to stimulate, but they cannot create a high standard of industrial art, nor do they suffice for its maintenance after that standard has once been reached. By-and-bye, after a second and third examination, we manage to recover from our daze. We perceive it was intended that we should be dazzled and struck with blindness. So we are naturally on our guard, we are unwittingly made extra-critical, and, on further examination, we find ourselves called upon to shake hands, mentally, with old acquaintances that had done service at the exhibitions of 1873 and 1876, or even at earlier ones,—objects which, specially made for international shows, had remained as stock in trade for future occasions of the kind, and as such were this time again produced by their owners. Many of these articles not only bear the evidence of having been assembled very much at random, but they—and the most prominent of them, too—show that they are forced specialities, owing their origin to a certain desire to astonish the world, and thus exceeding the measure of beauty, technically as well as artistically, *usque ad absurdum*. We perceive, finally, that the proportion of really fair work to the failures, to the unnaturally forced productions, or to common merchandise, is by no means a favorable one. If the French, as their programme professed, meant to make their exhibit one of choice objects only, they, above all other nations, have disregarded this, the most important of all the items in their programme. Their exhibit is not one of choice objects only, but it is simply a collection of good, bad and indifferent ones, with the latter kind largely in the majority. No impartial visitor could come to any other conclusion, and the closer his examination, the more indifferent he would become. Intelligent Frenchmen, too, have evidently gained the conviction of an immense mistake made by their nation in regard to this.

We are glad, nevertheless, to admit that the exhibit of the French contains abundant evidence of some genuine and beautiful work, and in no department are there more numerous examples, delightful to behold, than in that of house decoration and furniture. As to these, French taste for the last two or three decades has followed either the Renaissance or the various styles of the Eighteenth Century. French cabinetmakers, their *ébénistes*, have earned a high reputation at various exhibitions by their excellent work in

the former (the Renaissance) manner. But, practically, the other styles (those of the eighteenth century), were the favorites hitherto in France, and monopolized all the living-rooms in a Frenchman's house, barely allowing the Renaissance sometimes to adorn dining-room or library. At present, if we may judge from this exhibition, the prevailing taste, at least in the wealthier or more aristocratic houses, is inclining more to the Renaissance, chiefly that of the latter half of the sixteenth and the first half of the seventeenth century. If this change of taste be, indeed, not quite pronounced as yet, the bulk of the objects exhibited indicates a decided change before long to what may very properly be termed the French Renaissance. This style is so peculiar that it can hardly be thoroughly appreciated without some little study of its prototypes. The latter belong to the period above named, are said to come from ancient castles in Southern France, and are eagerly, and quite regardless of cost, picked up by French connoisseurs. They are for the greater part copied in Lyons, and the characteristics of these copies are Renaissance design and construction, with ornamentation in flowers and figures in low relief, after the style of Goujon and his school, enriched by numerous slender and excessively long columns which are often employed in a very strange and incorrect way. Thus, tables have sometimes a whole row of such columns springing from the stretcher, or the columns are made to form the four legs of an armchair. This style is not precisely peculiar to France; much of the Dutch furniture of the present day is built on similar principles, but it is more massive and coarse as to profile and ornamentation. Peculiar to the French work are the very slim columns and pilasters and, generally, the elegant effect (which bears the stamp of French prettiness); partly also eccentricity of construction, which evidently aims at popular favor.

At any rate, of all the furniture exhibited by the French, that in the Renaissance style possesses the greatest charm. The number of exhibitors of this is quite bewildering, but it affords the most telling proof of the popularity of this style. Naturally it has caused other branches of industrial art concerned with interior decoration to follow its example, in particular the textile fabrics which, in contradistinction to the usual and formerly fashionable patterns, bear the name of *étoffes de style*, when they enter the domain of the Renaissance. These fabrics are numerous and well

represented by velvets, silks or artistic woolen tissues for curtains, portières and furniture stuffs from Lyons as well as other manufacturing districts. Many of them are admirable, in particular the superb tissues in imitation of Venetian and Genoese stamped velvets and brocades of the sixteenth and seventeenth century, although not always free from the usual exaggerations and eccentricities and needlessly gigantic flowers or other colossal patterns.

Next come the wall papers, which copy the ancient designs thoroughly as to drawing and coloring; and the embroideries, which consist chiefly of *appliqué* work for armchairs, table and bed covers, portières, etc., both these and the paper affording many charming examples. It is all the more surprising to find that those embroideries which are not guided by the house-decorator's designs are real monsters of bad taste, without a single redeeming feature. There is a whole room full of such, both shop and amateur work. This apparently inexplicable disparity can only be accounted for by a wide difference in the tastes of the ordinary Frenchman, whose home is generally commonplace and bald, and of the French workman or manufacturer, who has an eye to business and displays both taste and judgment in supplying the precise thing that the fashion of the day may command. This intuitive but business-like taste explains, also, the reason why it is possible for so great a variety of artistic styles to co-exist in France. The makers, or the workmen themselves, have no partiality for one or the other of them, and they do their work equally well, whether it be Louis XIV. or XV., Gothic or Renaissance that is desired. They indulge in no private weaknesses in their trade; they may shrug their shoulders mildly at this or the other style, but they have certainly no real fondness for or true feeling about any style or period.

So, besides the eccentric but most frequently beautiful work in the style of the French Renaissance, the style of the eighteenth century is also represented at this exhibition in all its magnificence, and, although we must confess that our individual taste prefers other periods, we cannot withhold our acknowledgment from some of the excellent work in the last named style. It is illustrated by any number of examples, and of all kinds, large or small, gigantic or graceful, loaded with ormolu, inlaid work, upholstery, painting and so forth. Particularly gorgeous is a bed with pictures after

Boucher, in *vernis Martin*. We are amazed at the seemingly endless variations of this one rather hackneyed and unsuggestive style, and can only account for them by the fact that this style was the Frenchmen's own creation, and as such is probably, of all styles, the most congenial to them.

This kind of furniture also has its wall papers, textile fabrics and carpets to match. Our general impression of these is that the ordinary run of them cannot stand comparison with the *étoffes de style*, and that those of the highest class belong to the most imposing productions of French industry, though not, perhaps, quite in accordance with the principles of industrial art as we understand them. The wall papers represent gigantic landscapes or parks, mythological or allegorical subjects, pictures in the style of Watteau, and what not. They are remarkable for being only paper and not real canvass and oil paint; but, for all that, we should be afraid of them if hung in our own modest rooms. Technically, the gobelins excel even the wall papers. There is, indeed, among them an admixture of the quiet, harmonious kind, after Flemish taste, such as the lovers of the Renaissance have brought into favor, but these disappear amongst the surprisingly immense number of gobelins proper. The only change we can record in the latter manufacture since 1855, is its change of name from "Imperial" to "National;" that is all. The colors are just as vivid as ever, hardly bearable in any moderate-sized room, and all the aim and effort, as usual, is concentrated upon imitating, as closely as possible, oil paintings in all their strength and effect,—the false aim of pretending to be pictures and not objects of decoration. We are not even spared an imitation of gilt picture frames on the actual thread of the gobelins; and, not content with hanging quietly on the wall, these gobelins, in the guise of historical and mythological pictures, modern hunting scenes, landscapes and so forth, must needs spread themselves on the curved surfaces of sofas and arm chairs and ask us to sit down on a gallery of pictures. Are we to admire these as the highest efforts of infallible French taste?

If it be admitted that some branches of French industrial art have attained a marvellously high degree of development whilst others have sadly lagged behind, then French pottery must be

classed in the former and glass in the latter category. As compared with the manufactures of glass of England, Austria and Italy, French glass ranks only next after the other three countries. It has no specific traits, no peculiarity of its own. Specifically French we could, at most, only call the painting on glass of flowers, figures, animals, portraits, etc.; but this kind of decoration is, if not the most false, at any rate the most indifferent of all, having no regard whatever for the peculiar character of the material on which it is applied.

There is a long list of the exhibitors of glass, headed by the famous "*Compagnie des Cristalleries de Baccarat*," and the exhibit, as a whole, is effective, but it hardly bears closer examination. Utter lack of originality is its principal feature. French glass is mostly a copy either of English, Venetian, Bohemian or Oriental glass; or it imitates almost any other material or manufacture you please, whether terra-cotta, Japanese bronze or lacquer, or Chinese porcelain, the imitator not being content to borrow the idea merely from his model, but copying it faithfully in every detail. There is a whole row of manufacturers who have followed the example of the hitherto unapproached Monsieur Brocart, in imitating Oriental glass, but they have no other aim than mere imitation.

We notice a very marked difference between French glass for domestic use and that for decorative purposes, in that the latter seems to have absorbed all the artistic elements commanded by the makers. There is no lack of gorgeous painting, engraved decoration, gilding, ormolu mounts, and of new colors, partly successful, partly failures; and there are again those inevitable vases which seek to please by their gigantic size; but of really beautiful, perfect and thoroughly artistic work there is very little indeed.

On the other hand, art has done hardly anything for the merely useful articles; i. e., table glass, etc. The French seem to prefer cut glass for this purpose, but there are also plain shapes with etched or engraved decoration. The former are mostly clumsy and ugly, and the latter without any artistic taste, as though they had no claim upon art. There are some exceptions, such as the *Cristallerie de Clichy's* pretty shapes, and, especially, the Baccarat Company's table glass, of exquisite form and artistically executed engraved decoration in imitation of ancient rock-crystal work.

Singularly enough, the desire to cut a fine figure at the exhibi-

tion, by special and strained effort, is nowhere more strikingly illustrated than in the Baccarat Company's court. It suffices to quote the principal piece in it, a temple of glass, with glass balustrades, columns and dome complete, and a silver-plated figure of Mercury (which might have been glass as well, though it is not,) in the middle; and we can only wonder that this marvel of strained absurdity could ever have been devised by sensible Frenchmen.

The most superficial observer cannot help being struck by the great variety and, frequently, great beauty displayed in the French pottery section, and it will not be difficult for him to arrive at the conclusion that this branch of industrial art has attained a vastly higher degree of perfection in France than has the manufacture of glass. But even the most practised eye might well be puzzled if called upon to subdivide this display into its proper groups or classes, as the quantity to be dealt with is simply bewildering and contains no inconsiderable leavening of work sadly run to seed, and defying every attempt at classification.

The modern French manufacture of faïence or glazed pottery commenced by imitating Italian majolica. After that, Oriental pottery, Palissy and Henri II. ware, Delft, and all the various French faïences of the eighteenth century were turned to for models, until there was nothing left to imitate. Whilst some few French makers remained content with simple imitation, the great majority of them—in contradistinction to the manufacturers of glass—are now out of leading strings, and, tender nurslings no longer, rejoice in an exuberance of growth which might well be likened to a mighty stream flooding its banks.

We will now study the young growth rather than the imitators, and strive to divide it, after a fashion, into three groups, one of which we will call the picturesque, the other the decorative, and the third the plastic. The first and second terms are somewhat arbitrary, as decorative qualities can hardly fail to exist in the picturesque kind, and *vice versa*; but we propose to classify under the first head, viz., the picturesque, those makes of pottery which aim simply at an effect of color by their vigorous and free treatment, whilst under the decorative kind we would comprise those of well defined pattern and ornamentation. The third group we will suppose to represent those makes which owe their origin to imitation of Palissy ware; it is the least important of the three,

and it is still chiefly represented by its originators, Pull and Barbizet. Though the former, more so than the rest of his school, has remained faithful to his ideal, to wit, Palissy, he has clearly lost faith in himself. His work of the present day is harder, less harmonious, and more crude than his own of 1867, leaving the real Palissy ware quite out of our comparison. Sergent's work, though modernizing, is the most dashing and independent, as well as the most meritorious, in all this group.

Of the other two groups, the picturesque is now decidedly the more prominent. As to its representatives, their name is legion. The free, dashing manner peculiar to it, has drawn many artists into its ranks, and amateurs seem to have been attracted, too, fancying the style not difficult to manage. The decoration consists principally of objects in nature, leaves and flowers, plants, studies of foregrounds, bits of wood-scenery, landscapes; next in order come butterflies, birds and animals; lastly, human figures, the latter most sketchy, but in all the finery and elegance of modern costume. No regard whatever is paid to the shape of the unlucky vase or beaker on which the painting may happen to be; the latter covers it all over, anyhow and somehow, no matter whether it be of small or gigantic size, and whether plain or complicated in construction. Actual paintings on dishes or slabs are also of frequent occurrence. Though the variety of pigments is great, and, in some cases, seems to rival the oil painter's palette, still the prevailing tints are greens and yellows, chiefly deep and of good decorative effect.

Notwithstanding all the good examples exhibited, it must be admitted that this kind of work bears unmistakable signs of a tendency to exceed proper artistic limits. On the other hand, the second group, which I have ventured to call the decorative, manages to keep within bounds. It has only this in common with the former, that the bulk of it consists of ornamental objects and vessels without any special use, except it be for flowers. The exceptions to this rule are the well known factory of Gien, (which has managed to revive ancient French faïence for table use, in particular the old Rouen patterns,) and the imitators of this factory,—but the latter do not display any great vigor.

The various kinds of pottery belonging to this second group are many. Though they all commenced by imitating ancient models, they now treat the latter in a very free manner, but mostly

preserving the general idea. There are representatives in this group of nineteenth century majolica, or Delft, or Persian ware, but the most popular things seem to be combinations of various styles. Numerous makers favor Oriental ideas, whether Persian, Rhodian or Turkish, or after the patterns of Eastern Asia. There is also one manufacturer, whose strange specialty must be mentioned; it consists of the imitation, in pottery, of Indian metal vases and of Japanese lacquer. Similar playful fancies seem to be the hobby of a good many makers in this group. Very few of them, indeed, confine themselves to one distinct line; they either try to combine various styles, or at least to shine both in the decorative and picturesque groups. Others again occupy a nondescript position, like Deck, who, after commencing by imitation of Persian ware, seeks his forte now in pictures, especially in portraits and figures, on plates and dishes. Although, of course, in the proper ceramic colors, the picture is always his principal aim, the decorated object being deemed of minor importance.

But these examples are by no means the worst. All the exaggerations, incongruities, strained and forced work in the French pottery court did not, it seems, suffice for the aim the French had set themselves for this exhibition. Pottery, too, was to furnish something unheard of, something quite extraordinary, and for this purpose the exhibition buildings themselves, intended, as they doubtless were, to create a new style of architecture, afforded the very best opportunity. The mighty front and the arches of the Fine Arts building would be all the more imposing if covered with glazed terra-cotta. Now, the English use their charming tiles frequently for interior decoration, and Oriental nations, centuries ago, used to clothe their palaces and mosques with them. But the English go to work modestly, and the Orientals employed only delicate and regular arabesque patterns composed of very few colors only. The French, however, have managed this time to produce in tiles, on the Fine Arts building itself, landscapes with trees of natural size, adorned with rock and sea and fanciful architecture, and enlivened by allegorical figures of heroic size. They are not content, in the way of decoration, with simply flat painting, but they clothe enormous walls with pottery in high relief after the manner of Luca della Robbia, and they exaggerate his models on a gigantic scale. Can architects of artistic education permit these things to be done?

Of all the ceramic manufactures of France, that of faïence, as exhibited this year, is by far the most attractive; even the manufacturers of porcelain, whilom the pride of France in the time of Sèvres *pâte tendre*, must yield the palm to it. Sèvres porcelain, just like other makes, has changed very little in the last twenty years; still, it cannot be omitted from the report. We will notice first, however, a special branch of pottery, namely, the manufacture of terra-cotta proper, which manufacture, though of recent origin, is the more deserving of interest since eminent artists have taken it up. This manufacture of unglazed terra-cotta, originally rather a product of art than of art industry, has latterly been so extended and developed as to bring it fairly within the domain of industrial art. It is a grafting of the sculptor's art upon industrial products. A few years ago there were only busts and portraits of terra-cotta after Florentine and Venetian models of the fifteenth and sixteenth century, but the present exhibition shows large masses of terra-cotta ware, common as potter's goods, life-size figures, groups, busts, statues and statuettes. The artists who exhibit are by no means the meanest; among their ranks are sculptors like Carpeaux, Carrier, Belleuse and others. It is easy to understand why artists are fond of this medium, because the burnt clay preserves all the freshness of touch, all the originality of the artist himself, with every delicacy of expression. But this capacity for yielding readily to the artist's hand and touch involves also the danger of excessive pliability to all the caprices of artists. And so it happens that perhaps no other department of this exhibition portrays so exactly the modern French mind in all its caprices and weaknesses. If some portraits, genre-figures and caricatures are crisp and sharp as to character, others are coquetish and capricious, finical, affected and false in feeling. If the former are rough, massive and striking, the latter wear a sickly smile, or a grin, or make play with their eyes. They are the essence of Parisian popular art expressed in terra-cotta.

With the exception of many figures in biscuit ware, French porcelain has given a wide berth to eccentricities of the above named kind. It assumes a loftier and a somewhat aristocratic stand-point, so to speak, but, on the other hand, it is interesting and slightly tiresome. Nothing like the life in it that pervades the pottery. The porcelain exhibited consists mostly of things

that we know we have seen before this, but there is perhaps an extra effort, here and there (and not precisely successful, either), to do something novel for the exhibition. Still, some of the objects are beautiful, particularly those which have invoked the painter's aid. As an illustration, we name the beautiful plates, dishes, vases and tazzas, with figure-decoration in the favorite and costly *pâte sur pâte*. The general fault of the French porcelain (though this may be no fault according to French estimate), is that it aims principally at the production of show pieces lavishly ornamented, neglecting simply useful articles altogether. The exhibition of Vierzon, indeed, shows beautifully decorated dinner and tea services, but these are so extremely finical and of such excessively delicate material, that they can only serve for show. Sèvres was the leader in this direction for years past, and it seems to be the sorry leader still, though recently a government commission was appointed to examine into its manufacture and to prescribe reformatory measures. It is impossible to judge whether the latter have operated successfully or not, because the immense show of the Sèvres works, in the Ceramic Court, is a jumble of old and new work, and although we did see among it some smaller objects of a refined character, they were obscured by our old acquaintances from former exhibitions, those gigantic vases with beautiful paintings on them, but of clumsy, hideous shapes, and of bad workmanship disguised by ormolu mounts. This does not look as though a comprehensive system of reform had been inaugurated at Sèvres. At any rate, Sèvres does not follow any distinct line, such a severe line as one might expect a national institution like this to adopt for the benefit of the country.

Amidst the glazed pottery we find the enamels, or rather the enamels of Limoges. Though slightly related to pottery in the matter of glaze and painting, they belong of right to the metal department. On the other hand, this manufacture, which consists of painted enamel on thin sheets of copper, might be considered as a special and independent branch; at any rate, it has increased enormously within the last decade. A few manufacturers, like Pottier, have been active in this branch for some time, imitating the Limoges enamels of the sixteenth century. Now, there is a number of new names: Soyer, Robillard, Poiret, etc., all of them, we admit, exercising their art in the greatest perfection, and using

all the various processes developed in the sixteenth century. They have even improved upon the latter processes; at any rate, they use a great variety of pigments, some of which the old masters of Limoges did not know—or, perhaps, did not wish to know. In this respect we have to mention Dalpayrat and Lot's enamels on gold ground. But, in their desire to improve, the makers are very apt to drop into the common fault of exaggeration, and of forced, unnaturally strained work. The French are only too fond of overstepping the clearly defined limits of this very delicate art, and so they place before us, alongside of small but most graceful and effective objects, enormous *plaques* of life-size portraits and the like.

The recent use of enamel for interior decoration is probably due to the same mistakes in the principles of art. The French seem to be over anxious to use it in the decoration of mantel-pieces, wainscot and sideboards. It may be a good quality of theirs to turn a new fashion at once to some practical account on a large scale, but we confess we should not have the courage to attempt the use of such delicate and fragile work as this, the nature of which is rather that of miniature painting, in a rough way on the fire-place or on the wall.

This remarkable skill of the French is particularly apparent in the department of chandeliers, lamps, candlesticks, etc., which branch of industrial art has evidently pressed into its service both the makers of pottery and of the various kinds of enamels, and with great success, too, because by these means great variety of effect is obtained. In fact, most of the new kinds of art manufactures are represented in this combination. Thus the lamps have adorned themselves with *cloisonné* enamel after Chinese models, and the most beautiful and pure of the examples exhibited are those ornamented by this class of enamel. The lamps have further appropriated to their use the Japanese style of metallic decoration, of gold and silver incrustation on black or oxydised metal ground; although this costly process is here imitated in less expensive material. They have further benefitted by all the improvements in faïence, the suspension lamps in particular. Both the picturesque and the decorative groups of faïence, imitations of majolica and of ancient Oriental and French porcelain, are all duly represented. Finally, there are the various colors of bronze, of

brass and of gilt bronze, not forgetting even the mock-antique patina with poisonous green laid on.

While we admire the Frenchmen's talent in managing this great variety of combinations, we cannot shut our eyes to the fact that purity of outline and style are neglected by them to an almost incredible degree. Amongst hundreds, or perhaps thousands of objects, one of really pure, severe and beautiful shape, combining outline with true proportions and spirited conception, is the greatest rarity. The best lamps, decidedly, are those which are formed of vases of some kind, whether of enamel, faïence, porcelain, or *cloisonné* enamel. Everywhere else there is overloading of ornament, and there is a painful impression as though the maker could not make his product rich or showy enough. The principal traits of these French lamps and candelabra are broken lines, ugly shapes and promiscuous application of ornament without the least regard for the fitness of things. The chandeliers might easily have shown pure and beautifully curved lines, if they had only followed the ancient work of the Louis XIII. period which they pretend to imitate. But, instead of the charmingly natural joints and the easy curves of the branches in the antique models, the modern work shocks by bad joints, inexplicable angular breaks in the curves, the branches carrying the candles are mostly too thin and are treated as ornaments, without rhyme or reason for doing so; the whole, in fact, makes the impression of a jumble without the least repose or dignity about it. This celebrated branch of French industrial art certainly leaves much to be desired, and none, perhaps, exhibits as distinctly and clearly the weak side of modern French taste.

For the last two centuries France has stood unrivalled for silversmith's and goldsmith's work, jewelry and bronzes. In respect to the latter, it is undoubtedly *facile princeps* in our day, and, indeed, if we consider the French bronzes technically only, and not from the standpoint of high art, we must admit their superiority to those of the other European countries, and it is quite certain that the quantity produced by all the latter put together does not nearly reach the total of the French production. Neither do they equal the French in workmanship, and it is a matter of course that wealthy buyers of all nations prefer French bronze statues and statuettes, groups, chandeliers, candelabras,

candlesticks and chimney clocks to any made elsewhere. Manifold efforts are made in other lands, but none can hold a candle to France, except, perhaps, Japan, whose manufacture of bronzes possesses both importance and originality.

Although the mass of bronzes exhibited by France this year is truly overwhelming, and although the workmanship of other countries cannot stand a comparison, yet we do not wish to be understood as exalting the merits of the French article. On the contrary, we fear the tendency pursued by this branch of French industrial art, particularly of late years, is not of the artistic diapa-son which we might expect from France.

We regret to say, the chief merit of French bronzes—just as in other branches of modern French industrial art—lies in the workmanship rather than the design. Technically speaking, they are perfect; they are generally well finished and sometimes even superbly so. The French are far ahead of other European makers as to the brown patina of their bronze; the Japanese only excel them in this respect. Brass, which at one time threatened to become a favorite color, has not ousted the standard brown, but, judging from the present show, it looks as though gilt bronze were steadily coming into favor and, necessarily, with gilt bronze, the patterns of the eighteenth century too.

The surfaces are finely chased, as a rule, even approaching to a polish; rarely are they left rough or of a "dead" finish. The French are quite correct in thus treating the human figure. Even when their bronze statues show the finest veins, as some extra well finished ones do, the surface is otherwise smooth and almost as though polished, just like healthy human skin. But the French do not seem content merely with artistic treatment of surfaces, they enrich their work with all the various styles of enamel and inlaying that reappeared within the last twenty years. The most important of these is the Chinese *émail cloisonné*, taken up first by Barbédienne for bronzes destined for domestic as well as sacred purposes; there are few of Barbédienne's productions in this line that do not mar the harmonious effect of his models by excessive quantity of gilt surface. Nowadays, the use of this kind of enamel is painfully general and there is an untold number of exhibitors of it. Every possible object, from communion services down to spittoons, is decorated with this species of enamel, without, in most

cases, the least trace of the artistic sentiment displayed in the Chinese originals. The French excel the latter in variety of color as well as in variety of design, and manage even to apply this kind of enamel to objects in the style of Louis XVI., as shown by Barbédienne's chimney piece with a clock and set of vases and candelabra to match, all in *cloisonné* enamel on bronze, and a principal show piece, too, it is in that manufacturer's room.

The Limoges enamel, of the extensive production of which we had occasion to speak already, could not fail to find its way, either, towards the makers of bronze. It is plentifully displayed on clocks and candelabra as well as on other objects, and it is mostly, too, applied with judgment and nicety of feeling. Messrs. Mercény, Jeune and Jussy's work deserve special mention.

French industrial art has adopted also the various styles of Japanese metal work, inlaying with gold and silver, combinations of various differently colored metals, oxydized silver, inlaying with copper and black enamel, etc., etc. If these be imitations, both in the technical and in the artistic sense, we are still grateful for them as novelties.

It is fortunate for the French bronze makers that the production of statues allies them so closely to high art; if it were not for this redeeming feature, if we were to judge them solely by their own designs, and not by those of the sculptor's whose statues or groups they copy, we should say that they fell far short of our expectations. Though this work is clearly French, they have not a style that might be called national, neither do they show any work of their own that is simply and severely beautiful. The French bronzes glory in the greatest variety of styles, from Louis XIV. down to our day. They commence with the models of Lepantre, one of the first designers of the time of Louis XIV., an artist of great wealth of ideas, but wildly fanciful; and they wind up with the latest fashion, to wit, China and Japan, the art designs of which countries are made to do good service. All these styles come equally handy to the French; those of the Louis XIV. period may not be their favorites, but those of the latter half of the eighteenth century certainly are, and are largely used. It did look at one time, indeed, as though brass would come into fashion, and with it the more severe models of the sixteenth and of the first half of the seventeenth century. But even the great leader in this kind of

work, Lerolle, who made a very good beginning, has since plunged into eccentricities; his designs are uncouth, bizarre, overloaded, and he follows that kind of popular taste which exacts monster showpieces and exaggerations. It is sad that the leaders should be the first to fall from grace. Barbédienne himself is no exception. His principal piece is a bronze clock sixteen or twenty feet high, an erratic bit of composition, combining all possible varieties of styles and treatment, Greek and Gothic, Renaissance and Louis XV., a steeple with various stories, gables and turrets, statues and statuettes, bronze, marble and enamel;—a grand show piece for the exhibition, but otherwise not possessing the slightest claim to be allowed to exist at all. There are other cases quite as bad as this; in fact, almost every single French manufacturer is suffering more or less from this mania of desiring to inflict himself upon the public at any cost—to “show off” in fact.

The silversmiths are not so bad. Their costly material keeps them within bounds, at any rate. On the other hand, they are wanting in vigor, mobility and interest. We refer particularly to silver plate for table use, which impresses us as being neither good nor bad. Of the latter kind there is an example in a very queer dinner service, by Cailar, Bayard and Co.; the centre dish of which is carried by four savages, each running away from the other, leaving us to infer that the dish itself would ultimately meet with the terrible fate of being quartered. There is, however, a great deal of fair work to be seen, particularly of Christofle's, which ranks first among the goldsmith's work, with much more merit than Barbédienne's does in the latter's own line. But Christofle is not equally excellent in his table services and in his ornamental objects; in which respect, as we have already had occasion to observe, his is not an isolated case in French industrial art. His work for domestic use is commonplace to a degree, without the least merit or charm, whilst the other is full of new ideas, of beautiful shapes, charmingly decorated and generally superbly finished. Leaves and flowers are most gracefully disposed over the surfaces and melt into the latter as delicately as possible. All this is electro-plated ware. The ideas suggested by the Hildesheim treasure, as well as the inlaying and incrustation systems of the Japanese and the *cloisonné* enamel of the Chinese, are not only judiciously applied by Christofle, but he also stands unrivalled as

to liberal and independent treatment of the ideas thus borrowed. For all this, we are painfully reminded of the lack of a well defined artistic tendency or character; but it seems to be typical of French taste that French makers do not possess any ambition that way. They just furnish what popular taste may call for, but they do not lead or guide the latter, neither do they wish to do so.

If we except the ecclesiastical work, the productions of Froment Meurice show decidedly the most individual character. Here, at least, is an attempt at consistent style and nothing arbitrary. A dinner service, by Carrier Belleuse, with beautiful figures of children, is in the manner of Lepantre, whilst a very fine *épergne* is in the Louis XIV. style. But Renaissance is the favorite in this maker's vases and beakers of fine stone or rock-crystal mounted in gold enamel, and some of them are quite fit for a museum; his jewelry is equally good, some of it is a harmonious combination of classical designs with the Renaissance style.

Other goldsmiths, viz.: Duron, Leopold Herbert, etc., show similar vases and beakers, but they are not up to the standard of the above. The jewelry of Emile Philippe possesses a certain style of its own, but it seems to attach greater importance to strange effect than to beauty of shape.

L. Falize et Fils show goldsmith's work in imitation of the best period of the Renaissance, partly adorned with the finest inlaid wrought iron work of Zuloaga (already noticed under the head of Spain), and partly with superb Limoges enamels, jewels, etc.; their work is unrivalled for a marvellous degree of finish and for thoroughly consistent design.

The great bulk of French jewelry, genuine and costly as well as imitation, follows a road of its own, or rather no road at all, but one may distinguish some difference of direction between them. First of all, we must discriminate between jewelry proper in precious stones and goldsmith's trinkets. As regards the latter the purchase of the Campana collection by the French, two years ago, promised to bring classical models into favor. But such did not prove to be the case. There may be isolated cases, but those are rather simple imitations than independent efforts having a nobler aim, such as those of Falize above named, who, by the way, is also the leader in the use of enamel for jewelry. But the great mass of ordinary jewelry—and notwithstanding many exhibitors' attempts at specialities—still follows that comfortable and arbitrary

line which professes no real and serious aim. Though playful trifles may be successful, the more important things are generally ugly in shape, often without a *raison d' être*, and certainly without any artistic merit. Neither is the too frequent use, in combination, of red and green colored gold to be defended. Altogether, this branch of industrial art may have been enriched and improved, technically speaking, but essential progress since 1867 there is none.

Jewelry proper, that branch of it which deals with precious stones, is represented in a worthier manner. If we compare the jewelry of the sixteenth century and that of India with French work, we are reminded that the latter is wanting in color. The ancients', as well as the Indians', principal object was to produce an effect of color by the judicious arrangement of precious stones in combination with gold, but the French appreciate chiefly the diamonds alone, with rarely a sapphire or an emerald occupying the central place. Rouxinat and Lourdet and Bapst show jewelry of the latter kind and of enormous value. The favorite style, however, is to confine the diamond to its kind, as though no stone were worthy of being placed alongside, and, in order to avoid even the semblance of color near it, it is generally set in silver instead of gold, and the quantity of metal is restricted to the narrowest limits possible.

There are two lines of taste to be observed in this kind of jewelry. The older line is the realistic, representing generally flowers, buds, branches, sheaves or a bouquet in diamonds, forming a coronet, a necklace, or what not, upon principles which are not artistic and not calculated to set off the diamonds themselves to full advantage. The great mass and the most valuable bits in this exhibition belong to this line. The minority belong to a more conventional school which confines itself to set patterns, thus favoring the reflections and the effect of the precious stones. Since Austria first set a good example in this direction in 1873, this school seems to be working its way in France. It manages even to treat figure subjects conventionally but effectively, as illustrated by a beautiful coronet by Fouquet; and thus not only guides the makers in the proper direction, but adds to the charm and variety of this branch of industrial art. Here, at any rate, there is improvement and progress. Unfortunately, we cannot say the same of the other departments which we have reviewed above.

Translated by Gustavus Natorp.

MR. MORGAN UPON EARLY ROMAN HISTORY.*

IT is hardly possible to exaggerate the importance of Mr Morgan's "Ancient Society" as a contribution to the history of primitive institutions. Building upon the results reached by Maine, Coulanges, Laveleye, and others of their class, but with fresh materials of his own, of the highest instructiveness and value, he may fairly claim to have carried the investigation at least one step farther back than any of his predecessors, and to have nearly, if not quite, bridged over the gulf between the usages of savage society and the settled institutions of civilized nations. Nor is it, perhaps, the earlier period, in which he is a recognized authority, that owes most to his researches; to the classical student, at least, their greatest value consists in the light they throw upon the early institutions of the Greeks and Romans. Just what was needed for the understanding of these, was what Mr. Morgan has done:—to approach them from the point of view, not of what they grew into, but of what they grew out of; not of the classic ages, but of pre-historic antiquity; not of historical record, but of archæological science. No person before him has ever possessed the materials for this work, for no person has ever brought to the study of the Greek and Roman institutions so comprehensive and accurate a knowledge of the society and government of savage and barbarous peoples.

The study of Mr. Morgan's book must, therefore, be pronounced indispensable for any right understanding of the gentile society upon which the institutions of both Greece and Rome were founded. It might seem, indeed, that this work had already been accomplished; that since the publication of M. Coulanges's *Cité Antique*, the structure and history of gentile society needed no further illustration. Mr. Morgan, however, aims to supply the connecting link between the gentilism of the classic nations and the rude savagery out of which it grew; his special contribution to this discussion is the analysis by which the early social stages of these nations are brought into a comprehensive scheme alongside of savage and barbarian society. The period of Homer

* ANCIENT SOCIETY. By Lewis Morgan. New York, 1878.

receives a wholly new light from being brought into comparison with Senecas and Aztecs, and coolly ticketed "Upper Status of Barbarism."

Gentile society, too, even as such, finds many instructive illustrations in these pages. The fundamental doctrine of the book, the contrast between *Societas* and *Civitas*; the military democracy, with its government of three powers—the military commander, the council of chiefs, and the assembly of the people; the hierarchical organization of gentes, phratries and tribes, with its curious parallelism in so many barbarous nations; and, above all, the sketch of the process by which, under Clisthenes and Servius Tullius especially, the primitive *Societas* was developed into a *Civitas*:—all these are points of the highest value, and are worked out with great thoroughness. We smile, to be sure, to see Theseus and Romulus placed in the same category with Red-Jacket and Cornplanter, and the Roman Senate with the Iroquois Council; but, after all, it gives a reality to these early times and men which Livy's "pictured page" somehow fails to impart.

I desire, at the outset, to make this hearty acknowledgment of the services Mr. Morgan has rendered to the study of classical antiquities, before proceeding to point out some mistakes that he has made in regard to Roman antiquities, some of them of no small moment. Some of these mistakes are caused by a disposition—natural enough in a discoverer—to strain his theories beyond what facts will warrant; some result from a lack of that minute knowledge of the facts, which cannot be expected in any but a classical scholar by profession. This would indeed be less essential if he had always been fortunate in the choice of his modern authorities. He has generally followed Niebuhr, but has departed from his authority on some points—not always wisely; nor, on the other hand, does he appear to be aware how far modern scholarship has removed from Niebuhr's conclusions. Mommsen he cites, but he cannot be said to have mastered Mommsen's theory of early Roman institutions—a theory which in the main lends support to his own, while at the same time it would correct it in many particulars. After all, with no lack of gratitude to the students of pre-historic times, we classical students have still a work which no one but ourselves can do. Mr. Morgan has given us a key to many of the puzzles of our science, but it is for us to say where it fits.

The errors in question will naturally come in the order here indicated:—first, those which touch in general the application of his theory, then matters of detail.

The most fundamental question in the whole discussion is, at what point of time or of historical development shall we place the divergence of the Greeks and Romans from the barbarian current? It is here that we see most markedly Mr. Morgan's disposition to push his theories to an extreme. For it is, to be sure, a vivid and instructive piece of analogy when Romulus and Theseus are placed by the side of Red-Jacket and Cornplanter; but, after all, they were different men, belonged to a different race, and possibly to a somewhat different state of society. Mr. Morgan himself points out, with great emphasis, the peculiar bent which the Romans took in developing their "Council of Chiefs" into a Senate, thus substituting an aristocratic principle for the earlier democratic basis of society (p. 281). But this special development could not have begun here, it must have been itself the outgrowth of a tendency already rooted in the race. May it not be said that the Romans had already begun; at their earliest separation from the Aryan stock, to manifest that political genius which always distinguished them? nay, that the Aryan race itself, before it separated into its various branches, had already developed some of those characteristics which have placed it at the head of civilization? * For some reason, the Aryan race has taken the lead among the races of mankind; for some reason, the Greeks and the Romans outstripped all other races in their early growth. This exceptional progress was shown most strongly in the arts of government;—is it not therefore likely that they began to assume a political organization at an earlier stage and of a higher type than other nations? It is simply a question of probabilities which must be determined by the evidence of facts; but it may be fairly claimed that the probabilities are against the continuance of the barbarous type of social organization among the Greeks and Romans so late as is assumed by Mr. Morgan.

* Mr. Henry Adams, in a lecture on "Woman's Rights in Primitive History," delivered in Boston in December, 1876, suggested that it was the "social rebellion against the old communal system," the early and vigorous development of the family principle, on the part of the Aryan stock that was "the means of their extraordinary success, and of the domination which they established wherever they set their feet."

Take now the case of the kingly office. He objects (p. 246) to translating *basileus* by *king*, on the ground that the Greek term carried with it none of the modern notions of royalty. The observation itself is a good one; we are too prone to carry our modern ideas into the institutions whose names we translate by those of modern institutions. But it is just the same with the word *king*, as a purely English word. What similarity is there between the kingship assumed by Cedric and that of William the Conqueror, or again that of William IV.? *King*, in its primitive Germanic sense, is as exactly as possible the equivalent of the early Greek *basileus*; and, on the other hand, *the* basileus, the Great King of Persia, exercised a power as far removed from a basileus like Codrus, as the power of King Henry VIII. differed from that of King Cedric.

Moreover—leaving the name aside—his definition of the powers of the Greek and Roman king is very questionable. He insists that “the *rex* was a general and also a priest, but without civil functions,” (p. 317.) But no proof is brought of this except the *a priori* one—the Roman *rex* was at bottom the Iroquois war-chief. Now no authority is higher than Mr. Morgan’s upon the powers of the Iroquois war-chief; but certainly no authority upon Roman antiquities—looking solely at the evidence before him—would say that the Roman king was nothing but a priest and a general.* What is true is that, in this early stage of society, *civil* functions and relations are wholly subordinate,—with the unimportant exception of judicature; but whatever civil functions there were, certainly belonged to the king. To say nothing of the fragmentary and traditional accounts of the seven kings, we have the positive fact that the consuls succeeded without a gap or a reservation to the power of the banished kings; and the powers of the consuls were from the first largely administrative.

Again, when he says (p. 242) that “monarchy is incompatible with gentilism,” on the ground that “gentile institutions are essentially democratical,” the statement seems to be only half right, or at least only half proved. Undoubtedly, gentilism is democratic

* The latest statement of the powers of the Roman king, made by the first living authority upon the subject is:—“der zunächst in den römischen Königthum vorwaltende Gedanke [ist] weder der des Priesterthums noch der des Feldherrnrechts gewesen, sondern der des Richteramts.” Mommsen, *Römisches Staatsrecht*, ii. p. 12.

at bottom, and the proof of this is one of Mr. Morgan's best achievements; but surely the contemporaries of Napoleon III. do not need to be taught that democracy is not incompatible with monarchy. What he has in mind is no doubt the fully developed secular monarchy of the Tarquinian dynasty, as contrasted with the earlier half-sacerdotal monarchy, which was a direct outgrowth of gentile society. It was this later monarchy, through the constitution of Servius Tullius, that undermined the Gentile institutions; not, however, by antagonism to its democracy, for this had already been developed into an aristocracy, but by itself allying itself with the new democracy of the *plebs*.

The strongly aristocratic character of the early Roman constitution, a point especially insisted upon by Mommsen, is recognized clearly by Mr. Morgan (p. 313), and its effects justly appreciated. He seems to us, however, wrong in his account of its origin; strangely so, inasmuch as the view presented by him is wholly irreconcilable with his theory of the growth of gentile society. He speaks (p. 281) of the "Senate, with the patrician class it created;" and, on page 313, simply repeats Livy's assertion that the descendants of the senators were patricians. Mr. Morgan is not alone in following Livy on this point; the same position was taken by Rubino, in a work which was probably the most original and important in this field between Niebuhr and Mommsen. No doubt, too, there is a germ of truth in the statement, but it certainly cannot be accepted literally. The *patricii*, or members of the *gentes*, were in a certain sense the sons of the *patres*, or heads of the *gentes*, who composed the Senate, and from this fact the name was derived.* But this is something entirely different from Livy's artificial creation of an aristocracy. If there is any one point of Roman antiquities established beyond a doubt, by those researches into early society in which Mr. Morgan is one of the most distinguished workers, it is the natural and organic growth of the Roman patriciate. Livy's view was consistent with Livy's understanding of ancient society, but it has been wholly outgrown since Niebuhr. Mr. Morgan

* It may be that further investigation will confirm Genz's theory that the heads of the *gentes* occupied a place which can best be compared to that of the heads of the Celtic clans. The theory of some philologists that the Italians stood nearer to the Celts than to the Greeks, finds some support in the comparison of their institutions. See Mommsen, vol i., p. 421, note.

goes on (p. 324) to give an account of the origin of the *plebs*, in which he shows a clear conception of the relations of this body to the patricians and to the clients. But in his sketch he has made no provision for those members of the *gentes* who were not admitted to the Senate; neither were they plebeians, for "a person was a plebeian because he was not a member of a *gens*." Now, it is very certain that the Roman state contained no such non-descripts as these.

The subject of the gentile organization of the Romans is discussed with great correctness and fulness. The important fact is brought out clearly (p. 282) that the *gentes*, in all authentic history, were purely private bodies; a consequence of the early transition from *societas* to *civitas*. So, with the equally important fact that the *curia*, the equivalent to the Grecian *phratry*, was to all intents and purposes an artificial and strictly public body (p. 303); the assumption (in which he agrees with Fustel de Coulanges) that it was an organic outgrowth of the *gens*, is perhaps doubtful.

In two or three special points, Mr. Morgan's excellent description of the Roman *gens* needs to be corrected.

He takes exception more than once to the common statement that the *gens* was composed of families; "for," he says (p. 268), "two *gentes* were represented in every family." See, also, page 281. He loses sight here of the distinctive character of the Roman family, and its peculiar relation to the *pater familias*. The woman, upon marriage, passed absolutely from the family of her father to that of her husband, to whom she now stood *in loco filia*. Marriage, precisely like adoption, created an agnatic relationship, and the wife was the agnate of her husband, just as the adopted son was the agnate of his adoptive father. Now agnatic relationship and gentile relationship are exactly the same thing at bottom, the only distinction being that the *gens* is an *agnatio* so far extended that its origin, in one *pater familias*, has passed out of memory, and can only be observed by way of analogy. Agnation is, by the very nature of things, within the *gens*; the wife, therefore, being the agnate of her husband, must belong to his *gens*; and at his death, if he has appointed no guardian over her by will, she came under the guardianship of his agnates,—generally of her own sons. Moreover, one well recognized form of *capitis deminutio* was that by which the married woman lost her *gens* by the very act of marriage.

It is true, the woman, on her marriage, retained her original gentile name, and it was probably this fact that led Mr. Morgan to the conclusion that she did not change her *gens*. But this point, like so many others, has been satisfactorily explained by Mommsen (*Römische Forschungen*, p. 9). We must remember that in the later period of the republic, the marriage with *manus* had almost passed out of use, so that here, of course, there was legally no change of *gens*; indeed, the whole gentile organization had now been very greatly weakened. But even before this, the civil marriage in its two forms of *coemptio* and *usus* had practically superseded the religious marriage (*confarratio*) at a very early date; and although these conveyed the *manus*, they did not establish a gentile relation so completely as to change the name—for, as is well known, the gentile name was for women the one by which they were, for the most part, individually known. For the earliest times, however, Mommsen is of the opinion that the woman did, upon marriage, adopt the name of her husband; and this is the explanation he gives to the familiar formula *quando tu Gaius, ego Gaia*—Gaius (Gavius) being originally a gentile appellation.

But it is Mommsen's opinion, further, that in the earliest times marriage was regularly within the *gens*—that the Romans, to use Mr. McLennan's expression, were endogamous. This is a point which needs further investigation. Mr. Morgan, in his note in reply to Mr. McLennan, (the arguments of which seem, as a whole, conclusive,) denies the reality of this distinction. "Wherever," he says, p. 512, "the gentile organization has been found, intermarriage in the *gens* is forbidden. . . . But, as an equally general rule, intermarriage between the members of a *gens* and the members of all the other *gentes* of the same tribe is permitted." He brings up no evidence for this statement, however, as regards the Romans, merely observing (p. 284) that certain described cases illustrate this rule. And it is a fact that in the historical period, marriage out of the *gens* appears to have been the rule. I have not been able to find a single case of marriage between two persons (whether patrician or plebeian) of the same gentile name. Nevertheless, it would seem to be clearly established by the case of Fecenia Hispalla (Livy, 39, 19) that *enuptio gentis* was not, as a rule, allowed.

A point akin to this is as to whether the Italian nations had, in

early times, "attained the monogamian family." (p. 279.) It is, perhaps, not a very essential point. Of all points in Mr. Morgan's theory, the *syndyasmian* family seems to be least important and least well established; but if there was such a one, surely the Romans of the last century of the republic possessed it. For the essential features of this, according to his definition (p. 28), was that "divorce or separation was at the option of both husband and wife:" words which precisely describe the condition of things at this period. And it seems altogether natural to regard this as a survival from earlier times. Nevertheless, it must be admitted that his view finds a strong support in the institution of *diffarctio*,—the only process by which, in the earliest times, the pure patrician marriage by *confarreatio* could be dissolved.

Passing from the primitive gentile organization of patrician Rome to the development of the political state, we find—with a broad and generally accurate outline of events—a good many questionable points of detail. After describing the conquest of Alba Longa, and the incorporation of its citizens into the Roman organization—events which, however they may lack historical evidence, typify, nevertheless a real process, he goes on to the conquests of Ancus Marcius, which he describes in exactly the same terms. The inhabitants of these towns, he says, were settled upon the Aventine, and formed the basis of the third tribe, the Luceres. Now it would be rash to undertake to determine, off-hand, so controverted a point as the origin of the Luceres: it ought to be said, however, that no good authority gives it as this, and that the inhabitants of the Latin towns conquered by Ancus Marcius are almost universally regarded as the nucleus of the *plebs*. So with the statement that the Luceres were the *patres minorum gentium* (pp. 314, 325); there is authority for it, but hardly any one at the present day would accept it.

A paragraph upon page 320 requires considerable correction. The title *custos urbis* for the *præfectus urbi*, as well as the identification of this officer with the *princeps senatus*, are supported by very slender authority. Neither was he a permanent officer, but was only appointed by the king as his representative when he was about to leave the city. Of course, therefore, the statement that this officer alone had the authority to convoke the Senate, falls of itself. What is meant by the statement that after the time of the

Decemvirs this officer (now called *præfectus urbi*) was elected by the *comitia*, it is impossible to imagine. Neither can the office of *prætor* be said, in any just sense, to have been derived from this. It is true the older office disappeared when that of *prætor* was established, and probably because it was no longer needed; but the one was merely the temporary appointment by the magistrate of what we may call an attorney, the other the permanent separation from his powers of certain definite functions.

There is also an error of some importance on page 317, where it is said that "the *comitia curiata*, by appeal, had the ultimate decision in criminal cases involving the life of a Roman citizen." This right of appeal was not absolute, but depended upon the will of the king. Under the republic it was made absolute, and regarded as the palladium of Roman liberties, holding the same place in the Roman mind that the trial by jury does in the English. This is a point, indeed, of material importance, inasmuch as this right of appeal, together with the limitation of the term of office, and the sharing it with a colleague, are the three points in which the power of the consul differed from that of the king.

The chapter upon "the institution of Roman political society," excellent as a general sketch, contains also some misconceptions. The plebeian class is well defined, but its origin is placed too early. In the earliest monarchy we cannot conceive any members of society who were not connected with the *gentes*, either as members or clients. But the clients were not plebeians in the true sense of the term. It is true they passed afterwards into the plebeiate, when the gentile organization was relaxed; but, as Mr. Morgan himself shows, the plebeians proper were the unorganized mass, the "lordless" men, as we may call them, who gradually gathered in the city. These were wholly outside of any organization; of course, therefore, could not be called upon (as the clients probably could) for military service, as is stated (p. 323). It would seem, indeed, that the main object of the centuriate organization of Servius Tullius was to bring this class into the military service; the conversion of this organization to political purposes, and its transformation into a voting assembly, must have come later.

The statement, therefore, (p. 333) that the powers of the *comitia curiata* were "now transferred to the *comitia centuriata*" is probably premature; and, at any rate, there were some powers of the

earlier assembly which it never lost. Another statement, that the number of centuries in each class was established arbitrarily, is hardly likely to be true. According to Mommsen (vol. i., p. 137) it was determined by the proprietorship of whole shares (*Hides*), or aliquot portions, of land; the fact then that the first class so far outnumbered the others, shows a high degree of general prosperity and equality of condition. This is a very interesting point, in view of the essentially rural and agricultural foundation of the early state.

The account of the tribes of Servius Tullius (p. 338) lacks definiteness. Nobody puts the number of rural tribes at twenty-six, except as a temporary thing; the full number was, of course, thirty-one. The only question in controversy is whether the rural as well as the urban tribes were established by Servius Tullius. With respect to these tribes, it is an incorrect, or at least a misleading, translation of Dionysius that this king "made the the city to consist of four parts [*τετράφολον*] which before consisted of three;" taken in connection with what goes before, where the word is *μέρη*, this would certainly give the impression that the old divisions as well as the new were local. Neither is it correct to compare these local tribes with the *demes* of Clisthenes, but with his *tribes*; what corresponded to the Attic *demes* were the *pagi*, into which the whole territory of Italy was divided. It is misleading, therefore, to call these artificial tribes "townships;" for, as he goes on to say, they "did not become integral in the sense of participating in the administration of government." The term "ward," used in another place, will do better. Even here, however, he exaggerates the independence of these tribes. It is far from being proved that they had "elective offices;" and they certainly had (individually) no assembly, unless we can call it an assembly where the several tribes came together to cast their individual votes as component parts of the tribal comitia; and even this belongs to a much later stage.

On page 333 we find a misapprehension as to the powers of the Roman Senate, which is represented as being a probouleutic body, like that of Athens, which prepared business for the Assembly. Now this is a strong point of contrast between the Senates of Athens and Rome; their powers in this regard were just the opposite of each other. The distinction, indeed, points to a radical

difference in origin. The Roman Senate has no organic relationship to the probouleutic Senate of Athens, but to the Senate of the Areopagus. The probouleutic Senate was nothing but a committee of the Ecclesia, an institution which the Roman assembly, held rigidly under control by the magistrate, had no occasion for. It was, therefore, a characteristic feature of Roman institutions that it was the magistrate, not the Senate, that submitted propositions of law to the people; and that *after their passage* the laws required the confirmation of the Senate, *patres auctores fiebant*. Hence the technical terms: the law, having been *lata ad populum*, was *re-lata* (carried back) *ad Senatum*, for confirmation. Only for a short time, by the laws of Sulla, it seems to have been required to obtain the consent of the Senate for propositions of law which were to be submitted to the *comitia tributa*.

An error on page 284 is of no importance, except as illustrating the gentile organization and the important practice of adoption. Augustus did not belong to the Octavian *gens*, but to the Julian, into which he had been adopted by his great-uncle. Cicero always speaks of him as Caius Cæsar. As emperor, he assumed the name Augustus,—that of Cæsar he bore already. A slight error of detail on page 291 makes the *jugerum* double its real size.

The criticisms that I have ventured to make do not in any degree detract from the importance of Mr. Morgan's investigations, or their value, in explaining the phenomena of early Roman society. Indeed, if carefully looked at, they will be seen in almost every case to confirm his theory. The erroneous views of the earlier authorities followed by Mr. Morgan, sprang out of a state of opinion upon primeval history wholly foreign to the true conception of gentile institutions. The present generation of scholars, imbued with correct ideas on this head, remedy this defect; and their sketch of early Roman society fits, with hardly a gap, into the theory as to their origin which is elaborated in Mr. Morgan's remarkable book.

THE PEASANTS OF NORTH GERMANY.

Munster, 1878.

THE remains of the old feudal system still exist among the *Bauern*—or peasants—of North Germany. They are divided into classes, the rich farmers and landowners, called *Bauern*, and their tenantry or *Heuerlinge*—hirelings. Of the latter, each family is entitled to a bit of land where they can raise a modest crop and receive in addition a trifling wage from their landlord, but the *Bauer* is the true lord of the soil, and the obedience yielded him by his hireling is as absolute, in effect, as that paid by his ancestors in serfdom, to their lord, two hundred years ago. When the *Bauer* summons his people to the fields, to plant or reap, every creature who is able to wield a hoe or drop a seed must answer to the roll, even if it is a mother with a young babe, or, perhaps, a family of babes about her; often this little nursery is committed to the care of some helpless, aged crone whose increasing decrepitude exempts her from the general conscription, or else to a hapless elder sister or brother—itsself little more than a babe, but developed into premature gravity and thoughtfulness by the stern environments of its lot. Among these people, as indeed throughout North Germany, the conditions of a woman's life are such as to strike wonder into the breast of an American; and the results are, of course, manifested in every phase of life and manners, in such wise that "he who runs may read." Life in North Germany is a serious thing, individual responsibility a precious unit, and in the economy of this people every child has its moneyed value. There are no halcyon, saturnalian years, wherein personal accountability is a myth and ideal liberty a birthright; responsibility begins with the breath, one may say. To utilize this fragment of humanity as soon as may be,—this is the problem, and very soon the ways and means present themselves, and the little faces grow square and set and patient, and the wayward, impassioned impulses of infancy submit themselves to law. Childhood in this land and childhood at home are very different things; and perhaps no apter illustration could be selected to exhibit the contrast between the two peoples as they stand. To decide upon the relative merits or demerits of this system, one must examine it unto its ultimate effects.

But to go back to the peasants. The wealth of the *Bauer* lies in the produce of his lands, his live stock and his linen; of the latter the treasure is fabulous, and descends, like the crown jewels, from generation to generation. The youngest son is the heir. There are exceptions to this in some districts where the English order of succession obtains; but usually, both among the *Bauern* and the aristocracy, the youngest son gets the property, the others receiving only a small endowment of money and, in the former case, cattle and chattels. But now comes a curious point of difference from received ideas: if the youngest child of a *Bauer* happens to be a daughter, she may be made heiress of the *Hof* (estate). In such case, this girl at once becomes the magnet of a large circle. Every son of a *Bauer* who has the ill-fortune to occupy a place in the domestic calendar that bars him the inheritance, sinks into a comparatively subordinate position, unless he can wed a girl who has inherited a *Hof*. Now, if you imagine that where such a one has come to a conclusion in his own mind, as to a suitable object for the reparation of his fortunes, he can go to her and urge his suit in a resolute and downright manner, you are widely mistaken; far other are the usages that constrain this *Bauer* life. It is not from the lover, but from the lady herself in this case, that the overture must come. The heiress of a *Hof* enjoys royal privileges; and truly royal is the manner in which the negotiation is conducted. When the young *Bäuerinn* fixes her regards upon a sweetheart, two intermediaries are requisite to convey the delicate intelligence to its object. If the gentleman should chance to be preoccupied in the matter of his affections, he simply ignores the compliment, and the extremely indirect way in which the invitation has been extended saves maiden pride. But if otherwise, as is usual when the prize of a *Hof* is in the scale, then a visit of state is made in company with his parents, when a rigid tour of inspection is instituted, of the house and premises of the lady, and an inventory taken of every item of her possessions, from the linen closets to the corn fields, during which her parents vie with one another in exhibiting to the utmost advantage the resources of the estate. This visit, supplemented by a hospitable entertainment, is reciprocated by a similar investigation on the part of the lady and her parents, when the father of the lover declares the endowment that he will make to his son, how much

money, what treasure in linen, household goods and stock; and a careful survey and estimate is made by the other party. But now is the critical moment: the irrepressible instinct of traffic has been fermenting in both their minds. A slight difference arises between the *Aeltern*, upon the score of an extra calf or sheep, demanded on the one hand, denied upon the other. It is enough; dispute only whets eagerness and hardens resolution; the negotiation is at an end. So frequently does such termination close these gentle overtures, that the peasants have turned their wits upon it and made a proverb thereat; to wit, "He gives up his bride for a wooden spoon."

The dowry of a girl in marriage is a solid item in the peasant's fortune—there is no American Quixotism here—it is a matter of business, and a portionless girl, be she a very Hebe, goes unwed. This is not confined to the peasants, it is the custom of the country, necessitated, they say, by the conditions of their life, in which small and fixed salaries are the rule in contradistinction to our great commercial enterprises. Throughout the middle class, and among the *Bauern*, hirelings, and peasants of all conditions, the wife brings her allotted portion to her husband, in money or chattels, and an idea of the importance attached to this feature of the transaction may be gathered from the following anecdote. A stranger inquired of a peasant of the lower order, whose circumstances did not appear very prosperous, what was the secret of the success of a neighbor who had started in life under precisely similar auspices to his own. "Ha," cried the fellow, with a singular mixture of envy and indignation in his voice—"there's a bit of a rare fortune for you; he may well thrive, the rascal. *Mein Gott!* has he not got his third wife this very morning, while my old *frau* sits on there in the corner and can do no better than *husten, husten, husten*, (cough), the livelong day!"

THEIR SUPERSTITIONS.

The superstitions,—I use the term in its limited application—of the North German Peasants, are no idle theories or traditions; they are active controlling agencies in their social system, and exercise a direct modifying influence upon their lives. The enactment of miracles in this vicinity has recently been forbidden by the

Prussian Government, and the miracles have ceased; but, only a couple of years ago, the Virgin Mary was declared to have appeared, *in propria persona*, in a tree not many miles from this town, and delivered *viva voce* instructions to a group of young children, to the effect that they must "pray," and "sin no more." The witnesses to this divine manifestation were the aforesaid children and a young epileptic patient, the ward of a priest, who continued to see the vision and fell into spasms every time she was taken to the tree. Doubtful as such testimony might appear to the incredulous, the incident created a powerful impression upon the community, and pilgrimages were made in such force to the spot that the government interfered to check the contagion. The believers in this miracle were by no means confined to the peasantry. Many educated citizens of the middle class were in deep sympathy with the movement, and a lady of birth and education, a most pious Catholic, assured me, with touching earnestness and sincerity, that the image of the celestial vision still remained upon the tree.

Of the minor superstitions, I can best exemplify their reality to the minds subjected to them, by an incident. Passing the night in the house of a *curé* of a small parish, who was also a *Bauer* and master of a *Hof*, I was awakened at two o'clock in the morning by strange sounds in the household, noises of footsteps hurrying to and fro, whispering voices, and, finally, the stirring and stamping of the cattle in their stalls. Rising and going to my window, I saw a young girl issue noiselessly from the house and run from side to side of the farm yard, crying in low urgent tones to the sleeping fowls on their perches, to the dull pigs in their pens, to the birds, even to the bees, to awake, awake, and ever returning to the dumb creatures until each living thing was aroused and moving in its quarters. It was infinitely spectral to watch her flitting through the deep, soft stillness of the summer morning twilight, calling to the sleeping brutes as if some common bond of sympathy united them. As she came back, I leaned from my window and inquired the cause of this mysterious violation of sleep and night.

"Don't you know?" she cried. "The death has come to the old mother, and when I not wake them all, they also die."

I give her own broken English as a more forcible illustration of the wide spread of these superstitions, that, although educated so

far to be able to translate her ideas into a foreign tongue—for she was sister to the *curé*—this girl was still the slave of so irrational a conceit. The aged grandmother had passed from sleep to oblivion in the night, and the moment the presence of the dread visitant was known, they sped to break the spell of sleep on every eyelid, that each organism might gird itself and stand *en garde* against its subtle foe. If they had not been quick to wake them, they assured me, the result would have been disastrous. A neglected calf had been forgotten in a neighboring *Hof*, on a like occasion in the memory of all, and slumbered calmly on. The luckless brute was dead within the year; true, it had broken a couple of legs first, but what has that to do with it?

The efforts of the government to educate this class are seriously impeded by their own resistance and the coöperation of the priests—who are, of course, now in a state of passive hostility to all its measures. Their opposition is of necessity covert, but none the less efficient on that account. Recently, new laws have been enacted to enforce attendance at the schools. Absence must be satisfactorily accounted for to the Board of Trustees, and, if not properly excused, must be atoned for by fine, or imprisonment of the parent for several days. There is a central council which sits in the country town, and local corporations distributed through the surrounding country; upon these last the priests exercise a direct and formidable influence. A late edict has directed the establishment of gymnasiums, to be incorporated with the various schools,—a step esteemed most important by the government, as the bodily condition of the peasants is such that the subsequent discipline of the drill becomes a torture, and is balked of its best results. But the gymnasium costs something, and, beside, it is an innovation—dread word!—tocsin to ignorance throughout the history of the human race. Both clergy and people oppose it. “I can’t say anything,” says the rural pastor to the Board, “but you know what to do.” And it is done,—i. e., external acquiescence and promises to enforce the measure at once are accorded, and the government agent goes away content; whereupon, the Board calmly folds its hands and waits, temporizes, delays, frames one excuse upon another; and weeks and months go by, and the efficacy of the ordinance, such as it is, is indefinitely postponed, until at length a more stringent order comes and the measure is enforced.

THE DRILL OF THE RAW RECRUITS.

THE necessity of the gymnasium is most forcibly illustrated by the scenes that may be witnessed in any town where troops are quartered at the great *Platz*, or drill ground, in front of the quarters. Such a scene could hardly be imagined without some previous experience of the class of men under training. According to the law established by the prime minister Von Stein in 1807, "all men, gentle and simple, were made equal in the eye of the law, as regards the administration of justice and liability to military service, which was then made universal;" hence, every able-bodied man in Prussia is a soldier. The mechanism and evolutions of this great military organization, the system of whose operations is so complete, even to the minutest detail, is not devoid of keen interest, but I cannot deal with it in this letter; suffice it to say that by the conscription laws none are exempt; the meanest peasant, the proudest noble, the profoundest scholar, and the loftiest genius, stand side by side in the rank and file of the army, and, in the event of a war, take their chances of death together, willy nilly. Every man must serve his allotted term and hold himself in readiness for summons; and whether that summons comes to the merchant in the height of his business season, or to the physician in the most critical hour of his professional career, or to the bridegroom at the altar, it admits neither of compromise nor delay. But the drill of the peasants is a distinct feature, and offers phenomena for the thoughtful observer that merit close attention. The spectator's eye is attracted, on his first entrance on the ground, by certain mysterious apparatuses that suggest the idea of a public execution. He is busily engaged, in his own mind, in solving the problem of the purpose of these, when suddenly speculation is banished and attention enchained by the appearance of the squad of recruits who are to be *broken in*. No American whose observation has not extended beyond the limits of his own land could form an accurate conception of the specimens of the *genus homo* who now present themselves. A thousand years of serfdom in a land whose very atmosphere is heavy with the oppressive element of class distinction, alone could compass it. Now is the mystery of the gibbets, etc., sadly solved. Like little children, these rustics have to be taught the coördination of their muscles; they must learn to stand, to move, to hold themselves erect; and,

to do this, the rugged joints and sinews that years have hardened in their inaction or perverted action, must be stretched and wrenched until one feels as if it were a torture, not a drill, that was to be instituted. During the process of bringing these rude organisms into training, groans and even cries of pain are forced from their lips. In the brief scope of this writing it is impossible to do more than sketch the picture that I would present, and hint at the moral which lies beneath. To avoid a fragmentary and incoherent impression, I would fain group the facts in reference to their relations first, and let the deductions follow.

To give you an idea of the habitations of these people, I will describe

A MODERN BAUER HOUSE.

THE old peasant house consisted of a single spacious chamber, which served for kitchen, stable, and dwelling, all in one. But those which are most common at this day are divided after more modern fashion. The frame is built of logs—something in the style of our own log cabins, but filled in with brick, and coated on both sides with solid layers of plaster. A single, long, low structure composes the house, with a roof ascending to a peak in the centre, and descending, in long eaves over the walls, within a few feet of the ground. This roof is usually thatched; thatching is, however, prohibited by government, as involving too great danger of conflagration, and so a reform is commenced, thus:—the peasant replaces the thatching with tiles on one corner of the roof this year, and on another corner next year, not to incur too heavy an expense at one time; and the consequences are an odd picture. The walls of this building are gaily decorated with painted beams, black and white, with Liliputian windows, sometimes round, and not unlike the portholes of a ship, occurring at irregular intervals, according to the caprice of the designer. Entering by a great door, through which a monstrous loaded hay-wagon may be driven, a very novel spectacle presents itself. On either side of the door stand the horse and cow in their stalls, looking out at you with mild wonder, to know what strange visitant is this coming thus into the bosom of the family. A strongly-built, square-shouldered, square-waisted woman, hard at work on a *Schneide läde*, or cutting box, occupies the next stall to the horse; this is the *Bauernfrau*, and mistress of the household. Another

woman, probably a daughter, handles a mighty flail near by, with a strength and skill that shows long practice.

Beyond, a group of children are peering through the bars of another stall at a young calf—a new comer in the family, while a jocund little lamb frolics round them. If you will pause a few moments and observe the children, you will perceive that they are the dirtiest, and the kindest, and the most patient specimens of their race that have ever come within the range of your experience. Four or five infantile creatures, ranging from one and a half years upwards, invariably under the charge of some elder sister or brother of a couple of years seniority, will present to you a spectacle of moral beauty and power, that will throw a halo over their rude environments, transfiguring as an enchanter's wand. Too heavy a burthen of rough manual labor lies on the shoulders of the women of North Germany to allow them the privilege of attending their children, as we interpret that office. The children must take care of themselves and of each other, and they do. In every group, of the hundreds that you pass in the environs of a city or the streets of a village, the oldest child, whether it be a girl or boy of eight or ten, or a mere baby of five or six years or younger, at once rises to the responsibility of the situation, and assumes the office of parent to the rest, with a discretion, a tenderness, and a self-sacrifice that, exhibiting themselves in an endless succession of instances and through all classes of society, form one of the most beautiful and significant features of North German life.

Massive beams support the arched roof of this room, and a flooring runs above them for the storage of fodder. Another mighty door, corresponding to the one you have entered, and fastened back against the partition wall, reveals a second room with a stone floor, where a bundle of logs are burning, apparently in the middle of the room, but you advance and find that they lie in a sort of rude fire-place built for the purpose. This fire-place consists of a massive, solid block of stone, about a foot deep, which is set against the chimney. Upon this hearth are laid the logs for firing; above, about six feet from the floor, is built a huge enclosure of wood to receive the smoke, with a narrow aperture at the back, against the chimney, to conduct it upward through the roof. On the inner sides of this wooden *Rauchfang* are hung the famous Westphalian hams, and the deep blackness of the wood testifies to

the thoroughness with which the smoking process is accomplished. The roof and walls of the room participate largely in the same, and I am told that when the wind is gusty or unfavorable, it is almost impossible to see one's way in the dense atmosphere that crowds these peasant houses. In this room some rude tables stand; while various cooking and household utensils, gracing the walls, proclaim it to be the kitchen and dwelling room of the family. If the hour of your visit be one in which no special press of work is in process in the fields, beside the hearth, smoking his pipe, you will see the master of the house. The relative attitude of the sexes is very different in North Germany from anything in our experience,—the women do the greater part of the rough work, while the position of the men is one of comparative ease.

Passing through a third and narrow door, you reach the sleeping quarters, and finally the parlor of the *Bauer* household. The sleeping rooms are readily dealt with: four walls and a bed, or two or three beds or couches, make up the furniture of these. Throughout this region, and through all classes of society, the sleeping apartments are utterly and dismally bare. But the peasant parlor is an apartment of dignity, and a striking illustration of the conception of the beautiful, formed by an unenlightened people, may be found here. A few years ago the peasant house consisted of a single apartment, where man and horse lived harmoniously together, and where all the processes and occupations of life transpired. Now the soldier, returning from his three years in a large city, often in the service of an officer of rank, brings back a new leaven into this primitive life, whose workings may be noted in many a significant change. The parlor becomes now the record of the peasant's intellectual development; it also is under drill, and fearful are the attendant agonies and the contortions that interpret them. A spectacle more grotesque than this room affords could hardly be conceived. Every atrocity of color, every deformity of form, every phrensy of arrangement that perverted instinct could suggest, are here set forth; while the pictures, the latest achievement of *Bauer* ambition, are all strung decently side by side, immediately under the ceiling, where neither light nor sight can penetrate to violate their stately mystery. Such are the rude, crude efforts, which are, however, the marked and steady advances of a class.

I have confined this letter exclusively to the Peasantry, because, wishing to give an adequate impression, I thought it better to present the subject as a whole than in detached parts, but every phase of life here—both in the smaller towns, through the multitudinous grades of the great middle class, and among the aristocracy on their rural estate—presents a rich and almost an unexplored field of interest. Our countrymen who travel in Europe and publish the results of their observations at home, almost invariably direct their attention to the great cities, centres of fashion and trade, places essentially cosmopolitan and, hence, quite devoid of those salient characteristics by which a people may be well and accurately known. Yet a genuine knowledge of our sister nations is so important a desideratum that it seems superfluous to indicate it, and the necessity for the diffusion of such knowledge among all classes was probably never so strongly illustrated as in the present crisis, when ignorance and fanaticism are arming themselves against imaginary oppression, and men venture so stand up on a public platform in our national capital and cite China as a shining example of the blessings and benefits of hand labor.

MAUDE PORTER.

SCHUYLKILL.

SWEET as a nightingale's that "darkling sings,"
 From shaggy coverts comes thy plaintive lay,
 Loved stream! as, lingering on thy flowery way,
 Thou pausest nigh, as if to plume thy wings;
 Then through the breathless woods thy wild voice rings
 A parting anguish, as thy footsteps stray
 Farther from this dear haunt of love and play
 To which thy melancholy memory clings.

Or else thou art the echo of my heart,
 And with its sorrow givest song for song;
 O callous rock! that knowest we must part,
 Yet weepst not; and O ungrateful throng
 Of surly oaks, your playmate leaves you ever;
 But in my heart thou singest still, sweet river!

JOHN ARTHUR HENRY.

NORWEGIAN SUMMER DAYS.

THE summer voyager across the Atlantic, desirous to separate himself from the crowd of travellers intent on "doing" the usual places of resort, should go to Norway. Very naturally, the reader will ask why? The writer has found out, and to the end that others may profit by his experience, and take pleasure in their own, he will tell the story of a few weeks' travel in Norway. The reasons for going there are, in brief, because the scenery is glorious, the climate delightful and invigorating, the living at least clean and comfortable; prices are low, there is good shooting and fishing; while, as to the people, there are none pleasanter to be found anywhere, especially for an American.

The announcement of our nationality almost invariably seemed to please those to whom it was made. To a great degree, this is doubtless due to the interest which Norwegians feel in a country whither so many of their people have gone, to its and their own benefit. In 1872, (I have seen no later statistics), over fourteen thousand came to the United States; scarcely any return. Preëminent among the characteristics of the Norwegians is their honesty; they are something more, they are trustworthy. They are, moreover, frank, good-tempered and kindly, courteous withal, as those who show to others the respect they feel for themselves. But they must be met in a like spirit. The traveller accustomed to give himself "airs," will find them nowhere so unprofitable as among this independent, high-spirited people. This is a discovery many of our English cousins make, or at least have the opportunity of making, for the manners of many, not to say most, of them are no more ingratiating here than elsewhere. "The English come to this country," said a Norwegian gentleman, who expressed his satisfaction on learning that we were Americans, "as if every one was bound to wait on them; 'here is the money,' they say."

But we have wandered a long way from Norway. The shortest route there from this country is by way of Hull, England, whence the Wilson Line of steamers goes in two days to Christiania. We went by the *Angelo*, a fine vessel, and well commanded. The fare wretched; why, no one knew. Christiania was reached about 11 p. m.; it was still twilight as we walked through the deserted

streets to the Victoria Hotel, into whose comfortable apartments we expanded from our confined quarters on shipboard with a keen sense of enjoyment. The next day, after an appetizing breakfast at this most excellent hotel, we went forth to view the chief city in Norway. Wide, clean streets, well paved, if a trifle less smoothly than those of Continental cities generally, the buildings plain and substantial, of stone or brick; in the newer part of the town, many handsome ones; a well-to-do air about the whole place, as if there were no poverty and no great wealth, with the luxury and display accompanying it. A calm business aspect, moreover, as if there was enough to do, and time enough to do it in. Such is Christiania. Its surroundings are very pretty and bring to mind those of the New England towns; the country is hilly, but the fields seemed well tilled and fertile; everything was fresh and beautifully green.

We were so fortunate as to make the acquaintance of the American Consul, a gentleman well known in Philadelphia as one of the Norwegian Commissioners to the Centennial Exhibition. By him and his wife, in whom we were gratified to find a country-woman, we were received, with true Norse hospitality, at their fine old country house, a short distance from the city. Walking about their beautiful grounds, over lovely green swards and among tall trees of species familiar to us, we realized that our preconceived ideas of Norway, as a cold region, needed much correction. The winter, our hostess informed us, is longer than that of central New England, but not colder. The days are shorter; in mid-winter the sun rises about nine o'clock and sets about three o'clock. The climate of Norway is remarkable in being much more agreeable along the coast than in the interior. This is due to the Gulf Stream, which gives the western coast a very mild winter; there the harbors never freeze, even within the Arctic Circle, while in the interior the cold is severe. In summer the reverse is the case; the thermometer in the valleys occasionally stands at 90° in the shade, even in the latitude of Bergen, about 60° 40' north; but the winter is everywhere a long one, and snow lies all the year on the high mountains, and even in spots very low down. At Aak, in the lower end of the Romsdal Valley, on the 26th of July, I saw a large mass, not five hundred feet above tide-water. But in a country one thousand four hundred and forty miles in length, and

extending over twelve degrees of latitude, there is room for great difference in temperature. In the centre and north of Norway are enormous fields of snow and ice, giving rise to numerous glaciers, some of which come down nearly to the level of the sea. The Folgefond glacier, near the Hardanger Fjord, is forty-nine miles long and three-and-one-half wide. From it descends a very noted glacier, the Buerlrae, at Odde, remarkable as having existed only for the last half century, which is believed to be the case with none other of equal size. One can almost see this glacier move, so rapid is its progress. In 1870 it advanced two hundred and sixty feet; in one week of 1871, twelve feet. Descending a river of ice from the summit of the Folgefond Mountain into a deep valley which narrows rapidly, it is dammed up, as it were, between the sides of the opposite mountains. But the everlasting hills do not recoil, while the glacier thus confined moves with tremendous force. Like a gigantic ploughshare, it turns up the earth, crushes trees, and even rocks, heaping them up before it. With the debris thus accumulated at its base are mingled stones, gravel and soil, which are borne along by it and finally fall from it; thus is constituted its moraine, which, in glaciers of long standing, assumes huge proportions. I saw some stones evidently about to fall, and travellers are warned not to remain long at the foot of the glacier, which comes abruptly to an end, towering up like a cliff, in some places fifty or sixty feet high, while from a cavern at its base rushes forth a foaming torrent of the color of soap-suds, the usual appearance of glacier water. Below in the valley lies a farm, on which the glacier has already largely encroached, and which it threatens to overwhelm.

Through Norway are seen wonderful marks of the action of ice and water in past ages. There are rocky valleys where the mountain walls, high up on either side, have been smoothed and planed down by the ice that has swept along them; other valleys, fertile and smiling, where a series of terraces shows the successive heights of the water, as the lake which once existed fell lower and lower, and at last became the river which is now there.

As yet, Norway is not an expensive country to travel or stay in; the constantly increasing number of visitors, however, will doubtless, after a time, raise prices, and attempts at extortion are sometimes met with, though never, I believe, of dishonesty. The

expense of passage by steamer from Thronheim to Tromsö and back, a voyage of about seventeen hundred miles, lasting nearly eight days, was,—passage money, nineteen dollars and fifty cents; meals, attendance, etc., about fourteen dollars and fifty cents. From Bergen to Christiania, a voyage of two days,—passage, about ten dollars; meals, etc., three dollars and fifty cents. Generally, the steamers everywhere are clean and comfortable, and the fare good. On land, the cost of travel by carriole, a very comfortable vehicle, is from 38 to 49 cents a Norsk mile, (equal to seven English miles,) according to the nature of the road. Hotel charges are in proportion; and, as a rule, even in the poorest places, one will find clean rooms and beds. In other respects, Norwegian beds are not to be praised; they are apt to be very small, both short and narrow, with bed-clothes to match. The sole covering often is a thick wadded bed-spread, sometimes filled with feathers, unendurable in summer. The six-foot member of our party was sometimes reduced to the necessity of hanging his feet over the foot-board. How the Norwegians ensconce their burly forms in such close quarters is a mystery.

Christiania is the usual point of arrival and departure of travelers in Norway, though many come and go by way of Bergen, on the west coast, Christiania being near the southern extremity of Norway. Leaving to guide books, where they belong, details of routes, distances, etc., the course of our journey can be given very briefly. Our party of two ladies and three gentlemen left Christiania July 10th, by rail and steamer, for Drontheim, or as the Norwegians call it, Thronheim, nearly due north, but on the west coast, the general direction of which is considerably east of north. Here we took a steamer to Tromsö, eight hundred and seventy-five miles distant; but little more than two degrees of latitude south of North Cape, the northernmost point of Europe. Returning southward, we quitted the steamer at Molde, some twelve hours south of Thronheim, and thence journeyed from point to point in the fjord region, by steamer, boat, and wagon, moving gradually southward, and quitting the country, some by way of Bergen, others from Christiania.

From Christiania to Drontheim, by rail to Lake Mjosen, by steamer across the lake, by rail again the rest of the way, is a trip of two days. Norwegian railroads are not fast; our rate of pro-

gress was about sixteen miles per hour and the train stops over night midway, the reason of which was not made known to us, nor in any way to be conjectured. Excepting for the last few hours, the scenery is not specially interesting. One day, while the train was at full speed, one of the guards passed along on the outside, and suddenly, to our horror, fell off. Rushing to the window, we were relieved to see him get up and run vigorously after the train, which stopped and took him on, apparently, none the worse; he had luckily landed on a sand bank. He was somewhat the worse for drink. This vice is the crying national sin in Norway. On the steamer at Throndeim we got a capital supper of broiled salmon, and then, sitting on deck, watched the sun go down in the north west at ten o'clock P. M. Soon after we were under weigh, and sailed down the fjord in the clear cold light, neither daylight nor twilight, but something "betwixt and between." One large planet was visible in the eastern sky, not another star. At the darkest hour, midnight, it was quite light enough to read. After a night of semi-suffocation in the unventilated state room below, whose port-hole, only some four feet from the water, had to be kept closed, I came on deck to find a glorious summer morning, with a placid sea. On one side, the open ocean; on the other, rocky hills, rising steeply from the water, with here and there the entrance to a fjord. Numerous islands lie off the coast, separated from the mainland, now by wide sounds, now by narrow channels; among these the steamer wound her way. So thickly scattered are these islands along the whole coast of Norway, that a vessel is sheltered from the sea almost every everywhere by passing behind the barrier thus interposed. The aspect of coast is desolate in the extreme. Island and shore are rocky and barren; trees are rare, low bushes and a little grass are the only verdure. The land is high; many of the islands, even, are hills of rock in the sea. Now the steamer enters a fjord and the aspect of the scene changes. The mountains are higher and rise more steeply from the water, there is more vegetation, here and there some rather stunted forest appears, and houses, and fields, and villages are seen. Such is the general character of the west coast, both north and south of Throndeim. Both population and vegetation diminish as we go north. At Tromsö there were scarcely any trees but birch and mountain ash of low growth; or crops, except potatoes, which the frosts of

August sometimes destroy before they can be dug; the pasturage seemed rich and abundant, and there were plenty of cattle.

As we go north the intermediate hills disappear and the mountains are close to the shore. One never tires of looking at them, so grand are their outlines, wonderfully steep above all.

One day we came in sight of a very remarkable one called *Torghatten*, a solid rock, seemingly rising from the sea; in its precipitous side a deep fissure, in whose recesses appeared, as we sailed past it, a gleam of light growing brighter and brighter, until, to our astonishment, a vast tunnel through the mountain opened out. A tunnel in truth it was, made by the hand of nature, nearly level, some six hundred feet long, from seventy to two hundred feet high, and from forty-five to sixty wide, four hundred feet above the sea. On the top of the mountain was a monument, placed there to commemorate the visit of King Oscar (King of Norway and Sweden), some years ago. It may be doubted if the equal of this stupendous chasm exists on the globe. "It appears to have been produced," says a geologist, "by the degradation of a huge mass of mica."

As this explanation may not be perfectly clear to the unscientific reader, I will give the popular Norwegian account of the production of this rift through the mountain, as related to us by the second officer of the steamer. North of *Torghatten* are two singular looking mountains, standing, like it, in the sea. They were once, in the days when there were giants, a giant and giantess. One day they quarrelled, and the former in a fit of rage threw a rock at his companion, which missed its aim but struck *Torghatten*, making a hole clear through it. This statement has the merit of being quite intelligible, and has, moreover, evidence to support it; near *Bodo* they show you, where it fell, the giant's missile, a huge and singular rock.

And so we journey on northward; night has long since ceased to exist, but the night season becomes more and more like day, the glow of sunset never fading in the north. Ideas of bed-time become very indefinite, and, once in bed, those of rising equally so. Multitudes of ducks are seen floating on the water, taking to flight when the steamer comes too near. Among them is the eider duck, of which the down is so valuable, and which is never allowed to be shot. Strange looking birds, like those in pictures of Arctic voy-

ages, sit on low, wave-washed rocks, staring stupidly at us. Stopping places are numerous, and so much freight and so many people come on and go off in boats (the steamer never comes to a wharf), that one might believe the whole population to be migrating from place to place. We cross the Arctic Circle (it was in the night-time, so we did not see it), and at the first little town beyond Bodo, where the steamer stops for an hour or two, we go ashore for a ramble, right glad to escape from the confinement of ship-board. It was a lovely summer day, not hot even in the sun. An excellent road, broad and smooth (the roads in Norway are generally very good), led out of the little town towards some very pleasant looking country. On the outskirts a very pretty country house was being built, it was almost finished, and in front, surrounded by a high wall of turf, was a large garden; our way led along a cliff by the shore of the harbor, past fields of luxuriant grass where sheep and cattle fed. The soil at the edge of the cliff had crumbled away, and our scientific friend showed us a vast underlying mass of fragments of coral, unnumbered ages old, which flourished once in tropic seas in this self same spot. Picture the time when this Arctic region was glowing with equatorial heat? Where then were the poles, the abodes of cold and snow?

We were now within the region of perpetual day, and always during the midnight hour we eagerly watched the north, hoping to see the sun, descending toward the horizon, pause in his downward career, and then slowly ascend, while the hues of sunset changed in a few moments to those of dawn. We watched in vain; every night of the four passed within possible sight of the midnight sun was cloudy; day indeed, but day dark and gloomy. We had encountered weather not unusual at this season of the year in this region. Greatly to our gratification, we afterward learned that the passengers by the steamer which went all the way to North Cape, a voyage occupying from two to three days longer than ours, saw no more than we. Nothing is so consoling as other people's misfortunes under such circumstances.

Tromsø, some two degrees south of the North Cape, was the termination of the voyage north, and here the steamer stopped for thirty-six hours. We went ashore to the "Grand Hotel," so high has Tromsø mounted in the scale of civilization. The accompaniments did not quite correspond with the imposing title, but we were very

comfortable; well fed, cleanly lodged, and not overcharged. There was even a billiard room. This modern town of six thousand people flourishes, and even grows. Why any one who could get away from this desolate region should stay, was to us a mystery; but in the outskirts were many pretty country houses; in the town were two hotels, perhaps more; and the shops, some with handsome plate-glass windows, had a large and varied assortment of goods, among which were American axes and hatchets, and *straw hats*. Straw hats within the Arctic Circle! It was very odd; fancy a Laplander in a straw hat. The straw hats were worn, (though not by the Lapps,) *possibly* because the long-continued sunlight has a somewhat similar effect on men to that which it has on vegetation. This is so powerful that at Alten, north of Tromsö, peas have been known to grow two-and-a-half inches, and barley three, in twenty-four hours, for several successive days.

Mingled with the stalwart Norwegians in the streets of Tromsö, were numbers of Lapps. Ugly, diminutive, intensely dirty, with long, tangled hair, crooked legs, and an indescribable gait; they seemed to me the most repulsive beings I had ever seen, an impression not at all altered by the visit we paid to their encampment in a mountain valley some miles away. We went into their huts, which seemed less dirty than the occupants, and gave evidence of a rude sort of comfort. The inhabitants came out to stare at us, but more especially to offer for sale horn spoons, not unskilfully carved, robes and shoes of fur,—all products of the reindeer, which constitute the Lapps' chief property. A herd of about three hundred is requisite for the support of a family, which they supply in the main with food and clothing.

The herd had been brought down from their pastures for us to see. They were pretty, gentle animals, white and dun in color, larger bodied, but not so tall as the American deer, and with very large horns. One old buck was led by a rope and the rest followed. They were driven into a pen, and those to be milked were caught by throwing a rope over their horns. They were rather restive under the process of milking, and had to be held. The milk is said to be very rich, a fact we did not verify; the aspect of the milker and the bowl of milk, did not suit our fastidious taste. The season prevented the realization of the pictures in the geography of my childhood, where the Laplander is depicted, drawn by

his reindeer in a sledge over the snow, at the apparent rate of twenty miles an hour, with the Aurora Borealis in the background. The Lapps are found in the north of Sweden and Norway, as well as in Lapland proper. The Lapp is an illustration of the maxim, "handsome is that handsome does." He is not good to look on, nor to be with, but he is orderly and inoffensive; he lives by his labor where no others could or would, and vice and crime seem unknown under the sway of his patriarchal rule. The Norwegian government endeavors to provide some education for the Lapps within its dominions, with what success I do not know.

Very willingly, at last we turned our faces southward, enjoying, if it were possible, our second sight of the magnificent scenery more than the first. There are few grander views in the world than that from the middle of the Vest Fjord. On the one hand, some ten to fifteen miles away, are the Loffoden Islands, where are carried on the great cod fisheries,—the long line of their mountain tops, three thousand or four thousand feet high, serrated like a row of shark's teeth, bounding the western horizon; so steep are they that the snow can scarcely find a resting place on them, but long streaks are seen in the gullies and ravines down their sides. Far in the east are lofty snow-clad mountains, evidently higher and no less grand in outline, which are near the Swedish border line. We enter the Vest Fjord at evening, and our view southward is out to sea. The sky is dark, only in the southwest the heavy mass of clouds is lighted up brilliantly with gold. As the eye falls upon them there comes suddenly the consciousness that thither lies home and country, and over the wide waste of ocean the thoughts fly, questioning fondly of loved ones far away. Ah, the hour of contemplation,—twilight there has not yet come, it is early in the day, and they are busy with its cares, they will hardly be thinking of us now.

As our voyage drew to a close the weather grew worse and worse; a heavy, southwest gale and rain came on. Our vessel was crowded with freight and passengers. The storm mattered little while our course lay behind the barrier of islands, but at length, after two days of it, we were forced to quit our shelter and cross a stretch of open sea. The transit lasted three hours. The huge waves, coming from far off in the Atlantic, tossed the little steamer about like a cork, wrathfully splashing on board now and then. It

mattered little to our staunch vessel, but not so the passengers, most of whom were very sick, and the female portion much frightened. Whoever has been at sea is familiar with like scenes, enjoyable only by those who are, as the Norwegians say, "sea-proof." A gleam of humor sometimes relieves their dreariness, and so on this occasion. To a gentleman demanding news of his party in the ladies' cabin, the health bulletin from the Norwegian steward and stewardess came thus:—"They have casted up and are now sleeping."

After ten days passed on her, we very willingly left the "Trondheim" at the entrance to the Molde Fjord, with hearty good will for all on board; we had been well cared for, and received every attention. Taking a little steamer, we set out for the upper end of the fjord, where the Romsdal valley comes down to it. The sun set about 9.30 P. M.; the days had shortened rapidly with our movement southward, but the ruddy light lingered long on the sharp peaks of the mountains, where patches of snow alternated with dark-grey rocks, and spread far along the northern horizon. As it grew darker, the mountains became a very deep blue, the sky an exquisite opal; the young moon, a golden crescent, rose above the mountain tops, while in the south a brilliant planet hung just above a snow-crowned peak. It did not grow dark; we had not yet reached the realms of night. The fjord grew narrower, and huge cliffs rose like walls, hundreds of feet on either hand; suddenly we rounded a bold promontory, and before us lay a beautiful expanse of water, hemmed in on all sides by mountains, whose sides sloped upward with a gentler ascent than those we had passed. On the opposite shore lay Vebhungnaes, which we were glad to reach. It was midnight, but the captain blew his whistle most vigorously, whether on our account or his own, I did not quite make out; his object was attained, for some people made their appearance, and we soon found ourselves in comfortable quarters at the little inn.

The Romsdal Valley is one of the most noted regions for its scenery in Norway. The lower portion, which we visited, is said to be much the finer. For some miles up from the Molde Fjord is a wide, smiling river valley, one of the loveliest spots in Norway; then the scene changes, the mountains grow steeper, the valley narrower; ten miles from the fjord, it is but little over a quarter of

a mile wide, while the mountains tower up on either hand precipitously, in many places perpendicularly, the tremendous ascent unbroken by any intervening height. The Romsdahl, on one side, is four thousand nine hundred and fifty feet high, the mountain opposite higher still, and the road which winds between their bases is but two hundred and fifty feet above sea level. The steepness of the Norwegian mountains is their distinguishing feature. Usually, in mountain regions the higher peaks are so surrounded by others of lesser altitude, and these in their turn by others, that the loftiest are only visible from a distance, until you climb them. It is seldom possible to stand so nearly under, and yet so far below their summit, and look up to them.

We passed a couple of days very pleasantly at Aak, in this part of the Romsdal, and were joined by two friends, Americans, from whom we had parted at Florence in May, hoping we might possibly meet in Norway, which, greatly to our satisfaction, we did. Our party now numbered seven, three ladies and four gentlemen, rather a large one for travelling by land where fresh horses are to be procured every seven miles or so. We had very little trouble, as we took the precaution of sending "forbuds," *i. e.* an order for horses at a certain time, sent on in advance to the places where they are needed. These "forbuds" should always be sent if the traveller wishes to be sure of finding horses. The method of travel by land in Norway is peculiar; it is regulated by law, and, though good in the main, needs some alteration. There are few railroads, and, throughout the kingdom generally, the mode of conveyance is the "carriole," or "stolk kjaerre," the latter a small two-wheeled cart, usually with springs. Neither have tops, but the carriole is a very comfortable vehicle, not unlike an old fashioned chaise, and with a place behind for baggage, where a man or boy can also sit. There were several at the Centennial Exhibition. On every highway there are "stations," usually about seven miles apart, where, on demand, horses and vehicles, (usually carts), can be procured. These the station-master calls for from the peasants living in his district, and they often come from a distance of several miles; hence, a delay which can be avoided by sending "forbud." The traveller must pay for sending after the horse, and a certain rate per Norsk mile (equal to seven English miles), but the total cost, including a gratuity on ordinary roads, is only about thirty-eight cents a Norsk

mile, and if two persons go in one cart, fifty per cent. in addition is charged per mile. A boy or man, sometimes a girl or woman, goes to bring back the horse; they stand or sit behind with the baggage, and jump off at every ascent, to relieve the horse, or whenever a gate is to be opened. Where there is much travel, what are called fast stations are established, where a certain number of horses are kept in readiness. Here, "first come, first served" is the rule, and a "forbud" is of no avail if some one else calls for horses first at the station. Fast stations are kept up by the peasants of the district, to avoid the annoyance of being called on to send away their horses at a moment's notice, sometimes a great hardship. The compensation is the same whether the station is near or far; they are paid only for the distance they carry the traveller: The rate of pay from fast stations is higher.

The Norwegians are very kind to, and very fond of, their horses. Knowing that the stranger who drives the horse cares little for it, the "skydsgutten," i. e., the man, boy, girl or woman in charge of the horse, is constantly on the watch to prevent the animal from being overdriven, and, as their ideas and those of the traveller are apt to differ on this point, there is often a conflict. The children are worse than the grown persons in this matter. If a lady is driving, I have known them to be very annoying, even going so far as to try to take the reins from her. Where the hills are steep, the traveller, unless a lady, is expected to walk up them, and he will do so willingly, if sensible and humane, to rest the patient, willing, little beast who draws him.

One cannot but look with indulgence on the over-particularity of the peasants about their horses. Both master and horse have to work hard to live. The horses are well cared for, almost always in fair condition; nor did I ever see any cruelty to a horse. As a natural result, they are perfectly gentle and well broken. With memories fresh in our minds of Italian brutality towards their poor beasts, we could pardon the Norwegian failing in the opposite extreme, albeit it was sometimes to our inconvenience. Quitting the Molde Fjord, we crossed to Söholt on the Storfjord. Our road lay through a long mountain valley, rising gradually to a height of about two thousand feet, and passing through a region of Saeter huts and upland pastures, where now many cattle were feeding; just as in the Alps, the cattle in Norway are driven in summer to

the mountains, and kept there while the grass lasts. The owners, or some of them, go with them, to look after them and make butter and cheese. One uncomfortable result of this custom, for the traveller, is that he finds it hard to get milk and cream, which in Norway constitute an important article of food, and, generally, a most excellent one. Coffee, the Norwegians understand how to make to perfection; the tea is usually good; the bread, except in the better class of inns, is poor, being of rye, and generally sour; the bread eaten by the peasants, called flädbrod, is made of rye or oat-meal, baked in large sheets, very thin, tasting like sawdust. Very often, at the smaller places, canned meats are made use of. The beer everywhere is excellent. Trout, salmon trout, and salmon are often to be had, and very fine. One's patience is sometimes put to the test by the slowness with which meals, horses, etc., are gotten ready. After a drive of some twelve miles we reached Söholt, with excellent appetites, soon after 10 P. M. Two of us, myself included, had been especially deputed to hurry on and order supper; this weighty duty fell to my charge, and I executed it very promptly. "We want supper." "Oh, yes; what will you have?" reciting a long list of eatables. I made a selection, and then asked, "Can we have it at once?" "Oh, *'strax'*" (immediately). Well pleased, I assured the hungry party arriving, of the excellent supper that was being prepared. After very brief delay, we assembled in the parlor, looking in vain for signs of preparation. Eleven o'clock came, and yet no table was set. I felt my standing in the party sinking lower and lower, and could judge how my friends felt toward me from my own internal sensations. At last, the ladies made a reconnoissance into the kitchen, and found the hostess discussing matters; the supper was still in the preliminary stages. It came a little before midnight; we had yet to learn the significance of "*strax*," which has meanings not laid down in the dictionary; we found it to signify any time from fifteen minutes to two hours.

During the next ten days we journeyed far and fast, by vehicle, on horseback, the men of the party on foot, and by boat. There is no lack of vigorous exercise in Norwegian travel; there are hills to walk up and walk down, with constant jumping in and out of the vehicle; in the boats, of which one must make frequent use, you can generally take an oar, if you choose,—and wherever

you are, there are mountain excursions which will test and develop your physique. Whoever is willing to quit the beaten track will find ample compensation for roughing it, as he will probably have to do in seeing something which everyone does not, and of which the guide-books, perhaps, say little. Our party made such a departure: crossing from one branch of the Storfjord, the Dalefjord, to the Geiranger Fjord, through a grand mountain valley, and having from the summit of the pass a view equal to any we had in Norway. The night before, we arrived late at our place of debarkation, and found that we had left the region of inns. We thought ourselves lucky in getting beds for the ladies, and places in a barn full of new hay for the four men of the party. Our slumbers were delightful; not so the breakfast, which consisted of eggs, rather poor milk, flädbrod and currants; luckily, we had a few biscuit with us. This was less of a preparation for the fourteen-mile tramp which was to succeed, than was desirable. The first half of the distance we had carts for the ladies and baggage, but the last could be traversed only by horses, and so steep was the descent, the last part of the way, that the animals could scarcely get down, and the ladies had to dismount.

We were now on the Geiranger Fjord, one of the most remarkable for its scenery. Procuring a boat and four oarsmen, two of whom had come down the mountain with us, (the Norwegians are at home equally on the mountain or the fjord,) we set out for Hellesylt. The Geiranger Fjord is a narrow, winding arm of a larger fjord. As I looked down on it from the mountain we crossed, it seemed to have sunk into the earth, so profoundly deep was the chasm at the bottom of which it lay, and whose mountain walls were in many places nearly perpendicular, and towered up two thousand or three thousand feet. Rising above them were still loftier peaks, while from the very summits poured down streams of water, falling sometimes hundreds of feet without a break. One small one vanished before reaching the bottom, dissolved into spray; but the most of them were large streams, the milky whiteness of whose foaming waters rendered them visible for miles: at one time I counted sixteen in sight. The great fall of the Geiranger is the "Seven Sisters," whose waters, divided into a number of channels, all close together, fall over a cliff some twelve or fifteen hundred feet high, preserving separate courses throughout. The effect is most beautiful.

The glory and the beauty of Norwegian scenery is chiefly in its fjords and waterfalls. Along the coast the combination of mountain and sea is very grand, but we may find a parallel to it elsewhere; as to the fjords and waterfalls it is not so, there is nothing similar. Perhaps the Yosemite Valley may resemble, somewhat, the fjords; as to this, only those who have seen both can speak. The generally mountainous character of Norway is very marked along the west coast, where are the great fjords, the Molde, the Sogne, the Nord, and the Hardanger, all noted for their scenery.

The mountains are high, even near the sea, whose arms penetrate far in among them, even to the distance of eighty or one hundred miles, filling the lower portions of the narrow, winding valleys,—of which the Romsdal, mentioned above, may be taken as a type. Thus we have “narrow lanes,” as some writer calls them, of water, hemmed in by mountains rising from the water's edge with amazing steepness, and to a height of two, three, four, and even, as in the Naers Fjord, five thousand feet. In places the cliffs are perpendicular, while here and there are narrow shelves high up on the mountain side, where is perched, like a swallow's nest, the hut of some farmer fisherman, whose boat lies in a rocky nook, hundreds of feet below, and whose little farm or pasture is perhaps but an acre or two in extent. That any one could or would live in such a spot was astonishing. One place was shown us on the Geiranger Fjord, where the children had to be tied to secure them from falling over the precipice, and where the dead had to be lowered with ropes, when taken to their graves. In truth, our wonder was often aroused, when looking at the hard struggle for existence of many of the peasantry, that more did not emigrate.

Such is generally the nature of the fjord scenery, though there is much variety. Often, near the sea, the fjords are wide, and the mountains of more gradual slope, and more widely separated, while green and fertile valleys take the place of rocky gorges. This is the type of the Molde Fjord, one of the most beautiful of all. Besides the fjords, there are innumerable lakes, large and small, scattered everywhere throughout the country. Norway is a well-watered country; the vast masses of snow collected on the mountains, and which never disappear from the higher ones, supply countless streams, which everywhere pour down the mountains and through every valley and ravine. The number

and beauty of the waterfalls is marvellous. So frequent are they, that one takes them as a matter of course, and sometimes passes with scarcely a look some cascade that elsewhere he would go miles to visit. With one exception, the Rinkanfos, the most celebrated waterfalls in Norway, the Skjaeggedalfos, the Tyssestregene and the Vörnigfos are near the Hardanger Fjord, and reached from it.

Three of us set out from Odde one day, at 8 A. M., for the two former, which are near by one another. An hour's row down the fjord brought us to the entrance of a narrow valley, through which ran a swift mountain torrent. Quitting our boat, we climbed for two hours along the mountain, following the windings of the valley till we reached a little cluster of buildings, called the Skaeggedal Farm, where several families lived. Farms in Norway are frequently thus occupied; the children of a family marry and settle around their parents, where there is enough land. Sometimes, again, the the owner of the farm keeps laborers about him. The valley was wider here, and there was a little arable land. The only way of communication, for these people, with the outer world, other than the mere foot-path over which we had come, and which had been built, in many places, evidently with much toil, was a bridle-path over the mountains, a day's journey to Odde. We crossed a little lake, and then climbed up to a larger one, about seventy-five to one hundred feet higher, whose waters poured over the barrier between, and fed the stream in the valley we had traversed. Embarking again, a row of five miles brought us to the end of the lake. About midway was a bend, rounding which we came in sight of the Skjaeggedalfos, and further on, up a narrow lateral valley, two streams fell side by side, uniting, apparently, at the bottom in a huge gulf like a cauldron. This was the Tyssestregene, to my mind, the finest of the three waterfalls mentioned. The clear leap of one, if not both of its streams, seemed to me at least six hundred feet. The Skjaeggedal, too, was very grand. Its waters had little direct fall, but poured down the precipice, some six hundred or eight hundred feet high, in wide sheets of foam, sending clouds of spray down the valley, which was like a trench cut out of solid rock, at the bottom of which lay the lake, its waters an intensely dark blue. Several other waterfalls descended into it. We reached the bottom of the Skjaeggedalfos, but had

not time to climb up to the other fall, to which no path had been made. Our return occupied less time than the coming; we got back to Odde about 6 p. m. Before many years, the two falls will be made more accessible. A road will be built, practicable for horses, as has been done at the Vaeringfos, where one can row and ride the whole way. Yet there is an exhilaration in the climb which the visitor will then miss. We had a guide, a very intelligent Norwegian, who had taught himself to speak English, which he did very well. In the course of fifteen years, he said, about one hundred people had gone to America from the little village of Odde and its vicinity, a population of a few hundred souls. Almost none had come back; all were well off in their new home.

And now our pleasant party began to break up. Odde was the point of dispersion; two left for England, by way of Bergen; two set out for Christiania, across the country; the three of us remaining decided on an expedition to the Vaeringfos, before bidding farewell to Norway. On the way, we passed the night at Eide, one of the most attractive spots to which our travels brought us. I have spoken of the comparative cheapness of travel in Norway. We had supper, lodging and breakfast at Maeland's Hotel, at Eide. For supper, reindeer venison, salmon trout, excellent bread, butter, milk, coffee and tea; breakfast the same, excepting the venison, for which was substituted beef-steak and potatoes; beds and rooms very clean and comfortable;—bill for each person, *a little less than one dollar*. If there is any other country where such entertainment can be had for that price, it is yet undiscovered.

The Vaeringfos was easily reached. With one companion, a lady, I set out at 7.30 A. M. A walk of one-and-a-half miles, a two-mile row across a lake, and seven miles ride on a steep but good bridle-path, following the windings of the rocky valley and the course of the stream, past two or three solitary farm houses, brought us a little before midday to where the valley ended abruptly; shut in by huge walls of rock, from whose summit poured a river, making a clear leap of six hundred feet. The volume of water was larger than any fall I had yet seen, and it descended in a solid, unbroken mass, white and foaming, from its rocky bed on the mountain plateau above. It was inexpressibly grand and beautiful. On our way down we met some fifteen or twenty Norwegians, among them several ladies, who had arrived on the

steamer soon after our departure, and for the purpose of seeing the great waterfall. They were going off in the steamer which left at 6 P. M., and returned in time to do so. They walked seventeen miles, a performance which shows that English ladies are not the only good female pedestrians. We took the same steamer for Bergen, which we reached next morning.

This curious old city, famous in Norwegian annals, and which was one of the Hanse towns, the warehouses of whose merchants are still to be seen, is one of the most rainy spots on earth; it rains there over two hundred days in the year. This is partly due to local peculiarities of situation.

The three of us wandered round the streets, examining the curious old houses, and buying quaint old silver jewelry, which in former times the peasants had great store of. Whether they are poorer now, or the fashion has changed, we did not learn. On the wharves were huge piles of stockfish, *i. e.* codfish, dried in the sun without salt, and looking much like sticks of wood at a little distance. This is almost the sole article of export from Bergen, though her ships and seamen go to all parts of the world. The harbor was full of ships and steamers, but their commerce was suffering from the same depression which is, or has been, prevailing in almost every country. My two friends were going to England, and thence home. Next day, a solitary wanderer, I bid farewell to them and happy summer days in Norway, and took steamer for Christiania. C.

NEW BOOKS.

THE FIRST VIOLIN. By Jessie Fothergill. (Leisure Hour Series.)
New York: Henry Holt & Co. 1878.

May Wedderburn, a young English girl, gifted with a fine voice and the love of music, refuses the hand of a wealthy widower (Sir Peter le Marchant), and thus especially recommends herself to her neighbor Miss Hallam, an eccentric and benevolent spinster, who has never forgiven Le Marchant for his harsh treatment of her sister, his first wife. May's elder sister, Adelaide, a beauty of the calculating sort, thinks that May has been recreant to her duty to the family, in refusing so eligible an offer, and determines to secure

the widower for herself. May's horror of the fate which Adelaide seems bent upon, and her dejection at the want of sisterly sympathy, render her more than willing to accept Miss Hallam's offer to take her to Germany, there to pursue her musical studies. While changing cars at the Cologne depot, May loses her way, and reaches the platform just in time to miss the departing train that bears away her two companions, Miss Hallam and servant, to their place of destination, Elberthal. In a strange place, alone, without money, and unable to speak a word of German, she is quite in despair, when she is accosted by a charming German, who, in excellent English, presently informs her that he, too, is bound for Elberthal, and kindly offers to take her in charge. His frank, manly air impresses her with confidence, and he, delighted with his companion, and anxious to prolong the interview, tells her that the next train for Elberthal leaves at seven o'clock, while he knows quite well that there will be several trains before that hour. The interval is agreeably employed in discussing a luncheon and in visiting the Cologne Cathedral, where May, for the first time in her life, hears Bach's *Matthäus-Passion's Musik*. The wonder, the enthusiasm, at all that she there sees and hears, and her modest, sensible bearing under the trying position in which she is placed, are charmingly and delicately described. Arrived at Elberthal, the stranger leaves her at the door of her *pension*, where Miss Hallam has been anxiously awaiting her. Although greatly interested in him, she does not see him again until some days afterward, when she recognizes him in Eugene Courvoisier, the *first violin* of the theatre orchestra. Yielding to what she afterwards acknowledges to have been a silly and ill-bred prejudice, she is so surprised at finding him in such a position that she cuts him.

Her musical studies, directed by the *concertmeister*, Herr Franciscus, progress favorably, and ere long introduce her to various musical people, among them Friedrich Helfen, a friend and admirer of Courvoisier, with whom also, after various abortive attempts at excusing her former rudeness, she renews her acquaintance.

Courvoisier's name is an assumed one, and he has a secret which has thus far been well kept. He has been unjustly accused of a forgery committed by his wife, and, to spare her, has allowed his own kindred to believe him guilty. His wife has died, and yet he has made no attempt to clear himself. His chief desire is to forget and be forgotten; and so, giving up his relations with the noble house of which he was a member, he has come to Elberthal, where, as Eugene Courvoisier, first violin of the orchestra, he has, at the time the story opens, been living for some time. His life is a quiet and retired one, and his modest quarters are shared by his child (not the least interesting personage in the story), and Fredrich Helfen.

Certain Elberthal busybodies at last discover his secret, and when obliged to face the accusation he fails to deny it. May and Helfen, of course, still retain their faith in him. Courvoisier, determined that his child shall know nothing of the stain upon his name, resigns him to the charge of his noble relatives, enters the army, and bears himself heroically through the Franco-Prussian war. May, who has in the meantime returned to England, revisits Germany, and, while seeking to refresh Elberthal memories, again encounters Courvoisier,—this time under very peculiar circumstances. A freshet brings them together; they chance upon the identical raft, or portion of a bridge of boats, which the angry Rhine has torn from its moorings, and, with commendable presence of mind, give up the possibly brief space of time at their command to love-making. Of course, they are saved and, in the end, overcome the various obstacles that hinder their marriage. There are freshets and freshets, and there are May Wedderburns as well as Maggie Tullivers.

We have barely sketched the outline of a story which, in spite of certain obvious faults of construction and an absurd interlarding of translatable German words and phrases, we have found both clever and interesting.

The music-talk is such as might be expected from one who has enjoyed abundant opportunities of listening to good music, and has even given some attention to the study of the art, but whose enthusiasm has not been sufficiently tempered by knowledge. At the risk of appearing pedantic, we need but refer to one instance which, to our mind at least, would seem to argue an *outside* view of the musical resources of such performers as Miss Fothergill would have us believe Courvoisier, Helfen and Linders to have been—and that is, their finding rest and comfort in the Beethoven Pastorale Symphony, as played on two violins, a violoncello and a piano!

Strictly speaking, *The First Violin* is a musical novel to the extent that it deals with music and musical people, but lacking the more potent spell of George Sand's *Consuelo*, precocious Miss Sheppard's *Charles Auchester*, or, in another sense, Hans Christian Andersen's *Improvisatore*.

THE FRENCH REVOLUTIONARY EPOCH: being a History of France from the beginning of the First French Revolution to the end of the Second Empire. By Henri Van Laun. In two volumes. Pp. xx., 503 and xvii., 454. New York: D. Appleton & Co.

Mr. Van Laun is becoming one of the recognized interpreters of the French people to English readers. His translations of Taine and of Moliere, and his history of French literature, whatever

their defects of workmanship, fill each a vacant place in our literature and help us to a better understanding of *la grandnation*. His present work has the same merit in an equal degree. Parts of modern French history are very familiar to most English readers. The first and the third revolutions, and the era of the first empire, have been brought into clear and strong light; but the inter-spaces are, to say the least, in the shade to most people. The period between 1815 and 1848 is but little understood, and the era of the second empire is equally obscure to those whose memories do not reach back as far as the *coup d'état*. A continuous history of the period 1789-1870 is therefore a real addition to our literature. In its preparation, Mr. Van Laun makes no pretence to fresh researches or originality of treatment. He follows M. Taine in his preliminary sketch of the *Ancien Régime*; the best English and French authors on the great Revolution and the Empire; the *Histoire des Français* of MM. Lavalée and Lock for the remainder. The work is a piece of book-making, if you will, but of such book-making as only a man of special information, good judgment and literary skill is capable of producing.

The manner and style of the book is good, and its moral tone sound. If the author's condemnation of character and acts is not always as severe as the facts warrant, it seems to be due to his not having gone into the details so fully as he might. There are points, for instance, in Lanfrey's tremendous indictment of Napoleon, which seem well substantiated by evidence, but to which some attention is due. Such for instance was the virtual desertion of Massena in Genoa, by which the humiliation of a surrender and consequent imprisonment was needlessly inflicted on one of the bravest of French generals. The abandonment of Kleber in Egypt was still worse. On the whole, we should have preferred a more decided emphasis to the ethical aspects of the story, Where Mr. Van Laun does speak as a moral judge, he seems to speak rightly; but a part of the pains he has taken in his excellent account of great engagements, might have been well expended in bringing to light those aspects of the story which illustrate Schiller's saying, "*Die Weltgeschichte ist das Weltgericht.*"

On minor points, our author is not always informed of the latest results of investigation. Thus, under the year 1794, he speaks of the young Royalists having adopted the name "gilded youth,"—a phrase nowhere found in the contemporary literature of the period of the Republic, or even that of the Directory. It was a fanciful name applied to the party by some writer of a much later date.

SOCIAL ETIQUETTE OF NEW YORK. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1879. Pp. 187.

"Etiquette is the machinery of society," and here we have it again grinding out truisms and platitudes that only bore people

who know better than to be guided by them, and frighten those who try to guide their conduct by such "hard and fast" rules. A clever story of Washington society is more to the purpose than any excerpts of this manual. A young Belgian who came to Washington to join the legation, talked freely of his hard fate in being thus exiled, and declared roundly that he would speak nothing but French, lest the American accent might spoil his English learned at the Court of St. James. On his request to be introduced to a young lady who had heard these diatribes, she mildly asked if he were not a Belgian. "For then," she said, "I must decline the honor, lest my Parisian accent should be spoiled." He soon became a wiser man, but no such lesson is taught in this or any other book of etiquette. Like most manuals of instruction in manners, the matter is thin and beaten out, and grammatical inelegancies are very frequent; but we have the following phrase for further study, "It is common for *them* (young ladies, no doubt, although only the singular 'she' has been used before, except of the readers), to decline matrimony before they are invited to accept it, just as ambitious politicians refuse an office before nominations." When this has been fully digested, we shall be glad to hear what it all means and then to have, from the lucky discoverer, a solution of all the inscrutable laws prescribed for the daily life of the unhappy New Yorker, who waits to learn by book how to be born, married and buried, and what to do at all the "intervals of his lifetime in society."

JOHNSON'S CHIEF "LIVES OF THE POETS," being those of Milton, Dryden, Swift, Addison, Pope, Gray; and Macaulay's *Life of Johnson*. With a Preface by Matthew Arnold. To which are appended Macaulay's and Carlyle's *Essays on Boswell's Life of Johnson*. Pp. xlv., 439. New York: Henry Holt & Co.

Some years ago Matthew Arnold conceived and executed a school edition of the last twenty-six chapters of the Prophecy of Isaiah,—the part usually attributed to a later but unknown prophet, the greatest of the Hebrew poets. He did so with the purpose of making school children acquainted with a really fine piece of literature, and in so far to counteract the excessive tendency of our times to exalt scientific studies at the expense of letters. He also thought that the book would furnish an excellent centre for historical studies,—a landmark with reference to which other events in the world's history could be located. It seems to us, however, that the four Gospels are much more central to the world's history than is even "the fifth evangelist," the deutero-Isaiah.

The same purpose has determined the selection of Johnson's lives of six English poets, which cover the period 1608-1771, as both "a first-rate piece of literature," and a good centre from which to study the history of English literature and English life. He places these biographies far above the level of ordinary literary history, as giving a genuine insight into the men and their works. They cover the transition from the grand stateliness of the Elizabethan prose, to the easy and cheap elegance of the Georgian era, when the style which dates from the Restoration attained its culmination.

The American publishers have added the two famous essays on Johnson, by the two most brilliant essayists of our century. They quote somebody as calling that of Carlyle a "rejoinder" to that of Macaulay, but we fail to see any reason for this opinion. Carlyle's estimate of Johnson, and even of Boswell, is a criticism of the whole *genus* of Macaulays, but we doubt if Maister Thomas had that particular specimen in his eye. His appeared, indeed, in the following year, and its author possibly had the Whig reviewer in his mind's eye, but we believe it would have been much the same if Macaulay never had written.

Of the book as a whole, we can speak with very high praise. It is, in most respects, an excellent introduction to the study of English literature, and will do young readers more good than a dozen histories of literature would. And it has the merit of rescuing Dr. Samuel Johnson from unmerited literary oblivion. Everybody reads Boswell in our days, but no one reads Johnson; and thus we miss the exquisite sense of the contrast between the man's works and his table-talk. A course of the *Rambler*, before Boswell is read, would be a fine preparation for it. Now Dr. Arnold has extricated the best of Johnson's biographical work—always excepting the life of Savage—from a mass of insignificant material, and has placed this before the public in such a dress and with such commendation, as will secure a host of readers for the best English writer of the last century; and he has also given a good introduction to the study of English literature in the so-called classic age.

But this last phrase qualifies our estimate of the book. Of the grander literature of which Milton and Barrow are the closing names, the student will learn but little from the book. Of the grander literature which begins with Burns and Cowper, he will learn even less. Gray, it is true, is in some sense a link to the future, as Milton is to the past; but the great spiritual awakening which attended the French Revolution, and the rise of the new tastes which we call romantic, have put us in a different mental atmosphere from Johnson's; and if Dr. Arnold had given us additional biographies of Cowper, Wordsworth, Shelly and Coleridge, he would have made the book a far more satisfactory one.

Neither can we regard the book as altogether satisfactory for

the period it does cover. As Dr. Arnold admits, Milton by far outweighs all the other five poets; his period, as disclosing the deepest springs of English life, has about the same relative preponderance. But Johnson's life of Milton is little better than a partisan libel on the man and his times. His prejudices are fortunately disclosed to the unwary reader in his literary criticisms. He finds Comus "tedious," and says of the sonnets, "of the best it can only be said, they are not bad."

ORATORY AND ORATORS. By William Matthews, LL. D., author of "Getting on in the World," "The Great Conversers," "Hands, their Use and Abuse," etc., etc. Chicago: S. C. Griggs & Co., 1879. 8vo., pp. 450.

Mr. Matthews is a sort of prose Tupper; he has only to turn on the tap and there is such a flow of words as might fairly suggest the title of the last of his own works that meets us on his title-page and faces us on his fly-leaf, for if he knows anything about the use and abuse of words, he conceals that knowledge in his love of authorship. We have to thank him for leaving out a chapter on military eloquence and sketches of a number of orators, but we fear that his apologetic reference to this fact only points the way to another volume. There are chapters on various phases of oratory, and answers to the author's own inquiries as to the qualifications of orators, their trials and helps, and on English, Irish and American political, forensic and pulpit orators, and they are an ingenious patch-work of quotations and elaborate expansions of the really good phrases borrowed for the sake of an idea, but it is a far stretch between the statements that really bear on the subject in hand. We wish the author could have learned the art he praises in Curran and Canning, of dovetailing his borrowed inspirations so that they might seem original; but anecdote and illustration and text, what little there is of it, all fall out of a sort of mental waste-basket, and the reader plods on through a steady stream of borrowed paragraphs, wondering how anybody could have gathered together such a store of pointless phrases only to turn them loose into a book, when diligent sifting and plain writing would have made the task so much easier. The whole gist and substance could be given in a few pages and be read easily and profitably, while the book in its present size defeats its purpose and neither instructs nor amuses.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

- My Guardian. By Ada Cambridge. Sw'd. 16mo. Pp. 274. Price 60 cents. New York: D. Appleton & Co. [Porter & Coates.
- Tales from the German of Paul Heyse. (Collection of Foreign Authors, XV). Sw'd. Pp. 281. Price 50 cents. New York: D. Appleton & Co. [Porter & Coates.
- Health Primers, No. 1.—Exercise and Training. By C. H. Ralfe. 32mo. Cloth. Pp. 96.
- “ “ “ 2.—Alcohol: Its Use and Abuse. By W. S. Greenfield, M.D. 32mo. Pp. 95.
- “ “ “ 3.—The House and Its Surroundings. Pp. 96.
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- New York: D. Appleton & Co. [Porter & Coates.
- Modern Fishers of Men. Sw'd. 16mo. Pp. 179. Price 50 cents. New York: D. Appleton & Co. [Porter & Coates.
- The Multitudinous Seas. By S. G. W. Benjamin. (Handy Volume Series). Sw'd. Pp. 132. Price 25 cents. New York: D. Appleton & Co. [Porter & Coates.
- The Commercial Products of the Sea. By P. L. Simmonds. 12mo. Cloth. Pp. 484. New York: D. Appleton & Co. [Porter & Coates.
- A Glossary of Biological, Anatomical and Physiological Terms. By Thomas Dunman. Cloth. 12mo. New York: D. Appleton & Co. [Porter & Coates.
- Birds of the Colorado Valley. By Elliot Coues. Washington: Government Printing Office.
- Industrial History of the United States. By Albert S. Bolles. 8vo. Pp. 936. Norwich, Conn.: Henry Hill Publishing Co.
- Addresses and Speeches on Various Occasions from 1869 to 1879. By Robert C. Winthrop. Cloth. 8vo. Pp. 566. Price \$3.50. Boston: Little, Brown & Co.
- The Races of European Turkey. By Edson L. Clark. 12mo. Cloth. Pp. 532. Price \$3.00. New York: Dodd, Mead & Co. [J. B. Lippincott & Co.
- As It May Happen; a Story of American Life and Character. By "Trebtor." 12mo. Cloth. Pp. 416. Price \$1.50. Philadelphia: Porter & Coates.
- A Selection of Spiritual Songs with Music for the Church and Choir. Selected and arranged by Charles S. Robinson, D.D. 12mo. Cloth. Pp. 441. Price \$1.50. New York: Scribner & Co.
- Academie Royale de Belgique. Bulletin Nos. 9, 10 and 11. Bruxelles: F. Hayez.

THE
PENN MONTHLY.

MARCH, 1879.

THE MONTH.

IN 1848, Jules Grevy led a small party in the National Assembly in their resistance to the establishment of a Presidency of the French Republic, predicting the results which would follow if the office should come to be vested in a man of no honesty or of no patriotism. In 1876, he took the same ground in the formation of the present constitution, and defended it with arguments drawn from the history of the intermediate decades. In 1879 he is President of the Republic himself, and the first occupant of that office of whom it is certain that he will be faithful to the trust which has been reposed in him.

Marshal Macmahon's resignation grew out of his stubborn opposition to the reconstruction of the army by the removal of unfaithful commanders. To resign was just the advice which the reactionary party must have given him. Since he would not oppose the wishes of the ministry and the legislature in other matters, and since the army was the only institution upon which the Monarchists retained any hold, he could be of no further service to their purposes if he allowed the army to be reorganized. Rather he would, in their view, be making the Republic respectable by his prestige, and keeping in abeyance those dissensions and extravagances to which they look forward as the ruin of the Republic. And for once, Madame Macmahon and her friends appealed to some of the strongest instincts in the soldier's breast. The men

to be removed were his own companions in arms; his consent to their removal would be a fatal blow to his own standing in the eyes of that public for which he cares the most, the military public. Nothing was left for him but a quiet resignation and a graceful submission to the inevitable. And the submission was graceful on its public side; he was among the first to congratulate his successor.

The third term in the problem of French politics, M. Gambetta, seems to have played his part during this crisis with more of cleverness than of candor. He led for a time the opposition to the Dufaure ministry, and then as suddenly saved them from defeat on their offering even an unsatisfactory compromise, which his more honest partisans could not accept. When the Marshal's resignation was certain, he laid his plans to have M. Dufaure put in his place, accepting him for the same reason for which a conclave accepts an aged and feeble cardinal as the best pope, in the hopes of a new election at no distant date. Failing in this, he hastened to the support of M. Grevy as soon as it was evident that no one else could be chosen. His subsequent election to M. Grevy's position as President of the Chamber, means that he puts himself in training to become M. Grevy's successor in the other Presidency also. Upon this one man depends the future of the Republic. If he can retain his hold upon the Radicals, without adopting their crudities and extravagances, the Republic will live. But if he fail in either respect, it will forfeit its hold on the rural constituencies, and France will once more be divided into two hostile and evenly balanced camps, neither of which can show any quarter to the other. And the dangerous question, on which Radicalism is likely to shipwreck the Republic, is that of the Church, and especially its relation to education. If the moderate party among the priesthood can be made to feel that atheism and republicanism are not two names for the same thing, and that the new order of things is not hostile to the institutions which they value more than any other, the result will be peace and permanence. If not, we shall have one more chapter in the history of French vibrations from extreme to extreme, from Voltaire to Marie Alacoque and back again, which has been going on ever since France rejected the Reformation.

In the absence of important news from Afghanistan—where the occupation of Candahar and the reverses suffered by the British

at the hands of the mountain tribes are the only events—comes the intelligence of a severe reverse suffered in the war with the Zulus of Southern Africa. It will be remembered that the English authorities some years ago effected a forcible annexation of the Transval Republic, inhabited by the Dutch colonists, on the plea that the Republic was manifestly unable to sustain itself in the war with these Zulus, at whose hands it had recently sustained severe defeat. It was urged that the outcome of the war then pending would be a general outbreak of all the native tribes against all the European settlements, and, to prevent this, England took the management of the matters into her own hands. This was not an auspicious beginning, and the subsequent steps of British policy have been anything but wise or just. In the treatment of the native tribes, the insolence of superior power has been more prominent than the justice of a higher civilization. At last a demand for changes in the Zulus' laws and the dismissal of their army, was presented as the ultimatum, and when this was refused, the war was begun with a force altogether insufficient for the purpose. As the *Spectator* of February 1st. stated the situation, just after the outbreak of the war was reported—"on one side an army of 40,000 Zulus, fairly armed, trained to obey, and flushed with victory and vanity, and on the other, 6000 English soldiers, supported by a considerable body of undrilled European yeomanry and 7,000 doubtful natives. These are long odds, and.....we do not wonder that men more familiar with Natal, and experienced in old Kaffir wars, should regard the prospect with considerable anxiety." The *Spectator* hoped for the best, because it was confident that the superior strategy of the English would enable them to administer a crushing blow at the opening of the campaign, and thus break the spirit of the enemy. But the facts reverse the prophecy. An English detachment has been entrapped, surrounded, overwhelmed by superior numbers, and shot down to the last man. The Zulus are wild with the excitement of victory; great quantities of guns, ammunition and other military supplies have fallen into their hands, and no colonist, Dutch or English, feels his life worth a year's purchase. For these Zulus are the bravest and the most warlike of African races, being, in fact, simply the northern branch of those Kaffirs, who for years coped with the undivided strength of England; and they seem to have a king who knows how to lead and

how to fight. The authorities have found it necessary to disarm by force all the native troops.

Just at present, the problem of reinforcing the English troops in Natal is no easy one. The little army which holds the greatest of Empires in safety, and its subject races in obedience, is needed in many quarters. Some have to keep a bold front on the Mediterranean ; others are plunging through the frosts of Afghanistan, or are garrisoning an uncertain India. There is hardly enough left to garrison the great posts, and some of them must be left unoccupied if regiments are to be sent to Natal. The newspapers talk of orders being given which will bring the force up to what it was before the disaster, but we have seen that this was altogether insufficient before, and it will be still more so now, when the Zulu army will be more confident and larger. Unless a defensive war of posts is intended, it is hard to see what can be done with the troops now available.

THE " Condition of England Question " is once more an urgent one. Scotland, indeed, is even worse off. The failure of the Glasgow Bank has inflicted suffering on all classes, and great multitudes have been reduced from wealth, or an easy competence, to penury, and often to absolute want. It is not to be wondered that the exasperation at the conduct of the bank's directors is excessive and unreasonable. Nothing short of their solitary imprisonment for life, or transportation to a penal colony, would have satisfied the popular feeling. But the law has been fairer, as well as gentler, in its treatment of them. It could not find these men guilty of robbing the shareholders, when in no instance had they misappropriated the funds entrusted to them for their own use. Their wild and ruinous acts of management were honestly meant to save the bank, which was ruined before it came into their hands ; and, in the eyes of the law, their only crime was their preparation and publication of false statements as to how the accounts of the bank really stood. For this offense—a very grave one, of course—they have been sentenced to brief terms of imprisonment with hard labor.

The Glasgow Bank went down because of transactions with houses in the American and Indian trades, a fact which shows the

general drift of things in England. The American market especially, they are coming to see, is finally lost to them. Mr. Mackenzie of Dundee, in a paper in *The Times*, shows that our market for cottons is rapidly closing to English producers, since only the very fine grades are still imported in any quantity, and even those are now beginning to be made at home. He attributes this change to the rapid advances made in methods of production, and to the sobriety, intelligence and general excellence of our working classes. Within a given period the American workman has doubled his rate of production, while the Englishman has not increased his by one-fourth. He further shows that the export of our cotton goods to Europe now affords us a moderate but steady profit, and is likely to attain considerable dimensions. He believes that the only effect of the adoption of Free Trade would be to enable the American producer of cottons to cheapen his product still farther and give him a better hold on the markets of the world.

More recently, a government contractor for hardware supplies has been called to account for furnishing American locks for the use of the English government. In his reply he shows that he only acted on those principles which every Free Trader regards as final. He bought the American article because it was the best to be had, and cheaper than any other. He calls attention to the fact that in hardware, tools, and machinery, America has quite distanced England, through the number and the excellence of new inventions. In England an inventor can hardly get anything out of the usual line of production, made for his use, and, if at all, only at an extravagant price. The patents issued by the government are merely a costly registration of claims, without any real security. In America the patronage of inventors is competed for; their requisites are furnished at low rates and with admirable adaptations; the patent system is both cheap and effective.

The export of American cheese to Europe has not only brought the Swiss producers into a state of despair, but has inflicted severe competition on the English producer. American cheese of better quality than that of Cheshire, is sold in London at a lower price, and the English producers confess that they must change their system and improve their methods, if they are not to be shut out of their own home market. The price of meat has been seriously

reduced by the importation of American cattle, and the strength of the new "interest": thus created is seen in the concessions made to it under a recent alarm as to the importation of cattle diseased with pleuro-pneumonia. It was agreed that if a sufficient slaughter house were erected at the Liverpool docks, no further restriction on imports would be required.

If things go on in this way, it will be difficult for England to know what she is to turn her hand to. Food and manufactures alike are offered her by Protectionist countries, at a cheaper rate and of better quality than her own neglected and ignorant workmen can produce them. Her most enterprising peasantry, the hop-growers of Kent, are planning wholesale emigration to New Zealand, as American competition has ruined their business, and as they are refused the Protection for which they unitedly asked. Perhaps the statesman who gave up the cause of Protection a quarter of a century ago, may see reason for resuming its advocacy before long.

PRINCE BISMARCK still persists in his determination to establish the Protection of Home Industry in Germany. When taunted in the Prussian Diet with his change of views, he did not deny that he had not always thought this the best policy. In former cases, his economical policy was subordinated to his diplomacy. He favored Free Trade to please France and Austria. Since he has nothing to care for now but the welfare of Germany and the integrity of the Empire, he naturally inclines to a thoroughly national policy, and to ignore the interests and claims of foreigners.

The Chancellor's change of views is not an isolated fact. It corresponds to a vast change of sentiment which has been taking place throughout Germany during the last ten years. A vigorous agitation has been carried on by the Protectionist party, while their opponents looked on with calm and contemptuous indifference, assuming that no person *could* be convinced by such arguments as those of List, Carey and Stoepel. Not until the revolution was effected, did the Free Traders attempt any united action in opposition to it, and then only with the conviction that it was too late. The Berlin correspondent of the London *Daily News* concedes that Bismarck has the constituencies with him, and that he will appeal

to them with complete success if the Parliament reject his measure. An Englishman writes from Berlin to *The Spectator*:—"There can be no doubt that in the present state of the country the constituencies will send back men who will endorse a fiscal scheme professedly based on protection to native industry."

The accession of Prince Bismarck to the ranks of the Protectionists is decisive because it carries to them the support of the Tory or *Funker* party, "the landed interest" of Germany, leaving only the cities of the seaboard, and their chambers of commerce, to support Free Trade. The Free Traders, especially in England, hope that the coalescence of the *Funkers* and the manufacturers will prove impossible, as the latter will fear the effect of the duty on corn, which is one part of the proposed tariff. "It is clear that the battle will be fought on the corn duties. If this point is carried in Parliament, the Chancellor is master of the situation, and a financial system of thorough Protectionism along the whole line is ensured in Germany." If the manufacturers hesitate to enact protection for agriculture, they deserve to be defeated; but we have not the slightest reason to suppose that they will. It was a part of the proposals they laid before the Empire some years ago, and no change of platform has been announced on their part.

The situation in Germany causes great excitement in England, and every indication of the result is watched with eagerness. It is felt that the re-establishment of "intense" Protection "in an empire that geographically constitutes the central limb in the European organism." . . . "may but too probably prove an example of deplorable attraction to other continental governments."

Secretary Evarts, or somebody else in the State Department at Washington, has managed to inflict a sore disappointment upon an outraged and humiliated people, who have asked our assistance, and were induced to expect it. For a long time past Japan has been deprived of the right of regulating her own commerce, through the operation of a group of commercial treaties, none of which can be revised until *both parties* are agreed that revision is needed. These treaties were exacted by bullying of the most contemptible sort, and by a display of physical force on the part of the representatives of Great Britain. The United States was made

a party to one of them in the absence of our minister, who was represented by a foreigner attached to the legation. But no one has derived the slightest benefit from these compacts except Great Britain, as indeed was the intention from the first. Japan is forbidden to impose any but a very small import duty upon imported goods; all offences against the treaties, on the part of foreigners, are referred to the consular courts; a foreign and utterly needless jurisdiction is set up on the national soil of Japan. As a consequence, Japanese industries are crushed under the influx of Manchester "cheap and nasties" and Brummagen wares; the enterprise of her people is deprived of legitimate outlet, and the power of association among them is destroyed; while money, the instrument of association, is drained out of the country, and the Empire rapidly impoverished. Even English writers have denounced the iniquity of bullying a weaker power into signing away its sovereignty. We refer especially to a famous article in the *Fortnightly Review*; and the *Pall Mall Gazette* has again and again declared that Japan needs a moderately protective tariff, and should be left as free as any other country to manage her own affairs. But the English Government has clung to the treaties with a tenacity which shows how valuable they are to English commerce.

In this state of things Japan has been looking for aid to the Treaty Powers for years past. Very naturally, she selected America as the first to be approached, as being the freest from English diplomatic influence, and the most likely to sympathize with Japan. In this she has been encouraged by our representatives, by Americans resident in the country or visiting it, and by the able American paper, *The Tokio Times*. Mr. Fish was asked for help during Gen. Grant's administration, but he turned a deaf ear to Japan's grievance, and declared he saw nothing in our relations with Japan which called for amendment. But Mr. Fish, unlike his superior in office, had no sympathy with the American policy of protection to home industries. Since the administration changed, the attempt was renewed with Secretary Evarts, and seemed to promise success. Our country was to take the lead in renouncing any claim to dictate to Japan as to how she should regulate her own affairs. But since the Treaty has gone through the State Department it has been robbed of all that makes it worth the having,

through the addition of a clause providing that this renunciation shall have no force until the other Treaty powers make the same agreement.

It is said that English influence has secured the insertion of this fatal clause, and the consequent disappointment of Japanese hopes. It is certain that English diplomacy has watched the relations of Japan with America very closely, and the Secretary of the Legation at Washington has been, in several recent instances, taken from among those who had served in Japan. But we hardly think this supposition is needed to account for the blunder. It is too much the habit of diplomacy to regard treaty making as a game of grab, for any considerations of magnanimity or friendly help to be regarded as sufficient motives for action. If any British influence was exerted, it probably took the form of a sneering suggestion that the United States would be fools to relinquish rights which other nations intended to retain. But even this is unlikely, for the negotiations were treated as a secret by the Japanese, and it was expected that nothing would be made known by our Government till the treaty was finished.

Perhaps the excision of that clause from the Treaty is too much to hope from a Senate which voted the Chinese Immigration Bill. Perhaps, also, that would not be a regular way of procedure. But if the Senate can and will say to Japan, "We neither intend to bully you, nor to countenance any one else in bullying you," it will have added one good deed to a good many bad ones.

THE investigation of the Cipher Dispatches has disclosed nothing but the readiness of the parties whose name they bear to exculpate Mr. Tilden, and of Mr. Manton Marble to exculpate himself. We doubted the propriety of such an investigation before it was ordered, both because it was a matter with which the government had no business until specific charges of corruption were brought against the *officials* alleged to be corrupted, and because no investigation could alter in the least the general attitude of the public to the question. Those who believed Mr. Tilden innocent of all complicity in the matter, believe it still; those who think the circumstantial evidence brings the crime home to him, will not be affected by the denials of either himself or the authors of these telegrams.

They will say that the man who could do this deliberate wickedness, would not hesitate to lie about it. Nor have those who refused to believe John Sherman and other Republican statesmen on *their* oath, any right to complain of this incredulity.

The examination strengthens the circumstantial evidence on two points. It shows that Mr. Tilden's card, published at the time of the first disclosures, while consistent in the letter with his later evidence, was not candid. The public drew a much stronger inference from it, as to his ignorance of the CIPHER villainies, than the facts would warrant. Mr. Tilden did know of Mr. Weed's attempts to purchase the Returning Board in South Carolina, but (as three witnesses aver) put a stop to the negotiations, not because the price asked was too high, but because he utterly disapproved of the transaction. The second point is that, after this disclosure, he allowed his nephew, Pelton, to continue to represent him before the National Democratic Committee, and to act as the unofficial secretary of that body, and that he afterwards sent him to Washington, as his confidential agent, during the feverish period when the results of the election were before Congress. These undisputed facts will help to confirm the impression which many entertained, that to which we gave utterance before the election of 1876, that Mr. Tilden is a public man who has by far too much to explain.

However loudly Democratic papers talk, for effect, about the completeness of Mr. Tilden's vindication, they are at heart convinced that he is politically dead past all resurrection. They no more mean to accept him as their candidate in 1880, than do the Republicans mean to accept Grant in that capacity. Each party is trying to thrust this candidate upon the other, but each knows enough of the maxims of warfare to see that it is always wise not to do what your enemy most wants you to do.

LET us begin by praising Congress. The House has put its foot on one of the worst measures which were before it. An amendment to the Army Appropriation Bill, transferring the Indians from the Department of War to that of the Interior, has met with a prompt defeat, and it is believed that this settles the whole question. Possibly the hostility of the solid South to the army has had something to do with this decision, but none the

less we rejoice in it. Not, indeed, that we specially admire the present management of the Interior department, or are in any sense satisfied with the treatment which the Indians are receiving. But we are convinced that none of the evils of the present system are due to the management of the Indians by civilians rather than soldiers, and that those evils would be aggravated rather than diminished by the change.

The better side of the Indian situation, the champions of this "reform" altogether ignore. Few seem to be aware that the Indians have actually increased in numbers since the white man landed on this continent, in spite of mutual slaughter of tribe by tribe. In the decade which has elapsed since "the Quaker policy" was inaugurated, the number of houses occupied by them has increased from 8,646 to 23,060; the number of acres they cultivate, from 79,071 to 373,018; the number of bushels of cereals and vegetables raised, from 1,200,356 to 2,917,767; the horses, cattle, swine and sheep owned, from 164,959 to 1,313,658. Of the 250,864 Indians in the United States, 127,458 now wear citizens' dress, and it is estimated that 30,000 are members of Christian churches. "Hundreds of savage men," Bishop Whipple says, "have become peaceful citizens. Where once you heard only the discordant sound of the medicine drum and the war dance, are now heard the peaceful hum of industry and the sound of song and prayer. There are no missions on earth which have brought to the Christian church more abundant rewards. . . . I can point to settlements of civilized Indians, no whit behind in order, industry and sobriety, to any white settlement in Minnesota." The truth is that here, as in almost every other department of the nation's life, the newspapers do little else than mislead us. Every outrage, disaster, massacre and war are reported at full length, and we come to think of these as making up the whole story of our Indian policy and its results.

The evils of our policy call none the less for correction, and for these Congress is held by Bishop Whipple to be chiefly responsible. "It will not provide for the Indians those things which make civilization possible, *viz.*, permanent homes, individual rights of property, the protection of law, and a guarantee of the rewards of labor. It spends money by millions in an almshouse system, which is to-day prodigal to excess, and to-morrow is penurious to starvation. Again and again the Interior Department has been left

without appropriations to feed the Indians. Congress has never stood up boldly to protect the Indians in the possession of any country which white men have coveted. Even when gross outrages have taken place, no redress has been made for the wrong." No man in America speaks with more authority on this question, for no one has given more of his mind and heart to the welfare of the red man.

It is a bad thing for a people when its legislation becomes the embodiment of its prejudices and its narrowness, rather than of its insights and its magnanimity. And the law to restrict the migration of Chinese into this country is nothing but the enactment of ignorance, prejudice and selfishness into a law of the land. It has only one advantage over the measures proposed in other quarters, including the law to tax all Chinese residents of the British colony of Columbia. It can inflict no oppression upon the Chinese who have actually come,—rather it will give them an advantage by conferring on them the monopoly of Chinese labor. The fewer Chinese we are to have, the better for those we already have. There will, therefore, be no outcry on their part, nor any perhaps on the part of the Chinese government. The Central Flowery Nation is not anxious to have its people migrate in flocks to countries over which it bears no rule. The right of emigration was rather conceded than that of immigration sought for; and this law, although it violates the Burlingame Treaty, will not excite any violent resentment in Peking. None the less, we shall probably find reason to regret having laid down the doctrine that one party to a treaty can modify or cancel its provisions by municipal law, without consulting the other. This is, indeed, the very ground the English government took a few years ago during the Extradition controversy, and they would not have receded from it if they could have quoted for it any such precedent from American history.

The wrongfulness of the law is in the exclusion of the natives of an over-peopled empire from a chance to escape into new lands, where they can be employed with advantage both to themselves and to others. Not that China has anything like the redundancy of population which is commonly asserted. The figures given in our manuals of statistics are more than twice as great as the truth,

and are generally based upon observations of the densely populated sea coast, which has been taken as representing the whole country. The Chinese Empire could not afford to send over so many people as would suffice to swamp our European population, and after twenty years of free immigration there are only 200,000 Chinese in America, of whom the greater part are in California. Europe sends us immigrants twenty times as fast as China does, and there is no reason to expect any change in the relative dimensions of the two immigrations. The law, therefore, cannot be defended on the ground that vast hordes of Mongolians are going to overwhelm us; and, if the hordes did come, there is no law which confers upon them any rights of citizenship. White men only, to the exclusion of both black and yellow and all intermediate shades, can be made naturalized citizens of the United States.

The objections drawn from the *quality* of this immigration, have more force. The Chinaman's standard of what is necessary to his existence, is a very low one, and this enables him to underbid all white laborers at a ruinous rate. The Pacific Coast, however, cannot but be the better for a supply of cheap labor, much of which is directed to employments in which the Chinese have no competitors, and all of it contributing to the general welfare of the community, and the creation of yet further employment. And if the Chinese could be profitably employed in manufactures, the Coast might make a great stride in advance of its present commercial position. At the same time, we think nothing but harm can be done by the tone assumed in many quarters towards the laboring classes of California. In the absence of a great variety of occupations, the labor market of the Pacific coast is easily over-stocked; and the wages asked by white laborers are not out of proportion to the cost of living. It is not always easy to tell where the shoe pinches your neighbor's foot; nor does it much avail to assure him that it "ought to fit him—like a glove."

It is further objected that the Chinese are heathens, worshippers of Buddha and other outlandish Gods, whose moral standard is far lower than that of the white population of the Pacific Coast. They are, therefore, a corrupting and mischievous element in a society in which wild and reckless elements have predominated from the beginning. But this difficulty is never urged by the representatives of the sobriety, morality and Christianity of the land.

They insist, indeed, that the Chinese, and some other, quarters of San Francisco need a more efficient police, and that our new comers should be made to understand that they must conform their lives to the law of the land. But no one will deny that the Chinese are quiet, harmless, peaceful members of society, who submit to vigorously exercised authority with better grace than do many of their enemies among the poor whites of San Francisco. And the Christian people of the Pacific Coast have found no difficulty in getting across to the Chinese to teach them Christianity and civilization. They have made many converts,—more certainly than have gone over to Buddha:—and they have multitudes of them under instruction.

The real motive of the law is disgraceful to every man who voted for it. Both parties want the vote of California; both believe that the anti-Chinese element will control that vote; neither party had the manliness to present a united and vigorous resistance to its passage. If the Chinaman had a vote, the law would not have been passed.

AFTER the Indian and the Chinese, comes the negro voter in the South. The majority in Congress seem determined to strip him of the last vestige of national protection. In the face of overwhelming evidence that wholesale terrorism and outrages were practised in the Southern States last November, and that the only means to punish the offenders is furnished by the evidence of the United States officials who attended the polls, the South demands, and the Northern Democracy seems to acquiesce in the demand, that these officials shall no longer be employed as the witness that there is a just election, or as the evidence to convict those who prevent its being just. Their success will help to solidify the North yet a little more, and to hasten the good time when national officials shall have control of the whole matter, and national courts shall decide all cases of disputed election. The South enjoys its present time of probation because the North became disgusted with the repressive proceedings of Gen. Grant's administration. But the South is now doing its utmost to vindicate the very worst acts of that administration, to drive the Liberals into the ranks of the "Stalwart" Republicans, and to create in the North a public opin-

ion far more severe than has been prevalent for ten years past. Every Northern voter is becoming aware that the worst of Grantism was better than the policy pursued by those who put themselves forward as the representatives of the Southern people.

Neither can Mr. Blaine's point as to the basis of representation be forgotten. The virtual and violent disfranchisement of the colored people of the South, adds so much to the weight of every white man's vote. It was bad enough when a chattel slave, with no personal rights, counted for three fifths of a vote in the apportionment of representatives. But that the same negro, although as destitute in point of fact of all political rights as he was before the war, should count not for three but for five fifths of a vote, is past all endurance. It means that the Southern States, just because of the defeat in the rebellion, are to come back into Congress with increased representation, and a greater preponderance. We do not forget the part played by the stupid selfishness of the Republican leaders in bringing about this situation of things in the South. But, however it happened, the arrangement by which the vote of a Confederate soldier counts for twice the vote of a Union soldier, cannot be made a permanent one.

But the more anomalies the better, for so much the sooner will the American people be brought to see the absurdity of the status consecrated by the Constitution of 1789, and of the restriction then imposed upon the national government. The worst mistake made at the close of the Civil war, which we owed to the anomalies of the Constitution as much as to slavery, was in not effecting a thorough reconstruction of the relation of the States to each other and to the Central Government. The monstrous spectacle of a nation bound by paper cords from protecting its own people in life and limb, and in the exercise of their political rights, would thus have been made impossible.

THE decision of the United States Senate to approve President Hayes's nominations to the New York Custom House, closes another act in the Pecksniffian comedy of Civil Service Reform. Neither Senator Conkling nor the Administration cut a very admirable figure during the struggle; but the Senator's faults were faults of detail, especially utter want of good taste and dignity, while

those of the Administration were faults of principle. In the face of the loudest recognitions of the principle that there should be no removals from office except for the purpose of increasing the efficiency of the service, the Collector and Surveyor of the Port of New York have been removed, because they belong to a different wing of the Republican party from that favored by the Administration. The pretences of other reasons were mere pretences, and are contradicted by the official record. These gentlemen had been investigated and spied upon, and with no substantial result. No fault had been brought home to them, except that one of them took a more prominent share in party politics than the Administration thought becoming. The real *gravamen* was their association with Senator Conkling and the "Stalwart Republicans," who disbelieve in the Southern policy of Mr Hayes, and look back to Grant's Administration as a good time for everybody but rebels.

Had two Democrats been removed from the positions in question, for like reasons, the case would have been bad enough. But the extension of the system of proscription to members of another wing of the same party, although it has the example of Jackson, Buchanan and Grant in its favor, is infinitely worse. It constitutes the deepest depth in the thoroughly partisan style of administration, when appointments and removals are made, not even with a view to the general success of the common party, but with the object of controlling conventions and nominations inside the party itself. It is to elevate the meanest and pettiest of political motives to the rank of moving forces in the control of the government.

Had the proceeding been accompanied by a candid renunciation of the principles by which the Administration no longer binds itself to act, it would be a distinct gain to our political morality. But when it is followed up by a letter from the President to the new Collector, reiterating the very principles of "Civil Service Reform" which were cast aside in giving the Collector his place, it becomes a question of public interest how far Mr. Hayes's mental processes correspond to those of other men. Is he capable of uttering palpable absurdities, with no sense of their absurdity? President Johnson, we all know, was capable of that; but Mr. Johnson possessed some practical qualities, which, in some conjunctures at least, compensated for this mental deficiency,—qualities in which Mr. Hayes is signally deficient. If Mr. Johnson was an absurd

President, he was glorious in Eastern Tennessee. The dogged obstinacy which resisted reconstruction, did good service when he resisted secession. But Mr. Hayes has been but a middling sort of man all his life, and seems to become, with every new day, a more middling sort of President. Senator Bayard was not far from wrong when he called him "a small man in a great place."

We do not censure the administration from any love of its opponents in this quarrel. We regard Mr. Conkling as one of the most unsafe of the Republican leaders, because the most intensely selfish and the least capable of any magnanimous action. Stalwart Republicanism of his type is but another name for Grantism, and we should regard as a public misfortune anything which might put the presidency within the reach of either himself or his hero. But we look on the removal of Messrs. Arthur and Cornell from the New York Custom House as a needless provocation to divisions within the Republican party; and while we do not agree with Mr. Grant in holding that a president belongs to the party which elected him, we do think he owes it to that party, and to his country, to act for peace and unity in both. And it is worth remembering that there is not material enough for two Republican parties in this country.

THE Treasury comes to the front once more to remind us how costly Resumption by compulsory legislation has been to the American people. The Pension Arrears Bill will cause a possible deficit of \$27,000,000—a large estimate—during the coming year. The Treasurer has coin to nearly ten times that amount lying idle, awaiting those calls for gold which he and every Resumptionist is sure will never be heard; but nothing must be taken from this sacred hoard to pay the nation's just debts. He asks, and all his Resumptionist friends second the request, that he shall be authorized to add the amount of the deficit to the principal of the national debt.

Such a request is a confession that the champions of legal Resumption have no confidence in the success of the measure. "Months have passed by," they say, "and the Treasury balance is undiminished. But it must not be touched. It is true that experience has shown that nobody wants the gold, but still it must

be kept for them as if they did want it. Nobody can say what may turn up, and we may have such a run during the coming year, as shall exhaust nine-tenths of the \$230,000,000, and then, for want of the \$27,000,000, the Treasury will be bankrupt."

The present Congress is not the most logical body in the world, but we think it can see through such argument as this. If Resumption means anything, it does not mean that the United States Treasury is to keep on hand an amount of specie five times as great as the banks would be safe in holding for the redemption of the same amount of paper money. The enemies of our national paper money would have liked to have it wiped out of existence. Failing in that, they seem determined that the nation shall derive no benefit from its circulation, so they keep a dollar in coin in the Treasury to represent each dollar in circulation, or as nearly that as they can reach.

Congress should have the wisdom and courage to enact, (1.) That there shall be no addition to the principal of the national debt, either to increase the coin in the Treasury, or to prevent its reduction to a point corresponding in amount to the largest coin reserve required in private banking. (2.) That the Secretary of the Treasury shall have power to suspend the payment of coin for notes, and shall be required to exercise this power, when he believes that the demand for gold is a speculative one. (3.) That all national banks shall keep their reserves in their own vaults, instead of sending them to New York.

THE civic elections in Philadelphia might have been worse, but no thanks are due to the voters. The people showed no general disposition to separate civic questions from party politics. They marched up to the polls to vote "the regular ticket," regardless of the character of the men in nomination. The Fourth Ward sends Mr. McMullen to Select Council as the regular Democratic candidate, regardless alike of the man's bad record in general, and his repeated treacheries to his own party. In every case where an effort was made to elect an independent candidate, because the regular nominee was objectionable, the attempt failed. The Councils are just as good and just as bad as the nominating conventions of the dominant party in each district have made them, and

not a single Tax-Payers' nominee has been elected through their votes. An examination of the Window Books shows that a very large proportion of householders and tax-payers did not vote at all, while in almost every instance the "lodgers," the irresponsible class of voters, exercised the right of suffrage.

The Mayor made a grand display of impartiality, but, in spite of his public orders, his police were everywhere actively engaged in the campaign. In one ward there were two Republican tickets in the field, the Ring ticket and that recognized by the Republican City Committee as regular. The police canvassed for *the former*, and never were so many of them to be seen on the streets. In the same ward, they were seen acting as officials at the voting places, and in some cases plucking tickets out of the hands of voters and offering them others.

The failure of the attempt to break up the political control of the public schools, was the worst feature of the election. In no case were the independent candidates elected, while young unmarried men, tavern keepers and persons unable to read or write, received the full vote of the parties who had put them in nomination. The truth seems to be that the patronage associated with the control of the School Fund is too valuable to be given up. It is one of the forces by which the dominant party in each locality retains its hold on power. Therefore, the school system must suffer, for the sake of the party. The total abolition of the local Boards of Directors, and the extension of the powers of the Board of Control, seems to be the best change possible for us. The Board of Control is not a political body; and by the employment of a competent inspector or inspectors, it could effect a far better management of our educational interests.

THE experiment begun by the University of Pennsylvania in the admission of women to certain branches of study, especially to the lectures on History, Chemistry and Physics, has succeeded beyond the most sanguine expectations of the University authorities. The number in attendance on Dr. Stillé's lectures on history is more than twice as great as last year, having reached the aggregate of fifty-two, and the severe weather and bad walking of the present winter has not prevented their regular attendance. The demand

for opportunities of literary and historical study seems to exceed that for purely scientific studies; and the farther extension of the system, which is contemplated, is expected to be in this direction.

We are glad to see that Harvard is following this excellent example, and is about to do something of *real* use to the women of its vicinity. Like the authorities of our own University, her regents shrink from attempting co-education in any full sense, but arrangements are to be made by which women may attend the lectures and other instruction given in this venerable college. We would fain believe that the discussions of the Harvard Examinations, which occupied some portion of our space last spring, have not been without their influence in securing this decision.

THE WESTERN SPHYNX.

AN ANALYSIS OF INDIAN TRAITS AND TENDENCIES.*

THE "Indian Question," as it is called, is still open; it is the riddle still unread of the western Sphynx. The subject perpetually recurs in one or another shape and every contribution to its elucidation is timely, if nothing more, when so many conflicting and irreconcilable views of a proper Indian policy are before the tribunal of public opinion. Notwithstanding all we have learned about him—some by the researches of historians and ethnographers, more by dearly bought bitter experience,—much remains to be found out, and it seems to me that, aside from any mere transient questions of Washington politics,† much of the vexation and dispute about *what to do with him* comes from extreme opposing views of *what he is*. In dealing with an Indian tribe we have to do, of course, with that which is the aggregate of the characters of the individuals who compose it. The successful policy of the future should, and I have faith to believe that it will, be largely shaped by, if not actually based upon, a full and fair understanding

* Being a portion of an address delivered in Washington, D. C., January 4th, 1879.

† Alluding to the pending question of the transfer of the Indian Bureau from the Department of the Interior to the War Department.

of the average Indian's personal character. Let us look at him, then, as a naturalist might examine a specimen, and attempt an analysis of some of the leading traits and tendencies of Indian character.

Certain aspects of the case are well worn and trite, perhaps there is little left to learn of manners, customs, religious traditions and all the outward envelope in which the Indian has wrapped himself from time immemorial. We are all familiar with "Lo! The poor Indian," of poetry and romance—a mythical character who never lived outside the fancies of a morbid imagination. The historical Indian is reflected in American literature; very much, indeed, of this character is there, but more yet is reflected from many a pool and many a rivulet of blood in the West, over which tears have been shed but never a drop of ink. The ideal Indian, again, has been often pictured in American art—look and admire if you please, but put it with Lo and Leatherstocking, trusting it not. The real Indian of to-day is a masked character; he has pulled his visor down, we do not see his face nor does he read us aright—for Red and White is each too deep in the game of life they play to be a fair judge of the other. Those of us who have never been West, observe the Indian oftenest in the guise of a political guest we have captured for purposes of our own, and we gain a vague impression of something "grand, gloomy and peculiar," when he is no one of these; he simply comes to drive a trade as any other person might, comes in his pomp and circumstance of paint and plume, to dicker against overwhelming odds; and not improbably, he goes away with a sword between his legs, a bottle in his pocket, and a flea in his ear, singing of promises to pay more gauzy than a lover's vows. On the other side of the shield: Familiarity with the actual Indian in the West is coupled with the usual result—contempt, and this is mingled with equal parts of hatred, fear and anger. The average squatter, miner, hunter, dismisses him as an unwholesome, unreliable, undesirable person, chiefly remarkable for the trouble he causes. The theory is, that "a dead 'Injun' is a good 'Injun.'" The practise is, "first fire, then enquire;" the up-shot is—"D——n an Injun anyhow!" It is a very pretty quarrel as it stands out there;—for us, it is an inviting problem in social science to strike a just mean between such equally unfair extremes.

The leading trait of Indian character is one that shows he is a

man and brother—and I will add one that shows that there is room for improvement. His besetting sin is *vanity*. Personal vanity—inherent, intrinsic, ineradicable vanity, bred in the bone, permeating every fibre, the mainspring of motives, the focus of tendencies, the saturation of his life, from the wicker-basket to the platform raised above the ground,—an overwhelming vanity, so to speak, reaching heights that some of us, perhaps, may never hope to scale. You may flatter him with a feather and tickle him to death with a straw. The coarser traces of this quality are too obvious to need be dwelt upon; they are the inheritance of every savage tribe, and long persist in the progress of civilization. The fishbone through the nose may early go, but metals and minerals still cling about our ears; red and yellow ochre only yield to rouge and lily-white, while furs and feathers are as highly prized in Washington as elsewhere;—the milliner, by no means the material, makes all the difference there is. But much more subtle and secret evidence of the Indian's vanity may be discerned. His reticence and moodiness, his taciturnity and apparent apathy, all going to make up what we call his "dignity," take root in vanity. For this is merely the thin disguise of overweening self-consciousness; it is nothing but the strutting of the turkey-cock. In his intercourse with us, he is at a disadvantage, and is vaguely aware of the fact; behind this vain mask, a quick, restless, inquisitive mind is trying to take our measure, feeling not quite able to do so. There is nothing remarkable about this; it is the natural and customary refuge of vanity ill at ease to put on airs. Reverse the case now: put the whip-handle of events in the Indian's hands, and see how the scorn, the disdain, the contemptuous condescension with which he meets advances take their roots in his no longer covert vanity. True, you may humble him; but his nature's lexicon knows not the word "humility."

You will doubtless agree with me, that dislike of work is confined to no race or sect; but the extreme in which the Indian shows it, is another and a curious illustration of his vanity. It is not mere laziness: few are capable of such activity, energy and endurance as the Indian, and few have more frequent occasion for such exertion; but to call these qualities out he must have adequate incentive in the exaltation of the object. He despises work more than he dislikes it. Daily drudgery, the routine of labor, the

crank movement of life were meant for squaws, that this exalted personage may string his thews to doughtier deeds.

With such contempt for the dulness of every day life is naturally associated a wonderful *impatience*—impatience of control, of restraint, of law, of all authority whatsoever. In its many moods and tenses this turbulence is always the same;—whether it be frittered away in indecision, or concentrated in the daring impulse which leads on to victory. We are only too familiar with the exhibition of this riotous quality well directed against us; but the history of the Indian hostilities not seldom lacks the record of those instances in which the enemy's petulant impatience of discipline has frustrated his designs upon us. In the wars of civilized nations, the jealousies of generals are an important factor; in numberless Indian councils, in numberless bivouacs on the war-path itself, the disputes of rival leaders have broken up the band. Discipline is impossible when all authority not resistless will be resisted, and the claims of every leader will be thrown in his teeth. It is true, there have been exceptions to this; the Custer massacre witnessed a notable exception; but it is no less true that the young brave whose spurs are yet to be won may dissent and dispute; and, to become a leader, require only followers. In the Indian's history, no one can tell how far the dispersal of the tribes, and the bitterness of their feuds, may not be due to such slight causes. The old story of the bundle of faggots is rehearsed; and would you have an everyday illustration, in our own times, recall the Indian's standing apology for misdeeds: the old chief's heart is right, he says; but "he cannot control his young men."

The history of all nomadic tribes is the story of the rolling stone which gathers no moss. Whether as cause or effect, improvidence is a third conspicuous element of the Indian's make-up. In times of plenty he may, and often does, make store for the future; but foresighted economy is foreign to his nature. This is scarcely the listlessness of the enervated native of a tropical climate, whose habitual attitude is supine and open-mouthed, in expectancy of ripened fruit to drop. Rather, it is compounded in part of pure heedlessness, in part of acquired tolerance of privation, and in part of an easy reliance upon his ability to save himself again at a pinch, as he has often done before.

There is a close and curious connection between such a nomadic life as the Indian likes best to live, and those particular *superstitions* which form a fourth prominent characteristic of his nature. His religions, like his means of subsistence, are precarious and uncertain. Daily confronted by rigorous laws of nature, no one of which he can interpret—subjected to the full force of the elements which he is powerless to subdue or convert to his purposes—dependent for his subsistence upon the very vicissitudes which he fears—small wonder there is, that he discerns in every phenomenon of nature the working of a master spirit, good or evil, and seeks to explain what he finds otherwise inexplicable by evoking an elastic and comprehensive pantheism. Superstition has been called the child of fear by ignorance; but it is only one of the many shapes to which that cursed marriage gives birth. The gamut of ignorance is a long sliding scale of false notes. See how these emotions override each other in succession:—curiosity—wonder—astonishment—marvel—awe—fear—terror—horror! Touch any one of these notes—and, according to one's temperament or training, the sense of helplessness, the instinct of self-preservation, the hope of relief by unseen agency, may convert the condition of ignorance into the attitude of supplication. It is exactly in this state of mind that the framework of every form of superstition is erected. When it is simply some good clever spirit that brings prosperity and success, or some bad if not also cleverer spirit that sends disease, defeat and pain and want, a suitable religion may be contrived by the most inexperienced person. The whole superstructure of omens, portents and talismans, of good and bad "medicine," of exorcism, sacrifice and propitiation, becomes the ready resort of each special emergency. Some such scheme of salvation, temporal or eternal, is the usual belonging of uncivilized people. In the Indian's present, he is the unwilling sport of circumstance; in the elysium of his future, the war of the elements ceases, because bad spirits are laid; everything is so propitious that he may then omit his prayers,—for game is plenty in those "happy hunting grounds."

Few, perhaps, would suspect the Indian of possessing the next quality I shall mention; but our taciturn savage is an extremely frolicsome person. We may read, indeed, in any of the books, those formal accounts of his games, pastimes and diversions, without fully appreciating that levity and frivolity of character which

render such recreation a necessity of his nature. Comparatively few white men, still fewer authors of books, like the ethnographers and historians, have been on sufficiently easy and familiar terms with the Indian to understand his humorous and jocular side. But to hear some old scout or trapper, who has become well Indianized in the course of years, tell of the jokes and quips, the funny pranks, and the harmless deviltry that make up the daily life of an encampment, is to believe that the Indian is more than half human after all.

But across this sunny spot must fall some shadow—no skies are cloudless in this lower world. The Indian is certainly more apt to ape the vices than to practise the virtues he learns from contact with the whites; but two of his pet sins are quite as much his own devices as any imitation of ours. They are gambling and intemperance. He is a very extraordinary Indian who ever misses a chance to get drunk or to play at sinful games of chance, but the reason is very obvious. The spirit of gaming feeds upon the excitement of eager expectancy, and its hand-maiden is cupidity, of the sort that would possess without earning,—a form of dissipation peculiarly pleasurable to an inexperienced, unbalanced and turbulent mind. Intemperance is a transient revolt from the inexorable logic of life, a relief from the often irksome dictates of reason, an escape from the restraints of morality into limitless fields of sensuous and self-indulgent imagery—it must appeal, therefore, with almost irresistible power to all those human beings whose highest pleasures are little above the flesh.

My picture is badly drawn thus far, if it does not display various attributes of what I may sum up in a word as *childishness*. A child is full of its innocent little vanities and conceits; full of fun and mischief; fond of notice, heedless, wayward, impulsive; lives in the day and hour; believes in fairies and sees things in the dark; steals sweetmeats and likes best to learn what comes easiest. And any immature, undeveloped, uneducated and undisciplined mind is by such tokens childish in some degree. So the Indian—immature in a sense, already developed in some directions to the full of his capacity for improvement, yet in other ways raw and crude—is simply a child upon whom *certain lessons of life* have engrafted the hardihood and fortitude of man's full physical estate. What, now, are these lessons, and what their result?

Physical courage, or anything that answers the purposes of physical powers, is undoubtedly the climax of Indian virtue—the noblest aspiration he can experience. The animal instinct of self-preservation, continually familiarized with danger and endurance of privation, facing the necessity of wresting a livelihood direct from nature, result in a singular compound. Such quality is inculcated alike by the Indian's religion and tradition, by the precepts and example of his elders, by the rivalry of his peers, by every available means, not excepting, in some cases, the infliction of self-torture. We might hope such practices were obsolete; but I will not shock you by rehearsing the horrid rites by which, among certain tribes, the stripling candidate for the virile toga at annual festivals makes good his claims. Such experience of pain infallibly entails indifference to the sufferings of others, and fosters that utter mercilessness with which savage, as distinguished from civilized, warfare seals its victories in the torture of captives. Hence, too, the undismay of the doomed prisoner; for no more fortitude is required of him in dying than he was forced to exhibit in living.

In analyzing this matter, my conviction grows that actual suffering in body is not necessarily nor always commensurate with its apparent cause. Pain is a state of the nervous system; but the nerves are held in such close embrace of the will; their condition is so intimately related to the momentary frame of mind, that there may be, as I believe not seldom to be the case, ecstatic conditions which leave the body comparatively insensible. Some great idea may so completely fill the mind that no room is left to receive the sense of pain. In the comparatively slight excitement of anger, for instance, it is a matter of commonest experience that the force of a blow is scarcely felt. It is a logical inference that an exaltation of the mind to the highest pitch may blunt or even destroy the sense of bodily hurt. The beneficent sense of pain which stands at the outer gates to alarm the garrison, is relieved with the final surrender of the citadel. When we cringe from the prick of a pin, the nerves have responded to the lightest alarm, like the chords of an æolian harp, which quiver at a zephyr's breath; in the martyr who accepts the stake, such shivering strings are forged by his will into bars of steel.

But what of that young brave who passed the stern ordeal, and is standing on the burning threshold of manhood's first ambi-

tion? What are his paths of profit, his avenues of honor? For him, what is it to be great? Who are the chieftains of his tribe—how came they so?

The chiefs are those who wear the eagle's plumes, the necklace of claws of the grizzly bear, the amulet of human finger-tips; those are they whose horses dot the prairie as far as the eye can reach; in whose lodges hang the scalps of their foes.

The inference is easy and natural. Success in the chase is well and good and necessary, but at best a despicable mediocrity; horse-stealing is vastly superior, but this is second-class; the war path is the royal road—and with whoop and yell the youth of yesterday leaps into the saddle and goes off to find somebody to kill, thus to start on a glorious career of marauding and murdering. Lest any spur be lacking to prick the sides of his intent, love and religion lend their zeal to his endeavor. Success in war may make him the hero of a hundred loves; and the death of every foe is a tribute to the great spirit. For in his simple creed there is an article, that whoso's scalp the enemy shall hold shall never enter the happy hunting grounds till an enemy's is taken. Mosaic law here, translated into the Indian vernacular, that eye for eye and tooth for tooth reads—scalp for scalp, and horse for horse.

Reasoning up from such plain premises, the natural and habitual attitude of the red to the white man is a very easy inference. However the Indian's actual practice may be modified and restrained by circumstances, over which, no doubt, he deeply regrets he has so little control, his theory is clear and his mind is made up. The American is his *enemy*—he knows it—more than that, he feels it; he cannot be persuaded to the contrary. The American is his private enemy; the public enemy of his tribe. His score against the American has been open from time out of mind; as it stands, it is largely against him. Private wrongs and private ambitions—tribal injuries and tribal policy, and the religion of his forefathers, conspire to dictate *revenge*—in which one word is capped the climax of his life. It is deplorable, indeed, but it is strictly true, that there does not live an Indian warrior who would not *like* to kill a white man—scarcely one who would not *do it*, if he dared, on sight.

A further complication of our relations should by no means be overlooked, though it be a factor in the problem too often lost

sight of. It is this: The Indian has gradually reasoned to a sense of his inferiority in comparison with ourselves—inferiority in numerical force, in the arts and resources of warfare. Further opposition to such evident and overwhelming superiority might be considered the futile resource of desperation, did his vanity not harbor a lingering suspicion that the white man is afraid of him still. Doubtless, the wish is father to the thought; still it is a thread, however slender, on which to hang hopes of future greatness—a web in which to weave his dreams of coming glory. He may be overpowered; conquered and subdued, never. He is fortified in his private opinion when we feed and clothe him. Witness a pithy speech once made by a Sioux chief, to whom rations and blankets were being issued: “You are afraid of me; else, why do you feed me?” He knew what he would do to an enemy in his power; and there was the end of his logic.

Color now for yourselves my charcoal sketch with the omitted details familiar to you all, and you see with how strangely compounded a piece of humanity we have to deal. And how has he been dealt with? Let us see.

First, there is a plan of operations which I may for convenience call the English policy, and which has proved measurably successful. It is, in substance, a business transaction between an employer able and willing to pay for certain services, and an employee willing to work for certain wages. In the vast wilderness of British America, where the Hudson's Bay Company have established their trading posts, the Indian may exchange his peltries for the simple commodities he needs, pretty sure of fair, if not liberal dealings,—at any rate of exchanges satisfactory to both parties. The even tenor of this way has rarely been interrupted by exceptional explosions traceable to special causes. There is a community of business interests. But it will be remembered that such arrangements can only subsist in the thinly settled regions, where the Indian's fears for the preservation of his hunting grounds are never awakened; where, in fact, the protection of game is a matter guarded by each party with equal jealousy. It would be different were the country populous; for us, with the rapid settlement of the West now in progress, it is clearly impracticable. Every interest of ours is diametrically opposed, if not to the Indian's real interest, at least to what he considers his interest. He wants

plenty of room, plenty of game, a virgin soil and no neighbors; we want steam and electricity, the plough and a population. These things are incompatible.

The "peace policy" seems to be rooted in the incorrect assumption that there is no such incompatibility. It approaches the Indian as a man and brother. So he is, doubtless, in the sight of God—but if it to be "a man and brother" is to argue *equality* in any conceivable relation of life, the position is not tenable. In the very nature of the case, inequality is proclaimed by a thousand things. It is useless to say to such a person as I have described—"Come now! do be good! Be virtuous and you'll be happy!"—when the fact is, he does not wish to be happy that way, but after his own fashion. It is futile to offer to pay for what he does not wish to sell, and expect him to like the bargain. The fact is, these Utopian ideas of fraternity can only be realized when neither of the brothers demands, on his own terms, what the other is unwilling to surrender on any terms. But enough of this—"peace at any price" is out of the question; you cry "peace" when there is no peace.

Let me illustrate the situation: I remember a cartoon *à propos* of some political crisis in France, perhaps on the occasion of the *plébiscite*, representing Napoleon as an ape in the chair of state, with a flock of anxious turkeys, geese and chickens before him.

"My friends," says the ape, "loving you as I do, and being about to eat you up, I beg to learn your wishes respecting the sauce with which you would prefer to be cooked."

Chorus of POULTRY:—"But we don't want to be cooked with any sauce!"

MONKEY loquitur:—"That is foreign to the question."

I shall not detain you long to rehearse the actual American policy, pursued with little variation for many generations. The record is written in a single word—the record is *shame*! Treaty traced in water—retraced in blood. A nation's faith, not broken once, but broken again and again, till it now lies shattered before the indignant eye of the civilized world.—Treaty? Why not say boldly, if we mean it:

"Let him take who has the power.
Let him keep who can."

Balance the ledger of credit and debit; put these down among other things, on one side: Arrogance, insult, lying, cheating,

stealing, starving, murdering, debauchery, disease and alcohol—and what are you likely to find on the other side of the sheet? Every passion, splendid or sordid, for good or evil, that can be kindled in a savage breast.

There's a lava bed in California. There's a lava bed in the Indian's heart—stamp on it till you break it, and the stream will surely flow.

We have fought Indians incessantly from the start—incessantly, I say, on a public or private scale. Have we always waged civilized warfare against barbarous hordes? In our organized battles we may have usually done so—but these represent very little of the butchery actually accomplished. Much more blood has been shed in the aggregate, and nothing known of it, in the incessant collisions between our pioneers and the Indians. This record is one of atrocities exchanged in kind. Perhaps we never tortured a prisoner to death. I have seen a disarmed Indian waved off and shot down because it was inconvenient to carry him along. You remember Canby's death. We caught and hung the perpetrators of the outrage. On one occasion in Arizona, a man with a dozen comrades called a like number of Indians, unarmed, to council; the white men had concealed revolvers, and at a signal, as they sat in a circle, each one killed his appointed victim. They became heroes,—at least as much of heroes as the perpetrators of what was considered a good joke could be. You may see at the Smithsonian Institute the scalp of a little child, whose flaxen hair is still sticky and red with blood. I have seen a soldier put his revolver to the head of an Indian baby and blow its brains out with a coarse jest and an oath.

The failure, at any rate the inadequacy thus far, of any policy we have pursued, to reconcile the Indian's views and ways of life with ours, and adjust his case to the requirements of our progressive civilization, raises the question, what has been done to change him and elevate him and bring him into harmony with the inexorable situation?

By what may be called an evangelical policy, we have tried to make him worship our God instead of his own. Except in so far as the conversion of the Indian may include his education in worldly affairs, this proselyting, of course, has chief regard to the saving of his soul—the more immediate question being, I think,

how to save his body. In so far as he has been converted at all, he has received two creeds—Catholic and Protestant. Partly on account of the superior qualifications of the Jesuits as religious teachers, in comparison with the average Protestant clergyman who has gone among them, partly because Catholicism is easier for him to understand, the latter creed seems to be most effectively operative. Poor weak human nature instinctively seeks a symbol, an embodiment, a material expression, of its yearnings for the infinite, of its aspirations towards the higher life. I had once an opportunity of comparing the practical workings of the two religions side by side on a Sioux reservation in Dakota. The worthy Protestant clergyman complained to me of the indifference of the Indians to his teachings, while Father Blank's church was filled each Sunday. He gave as one among other reasons, that when the Catholic convert was asked what his religion was, he could draw from his bosom the visible and tangible voucher, and point to the medal or the *Agnus Dei* in triumph. He had *got* religion—he wore it around his neck—the white man's "medicine," instead of his forefather's talisman. My Presbyterian friend had no such resource as this—he must tell his flock to find their religion in their hearts. The way it worked was this:—(I have the story from the clergyman's own lips).—One of his flock, disappointed in not receiving as many rations as he thought his devotion worth, became dissatisfied, and determined to backslide. But how to do it? He had the religion in him—and how could he get it out of him? He went to his lodge, closed fast the entrance, heated great stones, soused them in water and stayed in the vapor bath till he thought he had thoroughly sweated out his religion.

A summary way of doing what some other Christian backsliders accomplish by a gradual process of evaporation in the open air!

There is hardly a more fertile and suggestive theme than that which now occupies us; it is easier to go on than to stop; but time presses, and I must make my points soon. It may, I think, be safely said that, on the whole, our relations with the Indians have proven unsatisfactory; this, that and the other policy have at most resulted in a *succès d'estime*. It would appear that we have not got at the bottom of the difficulty. The *crux* of the problem may, perhaps, be found in this question: Is or is not the Indian to be taken and held to be a citizen of the United States?

For observe, we have virtually treated this *resident* of the United States as a foreign power. We have made peace and war, drawn up articles of agreement, bought and ceded land, granted privileges and imposed restrictions, issued rations and sent missionaries,—not as to part and parcel of our own population, not even as to residents of the United States, but as to aliens. Our attitude is not materially different from that which we take, or might assume, towards Cuba or Mexico. But what right, custom or precedent of nations makes the Indian a foreign power?

A resident, or any number of residents of a community, must be supposed, by the fact of their residence, amenable to the laws of such community, which, if he resists he may be restrained, if he breaks, punished. He may not acquire particular privileges, nor be subjected to special restrictions. But the Indian on a reservation where perhaps he is forced to reside against his will, has the special privilege of a bounty, or annuity, and must submit to special provisions. His is somewhat the case of a dependent colonist; and he is in that condition, usually, in virtue of having been conquered in international warfare, or of deprivation of his usual means of subsistence by a similar agency. The moment he leaves his reservation for unlawful purposes, he becomes, and is treated as, a public enemy. But does he rise to that dignity? Is he anything more than a lawless individual, to be restrained by law? And so, when he bands with any number of his fellows, and goes horse-stealing or on the war-path, what is the assemblage but a mob to be dispersed; what their proceedings but a riot or insurrection to be suppressed? And as regards the breach of the peace committed, is there any essential difference, whether two bands of Indians fight against each other, or whether they make hostile demonstrations against the white portion of the population? Yet in the former case it is no affair of ours how many Indians kill each other, away from their reservations—in the latter case, war is duly declared and fought out, as if between two separate and independent nations, when it should be nothing more or less than the quelling of a riot in the jurisdiction of one nation. The disturbance over, we make peace and offer terms, or conclude a treaty, as we might with Mexico, when in point of fact we are dealing with a riotous part of our own population—in short, with United States outlaws.

I can see no reason why the same principles should not compel

us to recognize as a foreign power any gang of desperadoes, non-naturalized residents of the United States, who might elect a leader and defy the law, as they constantly do in Mexico.

It is not against the point I make to concede that the average Indian would not now make a good citizen. I doubt that he is less capable of being made one than the negroes were when they were emancipated and enfranchised. He is the negro's superior in general intelligence and, I think, in capacity for improvement, though the negro is timid and submissive, while he is aggressive and turbulent. Nor is he, as so many think, a dying remnant of greatness, melting away at the advance of the pale-face. It has been shown by my friend Colonel Mallery, and, as it seems, conclusively, that the Indian's former numbers have been greatly exaggerated; and that, instead of dying out rapidly, he is steadily increasing his numbers. Any policy that hopes for his extermination is barbarous and inhuman; any that looks for his extermination is egregiously mistaken. The ultimate result will doubtless be his disappearance as a race, by absorption into the dominant races. It is another fallacy to suppose him unsusceptible of civilization. I should be no scientist if I could not apply the principles of evolution to an individual's mind or to a race of men as readily as to a species of animals. And it is a fact that various races of Indians have shown quick and high capacity for education, for civilization, for the development of their minds to a most respectable degree. Many of them, in the Indian Territory and elsewhere, though colonized for what is comparatively but a span of time, are in all respects the equals of their white neighbors. The process of change may be more gradual and tedious with some rebellious spirits, but the transformation of the Indian into the citizen must come in the end. That which some enthusiasts have asserted to be his present "equality," is simply his obvious susceptibility of being brought to an equality; for the Indian is neither a foreign power to be treated with, nor a wild beast to be hunted down, but a fellow-man to be reclaimed. Let us begin by calling him, that in the end we may make him, a brother.

DR. ELLIOT COUES, U. S. A.

HEALTH AND EDUCATION.

EDUCATION, without which we are as the brutes, we have had, I suppose, in some sort, from the beginning of the human race. First in individual lessons, each man judging for himself, and working through a dozen wrong ways before he chanced on the right. Then, teachings in little classes, through the possessors of precious manuscripts or the inheritors of songs and traditions. Then, all knowledge open to all humanity in cheap printed books.

And henceforth no treasure disappearing when the singer died, or the manuscript was burned; no lost arts to be rediscovered; no lost philosophies to be re-evolved after ages of pondering; only accumulation, and thought diffused as surely as morning light.

And only from the genesis of printing could knowledge be said to exist beyond a downfall; and only then could education be called established.

Only then? Why that is only now!

Compared with what we are expected to believe the age of the human race, how freshly recent is the founding of systems of education; and on the same principle of measurement, compared with the scientific report of the age of this globe, how mere a child, after all, is the creature man! And is it to be supposed that this child, just awakening to a sense of his own possibilities, has yet discovered the best methods for his own instruction and discipline? Is it not probable that he is yet in the veriest A. B. C. of the science of human development?

Reasoning on this assumption, to wit, that the science of education, as it stands, is still fairly subject to criticism and susceptible of improvement, I venture to ask a few questions which seem to me fundamental.

First. What is true education?

Second. What proportion of it consists in the knowledge and discipline derived from books?

Third. What price are we justified in paying for the proportion gained in school and college.

What is the true object of education? Let us ask of several, parents and others.

Parent No. I. "It is that my son may know to keep his own

accounts, and know which way the wind blows, and not be imposed upon by his fellow creatures.

Parent No. II. "It is the advantage of a college diploma, which no man who hopes to make a position in the world can afford to be without."

Parent No. III. "It is the possession of a certain prestige; an open sesame to good society; a guarantee of intellectual standing, which, like the consciousness of being well dressed, puts a man at ease among his fellows."

Parent No. IV. "It is that we may increase our capacity for enjoyment by personal culture; culture as an end, you know—not a mere vulgar means."

Harriet Martineau. "It is that we may bring out, strengthen, and exercise all our faculties."

Herbert Spencer. "It is that we may know how to live."

To my mind, the last two phrases describe the whole.

The aim of education is bring out, strengthen and exercise all the faculties. The object in doing this is to know how to live.

To know how to live. If we accept this definition, we cannot but admit that we must include in our curriculum somewhat more than we can gain from books. For although books can give us wise precepts enough to cover all the emergencies of life, they cannot strengthen, because they cannot exercise, any powers but those of the intellect; whereas we find that truly to develop a human being we must make the most of him in his mind, his body and his social nature. Put it mind, body and soul, and who will not accept the proposition when he meets it in his Sunday reading? But to whom on week days does it occur to associate the word education with anything but book-learning? To how many does the question appeal as one of the most urgent and instant of all the questions of the day: How much are we justified in sacrificing to the attainment of a college diploma? Mental culture is a good thing; an excellent thing. How much shall we sacrifice to it in health? Do we say "We should like to have health, but we must have culture," or, "We should like to have culture, but we must have health"?

Physical health! I know so little about it from experience or observation, that I almost feel it more presumptuous to discuss it than to asperse a dead language. And yet I dare affirm, from ac-

tual memory, that of all the sources of happiness on this earthly ball (I reluctantly except the consciousness of having just performed a good action), there is not one so sure as the simple condition of being in perfect health. Nay, I will be brave and except nothing! Knowing in my heart that there is many a highly cultured, refined, self-sacrificing, nervous saint who enjoys life less and is far more wearing in his or her domestic circle, than many a mere serene and healthy sinner. "To feel one's life in every limb!" To be in that state of body when everything that happens, be it the song of a bird, or the clatter of a horse's hoof, or the biting of a juicy apple, or the sense of going off into sleep, or the plunge into water, or the race, or the leap, or the struggle, each is a source of exhilaration and joy!

I used to wonder what was, after all, the charm of the old Greek sculpture; the faces and forms are exquisitely harmonious, and I suppose generally true to the anatomical ideal; but that is not enough to account for it. In a whole gallery of them you will find but few attempts at expression, and those of such emotions as they share with the lowest animals:—rage, lust, expectation of something good to eat. One can find in the little collection of clay groups of our own artist, Rogers, (whom, however, we may be despised for calling an artist at all), more variety of character, more human tenderness, to say all, more beauty of expression than in all the range of the galleries. In truth, the majority of the old statuary has, and aims to have, no moral expression at all; as a rule, the people are looking nothing, doing nothing; wherever you turn, the beautiful white figures confront you in the ever-recurring "observe me" attitude—and still you do observe, and still confess the spell.

I think one part of the secret is, that here we may leave the outside world of sensitive, suffering, irritable and irritating humanity, and step into a world that is not nervous; that those selfish, pleasure-seeking Greeks enjoyed, not endured, their bodies; that the sculptor saw health continually around him and reproduced it in marble,—in mortal, half-mortal, or God, the same look, the same charm. The faun of Praxiteles, for instance; the careless boyish figure is standing; (ah, but standing so easily!) There is nothing in that exquisite face to refute the suspicion that he is, after all, but a shallow-minded youth. The lovely half smile

on his lips is not a smile of humor, intelligence, or tenderness; it is the irrepressible expression of physical happiness. Little, alas, do *we* know of this our birthright, poor shackling, cadaverous, thin-blooded, flabby-muscled, half-alive generation that we are. Nay, so demoralizing is the constant sight of invalidism, that our very artists suffer from the contagion; debility comes to be confused with delicacy, our ideal pictures are not only leaner than they should be, but wear a look as of sensitive beings waiting for something or somebody to blight them. And when they do express vivacity or determination, it impresses one rather as a temporary nervous force, gathered up for the special emergency, or induced by an extra cup of tea, than as the buoyant pride of life, that comes of good red blood.

The causes of this dead level of invalidism are doubtless many; at present we are concerned with only one. It would perhaps be hard to exaggerate the sum of physical injury done to the civilized world, by the one well-meaning friend we call education. She begins with the baby student in the public primary school, obliging it to keep motionless on a bench and submit to bungling operations on its immature brain, at a period when nature should be educating its muscles by constant varied motion. "Sit still," insists the teacher.—Poor thing, she cannot help it,—there are probably from thirty to fifty other squirming little martyrs in the same apartment, and some order must be maintained.

So there he sits, growing stupid or irritable, according to his temperament, in the purgatorial air of an ill-heated, ill-ventilated schoolroom; and the things he learns are chiefly two: to hate lessons, because they are forced upon him prematurely and in distasteful methods; and to do what he is taught to think wrong without compunction, because he is subjected to a discipline which the laws of his child-nature compel him to violate.

My aim is not, in this paper, to offer any new specific for education, but to add yet one more voice to the murmurs of dissatisfaction already arising, and a few more testimonies to the need for expostulation. Says the *Report of the Rhode Island Medical Society*, of a few months ago: "In the haste for intellectual culture, the physical is too much neglected; the nervous system is developed to the omission of other parts of the body, thus giving rise to a long train of ills and producing unsymmetrical and distorted

organizations in the young, entirely unfitted for the stern duties of life."

Says a late Indiana school journal: "It is a sad fact that thousands of children lose their health and many of them go to premature graves every year, on account of the exposure to which they are subjected in the schoolrooms they are compelled to occupy." Says the last year's report upon a certain Philadelphia public school: "Space for each pupil, sixty-six cubic feet; outlet for foul air, none; system of ventilation, none." Says Dr. Pemberton Dudley, in another part of the same report: "A certain degree of liability to ill health seems to be inevitable from the discipline of school life."

What a principle is this! And none the less startling for being thus sadly and quietly accepted by the reporter. What! injury to the body inseparable from improvement of the mind? One would think that at such an announcement every man and woman who possessed or cared for children would turn, drop everything else, and begin at once to investigate an assertion so monstrous. But no; so hardening, alas, is habituation, that we read a report like this, remark, with a sigh, "What a pity it must be so," sit down to our dinner with the best of appetites and forget all about it before we reach the dessert. And all the while the dreadful, invisible, multitudinous foe is gathering, massing, closing in upon us, intending the very extinction of the race.

In far away India the mother sees her tender offspring murdered in the Ganges, and makes no complaint. She is powerless. But we Christian mothers are not powerless; we need only to realize the peril of the situation, to make a stand here and now, and say, "The friend that promised so fair is a deadly friend; she is sapping the health and life of our little children. We demand that there shall be henceforth a system of culture which shall not be deadly, either to body or mind.

"Foolish and impractical woman," replies the school management, in one voice, "you see the faults—we all see them; but you do not realize the difficulties in the way of improvement. Don't you know that to educate a state costs money? And haven't you heard that the money for this, as for all municipal purposes, must be raised by taxation? And while there is not money enough in many districts to build the needed number of school-houses of the

poorest description, and to pay the needed number of teachers of the lowest grade, how shall we raise it for educational Utopias?"

Not money enough! There is *always* money enough in ordinary times for what a community considers truly essential. Let our people once be sure that the health of the rising race is of the *first* importance, and there would no longer be money enough for municipal receptions and municipal fireworks and municipal balls to officers of British war-vessels, and municipal banquets to other municipal fire companies, necessitating the cost of much municipal champagne. In such a state of public opinion, the parks, we will say, of Philadelphia would be kept for a few years in economical pasture and the proceeds put in the school fund; the money raised for the Permanent Exhibition would have been directed into another channel; the building of our new Academy of Fine Arts would have waited its proper order of precedence; the millions sunk in our new Public Buildings would not be calling for more millions to help them; every church in our city would be as a meeting house for plainness, and even Masonic Temple and League House would be as a barn; all the Sunday school children would be taught to withhold their pennies from India, and put them into the box for the conversion of the school-boards; in short, all luxurious expenditure would be checked and all available money, study, time, investigation, experiment, devoted to making the culture of the rising generation the foundation of our nation's increase and glory, and not the seed of its decay.

And while these efforts were in progress, while the best physicians, the deepest thinkers, the most intelligent teachers, the most enlightened architects were taking counsel together for securing health in the school-room, we mothers would purpose that book education should even wait a little; that the money in hand should be put into fewer school-houses, and those ventilated; paid to fewer teachers, and those wiser; that we should have fewer lessons, fewer hours, shorter terms, if need be; that we should say of our *little* children at least—"They ought to have culture, but they must have health."

When I began teaching, at the sapient age of sixteen, my ambition was fired with an account given by two of our directors, of a grammar school they had just visited. Such smartness; such alert attention in class,—above all, such discipline, "We were there

over an hour," said the enthusiastic gentlemen, "and during all that time, in the presence of about a hundred and fifty children, you could have heard a pin drop at any moment."

Heard a pin drop! As if to keep a hundred and fifty children, many of them under ten years of age, so still that you could use this expression even figuratively, were not a stupidity and a crime.

The late Lady Amberly, visiting some of the schools of Boston, greatly admired the refinement and intellectual quickness of the girls; but added, in speaking of it, "They all looked sick." And who, with a knowledge of the constant resort by teachers to the poisonous spur of emulation,—who that notices the boy or girl from ten to fifteen years, spread out the pile of books on the table in the evening, and pore over them until bed time,—who that has seen the week of nervous excitement preceding the ever-recurring examination, can wonder to see the girl grow pale, and the boy flabby and both almost lose their taste for the romping play, which ought to occupy a large part of every youthful day?

The German Society for Public Hygiene, at its last annual meeting, adopted the following resolution: "The system now prevailing in the schools has an injurious influence upon the development of the eye and the body generally, especially by straining too early and too frequently the child's brain, and by correspondingly repressing the activity of the muscles."

In a recent number of the *Popular Science Monthly* (Effects of Study on the Eyesight; Ward McLean), the following propositions, based, as claimed, on an examination of over 26,000 individuals, were laid down as established.

1st. That, as a rule, near sight originates in school life.

2nd. That a large percentage of the scholars are thus affected, the percentage progressing with the stage of advancement.

3rd. That near sight is progressive, in degree, according to the length of school experience. Therefore, in the countries where compulsory education is carried out, everybody wears spectacles.

Well, that is a large statement; but it is certain that in those portions of Germany which I have had a chance of observing, you will scarcely go into a store, or a stage coach, or stop at a fruit stall, but your gaze is met by a pair of glasses instead of a pair of eyes. The guard on your railway carriage wears them, the ticket seller wears them, the youth who offers you the news-

paper wears them; the pictured characters in the illustrated paper you buy of him wear them; and when in a crowded street you look down the long procession of faces, there is a general glistening effect of glasses where eyes should be. And we all know that the need of glasses, myopic, astigmatic, and what not, is increasing among ourselves. And here shall we not go so far as to say for our children, "Let them study only what they can get by daylight; let them come out *five* instead of *ten* in their examination papers, and keep their eyesight, if to gain ten is to lose their health."

And now we reach the four precious years that are to be solidly subtracted from life in the world and life in the home, and given pre-eminently to brain-culture. And whatever advantage of rigid drill, of mental stimulus, of an undistracted atmosphere of study, is inseparable from isolated centres of education, this is our last chance to get it. Only four years, and for most of us a father at home expecting, inciting, planning for the day when his son shall give him the proudest moment of his life, in bringing home the honors of his college. And for some of us a mother, whose future comfort as well as pride depends on the prestige which is to be the foundation of our fortune. And for all of us the propelling consciousness ever behind us that the world (be our own circle large or small, it is the world to us) is on the watch for the culminating event of these four years, to crown or brand us forever with triumph or shame.

Let us succeed then, at all hazards. We are not here to play base-ball, or to row, or to fool with gymnastics. We will attend to all that later. Now we work for our degree. And if we find ourselves somehow a trifle inert, or a little irritable; if, as the mind grows more nimble, the muscles lose that something which made them take joy in moving; if we discover that we are rather round-shouldered, and that the hue of our skin is a little more gray or a little more tallow-like than formerly, well, that will all come right in the summer vacation. And if, on entering our senior year, we suspect that we have come to do business rather more on the basis of our nervous capital, and less on that of our lungs and digestion;—if (and it's no use talking—study at night we must), if then in striving to keep our mind at its best, as the clock plods on, we find it refusing to serve us, how easy to avert that sort of

dulness by a cup of black coffee. Blessed black coffee!—or tea, girls, only make it strong enough. How, under its inspiration, the sagging brain rights itself, and all the faculties range themselves at once into working order. How the problem that else would have stultified us, takes us into its confidence. How the stupid faces of Accusative, Vocative, Ablative, seem to put on expression, and all our work seems to beckon us along.

And if, our task completed, we turn off the gas and find that we cannot turn off the flame of our thought, which even the sedative segar (although that is the reason we use it), has failed to dim,—if the demon—I mean angel—of the invaluable cup, so easy to summon, refuses to be dismissed, and as she stood by our study table, now stands by our bed, and still she keeps hinting, suggesting, goading, and still we keep thinking, thinking, thinking; and we hear the clock leading us into those uncanny realms of night, which we should never know—why, nonsense—if these things threaten us, we will take, as the doctor advised, the reposeful glass of beer, and stupefy our too lively brain in alcohol. But suppose that the custom, resorted to only until we take our degree, of being too much alive in the hours when rest is needed, should become a *habit*, which even beneficent beer could no longer control. In that case, the night having been a time of exhaustion instead of inflowing strength, the morning may find us low-spirited, stupid, and disinclined to work. Why, in that case, call in again the beneficent spirit. Our morning coffee down, we are strong and cheerful, and all again is well. And if, our honors gained, and all the strength of the excitement over, we are suddenly overwhelmed by a sense of feebleness, starting at a noise, shivering in a draught, conscious that in our present state, in a world full of prowling diseases, we are as liable to be seized, and as helpless to resist, as a soft shell crab in a world of prowling enemies! Well, we are still young, and now is the time to recuperate. We will take a month to regain our health before we begin the exacting business of life. Anyhow, the young men who were our ancestors managed to work through college and come out not much the worse for it. Do we need more coddling than they? But lo, in the years between us and those rollicking ancestors, changes have taken place. First, our habits of life have altered. Instead of living lazily in the open air, as then, all Christendom has gone indoors. A portentous difference.

The other difference I will put in a parable. There was, doubtless, a time in the history of the circus, when to ride two horses at once was the climax of equestrian ambition; then three or even four became essential to repute. Still, it is evident that in this direction there is a limit to human possibility.

And there was, doubtless, a time in the history of man, when a liberal education consisted in knowing how to slay your enemy with a stone, and catch your wife with a lasso. But time flows on, and now, to be called a gentleman, you must know not only how to catch a wife, but how to make love, and learn how to slay not only your enemy, but your friend, and that daintily with a rapier; and, worse than all this, you must withdraw from the world and put yourself under masters, and acquire from books the methods of speaking used by communities long since extinct.

But they spanned their two horses gallantly, and even when that stubborn mule Euclid stalked in between, they managed to play their pranks and reach their goal without much injurious strain. Ah, but meantime, sidling up and up through the little gate, behold the procession! Why shut it after Latin and Greek while Hebrew is waiting? French and German, too; (plebeian nags, perhaps, but useful); and here come Italian, Spanish, Sanscrit, Indian, Comparative Philology, etc., etc.; etc. And crowding close on the languages, come Church History, Church Polity, Moral Philosophy, Mathematics, Logic, Astronomy, Geology, Mineralogy, Chemistry, Anatomy, Physiology, Pathology, Psychology, Biology, Instrumental Drawing, Mechanical Drawing, Physics, Civil Engineering, Dynamical Engineering, Histology, Paleontology, Metallurgy, Microscopy, Ethics. These are not all, but will suffice my purpose.

The student enters his college career at a transitional period in his physical life; a time when the boy, as well as the girl, has need of being watched, and spared, and tided with special judiciousness from childhood into manhood. The probability is that he takes there, I will not say disease, but inherited liabilities; the almost certainty is that he takes, from whatever causes, a body already much below the standard of perfect soundness. In looking for light on this subject, I found in the address of a modern writer to a college class the following sentence:

“As for the treatment proper to dyspeptics, we neither know nor care; our business is with men in health.”

Alas, it shows how far astray the most kindly and conscientious and college-educated mind may go when attempting to form a judgment on matters out of its sphere. I did not know those young gentlemen, but I dare affirm that every son's mother of at least six-tenths of that class could tell you, with truth, that in one or another direction her boy was so far unsound that the rules applying safely to perfect health could not apply safely to him.

A friend of mine asked the teacher of a school in high repute, to lighten the work of her son by dropping certain studies. "I can do it," he answered with reluctance; "In fact, I have one or two lame ducks already; but, I confess to you, I haven't much sympathy with them."

The teacher who uttered this prevalent sentiment was one who had, some years before, brought himself to the brink of the grave by over-study.

And it is in this view that I ask most earnestly: *Can* the average student take the whole of even one of the divisions now conceded in some colleges, the classical or scientific, acquiring at the same time such other branches of knowledge as are essential to a liberal culture, and not come out in the end with more education than man? Lastly, we must ever bear in mind that the sum of gain to the world, by the sacrifice of physical to intellectual development, is far from being so great as at first it might seem. What thoughtful person cannot point, from his or her actual knowledge, to lives of promise blasted in or before their prime, by excess of the very labor which was to make those lives so precious? When a man like Henry Buckle, planning a work of exceeding value to his race, throws himself into it with what his biographer calls such a "generous disregard of himself," that he is cut down in the midst of his Introduction, I am almost withheld from admiring his genius and industry, by indignation at his fatuous recklessness.

And beside the diminution in quantity of gain to the world by the premature crumbling of our brightest and wisest, there is, of course, a deterioration in quality. It is all very well for the Country Parson to say that the larger part of the pulling and running in this world is done by screws, but no one in his senses would assert that it is so well done as if by steeds sound in wind and limb. It cannot be denied that the Rev. Frederick Robertson preached inspiring and soul-helping sermons on Sunday, although he did

have to pay for it by writhing on the floor in an agony of nervous derangement on Monday. But must not his influence on his kind have been even better, leaving out his own mental and physical wretchedness, if he had been a pastor of sound constitution?

If Keats had been a healthy man as well as a genius, no horde of reviewers could have killed him. If Hugh Miller had not driven himself first morbid, then mad, by an overstrain of his intellect, he would not have committed suicide in the midst of his usefulness. And as for the sort of brilliancy that comes from semi-insanity, whether of the gin bottle or of a bad organization, let us forego it; there will be a poison about it somewhere, be sure.

Add to the sum of moral obliquity that has come from feeling uncomfortable, the sum of melancholy and despair. Think of the floods of pessimism, secreted from the indigestion of philosophers, poured back, green and livid, into the complexion of our literature, as the misdirected bile into the skin of its authors. Who does not suspect that the philosophy of even our great Carlyle would be of a pleasanter color if he were not dyspeptic?

Considering these truths, and remembering farther that men who live mostly in their brains are apt to use up their capital, and rarely transmit much mental inheritance to their children, it seems to me that we might be justified in going beyond the school and the college, and saying that we could well afford to lose the intellectual results of one whole generation, if so we might avert the physical, and by consequence mental, decadence of those to come. "Oh, not at all," says one, complacently. "We have a new axiom in Social Science which covers all that. The children can get their intellect from us, by drawing for their physique entirely on their mothers. Hence we must be very careful not to stimulate the brains of the mothers." Ah, me, we fear that this recipe comes too late. The demand of to-day is for universal education. The woman of to-day believes that no man has the right to so exhaust his vitality by excessive brain life, that, to supplement his incompleteness, he must choose a new animal for a wife.

It is beginning to be suspected that fathers and husbands have duties as well as mothers and wives; and that if they rob their bodies to furnish their minds, though they speak with the tongues of all men and of angels, they are but poor unfinished creatures, and have no right to the blessing of children and a home.

Be this view true or false, it is certainly increasing, and it is certain that we can no more control the tendency of our age, than we can fence off a private water-lot in mid-ocean, and decide the level at which its waves shall stand. The question, therefore, remains, nay, increases in urgency as our daughters more and more insist on living the life of the student: What price can we, as a people, afford to pay for a School Education? Dare we, as a people, buy it at the price of the general health? And if not, what methods shall we adopt to make compatible these two essentials to a nation's life?

ELIZA S. TURNER.

GRAVE-ROBBING AND DISSECTION.

THE subject of grave-robbing for the purpose of supplying medical schools with subjects for dissection, has of late been attracting a great deal of attention, and arousing a corresponding amount of indignation throughout the United States. From nearly every part of the Union, but especially the Valley of the Mississippi, have come, more and more frequently within the last few years, accounts of the discovery of instances of this crime. There can be no doubt but that this has become an offence of serious importance, and one which should be stopped, if possible. It is so horrible in its nature, so shocking to the sensibilities of every man and woman, that there is a general demand that its cause or causes be sought for, and means be devised to put an end to it in the future.

I need not enter into a long argument to make evident the truth that body-snatching, in all its forms, almost universally is regarded with a superlative degree of abhorrence. I may remark, however, that it is impossible to overestimate the amount of affectionate interest with which the living, with rare exceptions, regard the remains of their relatives which they have borne to the churchyard or cemetery. We instinctively cling to the forms we loved while alive, and we are readier than ever to defend them from harm. The natural attachment of the living to the dead has given the Chinese,—as it has nearly all people for some time in their history— a religion; to millions of them their ancestors are objects of worship. The Egyptians loved to embalm their dead and place them

in tombs that were built to outlast the world itself. To the beautiful groves where their dead were laid, the Greeks, who believed that the spirit of an unburied body could not pass into Elysium, habitually went with flowers and other tokens of their tender affection, and so the Romans. Nor were the Hebrews unmindful of their departed relatives, and the same may be said of the Moham-medans throughout their history. It is almost unnecessary to say that Christians have always regarded care for the dead as a duty, even a part of their religion; it is not many years since their burial places were, with scarcely an exception, within the same enclosure with their churches. In fact, it is hard to point to any people that has not been mindful of its dead.

But, apart from the desire of the living to care for their dead, it is the wish of all men that their remains shall be carefully and securely laid away in some particular place, and preferably with those of their fathers. As is well known, the dying wish of the Chinaman abroad is that his bones may be carried to his native land and placed with those of his ancestors, and it is regarded by his friends just as a similar wish of the old patriarch Jacob was regarded by his son Joseph.

Religious and other considerations have compelled people to burn their dead or to expose them to be devoured by birds of prey; but such practices are inconsistent with human instincts. Cremation never has been and never will be popular. Among the Greeks and Romans it was never practiced to a great extent, and by the fourth century Christianity had completely stopped it. It has just as little chance of becoming popular among us now as has the method of exposure to the birds of the air, of the Parsees. Everyone, like the good Joseph of Arimathea, is wont to prepare a tomb for the reception of his body, where it may rest in peace and security, where time may gently and unseen reduce and commingle it with the elements of the physical universe.

It is, however, the treatment to which the body that is carried to the dissecting-room is subjected which is particularly revolting to everyone who contemplates it. No one can complacently entertain the idea of becoming a subject for a medical student. The most touching epistle I have ever read is one which is in *The Gentleman's Magazine* for April, 1754, and which purports to have been written by the spirit of a person whose body had been stolen

from its grave and taken to a dissecting-room. I am aware that there have been men, Bentham for instance, who have voluntarily willed their bodies to be dissected, but they have been extremely few, and their heartless wish has not aroused the admiration of any considerable number of people.

Turning now to the grave-robber, it may be said of him that he does not despoil any grave because he finds it agreeable to do so; he plies his unpleasant and nefarious art for the sake of the money return which he expects it to yield him. It is possible that medical students do occasionally resort to grave-robbing to get subjects for their own use; but, as a rule, the crime is committed by uncouth men for the sake of the cash obtainable for the bodies thus procured. And the greater the money value of dissectible bodies, the more are men tempted to become grave-robbers. When many persons are out of employment, as has of late been the case, and are consequently hard pressed for even the necessaries of life, it is easy to understand that to them the temptation to traffic in human remains is almost irresistible, these being saleable at thirty dollars a piece. But there is sufficient reason to believe that there are desperadoes who have been and are systematically pursuing body-snatching and dealing in bodies as a business. Until definite arrangements are made with college authorities, for the purchase of the subjects obtained, it is scarcely possible to pursue body-snatching to much purpose; so, for this reason, it is probable that it is largely confined to professionals.

Now the price of dissectible bodies depends on the difficulties and dangers incurred in procuring them and the demand there is for them. If sufficient bodies cannot be procured otherwise, attaching a severe penalty to the crime of grave-robbing increases their value and consequently tends to give rise to the crime. On this point, Sir Astley Cooper, who knew a great deal about body-snatching, declared to a Parliamentary Commission: "The law only enhances the price and does not prevent the exhumation." Here I may say that, according to English law, stealing a body itself from a grave is not a felony unless some of the grave-clothes be taken with it. This curious doctrine is based on the theory that a dead body can have no owner. Grave-robbing is an indictable offence at common law, but several of the states of the Union—among them Massachusetts, New York, and Pennsylvania—have

made it punishable by statute. The Massachusetts law, which was passed in 1831, makes the crime punishable by fine in as much as two thousand (2000) dollars and imprisonment as long as two (2) years ; while that of Pennsylvania inflicts as a punishment, on conviction before a justice of the peace in the county in which the crime is committed, a fine of " not less than one (1) nor more than fifty (50) dollars ;" or, on conviction in a court of quarter sessions, a similar fine and imprisonment for a period not exceeding one (1) year. So it would seem that the people of Pennsylvania do not have half the regard for their dead that the people of the Bay State have.

Turning now to the subject of dissection in connection with the facilities for pursuing it, I will begin with it in early times and come forward.

As it is declared in the Mosaic code, that whosoever toucheth " a dead body or a bone of a man, or a grave, shall be unclean seven days," it is improbable that any of the ancient Hebrews ventured to dissect the human body ; and the Greeks and Romans were long restrained by their religions from doing it. Some are of the opinion that Hippocrates and Galen, the fathers of the healing art, never studied in detail the anatomy of the human body, and that their anatomical knowledge was derived entirely from their dissections of apes, monkeys and other animals. It is even denied that the great Aristotle ventured to dissect the human body. Now, it is extremely probable that the three great men named, as well as others of their time, and before, secretly indulged in human dissections. Such is the belief of Dr. Francis Adams, who has given a great deal of study to medical classics. In his edition of Hippocrates, he says : " I am of the opinion that Hippocrates and the other medical authorities of antiquity had practiced *inspectiones cadaverum* more frequently than they durst publicly acknowledge for fear of suffering from popular prejudice ; but even that would appear to have been overrated, for as it is proved, beyond possibility of doubt, that the human body was openly dissected in the anatomical schools of Alexandria, considerably less than one hundred years after the death of Hippocrates, it is highly probable that the practice had prevailed before that time, although to an inferior extent. Such a taste was not likely to have sprung up all at once under the Ptolemies. Indeed, that Aristotle, who

was almost contemporary with Hippocrates, and was dead before the distinguished Alexandrian period, had seen the human body dissected, will not be questioned by any one who has read his admirable works "On the Parts of Animals" and "The History of Animals." It is questionable whether in the anatomical descriptions of Hippocrates there is a single mistake—a fact indicative of an intimate acquaintance with the structure of the body. The names given to the various parts of the body by Galen are those in use to this day. Herophilus and Erasistratus were the leaders of the Alexandrian school of practical anatomy; through them it gained its great celebrity in the third century before our era. So eager were these two men for anatomical knowledge, that they actually sought for and obtained permission to dissect certain criminals while alive. So we are told by Galen and Celsus. In regard to this matter, Bacon says: "Though the inhumanity of *anatomia vivorum* was by Celsus justly reproved, yet, in regard of the great use of this observation, the inquiry needed not by him so slightly to have been relinquished altogether, or referred to the casual practices of surgery, but might have been well diverted upon the dissection of beasts alive." The great Bacon understood the value of vivisection better than do many of the people of our day and generation.

The prevalence of Christianity prevented the practice of dissection, and it was formally prohibited by Pope Boniface VIII., in 1297. The teachings of Mohammed had a like effect; the great Arabian school of physicians knew nothing of practical anatomy.

In 1308 the Great Council of Venice passed a decree permitting the dissection of a body annually by the medical men of that city. An Italian named Mondini, a professor of medicine at Bologna, dissected two bodies in the year 1315. This was the beginning of the practice in modern times. Vesalius, Fallopius, Eustachi, and other compatriots of Mondini, dissected quite extensively and immortalized themselves through their discoveries and descriptions. For a long time, Bologna and Padua attracted students of medicine from all parts of the world.

In France, in the days of Francis I., dissection of the human was regarded as sacrilege. The theologians of Salamanca, on being formally asked, in the reign of Charles V., whether dissection could be tolerated, unanimously answered that it could not, that it would be in violation of their religion.

In 1540 a law was passed in England, by authority of which the bodies of certain executed criminals were given to surgeons, "to be dissected and anatomized," and, with some slight amendments, it remained in force until 1832. A similar law was passed in France in 1576. A like law was in operation throughout the United States for a long time, and to-day it is in force in Connecticut, Massachusetts, Vermont, New Jersey, Iowa, and perhaps other states. It is now considered unwise to inflict dissection as a punishment, on account of the tendency it has to promote popular prejudice against the practice under any circumstances.

As late as the beginning of the nineteenth century dissection was practised to but a limited extent in Great Britain and the United States; but at a much earlier period there were men in both countries who properly appreciated the uses of it. In a letter in *The Gentleman's Magazine* for May, 1754, written in reply to the one referred to above, the writer—a surgeon—goes so far as to declare that "he who prevents the dissection of the dead, eventually destroys the living." It is on record that a body was dissected in New York in 1750, but its systematic practice was begun in this country, in Philadelphia, in 1762, by Dr. Shippen, who three years later assisted in founding the school which has long been known as the Medical Department of the University of Pennsylvania. The Doctor experienced much difficulty in getting what subjects he wanted, and his rooms were viewed with great dislike by his fellow-citizens. It was thought, and probably correctly, that other bodies than those of homicides and of suicides come into his hands.

The labors of the two Hunters and others developed a taste for anatomical study in Great Britain, and, under the leadership of such men as Abernethy, Astley Cooper and Charles Bell, it became very popular in the first quarter of this century. The popular feeling in regard to dissection, toward the end of the eighteenth century, may be inferred from the following statement, which is taken from *A Guide for Gentlemen at the University of Edinburgh*, a pamphlet published in 1792: "From the particular prejudices of the low people of Scotland, it will probably never be possible to establish a public dissecting room in Edinburgh." It is also stated in the same noted pamphlet, that in the city of Edinburgh it was then impossible, by any means, to get more than a score of bodies yearly. From that time forward, the difficulty experienced

in getting the supply required, became greater and greater. With the exception of the bodies of a few homicides, they were obtained by purchase, the price ranging from five to twenty guineas apiece. Men there were, throughout the United Kingdom, who made a business of trafficking in bodies. Grave-robbing and even murdering, for the sake of the bodies, became very common offences. In a *Life of Sir Charles Bell*, it is well said: "Before the Act of Parliament on dissection, the anatomists of England and Scotland had to contend with the same prejudices which their predecessors of the Middle Ages were exposed to, and were reduced to the most lamentable expedients to obtain the subjects necessary for their lectures. The interval between 1806 and the passage of the Bill, (1832), witnessed, both in London and Edinburgh, a regular succession of resurrectionists and stranglers, those gloomy desecrators of the grave, those relentless Thugs of science, of whom the surgeons were involuntary accomplices." The most noted of the grave-robbers, were Crouch, Murphy, Holliss, Vaughn, Butler and Harnet; and of those who resorted to murder for the bodies of their victims, the most notorious were Burke and Bishop.

In undertaking to work for a particular school of anatomy, the body-snatchers exacted fifty pounds or so to begin with, and then received from five to twenty pounds apiece for the bodies as they were brought in. These terrible men worked with wonderful boldness and success. In spite of watchmen, spiked walls, spring-traps and everything else, the grave-robber could accomplish his purpose. By bribery or some other means, he rarely if ever failed to obtain the bodies he went in pursuit of. No body was secure in any burial place. The biographer of Sir Astley Cooper says: "Such was his power over these men at one time, that there was not a funeral place in London from which he could not, if he thought proper, obtain any particular subject he might wish to be exhumed." Bodies awaiting interment in public institutions and even in private homes, were frequently carried off. If a friendless person were known to be dying or dead in a hospital, the body-snatcher would craftily present himself or some one else as a relative, and in this way obtain the body. Grave-robbing, burking—which was the name finally attached to the crime of murdering for the victim's body—and other forms of body-snatching were carried to such a pitch that the whole Kingdom was in a terrible state of

anxiety and alarm. Few grave-robbers were ever punished; but Burke and Bishop were both convicted on the charge of murder, and were hung—the former in Edinburgh in 1829, and the latter in London in 1831.

For obvious reasons, the surgeons generally came to the assistance of the body-snatchers when they got into trouble. The state authorities were not at all anxious to discover instances of the reception of bodies by surgeons for dissection; they overlooked the practice, unless there was some flagrant breach of propriety about the proceeding; so that the body-snatcher had little to fear when he had gone so far as to have the body in his hands. The Government did not see fit to place obstacles in the way of the study of anatomy in the Kingdom, although it lacked the courage and sense to provide for it by law, as other European Governments had already done. Here it may be remarked that, although the state neither provided nor tolerated reasonable facilities for the special education of the surgeon, it held him responsible for all errors he might commit in consequence of ignorance; and this is precisely the condition of things in the majority of the states of this Union to-day. The case is thus stated by Dr. G. Macilwain in his *Memoirs of John Abernethy*: “Any surgeon who was convicted of *mala praxis*, resulting from ignorance of anatomy, was severely fined, perhaps ruined; and yet so entirely unprovided were the profession with any legitimate means of studying anatomy, that they could only be obtained by a connivance at practices the most demoralizing and revolting.” It is, to say the least, rather hard that medical men should have to become abettors of crime, if not actual criminals, in order to acquire the information which they are legally required to possess.

No intelligent man could fail to recognize the fact that dissection should, in justice to medical students, as well as in the interests of humanity, be properly provided for by law; but it took a long time to educate the British people generally into this belief; and it was only a conviction that it would prevent worse evils, that it would be “highly expedient” that the right remedy for body-snatching was accepted at last—only the acts of the body-snatchers made the passage of the “Act for Regulating Schools of Anatomy” possible in 1832. The passage of some such measure was, however, powerfully advocated by medical men, and especially well by the

Lancet, and by Dr. Southwood Smith in his work, "The Use of the Dead to the Living" (1827).

The above act, which is still in force in the United Kingdom, begins by declaring that "a knowledge of the causes and nature of sundry diseases which affect the body, and of the best methods of treating and curing such diseases, and of healing and repairing divers wounds and injuries to which the human frame is liable, cannot be acquired without the aid of anatomical examination;" and the leading features of it are, that "it shall be lawful for any executor or other party having lawful possession of the body of any deceased person, and not being an undertaker or other person entrusted with the body for the purpose only of interment, to permit the body of such deceased person to undergo anatomical examination, unless to the knowledge of such executor or other person such person shall have expressed his desire" to be buried; that any one wishing to practice dissection must take out a license; and that inspectors of anatomy shall be appointed by the government. Although it is not expressly stated that the bodies of all friendless persons who die in public institutions shall be at the command of proper persons wishing them for dissection, yet practically it is so; and such bodies furnish nearly the whole supply required in dissecting-rooms. Even though a person had expressed a desire to have his body dissected, relatives may object to it and prevent it by law. This law put an end to body-snatching at once, for it has enabled teachers of anatomy to get a sufficient supply of subjects without difficulty. It is generally thought that the clause of it which does away with the dissection of the bodies of homicides, as a penalty, has done much to remove popular dislike to the practice. Any one offending against the act "shall be deemed and taken to be guilty of a misdemeanor, and being duly convicted thereof, shall be punished by imprisonment for a term not exceeding three (3) months, or by a fine not exceeding fifty (50) pounds at the discretion of the court." There is a statute which subjects poor-law officers who are convicted of selling the bodies of paupers to a fine of as much as five (5) pounds.

An Anatomy Act, almost similar to this one of Great Britain and Ireland, was adopted in Canada in 1875. Little has been done for practical anatomy through legislation in the United States. As already stated, the only bodies legally obtainable for dissection, for

a long time, were those of some homicides and suicides. Through the efforts of the Boston Medical Society, the state of Massachusetts passed an excellent Anatomy Act in 1831—one year before the passage of the British one. This act is essentially the same as the Pennsylvania one, which will be found below, except that it does not limit the source of supply of subjects to any particular counties of the commonwealth. Of it, the *Medico-Chirurgical Review* for Jan., 1832, in a long commendatory article, says: “The profession and public on this side the Atlantic may see by the act in question that America has, on this occasion, led the way in the march of liberality and improvement.” Unfortunately, the other states, with only a few tardy exceptions, have not followed the noble example of Massachusetts. The state of Pennsylvania—yes, the state of Pennsylvania, with three of the leading medical colleges of the country within her limits—had no Anatomy Act until 1867, and the one passed in that year, which is still in force, grants certain bodies for dissection only in the counties of Philadelphia and Allegheny. It may be said that for a long time before the passage of this law there was at least little opposition to the reception of the bodies of friendless paupers by the authorities of medical schools. In 1862 the Guardians of the Poor of the city and county of Philadelphia, in their wisdom did resolve that they would no longer allow bodies to be carried away for dissection; but, through the influence of more sensible men, they were prevailed on not to put the resolution in force. It may not be amiss to give the Pennsylvania law in full; it is as follows:

“Any public officer in the city of Philadelphia and county of Allegheny having charge thereof or control over the same, shall give permission to any physician or surgeon, of the same city and country upon his request made therefor to take the bodies of deceased persons requiring to be buried at public expense, to be by him used within the state for the advancement of medical science, preference being given to Medical Schools, public and private; and said bodies to be distributed to and among the same equitably, the number assigned to each being in proportion to the number of its students: *Provided, however,* That if the deceased person, during his or her last sickness, of his or her own accord, shall request to be buried, or if any person claiming to be and satisfying the proper authorities that he is of kindred to the deceased shall ask to have the body for burial, it shall be surrendered for interment; or if such deceased person was a stranger or traveller who died suddenly, the body shall be

buried and shall not be handed over as aforesaid. Every physician or surgeon before receiving any such dead body shall give to the proper authorities surrendering the same to him a sufficient bond that such body shall be used only for the promotion of medical science within the state; and whosoever shall use such body or bodies for other purposes, or shall remove the same beyond the limit of this state, and whosoever shall sell or buy such body or bodies, or in any way traffic in the same, shall be guilty of a misdemeanor, and shall, on conviction, be imprisoned for a term not exceeding five (5) years at hard labor in the county jail."

The only states which have Anatomy Acts are Massachusetts, New York, Connecticut, Vermont, Pennsylvania, Iowa, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Kansas and California. The law in each of these states is frequently violated, and mainly because of the absence of such a one in neighboring states. There is a great deal of trafficking in human bodies going on in every state in the union, and between the states. Until all the states have a law, it is impossible to hope that that of any will be respected. It is surprising and disgraceful that a state like Ohio, which turns out perhaps more graduates of medicine annually than any other state in the Union, still remains without a law affording proper facilities for dissection.

The number of bodies required annually for anatomical and surgical instruction in the United States is very large. It is impossible to give the precise number, but it is safe to estimate it at five thousand. According to the Report of the United States Commissioner of Education, there were over ten thousand students in the medical schools of the United States last winter, and it is not improbable that over half the number received diplomas last spring. Every graduate, during his two courses of study, uses, on the average, one subject, which would make about five thousand in all as above. Of these five thousand subjects, at least a majority are illegally obtained, many of them by actual purchase. A body will sell for five dollars anywhere, and in Ohio and other states thirty dollars is the usual price. Where it is easy to procure the necessary supply of subjects they are cheap; and where it is difficult, they are dear. Where bodies sell at a high price, grave-robbing, and even burking, may be expected. The prospect of making thirty dollars or so, is sufficient to lead some men to do almost anything regardless of law. Those in charge of morgues, the dead rooms of hospitals, and potter's fields, could tell some

startling things about how bodies disappear from these places. The number of bodies that are allowed to go into the potter's fields throughout the country is very small, and the majority of those that reach them are not allowed to rest in them many hours. I am so positive of the truth of these assertions, that I do not consider it necessary to present any proof in support of them.

The time has come for liberal legislation in favor of dissection in every state in the Union. The body-snatching and trafficking in human remains, now going on throughout the nation, should be stopped; the toleration of such crimes is a national disgrace. Dissection is a cruel enough practice, but as it must go on, it should have the sanction of law, and there should be in every state a legal way to procure the necessary supply of subjects. The bodies of all persons that would have to be buried at public expense, in all towns of over twenty thousand inhabitants, should, with such provisos as those found in the Pennsylvania law, be granted for dissection.

It is on the score that it is useful to the living that dissection is tolerated; and it is sufficient excuse for the practice. Over the entrance to the first anatomical theatre at Toulouse was placed this sensible inscription:

"Hic locus est ubi mors gaudet succurere vitæ."

The value to the living, of the knowledge which can be gained in no other way than through the dead, cannot be over-estimated. Anatomy is the basis of all medical science. It would be utterly impossible to practise medicine, and especially surgery, with any degree of precision, without an intimate acquaintance with the structure of the body. It matters not what obstacles are in the way of the practice of dissection, it will go on, for it serves a beneficent purpose to the race, a purpose which frail humanity will ever prize. Better would it be for all who have occasion to call to their aid either the physician or the surgeon, if dissection were practised to a greater extent than at present.

T. S. SOZINSKY, M.D., PH. D.

BY THE PERKIOMEN.

In times long gone, these quiet fields, this wood,
Were gay as now in bright October's mood.
Where now arise the spires above the town,
Between the peaceful groves the sun looked down
On Perkiomen singing all the day.

For well tilled fields gave back an hundred fold,
And well filled barns could scarce their treasure hold,
The orchards bending with the weight they bore,
Cast down their golden fruit upon the shore
Of Perkiomen singing all the day.

There came a change; the leaves upon the wood
Turned brighter with a color as of blood,
The waving Northern Lights: the camp fires glow
Seemed from the heights a tinge of blood to throw
On Perkiomen at the close of day.

At morn a host marched gaily to the fight,
And some returned, their camp fires to relight,
And some to hear awhile the waters flow,
To moan, and then to hear no more, and low
The Perkiomen sang on that sad day.

And prayers in many distant homes were said
By hearts that ne'er again were comforted,
While here the soldier saw in dreams again
Home scenes made vivid by the sad refrain
Of Perkiomen singing all the day.

T'was here the great commander heard the tale
Of hard won victories in Hudson's vale.
The cannon told his joy: from yonder hill
The tidings sped, and glad below the mill
The Perkiomen sang on that great day.

And nature soon forgets; that camp is lost;
 She hides the graves of all that armed host;
 On the same site now stands another mill,
 Another miller leans on the white sill,
 To hear the Perkiomen sing to day.

Shall we forget what only now is plain,
 How from the sacrifice has grown our gain?
 The orchards bloom; each year its harvest brings,
 And as of old of Peace and Plenty sings
 The Perkiomen gladly all the day.

Our hearts shall not forget, while autumn's days
 Again drape stream and shore in golden haze,
 Here our glad songs of gratitude and praise
 Shall mingle with the Perkiomen's lays,
 The Perkiomen singing all the day.

I. R. P.

THE INDUSTRIAL LEAGUE TO ITS CONSTITUENTS.

THE Representative Council of the Industrial League having decided early in the winter that there was no necessity for its assembling, in view of the unlikelihood of a successful attack upon any American industry during the short session of Congress, the Executive Committee of the League deems it advisable to offer to its constituents a review of the situation.

Mr. Fernando Wood's remarkable attempt in the session of 1877-8, to overthrow the industrial system of his country, by removing the tariff barriers which guard it, brought into conspicuous notice an unsuspected change of opinion upon this subject. He found that while the unflinching courage of the old Protectionists could not be intimidated, nor their acquiescence be purchased by artful special concessions, neither the great importing city of New York nor the populous prairies of the West could any longer be counted on to give unbroken support to any Free Trade programme, and that

a universal cry of distress and indignation arose from all parts of the country at the unsettlement in business occasioned by his meddling.

A feeling of conservatism had grown up in many districts and had become powerful, almost unnoticed by their Representatives, many of whom were surprised at the earnestness of the remonstrances which they received from home. No doubt the blundering ignorance of the bill presented by Mr. Wood did much towards defeating it, but the general sentiment of disgust at uncalled-for disturbance of well settled industries—the conservative “let well enough alone” feeling or conviction—was a more important factor than ever before.

Nothing more distinctly marks the advance of the people in wisdom than the growth of this conservatism concerning commercial legislation. Its continued growth may be counted on in proportion as the people continue to examine the subject, until some better plan than the present shall be found for making such modifications as may from time to time be requisite or desirable. Our countrymen are now generally convinced that the tariff-tinkering attempted by every Congress is an insufferable nuisance, a perpetual menace not merely to a few, but to all the industries that support the nation; a constant invitation to foreigners to meddle in our law-making, and an irresistible temptation for oratory by Congressmen upon delicate and important matters which very few of them understand.

It is not a trifling or an easy matter to establish in any country such arts and industries as we possess, and which are but poorly symbolized by the various trees, plants, crops and stock of a large, well ordered and diligently cultivated plantation. They do not grow spontaneously; very few of the nations of the earth possess them. Those who are without them see that they are the main source of our national prosperity, and long to imitate us. Those who possess them and who know by experience the power and wealth they confer, aim to build up their interests at the expense of ours.

Upon looking back over the courses by which country after country has been raised from barbarism to civilization and empire, we find the same landmarks upon all; indeed, we might almost say that all nations have travelled the same road. In the remote and pre-historic distance we observe that every country has been occu-

pied by men whose highest art was the making of weapons and tools from flints and bones and whose principal industries were hunting and fishing. The metal workers who succeeded these joined to the chase the care of flocks and herds, began to practise agriculture, improved their dwellings, excelled their neighbors in war by reason of superiority in arms, in industries and in intelligence, consolidated their governments, built great cities and temples, acquired wealth by trade, giving small products of their arts for large bulks of material, and extended their rule constantly by war or commerce.

It is easy to understand that laws changed during such a national rise and progress as this, and that such laws as were suited to the men of the stone age, or of the pastoral or even of the agricultural age, were insufficient for the period of highest attainments when new interests unknown to those simple times had sprung into existence, when the national life had to be defended from new modes of attack, and national prosperity and empire advanced by methods before unknown.

In this continental territory, however, we see all stages of such a progressive career co-existent, each upon a mighty scale, and each demanding the paternal care of national legislation fitted to its special needs.

It is but a short time—only half as long as the Saracenic dominion in Spain—since the men of the stone period held undisputed sway over the entire region now included in the United States of America. Gradually for the first two centuries, but during the last two at a frightfully accelerating speed, these primitive hunters have been pushed further from the Atlantic, and within the last few decades from the Pacific coast as well, until but a forlorn and persecuted remnant exists of the men who here represent the childhood of our race.

Pressing upon these, there has advanced toward the centre of the continent a belt of pioneers, partly hunters, partly miners, but mainly pastoral, and at this moment in Texas and New Mexico almost wholly pastoral, but tending to become the purely agricultural population next in order, which is seen at its best in the prairie country of Illinois or in the rolling lands of Minnesota. Succeeding them come the metal workers whose home upon this continent has been that great State which is still their chief seat, Pennsylvania,

but who abound also in New York, New Jersey and other Atlantic States, have poured a mighty stream into Ohio, and are invading Illinois, Michigan, Missouri, Virginia and Alabama. With these metal workers, or closely following them, are textile workers, artisans and artists of every variety; populations of the greatest refinement, intelligence, wealth and luxury, in close connection with the most advanced European communities and partaking largely of their ideas and customs.

What infinite complexity! Yet all these belts of diverse stages of civilization crossing all the varied soils and climates from Canada to the Mexican Gulf, are to have and do have perfectly free exchange among themselves of all their multifarious productions which supplement each other so thoroughly, thus maintaining a gigantic system of Free Trade, such as no other part of the world ever paralleled; they are to be governed and are governed in all their commercial relations with other countries by a single uniform law, a law so contrived as to promote the growth of all industries needful to our wants and to foster the interdependence and mutual support of our citizens, while drawing from foreigners much of the money needed for governmental expenditures.

How gradually and painfully such a law has been built up can be but feebly imagined by those who have not been obliged to study the question; how many struggles, often fomented by hungry foreign traders, have occurred during those different waves of progress; how earnestly each point of difference has been debated and how ingeniously accommodated cannot now be explained at length, but, as the result, we have that great body of practical law, known as our Tariff system. It was inevitable that this system should be, to great extent, a series of compromises, for though opinions swayed this way or that, and contending forces of foreign greed in alliance with domestic prejudice *versus* American enterprise stimulated by the desire of gain, did battle over the whole great field, yet terms were in every case and in every part established; every line of the complicated law has a reason and a history; every provision is an item in a treaty of peace, mostly marking American progress and victory, and on each depend important interests. That complex mass of rules was not invented by one or more closet theorists, as John Locke invented a constitution for South Carolina, but has grown from the small beginning, which Washington ap-

proved, at the foundation of our government, by many changes and additions, as the common law of England grew, until, like that, it reaches and has a vital hold upon every class and every individual in the land. All understand that their transactions are to be fitted to it; they are fitted to it from the greatest to the smallest; and all enjoy under it such reasonable degree of prosperity as the circumstances of the age permit; in no other country, and under no other commercial laws, has equal prosperity existed. While not more perfect than other human codes, it fairly expresses the wants and will of the nation, and is most thoroughly a part of every man's daily life.

This elaborate, far reaching and delicate system, entwined as it is, into all parts of our business fabric, Mr. Wood proposed to overthrow—not to amend it carefully in those parts where experience had shown defects, but to topple over the whole vast and venerable American edifice, in order to erect in its place a crazy structure contrived by a foreigner, who had so long been tolerated in the New York custom house that he had grown to imagine himself an authority. Unfortunately, Mr. Wood is a member of the next Congress, and unfortunately other Congressmen—the more ignorant, the more fanatical—are sure to make new attacks upon this beneficent system, and if not upon the whole, then upon some one or more points which they fancy to be most vulnerable, thus destroying it in detail.

So far as anything like reasons or pretexts are urged for such hazardous experiments, they are certainly rather stale and threadbare. The first of them, that protective duties raise the price of manufactured goods, thus inflicting a tax upon all consumers, is overthrown: Firstly, by the experience of England, whose manufactures, stimulated for several generations by careful tariff laws, attained such magnitude, such skill on the part of employers and workmen, and such wealth, that they became able to undersell all competitors, and thus to challenge all the world to Free Trade warfare. Secondly, by our own experience, for after eighteen years of unbroken tariff rule, all manufactured goods are now by far cheaper in this country than ever before.

The second pretext, that protective tariffs violate a sort of Gospel which manufacturing England began a few years ago to preach, and that such tariffs, therefore, involve a sort of blasphemy of

which no really cultured people should be guilty, is met by the facts that every civilized country in the world maintains just such a tariff system as is called for by its national treasury and its business interests, and that all, after a period of more or less delusion by the English prophets, are establishing more firmly the protective features of their tariffs. They are all adhering more distinctly to the principles declared by the Emperor of Germany, in his address to the *Reichstag*, Feb'y 11th, 1879, *viz.*, "Our commerce has a right to claim that protection which legislation 'regarding customs taxes can afford. . . . My duty is to preserve a German market for articles of home production." Finally, that the English themselves, finding foreign markets everywhere closing to them, and foreign goods intruding into their home markets, are beginning to cry out against Free Trade.

The third pretext, that exportations of manufactured goods are prevented by protective tariffs, is well answered by our own recent experience, for as the natural end and result of our long period of protection, our manufactures of many sorts are going abroad in quantities hitherto unknown. It might be considered self-evident that only industries firmly established in the home trade can extend their enterprise to foreign exportations, but the assertion that industries are so enervated by protection as to be unable to stretch beyond the frontier, has been so often repeated as to give peculiar interest to the recent researches of Mr. L. Cohren of Berlin. He proves that in the German Empire, exactly the classes of goods which are protected by an adequate import duty, are those which have been able to fill their own markets and overflow into foreign lands; that the classes slightly and inadequately protected have failed to hold their own, and that an excess of them is imported; finally, that the classes which are admitted duty free (not including tropical goods), are imported in enormous excess.

Surely, we should be able to assume that no efforts of ill-informed gentlemen, no matter how strongly aided or shrewdly guided by interested foreigners, shall hereafter be able to sacrifice, for the gratification of an idea, the national prosperity and independence, by exposing our manufactures to destruction at the hands of our rivals and trade enemies.

No party professing patriotism can hereafter afford to avow such a policy. A main title of the Republican party to the country's

support, has been and is its firm adherence to a patriotic policy of caring for the nation's working people and their employers in this respect. The Democratic party was originally, as is well known, the champion of domestic manufactures against New England's Free Trade; and only because of an imaginary necessity of combatting its antagonist's policy at all points, has it of late years appeared as the enemy of American Industry; many distinguished Democrats, however, (among them the venerable president of this League, Maj. Gen. Robert Patterson), are ardent protectionists.

The question is not one for political parties to divide upon, nor for tedious debate in Congress, but for the careful and continuous study of a special commission, with whom alone all proposed changes in tariff details should originate.

At present, the most menacing danger before us is the negotiation of special commercial treaties with separate nations, a danger the more real because it is insidious. What is a commercial treaty? Setting aside such minor matters as stipulations for port dues, etc., a commercial treaty is a solemn engagement by two nations that, for the period named therein—say for ten or twenty years—each contracting nation shall levy and collect upon goods imported from the other, no more than the rates of duty named in a schedule attached. Now, a treaty is negotiated by the Department of State, it may be at the wish or suggestion of the other government, or of our own Executive; by the usage of the department, everything relative to the treaty is kept profoundly secret; it is considered rather impertinent for a citizen to enquire politely at the State Department whether such a treaty is being incubated, and it is a violation of official duty for any one in the department, below the Secretary of State, to say yes or no to such a question.

The treaty being thus secretly "negotiated," to the satisfaction of the representatives of the other contracting party, it is in due time submitted to the Senate and referred to its Committee on Foreign Affairs, where it is considered in secret and reported back to the Senate with an affirmative or negative recommendation, or with modifications. The Senate again debates upon it with closed doors, and if the treaty is approved, it is, when signed by the President, the supreme law of the land, although no one outside of official circles can properly have had any opportunity to know what are its provisions.

Should the treaty be a commercial one, like the famous or infamous Reciprocity Treaty with Canada, or the disgusting little treaty with Hawaii, so much deference is paid to the House of Representatives, that the treaty is stipulated to become binding when the necessary legislation shall have been enacted; this, however, in practice avails little or nothing, because it is held that the national faith has been fully pledged by the constitutional treaty-making power, the President and the Senate, and that the representatives of the people have no discretion, but must meekly ratify the acts of their superiors. It avails nothing, even though one of the most important privileges of the House of Representatives—that of originating all measures relating to the revenue—is quite nullified by the assumption that rates of import duty may thus be established, which have not only not originated, but perhaps are disapproved, by the House.

The natural suggestion, that the Senate need not ratify a treaty, and that the House need not legislate against its will, is met by the fact that Executive influence upon individuals, and watchful choice of time and opportunity, are hard to resist, and that the House was seduced or dragooned into legislating into activity the phenomenally one-sided Canadian Reciprocity, and the swindling little Hawaiian treaty, which gratuitously releases, to a few speculators, duties on Hawaiian sugars greater than our entire exports to that country. That such an autocratic or aristocratic style of fixing duties upon imported goods is totally unsuitable for this country must be obvious upon consideration of these points. First; The national existence depends, in emergencies at least, if not constantly, upon the nation's power to alter freely, promptly and at will its laws for the raising of revenue; a foreign or intestine war may imperatively require that taxation shall be immediately increased, that the revenue from customs upon imports shall be doubled, not when some foreign power or powers shall consent, but now. Yet, if we have tied our hands by stipulating with sundry nations that no change shall be made in the rate of duties on articles imported from them for the term of ten or twenty years, this vitally necessary increase cannot be made. Secondly:—That most important safeguard of republican, or even constitutional government, that the lower House alone, the most direct representative of the People, shall have the power to originate money bills or measures

affecting the revenue, is thoroughly evaded and sacrificed by the subterfuge of first pledging the national faith through its treaty-making power, and then calling on the People's Representatives for a modification of domestic laws in obedience to the treaty stipulations. If this style of legislation can be practised in the United States, then the United States are ready for a master, and the struggles for liberty of England and of this country for the past three centuries have been in vain. Thirdly :—The State department is incompetent to decide wisely what rates of import duty are wholesome for the interests of this country. No one man knows all parts of this country's trade interests, even roughly, and in every attempt to change the tariff it becomes plainly manifest that only by the freest consultation and comparison of views with many practical manufacturers, merchants and other citizens can the data needful to wise legislation be obtained ; no less plainly is it manifest that all interests of producer, consumer, importer and trader are so intertwined and fitted to existing laws that changes must be made with great caution. A secret power, ignorantly dictating the most important changes, without the study, consent or knowledge of the parties concerned, is, in our form of government, a monstrous anomaly. Fourthly ;—No matter what rates of import duty are to day suitable, and even if a great emergency for revenue should not arise, it is most rash to presume that the existing rates are certain to be the most advantageous in all respects for a defined future period of years to come. Who can foresee the inventions, the revolutions in industry and trade, which those years may bring forth, and why should we deprive ourselves of the natural right which even a crab enjoys, of casting his shell and providing a more commodious one if his growth requires it ? Fifthly ;—The complexity of administering tariff laws when the same articles coming from different countries are subjected to different rates of duty, may perhaps be imagined. It is hard enough, even with the best intentions, to administer a law fixing one rate upon each article, no matter whence derived, but this is simplicity, compared with the vista of claims by importers, by the treaty governments, and by undersold home producers, which a batch of special treaties opens to the mental vision. The further probability of trouble with governments having no special treaty, but claiming all the rights of " the most favored nation " according to the customary treaty stipulation, need not here be enlarged upon.

The intelligence and patriotism of the President of the United States, and of his distinguished Secretary of State, are conceded, but is it not too much to expect that, exposed as they may be to the urgent representations of interested foreigners supported by infatuated domestic intriguers, they should, in the absence of any expression against Commercial Treaties, resist all such unwholesome influences? The grotesque little treaty with Hawaii, which bestows, in the most uncalled for manner, a princely revenue as a gratuity to a few sugar refiners in San Francisco, is a recent demonstration that inherent absurdity cannot be relied upon to defeat such projects, while the success of that raid is a challenge to other enterprising minds, who, now that the example is set, may hope to achieve like victories.

At this moment, the strange spectacle looms above our horizon of a voluntary and self-appointed delegation from France, coming to this country for the purpose of bringing about a commercial treaty between France and the United States; a spectacle all the more strange, that Gen. Noyes, the American Minister to the French Government, and Consul-General Fairchild, condescended to attend a meeting in Paris of these voluntary and unauthorized concocters. It may be hoped, but can perhaps hardly be expected, that these gentlemen will be reminded by their own government of the irregularity of their conduct in thus countenancing an effort, by notoriety-seeking American Free Traders and French private citizens, to prejudice an important question concerning treaty engagements, which has had no sign of approbation from either government, and which may probably, if ever brought formally to the attention of Messrs. Noyes' and Fairchild's official superiors, be condemned by them.

M. Leon Chotteau, the French leader in this scheme for overthrowing our form of government, has the backing of some chocolate makers, wine growers and dealers, and silk manufacturers, in his own country, but has not that of any great mass of his fellow citizens, nor any sign of authorization from his own government, yet he has been and will again be received by our easily tickled Boards of Trade and populace, so far as he comes to their notice, as if he were the emissary of a real power. It is not, however, safe to presume that he will make no impression or produce no effect, for a body, no matter how insignificant, can

when vigorously impelled make its mark upon a much larger body resting inert, as a tallow candle may be shot from a musket through a pine board.

Of a totally different nature is the aspect of commercial relations with our neighbor on the North, where we see with interest that Canada in her turn is giving her adhesion to the policy of fostering home industries. It must be admitted, however, that the smallness of her population and of her home markets, the exclusively Northern character of her productions in contrast with the almost unlimited variety of ours, and the immense extent and expensiveness of her customs line, render her an unfavorable subject for a separate experiment. Moreover, her system will be incomplete and ineffective if it does not protect her against the Transatlantic competition which is by far more formidable than ours.

A commercial union with the continent, of which geographically she is a part, and with which she is connected by identity of race, would afford her large and unrestricted markets, free participation, perhaps, in our coasting trade, with other commercial advantages too numerous to specify; and at the same time, give her the needful protection against that European competition from which her rising industries have most to fear; it would, in fact, afford to her what we already enjoy, all the practical advantages of both Free Trade and Protection.

Obviously, no policy of tariff legislation hostile to the United States can long be sustained in Canada, since her chief markets for barley, lumber, fish and other products, as well as her indispensable access to the sea across our territory can be cut off at pleasure, whenever her tariff policy shall have become sufficiently annoying to provoke retaliatory legislation from our government.

When she shall ask for commercial union and equality, under our tariff system, it will doubtless be to our interest that her advances shall be met by a frank acceptance; but meantime, no project for a delusive Reciprocity Treaty should be entertained for a moment; our former unsatisfactory experiment in that direction tended to the estrangement of two populations who are remarkably free from such animosities as too often embitter the inhabitants of the two sides of a frontier line, and whose real interests and aims are to a great extent intrinsically similar and accordant.

In a similarly broad spirit should our intercourse with Mexico

be treated. That spacious and magnificently endowed region, capable of yielding to us all that has been hoped for from Cuba and Brazil, and of taking from us vast quantities of the various fabrics which we desire to sell, must soon, by an inevitable extension of railroads, be brought into intimate connection with this country. Her naturally not unfriendly people may be taught by fair and profitable traffic to forget the suspicions born of their disasters during our dark period of slaveholders' rule, and they also may propose a full and free commercial union on the basis of her adopting our tariff system in its entirety as towards all other countries, and abrogating the customs frontier between us. If this should be asked under circumstances which would guarantee the sufficiency and integrity of her customs service, might it not be granted, and might not our vast existing area of absolute Free Trade be thus extended to the still wider proportions of the North American Continent?

To recapitulate; The Industrial League congratulates the nation upon the failure of all attempts to overthrow our tariff system; it reminds its constituents that similar attempts are sure to be made in the future, and that constant vigilance and mutual support are necessary to the common defence; it warns its friends and the public against any coquetting with the principle or practice of fixing tariff rates by commercial treaties; it commends any measure tending to an ultimate commercial union or zoll-verein with Canada and with Mexico; finally it repeats its often expressed conviction that the revision of our tariff should be committed to a small and carefully chosen commission of legislators and laymen, who alone should be empowered to submit to Congress projects of change in the Tariff laws.

JOSEPH WHARTON,

Chairman of Executive Committee of the Industrial League.

Philada., March 1st, 1879.

MRS. KEMBLE'S "RECORDS OF A GIRLHOOD." *

THERE are still living a good many old theatre-goers who talk with rapture of Fanny Kemble as she witched the world with her acting. The last line of her book records her final disappearance from the stage on her marriage in Philadelphia, on the 7th of June, 1834; and as she was born on the 27th of November, 1809, her 'girlhood' ended in the midst of a popularity and enthusiastic admiration, both on and off the stage, that might well have turned an older head. Her later appearance before the public, as a reader of Shakespeare's plays, made her known to large audiences, as a grave and matronly lady of very mature years and gracious dignified presence, but with a voice that never could be forgotten, and an air and presence that suggested the courtly dignity of the stage in its best years. Unquestionably, her public reading of Shakespeare went far towards reviving a pure taste for reading aloud as a fine art, and for an intelligent study and interpretation of Shakespeare himself, and thus helped on in the reform of the stage in its disuse of versions of his plays made by playwrights of more or less fitness for their task, generally less. Between her brief triumphs on the stage in the few years of her brilliant successes under her father's care, and her second coming to the fore in her new role, of a Kemble bringing all the knowledge and traditions of the stage to the reader's desk,—there is a long period as to which she maintains absolute silence, but these recollections, much modified from their first appearance as an "Old Woman's Gossip" in the *Atlantic Monthly*, are full of pleasant talk of her girlhood, and of her early experience of the grateful breath of popularity as a rising genius.

It can hardly be said, that her literary work kept the promise of her brilliant youth, and neither her 'Year in America' nor her 'Year of Consolation,' made a very strong impression on the reading public, or one at all commensurate with the faith in her universal genius that was so energetically maintained by the admiring world of her audiences both abroad and here. Still, these records of her youth show that her education was fragmentary and irregular, and that the influences and traditions of the

* RECORDS OF A GIRLHOOD, by Frances Ann Kemble. New York, Henry Holt and Company, 1879. Pp. 605.

Kembles were left to mould her mind with little or no real guidance from a stronger hand. It is not surprising, therefore, that even now her autobiography bears evidence of just the same characteristics,—much contradiction, many repetitions, not a little indifference to the effect her opinions of a very early day may have in their renewed utterance now. Still, the book has the same charm that must have gone so far to disarm criticism in her theatrical career, the rare spectacle of ingenuous honesty, straightforward speech, and direct statement of all that is both for and against her. The cool, calm analysis of the Kembles far and near, her free criticism of her contemporaries on and off the stage, her frank avowal of an utter want of belief in any high standard of excellence for the theatre, her crushing accounts of the literary demerits of the very plays in which she won such triumphal successes, notably Sheridan Knowles's *Hunchback*, and her subsequent eloquent praise of its excellence as compared to her own plays, all these are characteristic instances of the clear, outspoken judgment, which, even in her youth, withstood the glamour of her surroundings, and in her later years enabled her, by a brief paragraph, to affirm or correct the statements made in her somewhat gushing and unrestrained letters. It is charming to find the woman of seventy thus renewing her youth and bringing the world into her audience to share the early letters that, after a long lapse of years, were returned to her,—and it is hard to believe the current report that the "H." of these letters is that Lady Byron whose later years were one continued sacrifice of self, or that the girlish correspondent of her youth, who now in mature years prints the substance of them, is the Mrs. Kemble who, even at the reading desk, was the very impersonation of dignity and majestic seriousness.

The records do not add much to our positive stock of information, and they are curiously deficient in any account of the training for the stage that Fanny Kemble received, unless indeed we are to take quite literally the inference, for there is no statement exactly to that effect, that she was entirely unprepared for the theatre as a profession until her father's money difficulties suggested it as an experiment, and the result served to show that hereditary taste and living in the atmosphere of the stage were enough to make her the consummate actress. Unquestionably, the Kemble family were full of genius; but even that genius, without

much careful guidance and great industry, could hardly have made Fanny Kemble the brief star of two hemispheres, while other Kembles shone only dimly in a whole life-time of diligent stage work. Fanny Kemble's social success was largely due, of course, to her father's popularity, and her record of her share of amusement and entertainment in the great world of London, gives a lively picture of the habits and fashions of that generation. Her frequent recurrence to Mr. Craven, as one of her admirers, suggests the open secret that he was at one time engaged to be married to her, and that the lady who later in life became his wife was Pauline de la Ferronays, the author of the *Recits d'une Socur*, and much other literature of the same kind, intended to advertise the lady's profession, that of securing converts to the Church of Rome. What would have been Fanny Kemble's later life if she had remained in England and become Mrs. Craven? Would her genius have found fresh food and encouragement in her surroundings, or would she have settled down into the life of the English matron, like her gifted sister, Adelaide Sartoris, whose fame and name are better preserved in Mrs. Jameson's pages than by any record of her own making? Mrs. Sartoris is the author of a charming story of *Life in a French Country House*, but it is only a slight sketch, depending for much of its interest on the contrast between the settled routine of English country houses and the stir and bustle of their French neighbors, both alike quite different from the domestic interiors of our American homes.

Mrs. Kemble's sketches of her own early youth, her schools and school-mates, her childish recollections of the great Mrs. Siddons, in her decay, and of the other setting stars of the English stage, her criticism of the Kembles and their connections on and off the stage; her comparisons between the theatres as she saw them from before the scenes in Paris and behind them in London; her evident delight in recounting the adventures of her brief career in London and the Provinces; her simple story of the rise and growth of the Kembles and of their fallen fortunes in her father's days of money trouble, her pleasant sketches of London society, fashionable, literary and artistic:—all these give her book a very real and lively interest that has secured it a great success in England, where the traditions of the youth she describes are still piously preserved, and where the names of many who figure in her pages are familiar,

both in the actual presence of those still in life and in the children of those who are gone. In this country the liking for just such familiar talk about great people is steadily increasing, and many of Mrs. Kemble's most admiring American readers will be among those who have never seen London or Paris, or, even if they have paid the usual flying visit to the two great capitals, know, by actual contact, as little of the life so well described by Mrs. Kemble, as if they had never left their own quiet homes. The charm of her book is that it tells the story just as she saw the people and lived the events described in its pages, that it is the actual contemporary description, by a bright, clever, clear-headed young girl just emerging into womanhood, of a world filled with attractive people.

The good fortune that brought back to her, long years after, the letters written at the time and on the spot, is increased by the fact that in publishing them she wisely leaves them as they were, only adding here and there a note, or interjecting a phrase to soften the somewhat harsh or crude judgment of her callow days. It is a charming record of a youth that did great things, both in art and literature, and gave promise of much greater achievements,—if this has not been realized, we must, at least, be thankful for the sweet old age that thus shares its confidences of long ago, with perfect trust in the readers of today.

NEW BOOKS.

BIRDS OF THE COLORADO VALLEY. A Repository of scientific and popular information concerning North American Ornithology, By Elliott Coues. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1878. xvi., 807 pages, 8vo., 70 wood-cut illustrations.

A strong book,—one of the many which the United States Government is putting forth for the illustration of the country in the various branches of science; for, while these works are ostensibly parts of a grand "Survey of the Territories," they often include all that pertains to a subject in the entire country, like Dr. A. S. Packard's extensive quarto (1876) on the Geometrid Moths.

From the days of Bartram and Wilson, ornithology has received much attention in the United States, where there are many skilled observers and some important collections, such as those of the

Academy of the Natural Sciences, Philadelphia, and of the National Museum, Washington, the former chiefly due to the munificence of Dr. Thomas B. Wilson, the latter to Professor Baird, who, many years ago, scattered his private circulars among the military posts and to other localities, laying the foundation of his observations on races, or geographic forms of species, and determining characters from many individuals.

Dr. Coues has done good work in exploration; he is among the most active of our ornithologists,—scientific, methodic, and a thorough bibliographer. His present volume constitutes *Part First—Passeres to Laniidae*, of its subject. The cuts are mostly illustrative of generic details, somewhat in the manner of Swainson in the Cabinet Cyclopædia. The habits are recorded, the descriptions are ample, and the synonymy is very full, including detached pamphlets, and even references to the sporting magazines. Chapter xiv., (364–450), is devoted to the swallows, and although he has “never seen anything of the sort,” nor “known one who had seen it,” yet he calls attention to the many accounts of swallows hibernating under water, as if these stories might be worthy of some examination, and in relation to which he gives an extensive bibliography of about twelve pages, beginning with the year 1630.

In the PENN MONTHLY (November, 1877), in an article against the assertions of the spiritists, several of these examples are cited to show the small value of human testimony in favor of what is believed in, as mermaids and fairies. Thus, in Bayard Taylor's *Prince Deukalion*, the departing nymphs of heathendom sing:—

But only he hath seen us who was happy in the seeing,
 And he hath heard who listened in the gladness of belief.
 * * * * *
 Your doubt hath sent before it the sign of our dismissal;
 We pass, ere ye speak it; we go, and come no more.

The work of Dr. Coues contains an extensive and carefully printed bibliography (567–746), in chronologic order, starting with Smith's Virginia, 1612. To this there is an alphabetic index of authors (747–767), and one (767–784) of localities, where the earliest work cited under ALASKA is *Mearcs*, 1791; the first under PENNSYLVANIA is *Barton*, 1799. The titles are arranged chronologically, a method which “tends to the best exhibit of the subject in its natural connections and bearings, because the movement of the bibliography corresponds with the progress of the science;”—a valid reason which should have some force in deciding the order of authors cited for the species. A modern method, due in a great degree to Agassiz, is to cite an author, not because he founded and named the species, but because he put it in the last genus,—a method which turns species out of their chronologic place, and deprives Linneus of many founded by him, since Swainson and others divided the old genera. For example, the name of our blue-bird

was *Motacilla sialis* *Linneus*, 1758. Swainson made a new genus for it and it stood for some time as *Sialia wilsonii* *Swainson*, 1827; but as he had no right to drop the specific name *sialis* of Linneus, it now stands as *Sialia sialis* *Haldeman*, 1843. But historic justice seems to require that *sialis* and *Linneus* should always be kept together. In this case a bird known to science since 1758 as a species, and since 1827 as a genus, has ostensibly been established later than *Sialia mexicana* of 1831.

Although devoted chiefly to the birds of Colorado, this volume contains a large amount of matter pertaining to other parts of the continent, and so many critical observations, that it must have a prominent place in the library of the ornithologist, or the lover of birds.

S. S. HALDEMAN.

THE VISION OF ECHARD, and other Poems. By John Greenleaf Whittier. Pp. 131. Boston: Houghton, Osgood & Co.

Mr. Whittier is a pure lyrist whose success is ever commensurate with his powers, when he attempts other species of poetry. The present volume furnishes plenty of illustrations of this. The purely lyric poems, such as the "Centennial Hymn" and "Lexington," are as fine as any the author ever produced, and we cannot find stronger language. But his study of Meister Eckart, from which the volume takes its title, and his "Hymn of the Dunkers," are both failures in so far as it is their purpose to body forth types of thought and faith which are no longer current among men. In each case the lyrical element overpowers the historical. His Eckart is not the great theosopher, as Preger or Lassen has depicted him; not the Christian Buddhist who proclaimed that self-annihilation is the only path to blessedness; not the strange Meister "from whom God hid nothing," (*dem Got nult verbark*), as his disciples said with awe and wonder. He is just Mr. Whittier, transferred to the fourteenth century, and uttering his own reflections upon the religious usages and modes of thought of that period, and judging it as a Friend of the nineteenth century, and pointing out to it what he deems the "more excellent way." Just as untrue to history is the picture of the thoughts and aspirations of the Ephrata cloister, in the "Dunker's Hymn." The whole weft and woof of the poem is Quakerly. A Dunker mystic would not have singled out Rome and Geneva as the embodiment of the ecclesiasticism against which they protested. And it is to be hoped that they would have been too truthful to allude to "prison" and "the stake" as among the experiences of the sect founded by Alexander Mack. Their adventism is the only point on which Mr. Whittier catches the character of the sect; but that was of a mystical, theosophical type, widely different from his picture of it.

The same defect thrusts itself on our attention all through his

other poems. Mr. Whittier's intensity, and his deficiency in humor, alike forbid him to sympathize with any type of thought but his own. Even his exquisite "June on the Merrimac," one of those beautiful, half-mystical studies of nature which are the most characteristic things in his later poetry, is jarred by this stanza :

Here cant forgets his dreary tone,
And care his face forlorn ;
The liberal air and sunshine laugh
The bigot's zeal to scorn.

This is the intolerance, the bigotry of liberalism, not breadth or liberality of thought.

But after all "who is like unto him"—our brave, free singer, who has studied the fields and woods, and the human heart, with equal insight? Others fade in old age, but his stem is sappy and his leaf withereth not. May he long be spared to sing the song of American life, its conscience and its moral aspirations.

THE ETHICS OF POSITIVISM. A Critical Study. By Giacomo Barzelotti, Professor of Philosophy at the *Liceo Dante*, Florence. Pp. 327. New York: Charles P. Somerby.

The last twenty years has witnessed a great and unexpected revival of interest in philosophical studies throughout the civilized world. The "high *a priori* style" of philosophy has, indeed, gone out of fashion. Hegels no longer construct the universe out of their inner consciousness, but a vast amount of really good work is done in the investigation of the basis of ethics, the nature of knowledge, and the relation of man to nature on the one side, and to the supernatural on the other. And this revival is characterized by the range of territory over which it spreads. In our own country, St. Louis is head-quarters for the disciples of Hegel; Jacksonville (Ills.) threatens to become a living illustration of Plato's Republic; Trendlenburg is quartered in Michigan, while Concord still clings to her "transcendental" dreamers, and a host of lesser points of philosophic light are spread over the country.

Italy, the land of Vico, Rosmini and Gioberti, is as fully alive as any other country to the importance of such studies. There, as elsewhere, the diffusion of the anti-philosophies of modern naturalists has called forth vigorous defences of the spiritual truths, with whose recognition or rejection human nature has so much at stake. Professor Barzelotti, one of the editors of the chief philosophical organ published in Italy, has made in this volume a valuable contribution to the support of the same good cause. Following Italian usage, he uses the word Positivism, not as confined to the teachings of Comte and his disciples, but as including the whole empirical school of thought, which is represented rather by England than by France. As his title indicates, he attacks that school on the side most open to an assault at once scientific and popular,—

its failure to furnish any speculative basis for right ethical practice. He traces with just discrimination the different types of thought among the English empiricists, from Locke to Herbert Spencer, characterizing each with a delicacy and a precision which shows that he has mastered the literature of the subject. And his method of criticism is not that of English antagonists of the school. Instead of fixing on some leading point, and insisting that, its deficiencies on that point being proven, its theory must fall, our Italian follows his opponents through the details of their own method; he shows where the method itself proves insufficient or unwarranted, and where it breaks down under the undue stress they are obliged to put upon it.

The translator, Miss I. L. Olcott, seems to have done her work fairly well. All those who believe that moral convictions are intuitive, and their authority absolute, owe her thanks for this addition to our literature.

RAYMONDE, by André Theuriet. New York. D. Appleton & Co., Publishers.

With the simplest of plots and the tamest of incidents, the writer has made a very pretty little story. One is mildly pleased and interested, never in any way thrilled, even at the climax of one scene where the heroine, Raymonde, a girl of eighteen, is slapped by her mother, which brings into her eyes "an expression fearful to behold." The power of French parents over their children (which would much astonish some American children), is the hinge on which the whole story turns, and the only situation at all dramatic is that in which it is made use of to defeat the effort of Raymonde's mother to marry her to a man she does not love, and enable her to follow her own inclinations.

But it is the people in the story who are interesting, not what they do or say. The author has sketched his personages,—even the principal ones,—rather vaguely. One or two salient traits are set out, and the rest of the character left in obscurity. Mr. Nöll is a woman-hater; Raymonde's mother, simply a bad, selfish woman; her father, a nonentity; the rejected suitor, a good-natured lout. We make an exception as to Raymonde herself, who is very thoroughly and vividly drawn,—gracefully and delicately as well.

SAFAR-HADGI OR RUSS AND TURCOMAN. From the French of Prince Lubormirski. Collection of Foreign Authors. Appleton & Co., 1878.

Since, as Thackeray tells us, love and lies are as old as man, we cannot but be gratified by a book which gives them to us in new

surroundings. Men and women in London, Paris or St. Petersburg are the men and women of staid Philadelphia, but the make-up of life in the Samarcand of Timur is new. Her glory is departed since the days when the lame conqueror made her capital of one of the mightiest empires of the past, stretching from the sea of Marmora to the Chinese borders, from Ganges the sacred to holy Moscow, and adorned her with the spoils of his far-reaching conquests. Now Samarcand is the capital of a conquered province, and the Russians rule the ruined city which still treasures the grave of one of the greatest warriors of history. So little do we know of these great cities of the Orient that the new life they display when brought to our notice, as in this book, might reasonably tempt courageous travellers from the paths of the Irosachs and the Tyrol to the grand and gloomy deserts and mountains of these provinces, where the Russian eagle now protects the once hated Christian traveller.

Safar-Hadgi is the Turcoman *Siedar*, a chosen war-chief whose power in military matters is absolute during a campaign; at other times all government is administered by a council elected by the Turcomans themselves, who are the only republicans of Asia. Now, when mens' minds are bent eastward, this tale of Russians in Turkestan is a welcome one, good in style and in the story of the vain and beautiful woman, to whose jealousy both husband and lover are sacrificed.

Appleton's New Handy Volume Series. THE HOUSE OF THE TWO BARBELS, by André Theuriet. THE ARAB WIFE. MRS. GAINSBOROUGH'S DIAMONDS, by Julian Hawthorne. LIQUIDATED AND THE SEER, by Rudolph Lindau. ANTOINETTE, by André Theuriet.

The one point of excellence in this series is that it gives us unbound books in good print and paper. On the continent, good paper-bound editions have always been common. Without reaching a high standard, these books furnish the little pleasure and excitement which many novel readers exact, and, we trust, are harbingers of better literature at a cheap price.

André Theuriet's *House of the Two Barbels* is the shop of two brothers, druggists of Villotte, whose sign bears the arms of the city, "two barbels, back to back, on an azure field strewn with small gold crosses," a barbel being a fish with two beardlike appendages, whence its name. One middle-aged brother marries a Parisian cousin, poor and beautiful, and the complications of the tale arise with a young lawyer, bad and mean, in the part he plays, beyond all probabilities.

The *Arab Wife* is careless in diction, and the story of an Eng-

lish lad taken by East India pirates, marrying an Arab girl, lying to and betraying Christian and Mohammedan in turn, has little interest,

In *Mrs. Gainsborough's Diamonds*, Julian Hawthorne is more fanciful than powerful. A young man travelling with family diamonds, duped by a gang of mesmeric robbers, to one of whom he makes love, and, being pinioned and thrown into a hole by them, discovering that she is the wife of the leader, is not a dignified object. From this peril he is rescued by a faithful and pretty little servant, and, by not marrying her, destroys the unities.

In *Liquidated*, by Rudolph Lindau, two devoted friends love the same girl. One surrenders her and dies; the other, unwilling to accept the sacrifice, disappears, and she marries another, much wretchedness following the three. The friends are merchants in Shanghai, and the story is laid in 1860, the time of the Changmaos Rebellion under the divine prince Tae-ping-wang, whose conversion to a very militant Christianity was written in the destruction of peaceful populations and splendid cities.

Antoinette, by André Theuriet, is a study of the wilful heroine in *Goodbye, Sweetheart*, transferred to French life and manners. Miss Broughton's wayward coquette does not suffer by the comparison; frank and bold, she crushes this counterpart, the French girl, sly, less innocent and less courageous, but quite worthy of her two lovers, who can enter into no rivalry with their prototypes of the English novel.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

- The Disturbing Element. By Charlotte M. Yonge. (Handy Volume Series). Pp. 203. Price 30 cents. New York: D. Appleton & Co. [Porter & Coates.
- Health, and How to Promote It. By Richard McSherry. Cloth. 12mo. Pp. 185. New York: D. Appleton & Co. [Porter & Coates.
- Studies in the Model Prayer. By George D. Boardman, D.D. Cloth. 12mo. Pp. 201. New York: D. Appleton & Co. [Porter & Coates.
- Records of a Girlhood. By Frances Ann Kemble. Cloth. 12mo. Pp. 605. Price \$2.50. New York: Henry Holt & Co. [Claxton, Remsen & Haffelfinger.
- The Lady of the Aroostook. By W. D. Howells. Cloth. 12mo. Pp. 326. Price \$2.00. Boston: Houghton, Osgood & Co. [Porter & Coates.
- Schiller und seine Zeit. Von Johannes Scherr. Cloth. 12mo. 2 vols. in one. Pp. 368 and 256. Price \$2.00. Philadelphia: J. Kohler.
- Naval Hygiene—Human Health and the Means of Preventing Disease. By Joseph Wilson, M.D. Cloth. 8vo. Pp. 274. Philadelphia: Lindsay and Blakiston.
- American Publishers and English Authors. By Stylus. 8vo. Sw'd. Pp. 23. Price 30 cents. Baltimore: Eugene L. Didier.
- Travellers Official Guide of the Railway and Steam Navigation Lines. Price 50 cents. Philadelphia: National Railway Publication Company.
- Voices from Babylon; or, the Records of Daniel the Prophet. By Joseph A. Seiss, D.D. Cloth. 12mo. Pp. 391. Price \$1.50. Philadelphia: Porter & Coates.
- Goethe and Schiller: Their Lives and Works, including a Commentary on Goethe's Faust. By Hjalmar H. Boyesen. Cloth. 16mo. Pp. 424. Price \$2.00. New York: Chas. Scribner's Sons. [Porter & Coates.

THE
PENN MONTHLY.

APRIL, 1879.

THE MONTH.

THE situation in Natal appears more and more serious as fuller details reach us. The British commander, Lord Chelmsford, appears altogether unequal to the duties of his post, and the ministry seem none the less disposed to maintain him in his command. London gossip charges this to the fault of the Queen, who is supposed to entertain a very warm personal liking for him. This may be true or false; but there are many reasons why the government should decline to remove a general of good record, because of a false step at the opening of a campaign.

The African possessions of the English Empire, to which the manufacturing classes look for the markets which shall replace those they have lost elsewhere, are evidently much less desirable fields of colonization and conquest than had been hoped. The natives are warlike, the colonists disaffected, and the country devoid of the wealth and natural resources which repay great outlays. As compared with America, India and Australasia, they are in every respect inferior, and the Anglo-Saxon race is evidently to be confined to the present fields of its enterprise and ambition, even although Manchester and Birmingham sigh, like Alexander, for new worlds to conquer.

The Dutch element in South Africa is likely to prove a continual source of annoyance and discomfort. The *boers* are a class who have gained nothing by the long isolation of colonial life, and

contact with the African tribes. The people of the Transvaal Republic are watching the English disasters with unconcealed satisfaction, and, although they will not make common cause with the Zulus, they declare that they are waiting their opportunity to retrieve their independence. In this they will have at least the sympathy of the Orange Free State, a Boer community which English rapacity has not yet reached.

England might do worse than divide her South African possessions with Germany, many of whose people are desirous of seeing the establishment of colonies to which the tide of emigration from the Fatherland may be diverted. It cannot but be humiliating to the German people, that the great European exodus carries her people into lands where other traditions are dominant, and where their children will cease to speak the language of Luther and Goethe; and no country could so easily supply the military force needed for the repression of native violence.

EVEN the indifference of the English people to Indian questions is giving way to the vehement pleadings with which English writers are calling attention to the mismanagement of that great empire. India is the standing mockery of the financial and economic wisdom of which the English think they possess nearly a monopoly. Although the country possesses great mineral and agricultural wealth, and traditions of manufacture older than the Kingdom of England, it has steadily lost ground under English rule, and seems to be not far from social and public bankruptcy. There is a vast and steadily-increasing debt; the annual deficits are greater with every year. Taxation has been carried to the farthest point possible. Oppressive monopolies are kept up for the sake of revenue; that of salt, in particular, is ruinous to the health of the people and that of their cattle. The opium traffic, which has been forced upon China, is defended only on the plea that the Indian treasury cannot do without the money. It is expensive to govern India by European officers. Men must be paid high salaries to sit ten or twenty years on a gunpowder keg, in a temperature so intense that no European liver can escape disease. These high salaries are hoarded to spend in England; the taxes which native rulers squandered among the people from whom they are taken, are now sent beyond the seas to enrich England at India's expense.

And as these taxes have to be paid in money, not in kind, the *ryot* is at his wits' ends to get the amount, which is about seventeen per cent. of the average native's income. He is forced into the arms of the native usurers, who charge him cent per cent for every loan, and then secure a judgment against him from the English court, which hands him over to virtual slavery. There is no bankrupt law in India; the *ryot* cannot escape by surrendering everything to the usurer; he is enslaved for life. The contract under which he is prosecuted he could not read; but the court assumes that he was free in making it, and that it must not go behind the written document to ask how it was obtained. He has no redress, and England is selling her subjects into slavery in order to secure her taxes.

The usurers get the money by exporting provisions. In the midst of famines and scarcities, India sends abroad every year the food for want of which her people are dying, in order to secure the funds needed to pay the salaries of Englishmen employed in her civil and military service. This food cannot be sent into the famished districts; there is no market for it there. Their people live purely by agriculture, as India has now no manufactures, except a few in Bengal and some petty enterprises at the Mission Stations. When their crops fail, they have nothing but personal ornaments to sell; when these are used up, they sit down and "die like flies." And before government aid reaches them, they are dead by millions.

And yet it was to purchase Indian manufactures that Europeans were first attracted to her coast. But Manchester "cheap and nasties" have crushed out the wonderful Deccan fabrics; and *calico*, once a Calcutta fabric more costly than silk, has come to mean a coarse cotton fabric made at the other side of the world. In later times, and under the protection of a revenue tariff, Bengal has begun to make machine-woven cottons for herself and for China and Japan; but the clamor of Manchester against this has at last prevailed against the urgent representations of Anglo-Indians, and the duty is to be removed. And so India is thrust back again into the slough of poverty, from which she had hoped to emerge,—the poverty of a merely agricultural country, with all her eggs in one basket,—and condemned to endure untold agonies whenever a severe drought, such as tropical countries rarely escape for long, inflicts injuries upon her crops.

The remedies for Indian miseries are: (1) the restoration and development of her native industries; (2) a good bankrupt law, and the requirement that the terms of contracts shall be submitted to the courts before ratification; and (3) the promotion of natives to every position which they are competent to fill.

Instead of the real remedies, the English have been wasting vast sums upon irrigation works and railroads, which mostly bring in but two per cent. a year, and whose erection has cost India millions, which she owes in England. The last nostrum proposed, is to substitute a gold currency for the silver currency of India,—a proposal which has excited the protests of even the champions of the single gold standard. They have become, all at once, conscious of the awkward facts as to the relation of the gold supply to the world's demand for that metal, and the unwisdom of trying to force the small quantity available for coinage to do duty for another two hundred and forty millions of people. And we are rejoiced to see that some of the strenuous champions of the exclusive gold standard on this side of the water, who could never be got to believe these facts when urged on them during our recent controversies, have become all at once aware of them, when they are presented by English authority.

THE future of the French Republic is made none the more certain by the earlier events of M. Grevy's administration. Indeed, the Republic has manifestly lost the services of that cool and clear head by his elevation to the presidency. His post is that of a national figure-head, without the dignity of hereditary succession. He has neither the power which belongs to an irresponsible executive chosen by the people, nor that of an indirect sort which accrues to a royal dynasty. The head of the cabinet and the president of the lower house, are each in a better position for shaping the policy of France and securing their favorite ends.

The defeat of the project to impeach the De Broglie ministry was a ministerial victory of the most precarious sort. It was manifestly won through an agreement with Gambetta and his personal following, and what the terms of the bargain are remains to be seen. That astute politician is evidently playing a deeper game than as yet appears on the surface. Perhaps his ambition is

to reach the position now held by M. Waddington at the head of the ministry. At any rate, his whole later career has been such as to excite a very just suspicion of the uprightness and the unselfishness of the man.

As we foresaw, the Republicans have not had the wisdom to refrain from the usual collision with the Roman Catholic Church in the matter of education. Instead of adopting the principle of freedom of education, under state inspection to secure competence in the teachers and thoroughness in the teaching, they have proposed a law which prescribes that the members of certain orders of monks—the Jesuits, Sulpicians and the like—shall be put on a level with foreigners and excluded from all part in education. Such a measure is both too great and too little. It effects nothing, except to compel endless evasions of the law. The members of the proscribed orders will enter other orders and will assimilate those to their own. Or they will pursue their work as teachers, trusting to the unwillingness of the government to make a fuss over a lot of priests and their spelling books, or even coveting the glory of prosecution as a milder martyrdom. The only thing which would give dignity to such a law, is its being the first step towards a logical and thorough system of persecution. If the Radicals of the Left, whom such legislation represents, mean to treat the priests as they would like to treat them, as the priests treated the Protestants at the end of the seventeenth century, and as the priests were themselves treated at the end of the eighteenth, they would command our respect as honest men. But this affectation of toleration, blended with meddlesomeness and irritation, is like nothing but Bunyan's vision of giants Pope and Pagan grinning in impotency at the pilgrims who pass their dens.

This French policy is the more to be deplored, as the rest of Europe seems to be getting to a *modus vivendi* with the Papacy, through which the malignant passions of religious antagonisms seem likely to be set at rest. Leo XIII. is evidently not intent on pursuing his predecessor's policy of irritation. His purpose to elevate Dr. Newman, the greatest of the Inopportunist, to the Cardinalate, of itself shows that the Church is now more likely to come into harmony with the European thought and with the civil authorities than at any time since the election of Gregory XVI. In Italy, the bishops have been notified that they must obtain the

exequatur of the king's government, or else provide for themselves. In Germany the *Kulturkampf* is at an end, and although the terms of the new settlement of affairs are not yet agreed to, yet it is understood that negotiations are under way, and that peace is earnestly desired on both sides. It is only in France that the anti-ecclesiastical element, the simple priest-haters, have the control of affairs and are doing their utmost to perpetuate the antagonisms which have prevailed since the beginning of the decade.

And no policy could be more suicidal for the French Republic. There is but one of two things for a European country to do: to break with Rome as England has done, or to come to terms with her as Italy has substantially done. But for a political party to keep up a running fight *à l'outrance* with a Church which is represented in every corner of the nation, and which has a steadfast hold upon the great majority of the believing part of the people, and free use of every means to increase the believers, is to doom itself to destruction. France cannot refuse Protestantism and expect to enjoy the liberties of Protestant nations. And so long as the confessional is met at every turn, and the devout masses put their consciences into the keeping of the priest, the priest will, in the long run, be too much for the Radicals who have nothing to oppose to his belief except a string of negations.

Some very hopeful people look to see France become a Protestant country, and they point to recent eminent conversions, which certainly have occurred more frequently in the last few years than formerly. But, at the present rate, it would take a Darwinian era to effect such a transformation. Indeed, we doubt whether the Gallic mind is capable of such a transformation. There is something in the individualism of Protestantism, its subordination of social life and its assertion of Biblical authority, which seems alien to the French character. Whatever be the form of Christianity under which all classes of Frenchmen may finally rally, and find the reconciliation of devout faith with free thought, it will be something entirely different from what is to be seen in any of the Protestant Churches.

WE had hoped that the new Canadian tariff would be simply and impartially protective to their native industries, without any discriminations against or in favor of any other country. But the

law, which was adopted and put in force with great haste, seems to be aimed at the trade with America, and to favor that with England. In several very important clauses, British goods are admitted at a lower rate of duty than is charged upon goods from "all other countries," meaning from across the border. The evident purpose is to force the United States to return to the basis of the old Reciprocity Treaty, and, indeed, the Governor-General is authorized to suspend the collection of duties upon our manufactures as soon as we agree to take Canadian products free of duty.

This step our government is certainly not going to take. All our manufacturing classes would find it convenient to have Canada as an open market for our goods, but they are not likely to favor any such measure, as it would alienate the agricultural classes of the West from the support of protection. The Canadians are their rivals in our produce markets; and our manufacturers, who desire protection, know that it must be extended to agriculture as well as to manufactures. It is for this reason, among others, that they have steadily opposed reciprocity, and will continue to do so.

The Canadians should make up their minds either to treat America like any other country, or to cast in their lot with us as a people. Either policy will be appreciated on our side of the border, but this coquetting in fiscal diplomacy is altogether unworthy of them. They should have formed a juster estimate of their own magnitude and importance, than to suppose that any legislation of theirs was likely to force our hand, or to compel us to follow suit. There is an ancient apologue about an iron and an earthen pot, which might furnish a theme for profitable meditation in the legislative halls of Ottawa.

If they are not yet prepared for annexation to America, a Zollverein would furnish the best opportunity for testing beforehand what would be the financial effects of that measure. But reciprocity would merely convert Canada into another *zona libera*, for the general smuggling of British manufactures into the United States.

The English have evidently taken a truer measure of the possibilities of Canadian retaliation. They are far more irritated by the present provisions of the Canadian law, than hopeful of any good effects from it in breaking down the American tariff. And they are, in so far, right. But they will find in Canada a subject for profitable reflection, as showing what Free Trade will do for a

young and growing country. The contrast of the two sides of the Canadian border and the steady immigration of the Canadian people from Free Trade, low taxation, and "the right to buy in the cheapest market," into a country burdened with debt, but bent on being industrially independent, tells the story more truly than could whole volumes of economic discussion.

If our trade with Canada is injured at all, it will be by the discriminating duties, which will tend to bring in English goods to the exclusion of our own. Otherwise, no harm will be done. Canada, as she grows in wealth and in the rapidity of societary circulation, will grow in purchasing power. She will take other and higher classes of our products, and in still greater quantities than at present, for her home industries will make her more attractive to foreign immigration. The present effect would be to increase the price of our products to Canadians and to reduce the profits of the exporters somewhat, if there be any margin for reduction. Until Canada can produce what we are sending, she must continue to import; when she can produce these, she will buy of us still better classes of goods.

THE closing sessions of the Forty-fifth Congress were less remarkable for scenes of an unpleasant character than is usually the case. The majority in the House were in no haste to push through doubtful pieces of legislation, as they foresaw that a special session of the new Congress was soon to be held, and they acquiesced in their Speaker's strategy, by which he gave the floor to a bore who strove to argue the House into adopting an impossible resolution. The sessions were indeed allowed to run into Sunday, following the example set by the Puritan Long Parliament on one memorable occasion; but the night sessions were not disgraced by those displays of drunken indecency, which have been handed down to us as a tradition of the times before the war.

The Congress which has gone leaves a mixed record behind it. Those who think personal honesty is the cure-all of our political evils, should cherish a very high regard for it. Never was there a Congress more free from corrupt jobs and private peculations. The lobby had less power than ever before, and no Central Illinois Railroad charter, no *Credit Mobilier* scheme could have been car-

ried through either house. But partisan passions are just as mischievous as private selfishness; and probably no Congress ever worked so hard and wasted so much of the nation's time and money for party ends as this one. It would be hard to find any which was ever so blind to any considerations of honesty, fair-play and courtesy, when these stood in the way of a party triumph. There was, indeed, some excuse for this. Hardly ever, since the foundation of our government, has there been a time of greater political uncertainty, when the power seemed so likely to slip from the very hands of those who were grasping it after nearly two decades of defeat. Every one realizes that the coming presidential election is to be one of vast importance to the Democratic party, especially, and that if that party fail then, and the Republicans can hold out till after the redistribution of power consequent upon the census of 1880, they may continue in office indefinitely. In these circumstances, violent partisanship was to be expected, and the country has had plenty of it. In partisan investigations without number, in demagogic legislation, like the Anti-Chinese law which the President vetoed, and in attempts to carry political measures as appendages to appropriation bills, this Congress did its "level" worst to show how men might meet to legislate for the public good and yet think of little else than their party's good. If the history of this winter does not open the eyes of the American people to the nature and the mischiefs of party spirit, then we must go on until this state of things is no longer tolerable, and must be swept aside.

The Republicans are rather better off for the session, through the very unfairness of their enemies. Long ago it was announced that there was to be a general overhauling of things as soon as the Democrats got into power, and a terrible display of Republican depravity. For two years past, we have had these disclosures always about to be made, but never has anything worth speaking of come to light. The whole result seems to be that the party is not made up of such scoundrels as the other honestly believes, and that the Treasury has been comparatively safe in its hands. The worst misdeeds of Republican rule were exposed by a Republican Congress, and its Democratic successor has not found the harvest as plenteous as it hoped.

THE extra session presents at once the Democratic opportunity and their temptation. To judge from present indications, they seem inclined to embrace both at once,—if that be possible. They are anxious at once to shape their actions so as to inspire the public with confidence in their discretion, and to achieve the partisan results which can only be reached by inspiring the public with alarm. Mr. Randall's election was a good sign, whether or not it was achieved by Mr. Tilden's influence. The seating Mr. Hull, of Florida, was exactly the reverse; it shows that the spirit of partisanship has not yet been cast out of the House, and that nothing will be left undone to add to the slender majority. In these matters of election contests, the House is becoming nearly as shameless as the English Parliament used to be, and some method like that now in use in England, for referring all such cases to an impartial tribunal, is very much needed. It would need an amendment to the Constitution, however, to give it effect.

As to the main purpose of the extra session, the abolition of protection to the American voter, the party has simply no prospect of success. Even Mr. Hayes will not sanction any such law. His public utterances on the subject, immediately after the last election, are enough to show this. He is not so wedded to his Southern policy as to be willing to give the Southerners *carte blanche*. The danger is that some cunning compromise may be passed through Congress, by which the present safe-guards shall be minimized and pared down, on pretence of economy, until little more than the form of protection is left. And Mr. Hayes, we fear, is not the man to see through and resist such an attempt.

MR. TILDEN is evidently laying his plans for the capture of the Democratic nomination to the presidency in 1880; and the indications point to his securing a majority of votes in the National Convention, although the two-thirds rule gives his opponents an opportunity which they will certainly embrace if it be possible. As usual, the man's foes are those of his own household; and Mr. Tilden has no such determined enemies as among his old colleagues in the Tammany Hall organization. They have spared no pains to let the public know that they regard the cipher dispatches as ruinous to his political reputation, and that they will give a vigorous

support to any other available candidate. Nothing remains but to break their grasp on the politics of New York City, and to this Mr. Tilden's friend, Mayor Cooper, has addressed himself. The last new charter of that much governed city vests the Mayor with power of summary removal from office for malfeasance or neglect of duty, and every representative of Tammany Hall who has not come to terms with Mr. Tilden's friends, has been or is to be turned out, as there was no difficulty in finding charges enough against them. The morality of this proceeding is more than doubtful. A power vested in Mayor Cooper for great public ends, cannot be honestly exercised in behalf of a party candidate. And yet these acts of removal seem to excite but little public reprobation. The public of that city takes the ground that if the city shall get a better government by the change, then there is no harm done. And yet these very people keep up an outcry against the dishonesty and unscrupulousness of the politicians!

The Republicans should protest, but do not, because they desire nothing better than Mr. Tilden's renomination. They helped Mayor Cooper into the mayoralty, and if he can help Mr. Tilden to the nomination, the campaign of 1880 will be all the easier, they think. Not only will the bad impression produced by the cipher dispatches tell heavily against him with that middle body of voters who belong to neither party, but they hope for further and more directly inculcating disclosures as regards the count in Louisiana.

And, for similar reasons, Democrats hope that the Republicans will nominate Grant. The "stalwarts" have evidently set their hearts on his nomination, and the possibility of it seems not so remote as it was. But it will be ruinous to the party, if the Democrats have any one except Tilden in nomination. In case both these candidates are taken up again, it will be, as Senator Bayard says,—“a good many of us will have to take to the woods.”

THE paternal policy of the United States Treasury is continued by Secretary Sherman, with as little murmuring or protest on the part of those whose interests are affected, as well can be. Government money is still left on deposit, by hundreds of millions, with the favored banks, in order to keep the money market easy, and stimulate subscriptions to the four-per-cent loan. Good authority

among the bankers estimates the amount at \$240,000,000, and the lowest estimate we know of puts it at \$150,000,000. We presume that these deposits are covered by deposits of United States securities; but this use of the banks is manifestly not within the intent of the law which authorizes the Treasury to designate certain of the banks as depositaries of the United States. The law was intended, we take it, to accommodate the collectors of United States taxes in various parts of the country, where there is no Sub-Treasury at hand. It was not meant to give the Secretary of the Treasury the control of the money market.

The large sales of the four per cents. during the opening months of the year, has been little more than a symptom of the depressed condition of the money market. It has been parallel with the general advance in all sorts of stocks,—good and bad. This advance has been held up as an evidence of renewed prosperity; it is anything but that. It is due, on the one hand, to the steady pressure of government money on all the avenues of demand. For six months past, loans, large or small, have been obtainable at certain New York banks at the rate of one and two per cent. per annum. It is due, on the other hand, to the dulness of business enterprise. The circulation of money has become slow, and capitalists are buying stocks and bonds, not because they really want them, or believe them to be cheap, but because they think they run less risk in holding them than in using money for business investments. Dead money and dead trade coöperate with the Treasury policy in bringing about this encouraging advance.

These are signs of the times which seem to threaten that the Treasury cannot always secure the state of things which best helps its funding operations. It can frighten trustees, guardians and savings banks into buying its four per cents., for fear they should have idle money left on their hands. It can stimulate speculative purchases of bonds. But it cannot make sure that when the time comes to pay for the new bonds, the speculators will have the money in hand. It cannot make sure that the dates fixed for payment will not coincide with a conjuncture of circumstances, producing a tight money market. It cannot foresee a forced suspension of all the New Orleans banks, who can pay out nothing more until they get their legal reserves home from New York; it cannot fore-

see the consequent drain of the greenbacks Southward, and the advance of interest on investment loans to seven per cent. And not foreseeing these things, it is daily liable to shipwreck through its own reckless steering. The day is possibly not far distant when it will have to dishonor its own promises, by confessing its inability to pay coin for the bonds it has called in for redemption.

This New Orleans business brings to light another mischievous phase of the monetary situation. Under the present law, a national bank can send the larger portion of the legal reserve required for the redemption of its notes to New York, and keep it there while receiving interest on it as a loan. The effect of this is mischievous, both to the nation at large and to the locality of the bank itself. The former mischief we have repeatedly pointed out. It centralizes the money power of the country in the city which competes with 'Frisco for the honor of being the head-quarters of financial gambling. It keeps the New York banks perpetually ready to advance money on call loans for speculative purposes. It gives that city the special facilities which have led the Treasury to attempt to resume specie payments in one corner of the continent. It gives to the banks of that city a degree of financial power out of all proportion to their real weight and capital, and enables them, as New York papers have boasted repeatedly, to dictate financial law to the whole continent and to set at defiance the actual laws of the land as formulated by Congress. The repeal of the absurd law prescribing that the taxes of New York State should be paid in gold, was actually opposed on the ground that the state legislature, in thus putting itself in accord with the law of the nation, brings itself into collision with the real power which gives law on questions of finance, and forces the ideas of Wall street upon the whole nation. And the outcry against the very sessions of Congress, and especially against all its proposals for financial legislation, are due primarily to the jealousy felt by this unrecognized legislature towards that which the law recognizes.

The New Orleans suspension brings to light the other side of the mischief. The law allowing the banks to keep their reserves in New York, drains each district of the country of its monetary resources, diminishes the amount of monetary accommodation needed for local development, checks thereby the societary circulation, and exposes the community to disorders and interruptions

of its business. It doubles the risk of disturbance, by making the centre share in every shock given at the circumference, and the circumference in every shock felt at the centre.

A bill to put a stop to this anomalous course of things is now in the hands of the Chairman of the Finance Committee of the Senate. Its passage would be one of the greatest benefits Congress could confer upon the country at large.

GOVERNMENT SUPERVISION OF THE INSANE.

IT is now more than a generation since we permitted to grow up among us a man of science known as an alienist. He is one who studies the diseases of the mind, and the methods of curing them;—here his usefulness begins and ends. The extent to which the knowledge of mental diseases has advanced, and cures have been increased, is proportioned to his general medical knowledge. The men who revolutionized the whole treatment of the insane, a revolution which consisted in giving the mentally sick the same place in our sympathy and care that is given to the physically sick, were different, with a difference that goes to the very root of things, from the modern insanity expert. Now, it is not a little singular that in all that yet remains to be done, opposition comes from a single class,—the alienists. The same class that stood in the way of reform in America, when insanity, as a disease, was not lifted above the level of demonology, yet stands in the way of intelligent government of the funds for the support of the insane, and the proper personal control of the unfortunate himself. In the almost exact ratio in which the so-called treatment of the insane has become a speciality, a profession, a calling, distinct from a broad and rational medical knowledge, has the usefulness and trustworthiness of the insanity doctor lessened.

The American Association of Asylum Superintendents, which has preserved its organization and membership with the exclusiveness of a trade union, formally resolved that no one shall be appointed to the medical charge of an asylum except those who have been bred to the profession of an alienist in an asylum. It were better had they resolved, before all things, he must be a good physician.

All the advances in our knowledge of mental diseases, and all the humane reformation in the treatment of the insane, were made by men who were, in no sense, specialists after the manner of the American Association of Superintendents.

In America is to be found the strongest possible illustration of the truth of what we have asserted. The medical history of the management of the insane in this country, shows for twenty years we had the leadership of the world. In this country the humane teachings of Pinel, of Tuke and Conally found a congenial soil. During this time specialism held no place in the government of our asylums. The early superintendents were simply large-hearted and good physicians. Their sympathies were not yet hampered by a narrow, special training. They were thus prepared to profit by the example and experience of others. The result was, that we became the exponents of liberalism in the management of the insane. Non-restraint and employment—conditions that are termed the moral treatment—seemed in a fair way to become the national characteristics in the cure of insanity. But all this was changed. The period at which this change occurred is significant. Dr. Folsom, in his recent book, "Diseases of the Mind," fixes the rise and decline of this period during the time Dr. Bell was in charge of the McLean Asylum. The dates are from 1837 to 1857. In 1844 the Association of American Superintendents was formed. The members of this association were not long in confining appointments to their own ranks; they catered to a class-feeling to the extent that to-day, in this country, there is no body of men so exclusive, or jealous of their prerogatives, as the American alienist.

Here, then, is the first point at which government supervision may enter. Since for twenty years the treatment of the insane in this country has been stationary, while in other countries there has been a continual advance, it is reasonable to conclude that the men who have had the undisputed control of our asylums are themselves at fault. We believe that the error lies not in the special training, but in the material out of which they have made specialists. Instead of selecting thoroughly educated medical men, asylum physicians are selected from among recent graduates; or are men who, owing to lack of energy to compete with their more active brethren, have failed in private practice. How else

may we explain the almost absolute absence, for nearly twenty years, of any original contributions to the literature of the pathology or treatment of mental diseases? The only remedy, in the present state of affairs, appears to exist in the proper examination of all candidates for asylum appointments, by a governing board, independent of the trustees or superintendents of asylums.

In the appointment of superintendents, the public ought to have the benefit of a competitive examination. Under the American system, the law generally confers upon the board of trustees, or managers, the power to appoint the superintendents of asylums. It is possible that the following, taken from the edicts of the Association of Superintendents on the organization of asylums, may throw some light on the means taken to secure appointments. At a meeting held in Baltimore, May, 1853, the following resolution was adopted:—"The Board of Trustees should be composed of individuals distinguished for liberality, intelligence and active benevolence; *above all, political influence.*" It is not singular that the American system should become a reproach to us, when such a proposition is to be found among the articles of faith held by American alienists.

Admitting that flesh is heir to no ill that appeals so strongly to the sympathy of all right-thinking people as insanity, yet we have others among us who are equally entitled to share in the public sympathy and purse. Humanity has too many attributes of misery for us to lavish upon one form of ill that which ought to be distributed among many. Proper expenditure, just apportionment, are parts of true charity. Charity contends with a sea of trouble; with means always limited, sufficient, at the best, only to mitigate, never to cure; to ease a burden, never to remove it. In irresponsible asylum management, right, justice and equality have been defeated in the use of the public funds, due mainly, we think, to the fact that the asylum managers are selected for having "above all, political influence." Referring to the state of New York, it is safe to say that the entire administration of the charities of the state has been crippled by the reckless extravagance in the building and equipment of its insane asylums.

It is intended in these three buildings to increase the asylum accommodation of the state, four hundred beds. This is an outlay of over \$5,000 for each inmate. The structure being half com-

pleted, this great sum of money will be at least doubled, to say nothing about the final equipment of the buildings, which will raise the cost of each inmate to the sum of \$10,000. This is equal to giving to every two indigent persons so confined, a palatial residence costing \$20,000. It exceeds, by seven times, the average savings, at the completion of life, for each man in the community, not a pauper. But the reaction of this criminal recklessness, upon the minds of those who have in charge the appropriation of public money to the charities of the state, was most disastrous to all institutions depending to any extent upon state aid for their support. But few, except those which were the property of the state, received any money.

Glancing at the condition of affairs in another state, we find the same reckless extravagance. The State of Massachusetts, in order to further accommodate the insane of the state, determined to build a new hospital at Danvers. The state appropriated \$650,000, an estimated cost of \$1,500 for each patient. An insane-expert was appointed to overlook the construction, and commissioners were appointed also. The first duty of these men was to call for more money. Nothing less than \$900,000 would carry out the plan adopted. This demand was granted. They began work, and it was then discovered that every thing was under-estimated and that \$600,000 additional was needed. Here is a total of \$1,500,000, a cost of over \$3,000 for each inmate,—or double the original estimate,—an excess which the consulting architect attributed to the recommendations of the insane-experts.

Taking the country at large, we find the same extravagance prevailing, to the extent of absolute corruption. Placing the insane population at forty-five thousand, it is safe to estimate that eighty per cent. are supported at the public charge, and ninety-five per cent. in buildings maintained by public charge or endowment. These buildings cost in round numbers \$35,000,000, a sum equal to \$1,000 for each inmate. Of this expenditure, \$15,000,000 has been made in the last ten years. In the Eastern States, nine asylums may be named that cost, in the aggregate, \$14,000,000, equal to the sum of \$3,000 for each insane inmate. Those who regard the luxuries and appointments of a first-class hotel as furnishing all that can be desired in the way of bodily comfort, may be able to form an idea of the luxury of surroundings these places, or ought

to place, at the command of each inmate, when they are told that ten of the most expensive and luxurious hotels are built and equipped at a cost of \$1,500 for each guest. Common sense tells us that this vast expenditure is not necessary. Luxury cannot replace humane skill. Now in England, with a hard-working governmental supervision, which controls the erection of buildings as well as the personal care of the inmates, we find modern asylums constructed at one-tenth the maximum and one-half the minimum cost of recent American hospitals.

The main source of this evil is, that specialism is given full sway in the planning and construction, aided by what Governor Tilden calls the "rapacity of local expenditure." In proof of this, we quote the following from the report of the Massachusetts Board of Charities, regarding the disasters in the building of asylums at Danvers and Worcester: "The reliance of building commissioners for guidance too implicitly upon the opinions of superintendents of asylums, supposed to be competent to advise what ought to be done, and omitting to apply their own good sense to the matter; as also, the facility of getting appropriations from legislative bodies for objects that engage their sympathy."

In the majority of cases the interest on the difference between the original estimate of the cost of construction and the actual sum expended in the completion of the building is nearly sufficient to give the asylum its annual income. Any reasonable man will recognize the fact that these abuses of a public trust can only be prevented by rigid laws, the execution of which is placed in the hands of central governing boards, which will govern in the interest of sane and insane alike. No other means will avail to turn aside this current of perverted charity.

We have found, both in the men who are called insanity experts, and the buildings in which the insane are confined, valid reasons for demanding government supervision. Let us enter these buildings and search further. Here we are brought face to face with what is called the American system of insane treatment, and in which it is the boast and pride of native alienists that the public has entire confidence. Dr. Ordronaux, State Commissioner in Lunacy for the State of New York, endeavors, in his report for 1877, to show that not only are the fears of the people groundless, but that the people do not entertain doubt of the humane manage-

ment of the asylums. In proof of his position, he uses the argument that the persons who circulate stories of ill treatment are lunatics, discharged uncured; that a person cured of insanity is too happy to dwell upon his ills. "They are," he says, "not the ones to dabble with the feet (?) of memory, in the turbid waters of a disordered mind." But the truth is, that neither the Commissioner in Lunacy, nor asylum superintendents, are in a position to know what the public say or think of the treatment of patients in asylums. Any physician who, in the course of practice, has occasion to join in a certificate of lunacy, can testify to the difficulty he encounters in gaining the consent of relatives to the commitment of an insane person to an asylum. Rumors, many of them absurd and false, are drifting about. Now and then, as we all know, comes to us a true tale of wrong-doing, that brings shame and disgrace to those who take pride in American institutions.

The reason becomes clear if we examine a few of the principal features of what is called the "American system." There is nothing in this system that is distinctively American, in the sense of having originated here; or of being the natural outgrowth of our institutions. It is the effete and abandoned plan of asylum treatment prevalent in England and on the Continent half a century ago, and has become American simply through want of growth. The name is used, when used at all abroad, as a term of reproach, and as being in existence among us alone of civilized nations. Considered broadly, the system has two leading traits,—restraint and non-employment. It is believed and taught by insanity experts here, that it is good for a mad-man to be tied down, to have his arms confined in a muff or strait-jacket. It is supposed that his mind is made clear by confinement in a dark room. He is supposed to be made cheerful by seclusion from his fellows. These things are done for his good. When men who claim special knowledge tell the public that this the only proper way to treat the insane, nine-tenths of the people believe it. It is barely possible that it is the easiest way to treat the insane. It certainly requires no very profound knowledge to turn a key on a man who is unpleasantly noisy.

Aside from the matter of occasional seclusion and restraint as a means of treatment, it must be understood that when these are reduced to a system, they cease to exist as a measure of cure. If

an insane person is habitually locked into a room at night, seclusion cannot be used in accordance with the various phases of his disease. American asylums are built with special reference to this isolation of patients. The new asylum, at Danvers, has no associated dormitories, and this is true of nearly every recently-constructed hospital.

Personal restraint by special means of duress, muffs, strait-jackets and straps, are standard means of treatment ; to what extent it is impossible to say, as superintendents are careful not to publish details. Dr. Folsom, in speaking of the present condition of the insane, says that a superintendent in Texas found "restraint chairs," dark rooms, iron hand-cuffs, locked boxes and cold shower baths in common use. In 1876, chains were still in use in the department for the insane in the Baltimore almshouse. At Danvers, dark rooms are provided for five per cent. of the patients at one time. A writer in the *Boston Medical and Surgical Journal* says :—"We try to be *too safe*. We sacrifice cures and the comfort of our patients to our fears of accident. It is so easy to trust to a camisole, or bed-straps, or bars or bolts, that we do not take time to make accurate and careful diagnoses, and to discriminate, as fully as we ought, between patients who can be trusted and those who cannot."

With a view of contrasting what American alienists say is necessary, and what really may be done under an enlightened management, we shall glance at the treatment of English superintendents.

At West Riding, among fifteen hundred patients, only two cases of seclusion in a year ; at the Dorset county asylum, there were five hundred and two inmates and two cases of seclusion, no case of restraint ; at Brookwood, six hundred and forty-five inmates and no case of seclusion in four years ; at Glamorgan, five hundred cases and two instances of seclusion ; at Devon'county asylum, six hundred and eighty-one inmates and no restraints ; at Broadmoor, with five hundred and sixty-three inmates, two hundred and four of whom were sent for murder, and one hundred and ten for attempt to murder, there was no form of restraint used in a year. The difference in treatment between the two countries is that which exists between personal liberty and serfdom ; feeling secure, in one instance, in a humane care, and in the other, living in a ceaseless terror of bonds and in the humilia-

tion of fear. Insanity does not extinguish the animal faculties. Resistance, revenge, anger, fear, exist and react with the same malevolence in sane and insane. The patient is demented, not insane, whose innate sense of animal resistance is not roused by the torturing machinery of asylum restraint. He is made deeply, terribly mad,—a mad animal instead of a mad man.

The efficient, faithful, painstaking Lunacy Boards of Great Britain are, more than any other influence, the promoters of the non-restraint system of that country. Exercising a patient and persistent moral force, they have grafted permanently the philanthropic theories of the men who originated this plan of freedom from bonds upon the asylum management of England. The American system will never stand the test of government supervision. It can thrive only in darkness, protected by the exclusiveness and haughty intolerance that characterize our asylum management. In many, if not all, of our asylums, restraint is not prescribed by the medical officers, but is practised by nurses and attendants, on their own unlicensed authority. The locking a patient in his room is too common to be reported to a medical officer; the bed straps and camisole are in such constant and habitual use that there seems to be no more need of reporting their application to an excited patient than the giving of his nightly opiate. This is wrong; but it cannot be avoided until the medical authority is brought under the rigid control of a supervising power. Reform must begin at the top and work downward, a sort of mining process in the cause of humanity.

Bad as our system of restraint is, there is, underlying it, and a necessary part of it, something worse. This is the compulsory idleness of asylum inmates. Here and there an adventurous alienist among us has endeavored to establish a plan of labor for the insane, but, cried down by his guild, and lacking all outside support, these attempts have ended in failure. In order to show that industrial employment may be extended generally to the insane, let us examine the extent to which this system is carried abroad. In the lunatic wards of poor-houses and parochial asylums of Scotland we find, in the report referred to, the following figures. In the Barony asylum, of one hundred and sixty inmates, one hundred and twenty-three were employed; at Burgh, of twenty-two men, six were at work with an attendant, and six went every day to and

from their work in town, unattended. At Dundee poor-house the "means of industrial employment for both sexes were said to be ample." At Hamilton poor-house a large proportion of the inmates were employed, and the commissioners add: "It is beyond question that their health and happiness have been increased by the steady occupation in the open air which has been so afforded."

In England we find that at the Derby county asylum, with a population of two hundred and sixty-seven male and four hundred and fourteen female pauper insane, two hundred and twenty men and two hundred and thirty women were given occupation. This is the state of affairs abroad, with quiet contentment, and no need of either seclusion or restraint. Governmental supervision has done this and it can accomplish the same results with us. But it is vain to expect this reform except as it is enforced at the hand of men empowered to do it. Alienists among us, instead of seeking to profit by the example set them by the English and Scotch superintendents, are even presuming to look down upon the humane system that gives these grand results, and to claim for the American asylums superior management.

Let us leave the asylum proper, and turn our attention to the condition of the insane in county poor-houses and asylums. Since the days that the curse of slavery was wiped off the land, no subject so full of horrors was ever afforded to human pen. There is no standard of misery by which this can be measured. The wretchedness of these poor creatures seems a realization of a Dantesque ideal. We shall recount simply the bare facts. In the state of New York we may follow the report of the late Dr. Willard, without conflicting materially with the facts as they exist to-day.

The insane ward of the poor house of Albany county, was originally built to contain thirty-one, yet there were crowded into it at one time one hundred and twenty inmates. "Many of them obeying the calls of nature without reference to time or place, some perhaps in convulsions, others roaring, whilst the timid and retreating are trying to escape from the screams and vociferations of the more turbulent." All "have to remain in the hall together, during the long weary hours of the day." In Brown county there are twenty-one lunatics; four males and one female are in constant restraint by handcuffs or otherwise. Other forms of restraint are persuasion and confinement. "Whipping is seldom

resorted to." In Cayuga county two insane persons were confined in strong cells with no openings for light or air. "Those confined were filthy in a superlative degree, and their excrements spread over the floor, on the walls and over their persons, with no means of ventilation; the stench at their cell doors was excessively offensive."

"It is a sad spectacle to humanity, that which is reached in the condition of the insane paupers of Columbia county." Twenty-six were noted as filthy. Twelve sleep on straw like hogs. The females have a change of under-garments, the males none. None had stockings during the winter. There is no convenience for outdoor exercise. No provision is made for medical treatment. In Courtland county poor house the cells for the insane are five-and-a-half by six-and-a-half feet large. "Several were confined without the privilege of coming daily to the open air." The violent are confined by the strait-jacket. In Delaware county the insane are confined in rooms or cells four by eight feet, "lighted and ventilated by a diamond hole in the door." Beds are on the floor, with nothing to separate them from where they sit except a piece of plank set up edgewise, and "are filthy at all times." Two have been so confined for *twenty-one years*. The Dutchess county poor house is "about as unfit a place for the insane as could be arranged. It involves their continual confinement in small cells. It does not admit a proper separation of the sexes, or of the violent from the mild, or of proper provision for out-of-door exercise for either." "In Franklin county, two or three sleep on straw without other bedding. In the day time the sexes mix as they please. They have no change of undergarments." In Madison county the males were in a state of nudity; the females wore only chemises.

To add to this list of horrors is needless. Here are ten counties out of fifty-six composing the state. The history of one is that of nearly all. They differ in misery only as one misery may differ from another, in degree, not in kind.

In the report of the Secretary of the State Board of Health of the State of Maryland, we find evidence brought down to 1877. But why repeat the terrible details? More than enough has been cited to show the need of rigid government supervision of the insane, that will extend a protecting arm over the lunatic wherever found.

We have gone over the field, showing at every step the need of government supervision. But it may be answered, that in the state of New York they have done well and wisely. They have a commissioner of lunacy, acting under a law recently passed and in operation. It is necessary, therefore, that we should show briefly what sort of a commissioner, acting under what kind of a law, and with what effect upon the happiness and welfare of the insane, in order to clear the way for a statement of the remedy our needs require.

The law under which the Commissioner in Lunacy of New York is acting, passed the Legislature of that state, May, 1874. It provides for the appointment of an experienced and competent physician, to be known as the State Commissioner in Lunacy. He shall report the condition of the insane and idiotic in the state, and the management and conduct of the asylums and other institutions, public and private. He is empowered to issue compulsory processes for the attendance of witnesses, administer oaths, inquire into any case of wrong treatment or neglect of a lunatic, or of one wrongfully deprived of his liberty in any asylum, and shall report the facts to a justice of the Supreme Court, who shall grant the necessary relief. But whatever good the Commissioner may be able to accomplish under the above provisions, is nullified by a clause which precedes all this. It is so significant that we shall quote the exact words. "The duties of said Commissioner in regard to the insane shall be performed so as not to prejudice the *established* and reasonable regulations of such asylums and institutions aforesaid." This becomes doubly significant when the reader is informed that this law was drafted by the hand of a professed insanity expert, and no other than the present Commissioner. Why, in drawing up this law, he should have completely deprived his hands of all power to redress "established" wrongs, it is impossible to say. Another provision directs that he shall report, from time to time, the "results of the treatment of the insane in other states and countries."

So much for the law; now we shall examine the manner in which the law is obeyed by the very man who was responsible—we were tempted to say guilty—of drafting it. Since the passage of the law, we have from his hands four reports. In the matter of the condition and treatment of the insane in the regular asy-

lums, in the two reports before us, those for 1875 and '76, we have not a word. How they are fed and clothed, how secluded, confined or restrained, we do not know. Concerning the condition of the insane in the county poor-houses, in view of the terrible state of affairs that exist in many of them, the information in the reports named is of such a wonderful character that we are obliged to give the Commissioner the benefit of a full quotation. We extract the information at random. "Niagara House has been repainted outside and in. Onondaga—necessary repairs made. Oswego—some painting and repairing. Poughkeepsie City Almshouse—house repainted. Rensselaer—some painting on outside. Schoharie—tin roof and kitchen floor painted."

Thus we know of the condition of the helpless insane in the poor-houses, as the Commissioner interprets the law. In order to show what the inspection and report of the almshouses may be made, we copy the following from the Sixteenth Report of the Commissioners in Lunacy for Scotland. It stands out against the back-ground of this American report, with the bold contrast of a silhouette.

"LUNATIC WARDS, LINLITHGOW POOR-HOUSE,

"22d October, 1873.

"The present population consists of fifteen men and fifteen women. * * * * * The register of restraint and seclusion contains four entries, most of which refer to M. S., a troublesome epileptic, whose removal to the District Asylum is recommended.

"The patients were all in good bodily health, and their appearance indicated a sufficient dietary. Their condition, as regards personal cleanliness, was carefully inquired into, and with very satisfactory results. Exclusive of shoes or boots, the in-door clothing of each male patient weighed about nine pounds and twelve ounces; and of each female patient, ten pounds and six ounces. The average weight of the bed coverings was sixteen pounds and fourteen ounces."

Having said and proved so much concerning the need of government supervision, the reader has a right to demand that some suitable plan of supervision be suggested. It is not difficult to do so without suggesting anything like experimental legislation. We have simply to profit by the experience of other countries. The Association of American Superintendents, for the last fifteen years,

having shown their inaptitude for instruction of this nature, the only way of reaching reform appears to be to create something equivalent to the British Boards of Lunacy. There may be a difference in the social factors of the two countries, but we are sufficiently one people for reform measures that have accomplished good results in one country to effect like results in the other.

We have ample knowledge of the organization and duties of the British Lunacy Boards. These boards represent the government in their relation to all institutions that have the custody of the insane. Their care and supervision of the insane penetrate into the bosom of the private family. They guard the personal freedom of every person, be he gentleman or pauper, against encroachment upon it by false charges of insanity. At varying periods they see every patient apart from the officers of the asylum, and listen to any complaints that may be made. They follow up charges against the management of asylums vigorously and impartially.

In the matter of the seclusion or restraint of a patient, the Commissioners are very rigid in their supervision. They require a very complete set of records to be kept, in which the cause, duration and method of restraint are recorded, with all the attendant circumstances, all of which are annually published in their reports.

We need but profit by the experience of others to give this needed legislation definite shape. We have not to invent or experiment in order to find the means of correcting evils that have made us a by-word and reproach among civilized nations. We need boards of lunacy commissioners in every state; not boards of one-man power, and he an alienist, tied hand and foot by the prejudices of his class, but boards made up of men of broad professional culture, and of sufficient moral courage to discharge fearlessly their important duties.

ELY VAN DE WARKER, M. D.

Syracuse, N. Y.

OUR PRESENT RACE DETERIORATION: AN ARGUMENT FOR TECHNICAL EDUCATION.*

THE subject chosen for discussion may be considered extra-medical, yet it must be allowed that a doctor's field of observation and discussion ought to be practically unlimited. Any thing, indeed, which concerns the prosperity of his age, is one he is called upon to investigate. Medicine alone will never cure all the ills that flesh is heir to. The laws of Physiology must be known, to promote health and healthful civilization. Any race or nation which does not know and observe such laws, must degenerate. Our school teachers and children should, from their earliest years, be thoroughly rooted and grounded in them.

This, as well as other important scientific knowledge, could readily be made attractive through Pantographic object lessons. Exercises and charts could be made the vehicle for conveying solid information to replace the nonsense now made use of in first lessons.

It is perfectly patent to all thinking persons, that our popular education is not the panacea for all the ills that afflict society, as has been fondly believed. It requires no special observation, except to the wilfully blind, to see plainly enough race deterioration going on around us. Prisons and prisoners, almshouses, paupers and tramps, insane asylums and insane. The increasing demand for hospitals, reformatories and all such institutions are multiplying, out of proportion to the increase of population. Consumption and other scrofulous diseases can readily be traced as the direct result of our education.

An excess of two or three hours study a day for all children under twelve years of age, is absolute cruelty. Two or three hours mental work daily, throughout the year, would be better than the present system. It would reach all classes, especially those for whom the public schools were particularly intended, the unschooled twenty thousand, and the sixty per cent. of our children who graduate from our primaries and secondaries. Poor parents cannot afford to give the whole time of their children to the schools, and it is better for the child's morals and future usefulness that they cannot. Some kind of handicraft should be begun in the primary

* Read before the Philadelphia Social Science Association, February 13th, 1879.

school and should follow the pupil all the way through, as it would generally benefit both the moral and physical culture.

The time under twelve years should be divided thus, to insure future health and usefulness:—Twelve hours in bed; three at mental, three at manual work; and six in open-air exercises of some kind,—cultivating the soil the most invigorating. Crowding into cities of all, and especially the poor, should be discouraged. Each family should have its own plot of ground for the exercise and work of the children.

A child can be reared to be healthful and industrious, while to cure a diseased body or reform the criminal is a very doubtful matter; therefore, look well to the children.

Under a rational education they would grow up and find their pleasure in more elevating and less debasing amusements than now gratify them. There is no valid reason why education should not go on for life, instead of stopping at eight, ten, twelve or fifteen, on account of broken-down health, headache, ruined eyes, or any other cause. Acquiring a thorough education should be as natural and physiological a process as eating or breathing.

“Of 731 collegiate scholars, 296, or 40 per cent., suffered frequent headache. Of 3,564 scholars of public schools, 974, or 27.3 per cent., suffered from headache. Bleeding from the nose was found in 20 per cent. Spinal diseases were found in 20 per cent., and of these, 84.9 per cent. were females.”

“One hundred and forty-six physicians of Massachusetts have declared that our system of education promotes consumption.”

“To tens of thousands that are killed, add hundreds of thousands that survive with feeble constitutions, and millions that grow up with constitutions not so strong as they should be, and you will have some idea of the curse inflicted on their offspring by parents ignorant of the laws of life. Do but consider for a moment, that the regimen to which children are subject is hourly telling upon them, to their life-long injury or benefit, and that there are twenty ways of going wrong to one way of going right, and you will get some idea of the enormous mischief that is almost everywhere inflicted by the thoughtless, hap-hazard system in common use. Is it decided that a boy shall be clothed in some flimsy short dress, and be allowed to go playing about with limbs reddened by cold? The decision will tell on his whole future existence,—either in ill-

ness or in stunted growth, or in deficient energy, or in a maturity less vigorous than it ought to have been, and consequent hindrances to success and happiness, and inflict disease and premature death, not only on him, but on his descendants."—Herbert Spencer.

Mr. Hilary Bygrave says, of our young people:—

"If there is one thing more than another lacking in the young people of our time, it is force of character, self-reliance, courage to meet and grapple with the stern realities of life. Never, perhaps, were young people so well cared for, so well clad, so well educated, in the technical sense; never was the path of life made so smooth before them; and yet there seems to be a feeling that they are wanting in the grit, endurance, independence and force which belonged to former generations."

Another author says:—

1. "That the public school does not go down low enough into the strata of humanity to affect the very classes that have most need of it.

2. "That school instruction deals too much with technical scholarship, and too little with practical utilities.

3. "That a knowledge of some form of industrial labor is at least as necessary as a knowledge of books."

Mr. Wendell Phillips says:—

"The fact is, that many young people, graduates of our public schools, are not capable of doing any work for which anyone should pay a dollar; nor can they write a decent letter, nor even read a newspaper well. The old New England system, which made a boy work six months by his father's side, on the farm or in the workshop, after he had been six months at school, was better than the present one. From such a system it was possible to get such a man as Theodore Parker. Now the public school hands a child to its parents with no means of earning its bread."

The following is a sample of the language used by the various prison authorities of our country in their annual reports:

"Millions are annually expended in this state (Connecticut), to secure our youth the advantages of a good common school education, with the general impression that such instruction is a sure preventive of crime. Without intending the slightest reflection against this happy conclusion, we find our penitentiaries are filling

up with many well-educated young men, who, on investigation, have never been indentured to any regular trade or business, and, without employment, are easily led into temptation and vice.

“On careful inquiry of our younger prisoners, we find it is not the want of a common school education, so much as the need of a good trade, with its habits of thrift, industry and common employment, that crowds our streets with paupers and our state prisons with convicts. With these facts staring us in the face, from all the jails, work-houses and penitentiaries of our state, is it not time for some legislation to restore the old apprentice system, with its binding indentures, legal protection, and encouragement in the effort to acquire some mechanical trade or business education?”

Here is another startling view of our educational shortcomings, presented by the Louisville *Courier-Journal*. It thus speaks of the mighty host of untaught children :

“There are fifteen millions of children in the United States, who may be classed under the head of school children. Of these, are enrolled in public schools about nine millions, and the average daily attendance is only about four million, two hundred and fifty thousand. It follows that some millions of children in this country do not have school training of any kind. This is a dark picture, and one which, in view of the law of universal suffrage, becomes very appalling. We may assume that six millions of children are either in public or private schools. This pupil host represents the forces which are to rule their country hereafter.”

It is estimated that there are about twenty thousand children in this city who live in the alleys and by-ways, who are schooled in nothing but vice and crime, who are thus especially prepared to graduate at some near day from our criminal, pauper, or benevolent institutions, forever during their brief, diseased existence, supported at the expense of the community. It does seem that the state should take entire possession of these waifs of humanity, from their earliest infancy, and educate them in a way that they will be a source of revenue instead of an expense; for, sooner or later, they must come under our care.

I think it behooves our churches to lend a helping hand in this matter. It is not all of Christianity to be so interested in the salvation of one's own soul that the care of others is neglected,—to listen to able and eloquent sermons on Sundays, in imposing edi-

fices, in very comfortable pews, with the soul lulled to sleep by charming music, followed by the discussion of a sumptuous repast. I think the Lord would be served in a far more acceptable manner, by opening these very buildings, if no others could be had, and using them for school houses on week days. They had better be daily filled with the din of hammer and saw of these twenty thousand neglected children, than have them grow up to enlarge the crowd of criminals. I should like also to include the sixty per cent. of children who graduate from our primaries and secondaries with an indistinct knowledge of what has been humorously called "the three R's," so often followed by the fourth R., rascality. All these children should be taught more of Nature and of Nature's God, so that as they run they might read, and

"Find tongues in trees, books in the running brooks,
Sermons in stones, and good in everything."

It is absolute cruelty to keep them housed five hours a day, in crowded, poorly ventilated class rooms, except for a dinner hour and a few minutes' intermission. (I have seen the children turned out on these occasions from the hot room into the open air, without hat or overcoat, the coldest of winter days, at the risk of contracting cold.) Two or three hours a day in the class and two or three hours a day in the work-shop, is the only rational way to educate children to grow up and be healthful and useful citizens, and this might solve the problem for a portion of the twenty thousand un-schooled. Two or three hours study, and the rest of the time to help their parents. Let this plan be carried through every day of the year, as a child's time is too precious to waste in the eleven or twelve weeks of vacation. There could then be no harm to allow children to enter the school as soon as they could walk, and talk distinctly. On Sundays, the Sabbath schools could take up the theme, and teach them of the wonders of Nature and of Nature's God.

It is perfectly amazing to reflect upon our deplorable educational status, after the prodigious amount of writing, preaching, printing and talking, aiming at a higher, broader, more useful and less wordy education, from Aristotle down to the present. Pestalozzi and Froebel died martyrs to their theories, though at this late day they are awakening attention. I suppose others must follow, for who ever heard of a benefactor of the human race who

did not have to wade through fire before the listless masses could be made to see what he saw from the mountain top?

In 1832, forty seven years ago, the following report was made to the Legislature of this state, by a committee of that body:—

1. "That the expenses of education, when connected with manual labor judiciously directed, may be reduced one-half.

2. "That the exercise of about three hours daily labor contributes to the health and cheerfulness of the pupil, by strengthening and improving his physical powers, and by engaging his mind in useful pursuits.

3. "That, so far from manual labor being an impediment in the progress of the pupil in intellectual studies, it has been found that in proportion as one pupil has excelled the other in the amount of labor performed, the same pupil has excelled the other, in equal ratio, in his intellectual studies.

4. "That the manual labor institutions tend to break down the distinctions between rich and poor, which exist in society, inasmuch as they give an almost equal opportunity of education to the poor, by labor, as is afforded to the rich by the possession of wealth: and

5. "That pupils trained that way are much better fitted for active life, and better qualified to act as useful citizens than when educated in any other mode; that they are better intellectually and morally."

Why such a report as this should be allowed to take this long Rip-Van-Winkle sleep seems incomprehensible; but volumes have been written, the press daily teems with suggestions, message after message from those in authority, and yet but a small minority of our Board of Education seem to realize the serious responsibility of their position, and are fighting manfully, like heroes, in the good cause.

Professor Huxley thus speaks of our present educational system:—

"The educational abomination of desolation of the present day, is the stimulation of young people to work at high pressure, by incessant competitive examinations. The vigor and freshness which should have been stored up for the hard struggle for existence in practical life, have been washed out of them by precocious mental debauchery, by book-gluttony and lesson-bibbing. Their

faculties are worn out by the strain put upon their callow brains, and they are demoralized by worthless, childish triumphs, before the real work of life begins. I have no compassion for sloth, but youth has more need for intellectual rest than age; and the cheerfulness, the tenacity of purpose, the power of work, which make many a successful man what he is, must often be placed to the credit, not of his hours of industry, but to that of his hours of idleness in boyhood. Even the hardest worker of us all, if he has to do with anything above mere detail, will do well, now and again, to let his brain lie fallow for a space. The next crop of thought will certainly be all the fuller in the ear, and the weeds the fewer."

The *London Medical Times and Gazette*, for November, 1877, contains some statements from the last report of the Commissioners of Lunacy, to the following effect:—

"Ever since the year 1859 there has been a steady increase of insanity in England and Wales, amounting to more than one thousand annually. The largest number was in 1869, amounting to two thousand one hundred and seventy-seven; the smallest in 1875, which was only one thousand one hundred and twenty-three. During other years, the amount of increase ranged between these two numbers. From 1859 to 1876 the total of insane persons increased from thirty-six thousand seven hundred and sixty-two to sixty-six thousand six hundred and thirty-six. It is said the general population of England and Wales increases annually at the rate of one and a half per cent., while insanity and imbecility increase at the rate of three per cent. Probably, statistics would show a similar rate of increase in the United States."

Maudsley says:—"In the hard struggle for existence, men of inherited weakness, or some other debility, break down in madness. Overcrowding deteriorates health; favors scrofula, phthisis, and faulty nutrition,—all of which open the way to insanity; and whatever deteriorates mental or bodily health may lead to insanity in the next generation."

Galton says:—"Social agencies are unsuspectedly working towards the degeneration of humanity, and it is a duty we owe the race to study this power and to combat it to the advantage of the future inhabitants of the earth." He further says:—"With the deterioration of the condition of the masses, their organization and functions, there will be plenty of idiots, but very few great men;

the general standard of mind is but little above the grade of trained idiocy."

A glance at the following figures will show the disproportionate increase of the insane in the United States.

In fifty-four asylums, in

1839,	1,329	insane,	with	961	annual	new	cases.
1849,	7,029	"	"	2,961	"	"	"
1859,	13,696	"	"	5,342	"	"	"
1869,	22,549	"	"	8,769	"	"	"

"Our race is overweighted, and likely to be drudged into degeneracy, by demands that exceed its powers."

"Is this lesson not plain enough, when the universally educated Scandinavians have 3.4 insane in one thousand population, the cultivated Germans 3 in one thousand, the less educated Roman nation 1 in one thousand, and the most barbarous Slavonic races 0.6 in one thousand; and again, when the ratio of insane to the population in large cities is greater than in the country, and the professionally educated, who compose 5.04 per cent. of the population, yield 13.8 of all the insane? If, then, our civilization and education are especially productive of human deterioration and insanity, is it not reasonable to ask that education should studiously avoid and oppose whatever degenerates mankind?"

In this country we certainly have no dearth of schools and colleges, which aim at all conceivable objects, and must fall short of their full results, because they encourage only a partial education, one that is one-sided rather than symmetrical, of the intellect and not of the complete man.

"It was not books, but *thought*, the discourse," says Thornton, "that developed the Grecian mind."

"In educated Massachusetts, we find in three hundred and sixty-four natives, one pauper, and in five hundred and forty-six, a convict, whilst one in every three hundred and forty-eight foreign born is a pauper, and one in every two hundred and fifty-two is a criminal."

We must now glance at the other side of the question.

"The eminent sanitarian and prison reformer, Dr. Harris, has carefully examined the personal relations of two hundred and thirty-three convicts. Fifty-four were found belonging to families in which insanity, epilepsy and other disorders of the nervous system

are reported. Eighty-three per cent. belonged to a criminal, pauper, or inebriate stock, and were therefore hereditarily or congenitally affected; and hence, nearly seventy-six per cent. of their number proved habitual criminals."

The following is the fruit borne by the cheap education of a family. The four Juke sisters in the state of New York, during seventy-five years. A regiment of six hundred unproductives, a loss and cost to the state of \$1,308,000.

New York has \$50,000,000 invested in various kinds of charitable institutions, and spends yearly \$10,000,000 for their support, with as much more for criminal prosecution and maintenance.

Philadelphia gives in alms \$4,500,000 yearly to thousands in idleness and unproductiveness, except the bringing of more paupers into the world. Why not give the children of these a practical education, in the country, if possible, and put a stop to this unproductive wastefulness. The millenium will never come until this is done.

Ruskin says: "Though England is deafened with spinning wheels, her people have no clothes; though she is black with digging coal, her people have no fuel and they die of cold; and though she has sold her soul for gain, they die of hunger."

Thirty thousand persons own nearly all the land of England and Scotland, and what they do not reserve for parks and hunting grounds, or suffer to lie waste, is rented out to three hundred thousand tenants, and these in turn employ about four million laborers, who are little else than paupers, and their ignorance keeps them so, and England's experience should teach us to beware of her example. Her ambition to manufacture for and carry on the commerce of the whole world, while benefitting the few, tends to the degradation of the masses.

Let the people be educated to be producers as well as consumers, and we will not be troubled with the ugly problem of shirtless backs and shoeless feet.

Some of our state agricultural colleges—the industrial school at Hampton, Va., Cornell University, Boston Institute of Technology, and others,—appear to have taken a long step forward in the right direction, in providing practical work in the field and workshop. Our own International Exhibition is now engaged in developing a splendid scheme for the practical education of our

youth, and I hope our citizens will give it cordial aid and encouragement. The Philotechnic Institute of this city is also endeavoring to develop an improved system, by which the youngest child can acquire skill in the use of his hands with tools, at the same time he is acquiring information far more valuable than the wordy nonsense now taught.

The Pantographic Model School, which was opened by this organization last July, has been in active operation ever since, with an average attendance of twenty-five to thirty boys and girls, from fifteen to four years of age; but it is now in a deplorable condition, for lack of money.

The public will encourage nothing until it is already an assured success, and to wait for the school board to take hold, as has been suggested, will be folly and consume another fifty years, as large bodies move slowly.

After the most diligent effort, there has been raised \$161.35. There should have been \$1,000 at least,—\$5,000 would be better,—to establish and run the school on thorough business principles.

The school is finely located in an old hotel building (1608 and 1610 Ridge Avenue), of twenty rooms, but one of which is now occupied, and that is in a beggarly condition. There should be work going on in each one of these rooms, as was the design, if money and implements could be had.

Says Prof. Royce:—"Every lover of America cannot but look with pleasure at the following table, which shows the growth of schools of science in the United States:—

	1870	1871	1872	1873	1874	1875	1876
Schools,	17,	41,	70,	70,	72,	74,	75.
Teachers,	144,	303,	724,	749,	609,	758,	793.
Students,	1,413,	3,303,	5,395,	8,950,	7,244,	7,157,	7,614.

"These schools of science are an almost infinite improvement upon the old Greek and Latin schools, which, in the vast majority of cases, do more injury than good; and as these schools of science grow older, they will become more practical, and teach more science applied than pure science, with which a graduate leaving the college cannot profit the world sufficiently to get in return for his services a modest meal. We have hardly any schools of industry; and drawing, as useful, and even more so, as writing to every artisan, is but slowly making headway in our common schools,—the only ones the masses are able to attend."

“It is often expressed, that technical pursuits hardly merit the attention of men seeking comfortable living. If this was really so, and an efficient artisan could not make a decent living, incendi- arism and every disorganizing scheme against a society which refuses men a living for the labor it requires of them, would find almost an apology in such an unjustifiable condition. The fact is, we live in a crisis, in which a fat bank account, or even plenty of real estate, is no more security against want than labor is. An average annual importation of \$500,000,000 to \$600,000,000 worth of manufactured goods is evidence that we want more skilled men. The association of industry with the school and science, will raise it to the character of art, and infinitely vary it. No matter how much machinery produces,—as long as men work and exchange their products, they are benefitted. But that they may all have work, industry must take the character of art, which admits of an almost infinite variety and demand; for, of course, with gigantic producing machinery, men cannot find employment in a few rude manufactures. An Arabic enamelled glass lamp, set up in the Louvre, became the support of hundreds of artisans modelling after it.

“An industry raised to the character of art not only gives bread to the masses, but, in purifying the taste of the people, it improves their morals,—for the beautiful and the good are but different expressions of the same thing.”

“Our common schools better teach a little less of geography and a little more of Youman’s Physiology and Hygiene; a little less of grammar and a little more of Youman’s Household Science.”

“The subject matter of our education is not life, but literature; the heroes of which we worship, while we neglect the only true hero of the world,—toiling humanity. The producing classes degenerate in mines and factories, and adulterations and artificial wants do their work on the consumer.”

Every square foot of ground that can be commanded, should be utilized and cultivated, for tilling the soil is the most healthful, morally and physically, of all work or exercise.

What now of physical education? It is all but totally neglected. Our daughters are taught no kind of work whereby their hands may be soiled; consequently, they grow up to be delicate know-nothings, incapable of superintending a household, at the mercy of

ignorant and extravagant servants. The home becomes a sinking fund for the distracted husband, unattractive for him and the children, who are driven elsewhere, from what ought to contain the pure atmosphere of the fireside, into haunts of vice.

Girls suffer most from want of exercise; boys will have it, even if they cannot get systematic work. Gymnastic exercises of a couple of half hours a week, in an unventilated class-room, with a dusty carpet on the floor, are almost if not quite useless. Every girl should graduate a practical, economical housekeeper, instead of having taste for all such exercises washed out of her by wordy lessons.

Nature is ever restless, and nothing can be found in a state of perfect repose; either generation or degeneration is constantly going on in everything. The flow from the country to town is constant and encouraged. Why is this? Because our city population, through the education furnished them, is becoming so effeminate. All inclination for muscular and productive exercise has been lost, and our youth of both sexes are debilitated and consumptive, like a tree all turned to foliage, with no sap left for fruit. Those always found at the head of their classes have studied themselves into their graves, or have become so diseased that they have no longer any capacity, and are never heard of more. It has been observed that nearly every male principal of grammar schools in Boston has been reared in the country, and I have no doubt this is largely the case in this city. This speaks well for our washed-out city graduates.

It has been estimated that London, in two hundred years, would be depopulated, if it were not for the influx of people from the country. Ten thousand more die a year than are born there.

General Walker gives the average life in the United States, in 1870, at 39.25: in New York and Philadelphia it is only twenty-five years.

"The man who could devise a mode of combining manufacturing skill with isolated labor and country residence, would do a greater service to humanity than the whole race of philosophers," says Samuel Royce.

The eye-sight of a large percentage of our youth is ruined, and must seek the aid of the optician, for study or the looking upon the face of friend or of nature.

The prolonged concentration and bending of the head and eye over the printed page, especially the crowded maps, is injurious. Lessons should be acquired with an erect spine, eyes glancing a little upwards and not downwards; a bad light, often coming from the front, instead of rear, complicates the malposition.

“Germany is troubled because of the near-sightedness of its children. In Magdeburg, in the Dom Gymnasium (Cathedral School), Dr. Nieman has examined the eyes of six hundred and fifty pupils, and found in the sixth class 23, in the fifth 25, in the fourth 39, in the third 63, in the second 58, and in the first 95 per cent., of children who were myopic.”

“Examinations, under the direction of medical societies, of the eyes of several thousand school children in the cities of Buffalo, Brooklyn, New York and Cincinnati, have shown a similar degree of diseased eyes, and Dr. Agnew, of New York, suggests that the injured eyes are evidence of other injuries to the health of pupils.”
—*Public Ledger.*

Mr. S. Shettuck, in a paper on the vital statistics of Boston, says:—The average value of life is greater now than during the last century, but not as great as it was twenty years ago. It was at its maximum from 1811 to 1820, and since that time it has somewhat decreased. He also says that forty-three per cent., or nearly one half, of all the deaths that have taken place within the the last nine years, are of persons under under nine years of age, and the proportion has been increasing. The rate of mortality in cities is fearful, the result of unhealthy surroundings and inherited weakness, from those who have survived hitherto. “In some cases only fifteen persons in a thousand live to be fifty years of age;” Royce says. “Among the destitute of Manchester, England, of twenty-one thousand children, 20,700 die before they reach five years. The remnant who live to bear offspring will bring forth a sorry set of children.”

Bertha Meyer says:—“As it was Adam’s first sin only, that, according to the old theologians, cursed the world, so it is the wrongs inflicted upon children that determine the destiny of man.”

As a panacea for all the ills referred to, I would suggest and warmly advocate an industrial education. Let hand culture go on, side by side with head culture. I would, from the earliest childhood, make it compulsory for all classes and conditions, as I am

confident that without it we are deteriorating morally, physically, intellectually, and industrially.

“In England, the reform in school work, as preventive of the physical injury done by over sedentary work, is claimed to have reduced the death rate one half.”

This industrial education has very little sympathy; indeed, a great deal of determined opposition from school teachers and authorities generally. A Superintendent of Education in New Jersey does make this concession:—he favors industrial education, but says the present system must not be disturbed. A foolish remark, when the same demands all the school facilities, money, and every waking hour of the child's time.

To get the proper teachers for this industrial training, is a matter of some anxiety. I happen to know of a reformatory institution for girls, in New Jersey, which was very much embarrassed in this respect. They could get a thousand,—yes, thousands of teachers of music, but not one competent person to teach these girls how to cut, make and mend their own clothes. This fact alone shows the improper direction of the training in our schools.

It is observed that there are more unhappy marriages and divorces among school teachers than any other class of people. This can be accounted for, because house-keeping and home duties are entirely foreign to their education and habits. It is very difficult to alter these after twelve or fifteen years of age.

Our late Governor, General Hartranft, has repeatedly used language like the following, in his messages in favor of industrial training, and he encourages such schools both by precept and example. He says:—“Everything that will tend to recognize the importance and dignity of labor, that will excite the pride and emulation of the artisan in his work, convince him of the interest of the state in his welfare and the welfare of his children, and secure the fruits of his industry and thrift, should be done; and I am convinced that nothing will contribute so much to these results as the establishment of industrial and scientific schools and workshops, by the side of our present high schools and academies.”

Monarchical countries are paying more and more attention to technical education, and very early youth is found the best time to begin; for not only must the hand be taught to be dexterous, but the mind and taste must also receive their direction. All know

how exceedingly difficult it is for any one to acquire satisfactory use of the pen, after fifteen years of age: neither taste nor mechanical skill can be commanded. This same condition is observed in regard to mechanics,—in the taste, ability and power to perform. The modelling in clay, perforating and needle work on the cardboard, cutting of paper into various forms and pasting them in fancied designs, printing, drawing, carving, sawing, lithographing, etc., are excellent exercises in the development of manual skill, making industry the rule and idleness the exception; for, “As the *twig* is bent, the *tree* inclines.”

Our school children ought to print and bind all their own school books, and, in fact, prepare all the material they make use of in the schools, and thereby lessen taxation many thousands of dollars, or, better, transferring this amount to the underpaid teachers. This plan would reach and influence a goodly portion of the schoolless twenty thousand, inculcate industrious habits, and open a new field of practical instruction. Type-setting, and indeed all mechanical work, would convey more information and create a greater thirst for knowledge, than all the word memorizing.

Some knowledge of the sciences would make of the artisan a much more intelligent workman, even in the single direction of hygiene, while an industrial course would be an excellent thing for those purely professional, making them more practical and less theoretical, and an increased sympathy would arise between the divisions of society;—the upper classes with their pitiable effeminacy, and the lower classes with their boorish ignorance,—would be harmonized, and the present jealousies and misunderstandings would be unknown. To be a car driver is not considered a very desirable position, neither is that of a society man very elevating, but it is only on account of deficient intelligence.

It has been said of the Kindergarten, that it is only good to amuse and entertain the children, without conveying any information; never was there a greater mistake, for even the songs and plays are full of instruction. Our education should make the universe a vast Kindergarten, full of suggestions for object teaching, if our education only taught us how to utilize them; but at present we have failed to grasp the real idea of instruction, and mystify, by books, the lessons which Nature is ready to unfold to her children and enable them to see God’s hand in the sunshine and tempest,

earth, air and sky. We pass too much by, with closed eyes, which might be made a wide and beautiful field for mental and bodily culture, utilized for an industrial and economical purpose, not alone for childhood, but youth and maturity as well! Light seems now, however, to be coming out of the darkness, and the day for industrial education to be drawing upon us, as a solution to the problem now vexing and filling us with anxious care.

Prof. Royce says, the progress of the Kindergarten schools in the last three years is a guarantee of their ultimate success. There were but twelve in the United States in 1871. The following table, taken from the commissioners last report, shows this growth in the last four years.

	1873	1874	1875	1876
Kindergartens,	42	55	95	130
Teachers,	73	125	216	364
Pupils,	1252	1636	2809	4090

“St. Louis has made a lively beginning of incorporating the Kindergarten system in the primary department of public instruction. Boston has entered upon the same experiment.

“The Kindergarten demands the highest capacity in the teacher, shows clearly the object of education and how to reach it, the teacher studying and developing the pupil, as books do not step in between the two and defeat the true object of education.”

“The dwellings of the poor offer but little variety of impressions, and yield but little food to the perceptive powers. The imagination, the will, the æsthetic faculty, and the social virtues have no chance at all in the isolation of the dwellings of the poor, where the dear little ones are not infrequently locked up as brutes in cages, while the parents are out to work.”

“A sorrowful child, full of unkindness and misfortune, develops, among the lowest class, a ferocity which startles from the commission of no crime. An unhappy childhood is often the cause of a wrong life, for it perverts the judgment and natural feelings of man; depression impairs the functions and lowers the tone of body and mind.”

“Infant schools cannot but become worse than useless, when children are taught in them in the manner of:

G, is for Goshen, a rich and good land,

H, is for Horeb, where Moses stand.

I, is for Italy; where Rome stands so fair,
 J, is for Joppa and Peter lodged there.
 K, is for Kadesh, where Mirian died,
 L, is for Lebanon, can't be denied."

If I were restricted to the selection of a solitary study for a child's entire education, I would unhesitatingly choose *drawing*, as being at once the most instructive, profitable, pleasurable. If I were allowed the choice of another, it would be physiology, as it would teach how to *live* intelligently, instead of violating, as is the custom, the laws of health; and if I were allowed a third study, I would confidently choose the natural sciences, as they would teach a child to observe and reflect, and give him a taste for open air exercises and recreations. With these three *alone*, a child could be safely launched out into the world and become an *intelligent* and useful member of society. All other necessary information could and would be acquired spontaneously, and, instead of having a nation of trained idiots, as has been said of us by a distinguished writer, we would have a nation of trained thinkers.

Parents clamor vociferously for the cramming of the three R's into their children's brains, the very first thing, and if it is not being done at lightning speed, they are snatched at once from an intelligent teacher and given to one who has less soul, character and ability. Our ablest teachers and thinkers unite in condemning this obsolete cramming system. Lord Brougham says, a child learns more before six years of age than ever after, no matter how long it may live, and what he says must be respected, for he was a clear and correct observer and thinker. How careful should we be that these first six years be spent to the very best advantage, placing our children under the care of the most cultivated, loving and well balanced person we can find.

The excellent health our Kindergarten children enjoy is remarkable. They lose comparatively no time on account of sickness, except from that incident to childhood. With the proper kind of food and care at home, a child's health is greatly improved.

It has been found that the children who spend a portion of each day in even the monotonous factory work and in the school-room, suffer from neither kind of labor. They average mentally with others, while their bodily functions are maintained thereby in a superior condition. Long hours of either mental or physical work are highly detrimental, to youth especially.

Dr. D. F. Lincoln, one of the indefatigable workers in the cause of school reform, argues, on good authority, that the growing adult of average power at the age of twenty, may devote not more than eight or nine hours to close mental work; the youth in high schools, five or six; the younger child, from two and a half to four and a half; no greater amount can be exacted of the average without doing harm." But in our schools the rules of health are entirely disregarded, through the ignorance and thoughtlessness of those in authority. Our youngest children spend five hours a day in the school-room, and most of them as many more at their homes preparing their lessons; but parents take a cruel pride in their precocious children, foolishly insisting on their promotion, each examination term; teachers and scholars think only of high averages and promotions; the average director does not give the matter a thought or a care, and the children are ground between the upper and nether millstone.

To this reformed education, then, may the thoughts of our people be turned as a necessity, to be united with every plan of development.

We must now close this very imperfect discussion of this many-sided question, with a very appropriate extract from the able pen of Rev. Charles G. Ames. He says:—"But the best proof of our loyal interest in education will next come from unsparing thoroughness in dealing with the defects of our present system. Too much books and too little nature; too much nerve strain and too little industrial training; too much routine and too little inspiration; too much memorizing and too little reasoning; too extensive and superficial a curriculum and too little care in the formation of character; too many mercenaries in the rank of teachers, and too little sympathy and human kindness; too much partisan politics in the management, and too little coöperation on the part of parents. All these must receive attention, ere the people reap half the benefits of their own liberal sowing."*

A. C. REMBAUGH, M. D.

* I am greatly indebted to Herbert Spencer's work "*Education*," and to *Deterioration and Race Education*, by Samuel Royce, published by Lee & Shepard, Boston, for much of the information given in this paper. They well repay a reading.

THE POSITION OF SOCIALISM IN THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF POLITICAL ECONOMY.

IT is certainly unfortunate that Socialism, as an economic system, should be confounded with social Democracy as a political factor and a revolutionary force. The apparent object of the latter is to increase the rate of mortality among the monarchs of Europe; the object of the former is purely scientific and economic. This confusion is unfortunate, because it places Socialism at a disadvantage before the public mind, and does not allow a candid judgment of its economic importance. What this importance is can be the most easily recognized by determining its position in the historical development of the study. To state this position is the object of the present paper.

But, first of all, has Socialism any just claim to be included in the history of Economy? It is no assumption to answer this question in the affirmative. Socialism is an ideal plan of a form of society which does not now exist, but which, its advocates claim, ought to be established. To support this claim, they have criticised severely and minutely the existing system of industry, and constructed an ideal system which they present for substitution. This has a position in the historical development of Political Economy, just as the Mercantile System, the System of the Physiocrats, or the English System of Private Economy has. If it is objected that Socialism is nothing but an ideal, a dream, like Plato's ideal state, or Sir Thomas More's Utopia, and that one must wait until it has asserted its reality by the establishment of its plan, before incorporating it in the history of Economy, it is answered: already such has been its influence in the modification of the doctrines of English Economy, that any historic sketch of economic thought must be incomplete which does not include it. Moreover, Economic Socialism has had actual economic and political results. The former are seen in what is termed German Economy of the present. It has given life to economic thought, and guided the criticisms which the Germans have made upon Adam Smith and his school. Its political results may be traced in many of the laws of the German Empire for the last twenty years, and in the ever-increasing importance of the state in economic industrial life. The

economic discussions, also, of the last ten years, could not be understood or in any way explained, if the writings of Carl Marx, who, in many respects, may be likened to Ricardo, were dropped from economic literature; or if the political agitations and philosophical writings of Lassalle, who, at nineteen, was a personal friend of Humboldt, were not admitted in the solution. Socialism has, of its own right, a position in economic history; and he who properly understands that position holds the key to the great economic problem of the present day.

A hasty sketch of the economic systems since the year 1500 is, for our purpose, indispensable. The difference in method between the Mercantile System and that of the Physiocrats is, that while the latter proceeded from theory to practice, the former developed from practice to theory. With the Physiocrats, for the first time, was there an economic theory opposed to existing commercial and industrial conditions. The Mercantile System sprang from the physical conditions and political life of the sixteenth century; the doctrine of the Physiocrats, on the other hand, as well as that of Adam Smith, was born of philosophical abstractions.

With the sixteenth century, entirely new factors entered into the world's life, and for three centuries guided its history. These factors, so far as they are physical, were three great inventions: the invention of printing, of gunpowder, and of the mariner's compass. These are of so great importance, that to trace in full their wonderful workings would be to write the subsequent history of the Christian world. The most significant of these factors, in its effect upon the economic life of the centuries which followed, is the mariner's compass. By means of it the road to India was made secure, and the new world, with its rich mines, discovered. Under its guidance, Europe was brought into intimate connection with the decaying civilization of the East, whose peoples were glad to exchange the products of their luxurious climate, and their accumulated treasures, for the products of the industry of the West. In America, too, the rapid growth of the quickly-planted colonies gave rise to a constantly-increasing demand, which Europe alone could supply. To meet these demands, the industries of the Old World were developed, and out of this relation between manufactures and commerce and the political condition of Europe, grew the Mercantile System.

The underlying principle of Mercantilism was, that the precious metals alone constituted wealth. For nearly three centuries this idea worked unquestioned and unrestrained, until, in the latter part of the eighteenth century, Europe found herself, both politically and economically, in a disastrous condition. Governments had left their proper sphere, and monarchs had transformed themselves into great merchants; the interests of individuals and classes were neglected, because it was firmly believed that if a nation but held gold and silver within its territorial limits, its citizens must be rich and happy; monopolies were established in every branch of industry, patents and grants were issued without number, while laws were framed, entering into the details of life, and even into the minutæ of burial, for the purpose of creating a home market; the agricultural was subordinated to the manufacturing industry, and even in agriculture, that which produced bread-stuffs was in its turn subordinated to that which produced raw material for manufacture. With its three centuries of unrestrained working, this idea affected one thing besides. The middle class of the sixteenth century had disappeared, but a new class had been created in society, which, in the Revolution of 1789, took the name of the Third Estate. Of what was this Third Estate composed? The answer to this question is of significance in our present inquiry. This Third Estate was composed of that class in society under whose name the gold and silver of the world were held;—it is that class which is now ruling the world. The great object of the Mercantile System had been effected. The countries of Europe held the precious metals, in amounts which would have been considered fabulous in the fifteenth century; still her people were more dissatisfied than ever; the misery of want had not disappeared from her borders.

About the middle of the eighteenth century, a Frenchman, Thomas Quesnay, undertook to discover the cause of the misery of the agricultural classes in France. The writings of the school which he founded hold an important position in the development of economic thought. To understand this school, the philosophy of the day must not be forgotten. This was the philosophy of nature. To say that an institution was based upon nature, or to discover in any movement a natural law, was considered sufficient ground for its acceptance. It was the time of Rousseau and the

Contrat Social, when the phrase, "All men are by nature free and equal," was pleasing the fancy of the enthusiastic French and their admirers. Still, this principle was recognized as being sadly out of harmony with many actual conditions; for example, how could the monopolies and hierarchies of the commercial and industrial world, which, according to the existing theory, were necessary, be explained? Could this principle of freedom be applied to economic life? This question the Physiocrats answered in the affirmative, by claiming to have discovered a "law of nature" capable of regulating all economic movements, if only the unnecessary and disastrous interference of government were removed. This "law of nature" is all that remains of the Physiocrats. 'This law was accepted by Adam Smith, and appears in English Economy, in a new form and under a new name, as the law of supply and demand: the principle upon which is based the maxim of free competition. The characteristic feature of English Economy is the theory that the truest adjustment of economic society will come about by permitting the economic forces unrestrained activity. The reasoning upon which this is based is very simple: each individual knows better than any one else what is for his own interest, therefore society, which is a collection of individuals, will attain the most harmonious and satisfactory conditions by allowing to each person his free choice. By means of this force of self-interest is all economic activity explained; and further, if perfect freedom of action is permitted, whatever is found to result from the working of this force must be accepted as satisfactory, at least as unchangeable, for it contains in itself the ground of its own justification, in that it is in harmony with the principle of competition. The means through which competition works is the open market, where the law of supply and demand is recognized as supreme arbitrator. The actual price of products, or of labor, which is determined by this law, must be the just price, and, as such, should be accepted without question. If any individual should be so unfortunate as to be financially ruined thereby, or any class in society finds itself in a condition of want and misery, society is unblamable. The individual should have been more cautious, or, in technical language, sharper: the class should exercise more prudence. The universal postulate of this system is, that if proper freedom be allowed, every member of society must

find his proper sphere of activity and proper grade in the social organism, according to the degree of his talents and strength; and also, that the remuneration which he receives at the hands of society, through the open market, must be in proportion to the efficiency of his labor and sacrifice. The ultimate result of the workings of this force, according to Bastiat, will be perfect harmony of apparently conflicting interests.

We are now in a position to introduce our socialistic critics. The writings of Saint Simon, Fourier, and Robert Owen may be passed over without consideration. Their plans were communistic rather than socialistic, and most of their criticisms have been abandoned. Louis Blanc is the founder of Socialism of the present, although the German writers, Engels, Marx and Lassalle, have developed his plan and intensified his criticisms to such an extent, that they are now hardly recognizable. The first three of the six propositions upon which Blancism is built are as follows:

1. The deep and daily increasing misery of the lower classes (*du peuple*) is the greatest misfortune.
2. The cause of the misery in which the lower classes live is competition.
3. This competition, which is the support of the possessing class (*la bourgeoisie*, or capitalists), is the cause of their ruin.

Sismondi, an earlier French writer, had pointed out the undesirable tendencies of unrestrained competition, but Blanc was the first who went so far as to charge it with the evils of the present industrial system, and to hold it responsible for the misery of want in which the lower classes live. It is this principle of competition against which Socialism aims all its blows; to so reconstruct industrial society, that this force shall not appear in it as the supreme arbitrator in the division of products, is the one object of all socialistic study.

The optimistic views which the advocates of the system of free competition profess, are based, according to socialistic critics, partly on false and partly on assumed propositions. They are the result of *à priori* reasoning and do not stand the test of a comparison with fact, and, further, in the reasoning itself, the unfavorable side of free competition has been overlooked. Among the propositions charged as false, are the following: that economic relations are developed according to any natural and therefore necessary

law; that each individual understands the best his own economic interests, and that each one, in forwarding his own, forwards the interest of society; that each member of society is entirely responsible for his own economic success or failure; and, above all, that harmony of interests can result from the strife of competition. Among the claims of the English school, which are criticised as unproven assumptions, are two characteristics of Socialism: *First*, that any interference on the part of the state with economic activity would be injurious to economic life, or, in other words, it is an assumption that the *laissez faire* policy of government is the true policy; and *second*, that the price of products and labor, or of interest and rent, dictated by the law of supply and demand, must be the fair and proper price, from which there is no appeal.

From these criticisms, one may easily determine the relation which socialistic economy holds to English economy. The particular complaint, however, which socialists urge against the prevalent system is, that it is unfair to the laborer. This complaint takes the following form: that the price of labor, as indicated by wages determined by the law of supply and demand, is no fair equivalent for the activity and sacrifice of the laborer. The extreme socialists claim that labor is the source of all wealth, and therefore, that all wealth belongs to the laborer, a very straightforward and satisfactory solution of the problem now troubling the century, if the premiss were only true. Other critics of the system of free competition, some of whom are socialists and some not, take the ground that, in industrial society of the present, the law of supply and demand cannot work its legitimate results; that there are other factors, the most important of which is ignorance, which opposes its free working, and that, as Louis Blanc has said, the principle of free competition which is the support of the possessing class, is the cause of the laborer's ruin. Of the truth of this statement there is little room to doubt. That the condition of the laborer is very bad, indeed, as bad as possible, English economy freely admits. Thus, Ricardo showed that there was a tendency for the laborer to receive the least amount of wages possible for the support of life and strength; Mill formulated the law of wages which declared the same fact; Thornton endeavored to disprove the law, and succeeded so far as to show that it did not properly express the disadvantage at which it was necessary for the laboring class

to enter into this competitive strife with the capitalist. This, however, is no proper place to discuss the wages question; the above statements were introduced to show that the criticism of the socialists in favor of the laborer is no creation of their own fancy, but the statement of a somewhat startling fact.

The position of Socialism in the historical development of Political Economy, may be clearly stated by comparing the four following points in socialistic thought, with analogous points in previous systems:

1. The point of view from which society is contemplated.
2. The productive principle which is incorporated in the system.
3. The department of economic investigation to which it gives prominence.
4. The principle which it accepts as giving direction to all economic activity, and as supreme arbitrator between conflicting economic interests.

And first, with reference to the point of view from which society is contemplated. English economy considers society as a collection of individuals. The individual stands in the foreground; man is the unit, and as such he is studied. The system is a system of private economy. On the other hand, the socialist studies individuals as members of classes, and classes as parts of society. Society is the unit of investigation. Public economy, people's economy, or class economy, is to take the place of private or personal economy. He contemplates the individual as part of the social organism. If personal and social interests conflict, there is no necessity to prove that the individual is in error in thus being out of harmony with society, his interests must be subordinated to the united wishes of other members of society. This is nothing more than the legal conception of true liberty introduced into Economy. That Socialism has carried the application of these views too far, may not be denied, but the position is well taken, and the system will receive the credit at the hands of all fair economic historians, of having successfully criticised the one-sided view of previous economists.

The second comparison is with reference to the productive principle incorporated into the socialistic system. The three productive forces which must be accepted in every complete economy, are land, capital and labor. The history of economy presents a peculiar

fact, namely, that three systems of industrial organization have been formed in which each of these forces has been respectively exaggerated at the expense of the other two. The doctrine of the Physiocrats was, that land is the source of all wealth. They defined rent as the free gift of nature, or the excess of the product of the land over that which justly compensated for the labor of tillage. Therefore, the one object of the Physiocrats was to increase the rent on land. Adam Smith corrected this one-sided view. Theoretically, his system was a perfect system in that it recognized the three productive forces. In fact, however, the system of private economy which Adam Smith founded, is the capitalist's economy. Socialism has accepted the third productive force and based its system upon it. It is the laborer's system of economy, its fundamental economic proportion being, that labor is the source of all wealth. Capital, according to both Marx and Lassalle, is built from the difference between what the laborer actually produces and what he receives in wages. The system as a system cannot survive, because this, its fundamental principle, is false. Labor is not the source of all wealth, at least as that word is defined by socialistic writers. The historian of the future will probably say that it was necessary for a century of unrestrained working to have been given to the private economy of Adam Smith, in order that the great importance and true position of capital, which, in all the previous life of the world had not been recognized, should be disclosed, but that, this having been accomplished, it was equally necessary that the reacting school should have exaggerated another productive force, to draw attention to the undesirable tendencies of the unrestrained principle of free competition, in order that the consequences of an undue supremacy of material possessions should be averted, and I think the judgment of the future will declare the historian to be right.

The third point of comparison concerns merely Socialism and the English system, and is with reference to the department of economic investigation to which each gives prominence. The school which Adam Smith founded has devoted its energies almost exclusively to the department of the production and exchange of wealth. In this sphere its results have been wonderful. The nineteenth century will take its place in history as the century of great inventions in the sphere of production and transportation.

This, socialistic writers recognize, and they admit candidly that this highly desirable result is the legitimate consequence of the working of the principle of self-interest as incorporated in English economy, but they claim that production is not all of the economic problem. A proper, equal and economic distribution is as essential, they say, to a harmonious and successful economy as intense production. They therefore have directed their attention to the distribution of wealth; in this department is included all of their studies. Taken by itself, Socialism is as one-sided as the system it criticises, but taken in connection with English economy, so far as this point is concerned, it appears as its harmonious complement and as such it will live.

The fourth and last comparison, which considers the principle of arbitration between conflicting interests, lies wholly in the department of distribution. As we have already seen, this principle, in English Economy, is free competition. We have also noticed the criticisms upon its workings which have been offered. That which is proposed by the Socialists as a substitute for this force, which shall give direction to all economic activity and serve as supreme arbitrator, is the State. This idea that the State should be introduced into industrial life, is also accepted from the teachings of Louis Blanc. This idea of an economic state will prove to be the important historical idea of Socialism. It will live as leading to two new schools of Political Economy; the one of which incorporates the idea into its teachings and makes it the foundation of its system, the other, while admitting the ground to be tenable for which the interference of the State is demanded, will attempt a solution of the problem of just distribution upon the old *laissez faire* principle. The first already exists in the rapidly-developing school of German Political Economy. According to this teaching, the only question calling for serious consideration is one of degree: how far shall the State be allowed to assume the character of a private producer? It finds the application of its principle in the administration of the State railroads, telegraphs, post, and express; in the management of public domains and forest, and in all those enterprises that are undertaken by the State and carried on as private enterprises, with the single exception that they are carried on not for profit to the State, but in the interest of the people. This school has also developed an entirely new system of Finance. The

German method of study and skill of systemization are greatly to be admired, and, so far as practicable, to be appropriated; but when one considers the principles upon which their Economy and Finance are based, these are found to be, in their extreme application, inappropriate to the political and industrial conditions of the United States. It is, moreover, difficult to see how they are to be applied in England and France. Out of this necessity, the error which has shown itself in English Economy on the one hand, and the inadaptability of German Economy to a free government on the other, must arise a new school, or, at least, a radical reformation of the old. A new problem is to be solved. How can the principle of competition be so restrained that its beneficial results may be retained, and its detrimental workings hindered? There is no country in the world where the political and economic conditions are so favorable for the solution of this problem as the United States. America must repudiate the centralizing tendency of German Economy, because that tendency is opposed to the ideas upon which the government is founded; but, on the other hand, another century of unrestrained activity of private enterprise will itself contradict the theory of freedom, and destroy that government. From this dilemma must arise an American Political Economy,—an Economy which is to be legal rather than industrial in its character.

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REPUDIATION: PRESENT AND FUTURE.

I.

FIVE years since, with a population of little more than forty millions thinly scattered over almost half a continent, there prevailed throughout the whole length and breadth of the land a commerce of money on the one hand, and the minor products of labor on the other, by means of which the widely-separated people of the South and West were brought into relations with those of the North and East almost as simple and inexpensive as those which now exist in France, where a population little less than our

own is crowded into a space less than that of the single state of Texas, and where towns and villages, with their numerous shops and stores, so much abound. Seeking the cause of this we find it to have resulted from the fact that Congress had provided for us a fractional currency readily transportable by mail, redeemable in greenbacks at every sub-treasury, passing everywhere from hand to hand unburthened by any brokers' or bankers' charges, costing little or nothing to either government or people, while rendering to both services of inestimable value; and further, that there existed a postal service so perfectly organized as to bring within little more than a single fortnight the time required by almost any man within the limits of our widely-extended Union, for exchanging his dime, his quarter or his half dollar with the producer of the pamphlet, the magazine, the cloth, the seeds, the roots, or the implements of which he stood in need. Of all the arrangements for facilitating internal exchanges, and for dispensing with the services of middlemen, to be anywhere found, there is none, so far as I can recollect, that at so trivial a cost has been calculated to render so valuable service as would have been the case with this, had it been permitted to obtain for itself a permanent existence.

Brief as is the time that has since elapsed, all this, in accordance with the call for "honest money," has been made to disappear; the Treasury, at an annual cost for interest to the extent of millions of dollars, having succeeded in forcing upon our people a bastard coinage upon which it makes a profit of probably thirty per cent., while refusing to accept it as payment for taxes of any description whatsoever; thereby so arresting its circulation as to compel the farmer and the workman, the manufacturer and the trader, to pay daily and weekly tribute to brokers who never, during the many years of existence of the fractional currency, had been able to extort even a single dime from those who had need to use it. Judging from the specimen thus exhibited, it would seem that the "honesty" of money grew always in the direct ratio in which it might be made more and more to contribute to the profits of dealers therein, and to their power to tax their fellow-citizens. The *annual* benefit resulting, in a thousand ways, to these latter from the existence of such a currency had already, as I believe, exceeded the total amount ever in actual circulation; and

of this our people have been deprived to the sole end of enabling finance ministers, and others who call themselves financiers, to chatter about "honest money," wholly uninformed, as they seem to be, as to the real meaning of the terms they use.

Of the irredeemable trash that has thus been forced upon our people, the quantity now in circulation is \$42,000,000, barely sufficient to take the place of that admirable "rag baby" which has been displaced. Between the two there is, however, this essential difference, that this latter was perpetually in motion throughout the Union, aiding in giving life to that domestic intercourse which constitutes the foundation-stone of all foreign commerce; whereas the former, bulky and inconvenient as it is, hangs around the towns and cities of the Atlantic States, leaving the country everywhere almost entirely deprived of the means of making those small exchanges whose existence constitutes one of the most essential characteristics of advancing civilization. Rejected by the government which has forced it out, this "honest money" pays, month by month, a tribute to the broker which has so steadily increased in its proportions that it is now quoted at more than one per cent. discount, and promises, at no distant date, to see this doubled.

Admitting now that this metallic rubbish passes through the brokers' hands but twice a year, the taxation thereby inflicted upon the weaker members of society would scarcely be paid by an annual sum of a million and a quarter of dollars. Adding to this, interest upon the bonds which remain unpaid by reason of misappropriation of so many millions to the purchase of silver, we obtain, as the cost of a retrograde movement closely akin to that which would be exhibited in abandoning the railroad and its cars and returning to the mud road and the wagon, a taxation that may safely be estimated at little less than \$4,000,000.

II. Five years since the one and two dollar legal tenders in circulation amounted to \$56,000,000. In the time that has since elapsed, the increase in the number of our people has probably been a sixth, exhibiting itself in large proportional increase of the population of states beyond the Mississippi that but a few years since were mere territories, and in territories that until the last half dozen years were almost uninhabited. Such being the case, increase in the the needs of our people for a circulating

medium fitted for performance of those smaller exchanges which constitute the foundation upon which the larger ones must rest, may be fairly estimated at not less than thirty per cent. Taking them, however, at but twenty-five per cent., we obtain as the quantity required *fully* \$70,000,000; whereas, that now in circulation, making no allowance for destruction resulting from wear and tear of the notes, is but \$41,000,000; fifteen millions having been withdrawn under circumstances that called for an additional amount equally great. How this change has been brought about was thus exhibited at a conference between the Currency Committee of the House and Secretary Sherman; the latter spoke as follows:—

Mr. PHILLIPS. “Do you think that the proportion of small bills retired has not been much greater than the proportion of large bills retired?”

Secretary SHERMAN. “I do not know. I would rather give you the exact figures. General Butler talked to me yesterday about it, and I told him what I say to you. We never have attempted to withdraw the ones and twos from circulation.”

Mr. PHILLIPS. “But have they not gone out of circulation under the Resumption Act?”

Secretary SHERMAN. “Not to any very great extent. They do not go out simply because the banks and others who draw large amounts do not take them as freely as the people wish to have them. The banks do not wish to handle them.”

Almost simultaneously with the statements here exhibited, the Secretary, in conversation with a distinguished member of the House of Representatives, assured him that he had on hand more than \$50,000,000 of such notes that nobody was willing to accept at his hands. Unfortunately for all such assertions, the change of procedure in regard the distribution of such notes, in the year that had elapsed since he had taken office, had been so essential that to a great extent banks and bankers had ceased to apply for them to those Assistant Treasurers by whom, till then, they had always been supplied. Premiums thereon, as I had occasion to know, were being paid by manufacturers to banks, as compensation for gathering together those required for payment of their hands. Step by step, the former were being forced to apply to brokers for purchase, at a discount, of the irredeemable tokens that had been

forced into circulation to take the place of the fractional currency with which they had, till then, been so regularly supplied.

From that hour to this, notwithstanding the assurance of the Secretary to the contrary, the cord has been gradually tightening, until all applicants are now required, at their own cost, to send greenbacks to Washington for exchange, paying themselves all the expenses attendant upon return of the smaller currency received. Vainly have banks, anxious to meet the pressing demands of their customers, begged to be allowed to deposit the large notes with Assistant Treasurers, transmitting the certificates received in exchange therefor. The small notes are to be driven from circulation, and the heavier the expense attendant upon obtaining them the sooner and more certainly will the work be accomplished.

III. Five years since, the ones and twos of National banks in circulation amounted to \$10,000,000. Adding thereto, for increasing numbers and wider dispersion of population, as above, twenty-five per cent., the present quantity should be . . . \$12,500,000
Instead of which we have but 7,000,000

Decrease, \$5,500,000

The whole amount now required of these small notes may fairly be estimated at \$82,500,000, whereas it has been reduced to \$48,000,000, exhibiting a deficiency in this department of the circulation alone of no less than \$34,500,000.

Destructive as is that "honest money" policy here exhibited as driving our people to barter, or to the use of the irredeemable trash which so steadily adds to the profits of brokers, our future promises to be far worse, the law having provided for the cancellation of all bank notes under \$5. so soon as resumption day should have been reached. That there is no real resumption, and that the thing so called is but a sham whose lease of life is likely to be of short duration, must be obvious to all who study the facts of the case, but, as usual, the Secretary avails himself thereof to carry into full effect his war upon the money of the people by cancelling all the small bank notes that reach his hands, \$250,000 having, as we are informed, been destroyed within the recent month of March.*

* "The recent scarcity of Currency at New Orleans, inducing a suspension of demand payments and a call on New York for aid to enable the banks of the former

Among civilized nations the great commerce is that from hand to hand, from house to house, from street to street, from village to village, and from the farmer of the neighborhood to his town and city customers. Take, for instance, the manufactures of Philadelphia, but recently exceeding in their amount our exports to all the world, and estimate the number of thousands of millions of exchanges to which, in passing through their various processes, they give occasion. Add to this the exchanges of commodities, raw and finished, necessarily consumed by the million of people who inhabit the region within a dozen miles of Independence Hall, and then reflect, that for probably nine-tenths of those people the money needed is the nickel and the dime, the dollar or the five-dollar note. Of the remaining tenth so large a proportion is carried on by means of checks and drafts that the currency would scarcely be in any manner affected were gold wholly to pass from the earth. Were silver, on the contrary, so to pass, men would everywhere be reduced to barter, did there exist no power to furnish a substitute of general acceptance, such as the smaller greenback and the fractional note. To show in how great a proportion, among ourselves, the smaller currency is used, I give here, in thousands, the number of notes of various denominations outstanding some two years since :

city to say that the halt with them is only temporary, has awakened some apprehension lest resumption may not continue as general and as lasting as has been hoped. If the Eastern cities are relied upon by the South and West to enable the banks there to continue specie payments, the effect will be to strengthen the doubters everywhere, and thus, by want of confidence, invite the trouble that is feared. The New York banks did a proper thing in furnishing the aid reported, but the interior banks should not rely upon the continuance of such favors. Banking is business, and those engaged in it must take care of themselves on business principles. Dependence upon favors is extraneous, and is apt in the end to work disaster. Already we have reports of an unsteady and fluctuating money market at New York, the result, probably, of a weakening of faith in resumption, confidence in which is its chief support."—*Public Ledger*, March 22d, 1879.

The Treasury strips the South and West of all available currency, piling it up, for the purpose of enabling them to make a show of resumption, in and around the New York City banks, and then these latter coolly tell country bankers that it is for each and every one of them to look out for himself. To these latter it must now become clearly obvious that the trifling interest allowed them by the New York bankers, is no compensation for the risk incurred in making themselves so largely dependent upon institutions whose rottenness was so fully exposed in 1857 and in 1873.

	N. BANK.	LEGAL TENDERS.	TOTAL.
Ones, . . .	3,292	28,110	31,402
Twos, . . .	982	13,800	14,782
Fives, . . .	19,401	9,180	28,581
Tens, . . .	9,639	6,725	16,344
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	33,314	57,815	91,129
Twenties, . . .	3,234	3,600	6,834
Over Twenty, . . .	782	1,039	1,821
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
Total, . . .	37,330	62,454	99,784

Of the 8,655,000 notes of denominations exceeding \$10 it is, as I believe, safer to say that one-half would be found lying in bank vaults, and therefore out of circulation. Were they all to be at once destroyed, arrangements would promptly be made to supply their place. A similar destruction of the smaller notes would, on the contrary, be attended with almost entire stoppage of commerce, and yet this it is that is sought to be accomplished.*

IV. To take the place of the smaller currency, the supply of which has now become so entirely inferior to the people's wants, Congress a year since, in defiance of "honest money" resistance, performed the great act of remonetizing silver, the great metal of the world. Forthwith, the special representative in New York of the Treasury Ring announced its determination to nullify this Congressional action by refusing to receive silver on deposit, and by announcing its determination to punish all who should venture to tender the silver dollar in payment of debts. Its retainers of the press, from one extremity of the Union to the other, followed suit, assuring our people that it was a fraud; a mere ninety cent thing that was to be forced upon them in place of the greatly preferable greenbacks which were worth in gold the amount at which they hitherto had passed. From that time to this, no falsehood has been spared that has been regarded as calculated to drive the standard dollar from circulation, otherwise respectable journals quoting at 1 to 1½ discount the irredeemable rubbish which the Treasury buys at seventy cents to the dollar, while assuring their readers that the really honest dollar is worth but

* With a stupidity closely corresponding with that which is being here exhibited, the German government has made war upon all the smaller currencies, and with results more destructive even than those which have been here experienced.

eighty-four cents. In all this dishonest effort they have, with the aid, in a variety of ways, of the Treasury, so far succeeded that but little more than half a dozen millions have as yet gotten into circulation, although throughout the Union it has become to the last degree difficult to obtain money of any kind for payments requiring less than a \$5 note. Having so far succeeded in their nefarious operations, they now point to the silver accumulations in the Treasury as evidence that the coin is not needed, grievously lamenting over the loss of interest thus sustained, while closing their eyes to the fact that the same Treasury holds very many times as much gold that is now as utterly useless as if it still remained hidden in the mountains of Nevada or California.

V. So far, the "honest money" conspiracy for defrauding the people at large has proved successful. Should it continue so to be, the monetary provision for minor transactions of the sixty millions which our population is likely soon to consist, will be as follows:—Metallic and bulky tokens, redeemable nowhere, and paying heavy taxes to brokers, to the amount of \$42,000,000; fractional currency, none; legal tenders, one and twos, none; National notes of same denominations, none; standard dollars, none; trade dollars, redeemable nowhere, probably \$20,000,000.

"Honest money," to whose use we are now so rapidly tending, seems likely to consist in banishing all the smaller and most useful moneys required for the purposes of sixty, seventy, and ultimately hundreds of millions of people, scattered over almost half a continent, except those which may be made to contribute to brokers' profits.

VI. Little more than five years since, as has well been shown by my friend Judge Kelley, in his admirable speech of February last, banks of every description,—National, state and savings,—were busily employed in inflating the currency, availing themselves, for that purpose, of all the appliances that cupidity could suggest. Anxious to draw to themselves all the unemployed capital of the country, New York banks were borrowing, at liberal interest, from those of the South and West. Anxious to retain among themselves all the capital of the surrounding country, Western savings banks were offering six and even eight per cent. upon deposits. The trader or the farmer of the interior had his money, as he supposed, so securely deposited in the neighboring bank, that he

could, in all respects, act with the same confidence he would have felt had it been in his breeches pocket. Had he inquired, however, he would have found that, by his bank, it had been placed *on call* in a distant one, which was paying interest for its use, the currency thus being doubled. At a further step, he would have found that his money had passed from the latter into the hands of a Wall street broker, each and every one of these parties acting as if it had been in his own possession, thus trebling, even when not quadrupling, that gaseous currency, by aid of which banks and bankers have always been accustomed, at their pleasure, to inflate and contract the apparent supply of money, with ruin to the community at large, but with large profits to those believers in "honest money" who "work the oracle," and who, as the New York Times assures its readers, have been enabled, by large purchases in times of crisis, of which they themselves have been the cause, to accumulate the large fortunes by which that city stands so much distinguished.

At that moment, as then appeared clearly obvious, the crisis was close at hand. It came, and then was it seen that the moneys which had thus been, by artifices of every kind, compelled in the direction of the financial centre, had found their way into the hands of Wall street gamblers; and that the institutions which had labored so incessantly in the effort at producing an inflation the like of which we never before had known, must now disgorge, no less than \$50,000,000 being almost at once demanded. Wholly unable to comply with engagements whose existence had been due to a rapacity unexampled even in this country, and threatened with an universal bankruptcy, New York banks and bankers at once sent forth a cry for relief to be obtained at the hands of the people at large through their executive officers, most anxious now to obtain further supplies of that admirable currency which had carried us through the Rebellion, and against whose continued existence they had made unceasing war from the hour when Secretary McCulloch changed his coat and issued that infamous Fort Wayne manifesto in which creditors, public and private, were assured that the government, in all the future, was to be carried on in their interests, and in opposition to that of all tax-payers and interest-payers, from one extremity of the Union to the other.

At that date, January, 1874, the circulation, bank and state, apparently outstanding, amounted to \$729,000,000. Of this, there was in

the Treasury and in the banks, including their reserve, probably \$180,000,000. Adding to this the one and two dollar notes—\$65,000,000,—we obtain the sum of \$245,000,000 to be deducted from the gross amount, leaving \$487,000,000 as the total actual circulation of that date, so far as regarded notes applicable to transactions of five dollars or upwards, being about eleven dollars a head. That this was not in excess of the absolute needs of our people, had just then been proved by the demands of banks upon the State for further supplies, and by that Presidential message in which we had been assured that we had then the best currency the country had ever had, and that more of it was needed.* Nevertheless, these very banks and bankers who had just then been saved from bankruptcy by means of state intervention, and whose difficulties had resulted from excessive loans of that “honest money” which they themselves are accustomed to scatter abroad or call home at their sovereign will and pleasure, at once commenced the charge that inflation had been due to legal tender notes whose actual circulation at that moment scarcely exceeded \$250,000,000, or six dollars per head. From that time to the present, the cry of “inflation” has been persisted in by the

* “The experience of the present panic has proven that the currency of the country, based as it is upon the credit of the country, is the best that has ever been devised. Usually, in times of such trials, currency has become worthless,—or so much depreciated in value as to inflate the value of all the necessaries of life as compared with the currency. Every one holding it has been anxious to dispose of it on any terms. Now we witness the reverse. Holders of currency hoard it as they did gold in former experience of like nature.

“It is patent to the most casual observer that much more currency, or money, is required to transact the legitimate trade of the country during the fall and winter months, when the vast crops are being removed, than during the balance of the year.

* * * * *

“In view of the great actual contraction that has taken place in the currency, and the comparative contraction continuously going on, due to the increase of population, increase of manufactories and all the industries, I do not believe there is too much of it now for the dullest period of the year.”—*President's Message, December, 1873.*

Little more than half a year later, June 25th, 1874, there came another message, from which the following is an extract:—

“I would like to see the legal-tender clause, so-called, repealed, the repeal to take effect at some future time, say July 1st, 1875. * * * I would like to see a provision that at a fixed day, say July 1st, 1876, the currency issued by the United States should be redeemed in coin, on presentation to any Assistant Treasurer, and that all currency so redeemed should be cancelled and never re-issued.”

The cause of the sudden and surprising change of opinion thus exhibited has never yet been explained.

lovers of such "honest money" as can be increased or diminished at the pleasure of bank directors and their friends, and with results such as will now be given.

VII. At the date of the passage of that resumption act which still disgraces our statute book we were told that, as but \$80 of legal tenders were to be called in for every additional \$100 of bank notes paid out, we were to have an increase of the paper circulation, but so much the reverse has been the fact that the total, apparent circulation has in the last five years fallen from \$729,000,000 to \$657,000,000, the amount now secreted in the Treasury, and wholly useless to the public, having meantime grown to nearly \$100,000,000. Adding to this the notes held as reserve, and those otherwise held by bankers, and the one- and two-dollar notes, we obtain about \$287,000,000 as the quantity to be deducted, leaving \$370,000,000, as the larger paper circulation of the country at the present time.

As has been already shown, the allowance for increase of numbers and wider dispersion of our people may properly be taken at twenty-five per cent. Adding that to the \$487,000,000 of circulation five years since we obtain about \$600,000,000, as the sum required for placing us in a position equivalent to that which existed when President Grant told the nation that the amount was insufficient and must be increased. Instead, however, of growing, as it should have done, it has, by various contrivances, and mainly by aid of the present Secretary, been reduced to \$370,000,000, being \$80,000,000 less than the present paper circulation of France, with a population almost a fourth less than our own, crowded into a territory smaller than the single state of Texas, holding more than \$1,300,000,000 of the precious metals, and, for all these reasons, needing not even one-half as much of a paper circulation as is here required.

VIII. Less than eight years since, France came out of a great war, so crippled that she seemed to have been almost ruined. To-day she stands before the world as prosperous beyond all precedent. Less than twice that time in the past, we came out of a great war, highly prosperous, having, almost literally, no foreign debt, and having conquered for ourselves one of the highest positions among the nations of the earth. Since then, we have added forty per cent. to our population, but the demand for labor and its

results has so greatly declined that tramps abound, that our work-houses are full, that faith in our future has so far ceased to exist that property scarcely anywhere finds purchasers except at the hands of the sheriff, and that demoralization is making its way through all classes of our people with a rapidity scarcely elsewhere to be found. Seeking the cause of these differences, we find it in the fact that the affairs of France have been directed by statesmen, whereas our own have been directed by men who have proved themselves imbeciles when not even worse.

The vast advantage resulting from an intelligent administration of a nation's affairs, and from a full supply of the machinery of exchange, is admirably exhibited in a report in reference the usury law just now made to the French Chambers, from which we learn that, notwithstanding all the recent troubles, the growth of unemployed capital is so great, and so universal, as to have seriously affected the rate of interest throughout the agricultural departments, and in many of them so seriously, as to have caused the actual rate to fall considerably below the legal one. Such, precisely, was the case with ourselves when, sixteen years since, the government was claiming millions daily, cash payments having been then the order of the day, farmers rapidly paying off their mortgages, and interest throughout the free states having been lower than at any previous period of our history. Scarcely, however, had Mr. Lincoln passed away, than Secretary McCulloch propounded that "honest money" theory, whose effects throughout the last few years will be now exhibited, as follows :

By the census of 1870, the money value of the property of the country was given at \$30,000,000,000. In the natural course of things, with the addition of more than ten millions to our population, accompanied by the almost creation of new states and territories, the addition to that value, as to be shown by the census of 1880 now so near at hand, could not be estimated at less than sixty per cent., giving \$48,000,000,000 as its present amount. As now estimated, however, it cannot, as we are told, exceed \$28,000,000,000; the difference of \$20,000,000,000 representing the tax that has been imposed upon our working people and our men of enterprise, for the sole purpose of enabling foreign agents, with whom our cities so much abound, to avoid payment of a premium of some six, eight or ten per cent. upon the gold required for payment

of their importations. That, and that only, so far as I can see, has been the result of a policy remorselessly pursued throughout the last four years, and which, at every stage of its progress, has been accompanied by bankruptcy of savings banks, insurance companies, and other moneyed institutions, to the utter ruin of thousands and tens of thousands of depositors and stockholders, men and women, wives and children; by a destruction of railroad property, and impoverishment of its holders that counts by thousands of millions; by a collapse of that coal region which had given to the Union, in the time of its greatest need, nearly all the force required for maintaining the blockade, for running our mills and furnaces, for enabling our people to contribute to the revenue; by a destruction of demand for labor, that causes hundreds of thousands of men and women to remain idle when they would desire to be employed; by an almost entire annihilation of that immigration to which we ought at this moment to be becoming daily more and more indebted for importation of working men and women whose annual value to the nation counted by hundreds of millions; by a decay of moral feeling consequent upon the daily increasing difficulty of obtaining food, clothing and shelter by any exertion of honest effort; by an almost entire disappearance of that activity and energy which prevailed among our people when they were animated by hope—by that faith in the future which has now, by aid of successive finance ministers who have followed in the footsteps of Secretary McCulloch, given way to an almost universal feeling of despair; and by a total disappearance of that national self-respect which had existed when, setting at defiance the threats of foreign bankers, our people in the days of its most serious trouble, gave to their government all the aid it needed, and thus established a monetary independence such as we never before had known, and whose destruction has, by Secretary McCulloch and his successors to the present hour, been since so sedulously sought.

Moving steadily upward, we now find states, that until now have been only in default, enacting laws looking toward absolute repudiation of public debts, the tendency in that direction rapidly increasing as irredeemable tokens are made to take the place of an admirable fractional currency, and as, in default of the smaller greenbacks, business men find themselves more and more driven to the broker's shop, as the place where their exchanges must be made.

How the advance in the direction now so obviously in progress has been brought about, and what are the prospects as regards its further progress from counties and cities to states, and from states to the nation, will be shown in a further paper.*

HENRY C. CAREY.

BOLLES' INDUSTRIAL HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES.†

THE encyclopedic title-page belongs to a different work from that "Financial History of United States," of which Mr. Bolles recently favored us with the very interesting chapter on Robert Morris. It is a work of perhaps a more popular character and a wider range of interest; indeed, there is no American who will not find in it information of a sort which is not readily accessible elsewhere. We have been repeatedly asked where such a work was to be obtained, but we have never come upon any other which fills the place it occupies.

The author has evidently aimed at being full, correct and clear, without attempting to be exhaustive. He has sought to hit the happy medium which will coincide with popular interest, without

* As this sheet is passing through the press, the journals of the day bring advice that Missouri has added herself to the list of states that have, by legislative act, sanctioned repudiation of county obligations. Among the causes of this may, perhaps, be found the fact, as given us by Western journals, that in a single county of that state, the sheriff's advertisement of sales for the month of March embraced no less than three hundred and thirty farms and other bodies of land, the property of men who could neither pay taxes nor interest on their obligations.

† BOLLES' INDUSTRIAL HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES, from the Earliest Settlement to the Present Time; being a complete survey of American Industries, embracing Agriculture and Horticulture, (including the cultivation of Cotton, Tobacco, Wheat); the raising of Horses, Neat Cattle, etc.; all the important Manufactures, Shipping and Fisheries, Railroads, Mines and Mining, and Oil; also a history of the Coal Miners and the Molly Maguires; Banks, Insurance, and Commerce; Trade Unions, Strikes and Eight-Hour Movement; together with a description of Canadian Industries. In seven books. Copiously illustrated with about three hundred engravings by the most eminent artists. By Albert S. Bolles, Lecturer on Political Economy in Boston University, and Author of "The Conflict between Labor and Capital," and "Chapters in Political Economy." (Pp. x., 936; large 8vo.) Norwich, (Conn.): the Henry Bill Publishing Company. 1879.

either wearying attention or leaving curiosity unsatisfied. Specialists may not find here the abundance of details they might desire; but neither will they be repelled by vague statements or inaccurate descriptions.

The work is one which must have cost the author a vast amount of labor. We can assert this from experience, as we once were obliged to go over a part of the same ground, with the aid of the best library on such subjects in America, and with results far more meagre than he has to show.

The first book is taken up with our agriculture, and some related topics. It traces the history from the Indian period to our own days, and gives some curious information about the state of things in the early Colonies,—such as the experiments in introducing European and even tropical plants in New England. We miss, in his account of cotton-growing in the South, the facts in regard to its importance as a substitute for indigo-growing, and the tariff so long imposed for its protection. These Mr. Edward Everett took pains to put in a strong light before his countrymen. The treatment of each of the great staples, as well as improvements in agricultural implements, from the rude Indian hoe to the latest plows and reapers, are noticed and illustrated, as are the improved breeds of cattle and other stock.

The second book occupies about a third of the whole work, and is devoted to our manufactures, beginning with those of Iron and Steel. “There appears to be no other country so fortunately endowed with respect to iron and coal. England, now the resource of Europe and Asia, and once of America, supplies at present half the iron and coal of the world; but her mines are deep and difficult, costly to work, while in the United States they lie upon the top of the ground or near it.” The manufacture began in Virginia before the Pilgrim Fathers landed at Plymouth. It was early attempted in Massachusetts and other states, the Catalan forge, as improved in Alsatia, being used. “Pennsylvania, so marvellously stored with materials for iron-making, did not begin the manufacture till 1717, the year before William Penn’s death.” Forty years of repression of the manufacture, by English legislation, helped to form a sentiment in favor of independence, by stopping its growth. But when independence was achieved, the general government “had no power to initiate a policy of the proper sort; and a period of six

years followed, during which the country was flooded with cheap manufactures from England." In the first Congress of the United States, "the first law passed was one in relation to official oaths; the second, an act for the protection of American industries and for revenue." "The history of iron-making from 1789 down to 1878 might be divided into eras coinciding with the changes in the principle on which the tariff has been framed. . . . These changes brought about periods of alternate depression and prosperity in the iron-industry. . . . Whenever the tariff has been lowered, the fires have gone out in scores of furnace-stacks and rolling mills throughout the country, and workingmen have been thrown out of employment. Several times, as in 1820, the business has been in a state of ruin."

We quote these sentences as samples of the tone and character of the work. We have not room to dwell on the clear and satisfactory account of the various manufactures from metals, including machinery. He notices the growing taste for solid silverware in the United States, and the splendid orders received for it, whose influence is reflected in Tiffany's unexpected triumphs in Paris.

Passing to textile fabrics, we are especially interested in the account of our woolen manufacture. Every great war has found us unable to clothe our own troops. In the Revolution, leather was used to some extent; in later struggles, including that of the Rebellion, we have had recourse to the looms of Europe. (The very flags under which the struggle for the Union was fought, were of English material, and English manufacture throughout.) But under the present tariff, this reproach has been taken away. The temporary suspension of cotton weaving, stimulated that of woolens. In this department our own state now stands second, only Massachusetts producing more. The manufacture of linen is conspicuous by its absence.

The third book, on Shipping and Railroads, is much briefer. It includes a chapter on Fisheries, in which we are glad to see the infamous Halifax award properly characterized. That on Railroads is very properly illustrated from the greatest and best managed line in the world, the Pennsylvania Railroad.

The fourth book, on Mines and Mining, is perhaps the most attractive to the general reader. No other industry is so fascinating, both for the mysterious dangers with which the miner's life is sur-

rounded, and from the risks and possibilities of vast gains which accompany it. Mr. Bolles makes good use of these points of interest.

The fifth and sixth books are occupied with Banking, Insurance and Commerce, and with Trades Unions and the Eight Hour Movement. In these, Mr. Bolles is on his own special ground, appropriated by long study. Of course he confines himself to the historical aspects of these subjects, reserving theoretical discussions to a more appropriate place. And no one who is at all interested in them, will fail to learn something from his narrative. The last book is very brief, as it is occupied merely with the peculiar features of Canada's undeveloped industries,

The statistical part of the work is very full and carefully prepared. It furnishes, in many cases, food for reflective thought, as in the exhibit that 208,344,263 acres of our soil have been voted by Congress to railroads, since the first example of this bad practice was set in the charter of the Illinois Central, in 1850. But the fact that less than a fifth of these lands have been patented, suggests the hope that some of them may be reclaimed by expiration of time. Similarly suggestive are the figures of American tonnage engaged in the foreign trade, showing the falling off in the period 1861-5, because of the transfer of American vessels to foreign flags.

The whole book seems to us most valuable and suggestive, as a survey of what we are accomplishing, and an exhibit of our deficiencies. It is the only American book we know of which holds the mirror up to our natural industries, and, by leading to a comparison with those of other lands, points the way to still farther achievements. It embodies more of the nation's real history than do many more pretentious works; for, after all, the story of American life has been transacted in the work-shop, rather than in the forum or on the battle-field. The national energy has borne fruit in great inventions, and in the accumulations of patient and silent toil. Our greatest names are those of the great inventors,—the one nobility before whom the nation bows. We do not say that this is the best and highest life for a nation, but it is our life as yet. It may reach greater heights of achievement, but these were worth the ascent. Out of the work-shop may come forth philosophers, as from those of Greece; artists, as from those of Italy; moral teachers, as from those of England. But the workshop, even without

having reached these possible blossoms of its existence, is a place of serious interest for all serious minds.

We rejoice in the book, as another vindication of that policy in which our country has persevered for two decades nearly. No man can tell the story of American industry without becoming an apologist for Protection. Mr. Bolles tells it with no partisan intent; if he could have avoided giving support to either side, we believe he would have done so. But he has not desired to conceal anything; and the result is all the more convincing because it comes from the pen of one who has no cause to plead, who belongs, we believe, to neither of the two hostile camps. We cannot believe that anyone could read the story throughout, and not begin to feel that interest and pride in American manufactures which is the root of Protectionist feeling and opinion.

NEW BOOKS.

THE DOMESTIC ENCYCLOPEDIA OF PRACTICAL INFORMATION. Edited by Todd S. Goodholme. Illustrated. Pp. iv., 652, lexicon 8vo.

This work seems to have been prepared with great care, and by persons who are really well informed on the various points which are discussed. It includes articles on each of the various diseases to which domestic life in this country is exposed,—on garden flowers and their culture,—on articles of food and drink, meats, fruits and vegetables, wines, etc.,—on the articles needed in house-furnishing and decoration, and all the various questions—social, scientific and legal—which arise in the management of a house and its construction, from the selection of the site to its completion. The articles on Drainage and the Garden are by George E. Waring. The publishers have evidently spared no cost to secure the most trustworthy information on all the points selected, and the completeness of the book is really surprising. We have opened it again and again to look for information, with the feeling that the omission of what we wished to know might be excusable; but we have rarely failed to find what we sought. And we are *instructed* to say that housekeepers generally will find themselves helped at many points by the possession of this useful volume.

One thing the editor would have done well to avoid,—the attempt to suggest a list of books for a family library. He could not

well help making such a list as would reflect his own tastes, and excite antagonism. To the list he presents under the head *Religion and Philosophy*, we enter our decided protest. Imagine an average American family provided with such religious and philosophical *pabulum* as this:—

Robertson: *Sermons*. Hardwick: *Christ and other Masters*. Caselle: *Outlines of Evolution Philosophy*. Wright: *Philosophical Discussions*. Fiske: *Cosmic Philosophy*. Lewes: *History of Philosophy*. Bain: *Mind and Body*. Spencer: *Synthetic Philosophy*. Lecky: *History of Rationalism*. Farrar: *History of Free Thought*.

In any just view of what books for family reading should be, there is but one book in this series fit for the purpose; and the whole list is manifestly constructed in the interests of the Spencerian school and for the diffusion of religious know-nothingism. We have no objection to that or any other school using all legitimate means to call attention to the books of its party; but to foist such a string into a list which professes to give impartial advice, is not legitimate. What except partisan feeling *could* have recommended for family reading such a book as Chauncey Wright's *Philosophical Discussions*, to the exclusion of the religious and philosophical classics of the language?

Of the articles in the work which we have read with especial pleasure, are those on "Furnishing" and "Home." Both are conformed to the later and, we believe, more correct taste of the nineteenth century, and are in strong contrast to the sort of writing which might have been expected in such a book twenty or even ten years ago. The furniture recommended is of the solid, but tasteful sort; the construction is ornamented, but there is no construction of ornament. It is evidently made to last, to be eyesome, and to give comfort at the same time. In some of the architectural illustrations, that nondescript, the American villa, is still predominant, but is well contrasted with some really good work after older models.

The article on Servants will furnish some wholesome reading to their mistresses. The author says, with much truth, that the much deplored evils of this relation, are due chiefly to the mistresses, in treating servants either too confidentially or too haughtily, in expecting of them far more than they have a right to ask, and on not insisting on having certificates of good conduct from the previous employers. We are convinced that the relation itself as now constituted is an unmoral one, that it must drop the characteristics which it has inherited from the Middle Ages, and accommodate itself to the modern basis of explicit contract and cash payments.

We can commend the book to all housekeepers, in the confidence that it will pay for itself in the course of a year, if frequently consulted.

MEMOIRS OF THE LIFE OF ANNA JAMESON, Author of "Sacred and Legendary Art," etc. By her niece, Gerardine Macpherson. With a portrait. Pp. xvii., 362. Boston: Roberts Brothers.

Fifty years ago, the literary sensation of a year was the *Diary of an Ennuye*, the pitiful tale of a heart-broken damsel, who, after travelling some months on the continent, dies of disappointed love. There was such an air of reality about the book, such exact and vivid expression of feeling, that the public could not but be aroused to interest. As years passed by, the authorship leaked out and it was known that the *Ennuye* was alive and well, the wife of her first love for whom her heart had been breaking. The romance lost its edge, but the public did not know the whole story as this biography tells it,—did not know that all this wealth of feeling had been wasted upon a cold-hearted, thin-blooded, sensible creature, who proved the worst possible husband for the emotional and artistic nature to whom he was wedded. It is nearly as bad as Dana's sequel to Whittier's "Maud Muller."

Mrs. Jameson has better claims on our attention and gratitude, than the *Diary* could furnish. She was nearly the first English writer on art subjects, who commanded the popular attention and fostered an intelligent taste in the community at large. And her chief book, *The Poetry of Sacred and Legendary Art*, is still a standard work, no other being either so rich in information, or so well adapted to popular tastes. This biography presents her as being still more than this, a sousie, wise, good-hearted woman, full of affectionate self-sacrifice, a kind relative, a hearty friend. She may be reckoned as one more in the long list of Irish authors, for her father and mother had but recently come over from Dublin, when she was born. The book gives us glimpses, also, of many of her famous contemporaries,—Tieck, August Schlegel, Otilie Von Goethe, Miss Martineau and Lady Byron. The biographer has inserted a long letter from Miss Martineau, giving an account of her cure by mesmerism, which the executors of that lady have required to be removed from the English edition of the book. It seems that, in England, those to whom letters are addressed have the exclusive custody of them, but they cannot publish them without the consent of their author, or of the author's legal representatives.

The account of Mrs. Jameson's visit to America, in 1836-8, like her *Commonplace Book* and her *Winter in Canada*, connects her writings with our own continent. It is pleasant to find that her brief stay among us was made pleasant by social courtesies, which left pleasing recollections.

Mrs. Oliphant, who edited the book, as Mrs. Macpherson died before it was finished, prefixes an account of the latter, which is of first-rate interest. It is the brief picture of a heroic soul, battling in widowhood for the support of her little family, and taking life more gladly than any but a hero could under the circumstances.

GOETHE AND SCHILLER: their Lives and Works, including a Commentary on Goethe's "Faust." By Hjalmar H. Boyesen, Professor of German Literature in Cornell University, etc. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1879. Pp. 424.

The serious study of the great masters of German literature has long formed a part of the education of every German, quite in excess of any similar devotion in England or France to the leading authors. Lectures on Faust have for years been part of the stock in trade of every German university; but who has ever heard of a continuous series of lectures on any one play of Shakespeare or Moliere? Some years ago, Professor Henry Reed prepared and delivered a course of lectures on the Historical Plays of Shakespeare, but these were rather extra-academical and beyond the regular course of study and instruction in the university where he taught so long and well, and were mainly intended for the general public, for whose benefit they were afterwards printed. Here, however, we have a foreigner, both to our own language and to that of the subject of his work, making the serious study of Goethe and Goethe's Faust, and Schiller, part of a university course, and the volume in which he prints his lectures serves to show that at Cornell the circle of the sciences and studies includes the German poets and the great German masterpiece. In a book so prepared, the author does not claim, nor the reader expect to find, any striking originality, but it is certainly a full and exhaustive compendium of what has been written by recognized authorities.

The German Goethe and Schiller literature is very far-reaching and ponderous, and it is no small boon thus to have a summary of it ready to our hands; perhaps it is hardly fair to suggest that the addition of a full bibliography of the subject would have given to this volume a fulness and completeness it now needs, for without it the sketch of the lives and the account of the works of the two authors are somewhat fragmentary. A lack of originality is hardly a fault in lectures for students, because the best teacher is he who draws from well-authenticated sources that which is universally received, leaving all doubts and open questions to be solved by special studies at greater and later leisure. Few American or English readers will fail to find in Professor Boyesen's book a great deal that is new to them, serving both to throw light on the general subject of Goethe and Schiller, and to attract attention to the minute care with which exegetical learning is applied to modern literary productions,—a kind of study that with us seems to be limited to theological teachers in terms, and to legal and other strictly professional work in fact. While this book will not be a substitute for Carlyle's eloquent biography of Schiller, or for Lewes' admirable life of Goethe, it can be read with profit and pleasure by those who, having mastered these authorities and made

their own study of the chief works of the great German author pair, look for new glories and interpretations. These are supplied, together with the substantial facts, in such a way that there is a deal of instruction and information gathered together, and that, too, in just such form as will tempt to further study.

SCHILLER UND SEINE ZEIT. Von Johannes Scherr. Cloth, 12mo, 2 vols. in one. Philadelphia: J. Kohler. 1879.

To those students of Schiller who are able to read his works in the original, and who crave a more detailed account of the times in which he lived and wrote than is afforded by Professor Boyesen's book, we can heartily recommend Scherr's work, which has, for a number of years, enjoyed deserved popularity in Germany.

Although our author disclaims all intention of indulging in aesthetic criticism, the nature of the subject has caused him, more than once, to forget this, and in such method, too, that the reader must needs be grateful for the unintentional lapse. The attempt to sketch the literary and social environment of Schiller is necessarily hampered by the wealth of material at the command of the writer, and it thus becomes a question of judicious selection and arrangement, rather than the presentation of new points. Prof. Scherr has, while now and again losing the sense of perspective, performed his task cleverly; and in his comments on men and manners, has afforded a notable instance of enlightened and liberal criticism.

"POEMS OF PLACES: MIDDLE STATES." Boston: Houghton, Osgood & Co. Edited by H. W. Longfellow.

The views of one recognized as an artist and a master, upon a subject within the scope of his own work, are always valuable, and in this dainty little volume we have the judgment, expressed by selection, of the leading American poet upon the poetry of the Middle States. There are ninety-seven poems relating to New York, fourteen to New Jersey, twenty-seven to Pennsylvania, and three to Delaware. From the proportionately small number concerning our own state, it would seem that its poets had failed to impress Mr. Longfellow very favorably. There is nothing from Boker, Hirst, or Henry Reed, and the Germans, who might perhaps expect to see some selections from Pastorius, Count Zinzendorf, or Harbaugh, are not represented. Tom Moore's "Alone by the Schuylkill," and Whittier's "Hymn of the Dunkers of Ephrata," are omitted, and instead we have Bret Harte's "John Burns of Gettysburg," a Californian or Bohemian poem, untrue in its facts and discreditable in its inspiration. On the other hand, Francis Hopkinson's "Battle of the Kegs," T. Buchanan Read's "Meschianza" and "Valley Forge," Bayard Taylor's "Lincoln at Gettysburg," and Isaac R. Penny-

packer's "Old Church at the Trappe," a church founded by the Muhlenbergs, are fairly representative of our local poetry and describe places and events important in our history. Two of these twenty-seven poems came directly or indirectly from the columns of the PENN MONTHLY, Pennypacker's "By the Perkiomen," and the articles from which Whittier obtained the incidents embodied in the "Pennsylvania Pilgrim," having been written for this magazine.

THE LADY OF THE AROOSTOOK; W. D. Howells. Houghton, Osgood & Co., Boston, 1879.

It was a characteristically bold undertaking for Mr. Howells to place a young, handsome and deplorably inexperienced young lady upon the deck of a merchantman, in Boston harbor, a total stranger to three young men, her travelling companions upon a long voyage to Trieste. The initial chapters of the "The Lady of the Aroostook" disclose this situation, and the least proper of readers is instinctively apprehensive for the heroine in the indecorous position which she, unmistakably, occupies, despite the saving of appearances effected by the unequivocal presence of a paternal old sea captain. Had a French author, George Sand, or Gustav Droz, let us say, or even that comparative saint, Octave Feuillet, ventured upon such a theme, we can imagine another development and another conclusion than those wholly respectable ones which constitute much of the merit of Mr. Howells' clever story.

Its highest praise seems to be included in the statement that it has a great deal of the exquisite finish of the best work of modern French romance writers, while it is distinguished, at the same time, by a delicate refinement which is never prudish, and which, although the surroundings are, relatively speaking, only coarse, gives quite an idyllic flavor to the recital. The story is a simple one: Mr. Howell is no very dexterous deviser of plots, and a child could anticipate the denouement. Taking a strictly technical view of its structural peculiarities, therefore, it may be fairly said that the author displays in it little of the novelist's art of construction. The book is chiefly noteworthy for that careful and accurate analysis of character which has given Mr. Howells all the fame he deserves to have as a novel writer. His refined, almost etherealized, sense of humor makes him keenly alive to the manifold idiosyncrasies of his fellow-creatures; and it is natural to fancy that, stranger-born as he is, he is capable of a more subtle examination of them as they are exhibited in rich abundance in his adopted New England home, than were he an indigenous product of that intellectually fruitful soil. Thus, we think, it has happened that no one, so well as he, with his rare literary gifts and acute percep-

tion, could, because of those exotic antecedents, take such a delightfully objective view of the peculiarities of existence in that interesting planetary system of which Boston is the central orb. Certainly, no one has been more successful in this regard than Mr. Howells,—unless we may except that de-nationalized Yankee, Mr. Hawthorne, who, after all, too generally lingered in the world of ideals, to warrant a comparison of this kind with Mr. Howells. For Mr. Howells' studies of character are rarely, if ever, abstract, and are vividly effective representatives of actual existing types. Yet, in denoting this conspicuous capacity of the writer for portraying so successfully the manners, habits and traits of New England life, as exhibited in the "Lady of the Aroostook," let us not be understood as either ignoring or underrating Mr. Howells' skill as a close observer everywhere; for the story crosses the Atlantic and leaves us for a while in Venice; and the action transpires upon a sailing ship, whose officers and crew are far from idle supernumeraries on the scene. Necessarily obliged to leave Boston by the exigencies of the narrative, he could not help taking with him a larger portion of it than, perhaps, appeared on the manifest of the "Aroostook;" and it was only cast overboard, with the inebriated Mr. Hicks, in the Straits of Gibraltar, that Venice, (scarcely less dear from intimate acquaintance than Boston, to Mr. Howells), with its skillfully sketched native and foreign society, might find a place in the story. This introduction of the fascinating capital by the Adriatic forms a charming prelude to the termination of the tale; and in her humorous account of her own experiences, by Mrs. Erwin, the heroine's American aunt, who has wedded an Englishman, and thenceforward resided abroad, we find some of Mr. Howells' most captivating touches. Here, as, indeed, frequently elsewhere, we note also, with the fullest appreciation, the incisive though thoroughly courteous sarcasm, in the employment of which Mr. Howells is such an accomplished master.

Other features of this pleasant volume which merit mention, are the inimitable re-production of the New England dialect, which Mr. Lowell could not do better; and the peculiarly happy pen portrait of Captain Jenness, in which the familiar reader readily recognizes that most interesting individuality, the typical Yankee shipmaster. And, in this connection, it is to be observed that the just compliment which Mr. Howells pays to the pleasant and most musical speech of the "down-cast" coast people, as contrasted with the hard utterances of the inhabitants of the inland, will be cordially endorsed by every one who has been so fortunate as to hear it. There are no people in the world who treat our noble English speech with such affectionate consideration; and, listening to them, we can easily believe how much of Demosthenes, oratorical skill came from his practice by the shores of the ever-sounding seas:

CUPID AND THE SPHINX. By Harford Fleming. G. Putnam's Son's: New York. 1878.

The principal characters in this novel are Clara Ogden, a cultured American girl, travelling with her brother, her suitors, John Richards and Leopold Von Guetzner, Margaret Willoughby, a charming little English girl, with a number of admirers, and Mrs. Willoughby, a self-seeking English tuft-hunter. Besides these, there are Lord Atherton, a coarse specimen of the aristocracy, and the elder Baron Von Guetzner, a well-bred diplomat at the Court of Vienna, who is trying to make away with his ward and nephew Frederick Von Guetzner, the rightful owner of the villas and estates which he himself enjoys and hopes to leave to his son Leopold. It will be seen that there is some complexity in the plot which the limits of this brief notice will not permit us to analyze.

The scene is laid in Egypt, and the book will take its place beside the powerful novels *Kismet* and *Mirage*, which have occupied the same field before. There are fewer independent descriptive passages than in them, but the story loses thereby neither interest nor value, for the characters give their own touches to the scenes they visit, and discuss, in exceedingly clever conversation, the history and architecture of Egypt. Not the modern Yankee cleverness, ground down into hard, scintillating, colorless facets, of which there is a great deal too much in *Kismet*, but the genial, fresh and spontaneous conversation of intelligent, kindly people, which neither wearies, dazzles nor offends.

The heir, Leopold Von Guetzner, is the pleasantest sketch of a German since the Prussian lieutenant in the *Strange Adventures of a Phaeton*. His accent, gravity and liberalism are very droll. Nothing could be better than his quiet self-respect, and his want of perception of slights offered to himself, founded upon the foreignness of such a disposition to his own nature, is admirable. His whole development has been in the direction of true intelligence, and no little knowledge of human nature is shown in making him ill-balanced in his judgments and erratic. He thinks that love has no place in nobler natures. "Electricity," he told the astonished countess, "is the passion of nature. Its flashes are genius, its attractions love, its repulsion hatred." "There are some metals," he said, "which cannot be charged with electricity,—gold is one of them," and soon after he left her abruptly. But in the calm, wise land of Egypt, and in the dreamy presence of the Sphinx, he learns, through Clara Ogden, that there are ways of charging gold with electricity.

There are in this book no bursts of eloquence or invective, no word pictures, nor even any of those specimens prepared by the author at his leisure and laid aside for his next novel, which the critic is wont to seize as proofs of power. Its especial grace is in the conversational passages, in which the talkers depict the scen-

ery and themselves, each conforming with perfect nicety to his own temperament, mood and individuality, so that at the end the reader enjoys the recollection of the intercourse of travellers, no more to be forgotten than absent acquaintances whom he has liked or despised. There are scenes of great power, and, what is not so common, a narration uniformly simple, polished and elegant.

ECLECTIC SHORT HAND—A New System. By J. Geo. Cross, A. M. Chicago: S. C. Griggs & Co. Pp. 304, 12 mo. Price \$2.00.

It seems scarcely proper to bestow the title "eclectic" upon a work concerning which, as in this case, the preface states that "it is so radical a departure from the art of shorthand as embodied in the modern systems, that a full introduction seems necessary," etc. An examination of the work shows that the system employed is much like that of the standard phonographies. The curves and inclined lines, with the accompaniments of ticks, dots and circles, meet us in a friendly and familiar way; and, although they do not speak the same language, the general method is the same. Position, width, and direction of stroke are still the controlling conditions. The work takes issue with some of the features of the old phonographies, and especially with the phonetic basis of these and the use of vowel points. The author declares that phonetic construction cannot be acquired by all persons, and that it is much more difficult than ordinary spelling. Though these statements may be true in certain cases, it is also true that most students can very rapidly acquire complete control of the essential sounds in all common words. After a few lessons the insertion of vowel points becomes very easy; and, in view of the many silent and obscure letters in English words, the phonetic spelling must be the shorter method. In almost all abbreviations, the phonetic principle is followed, to secure legibility; and when we remember that some languages have an alphabet without vowels, we see how natural it is to make the consonant the basis or skeleton of the word. To carry the opposition to phonetic systems still further, and to advance, as is done on page 18, the failure of the efforts to reform English spelling as an evidence that such change would not be beneficial, is uncalled for. The means to be employed in correcting our method of spelling, and the possibility of accomplishing such change, may be matters of argument, but the advantage and necessity of reform ought to appear plain to every one. The plates are, in many cases, somewhat inferior. In a study like this, where the eye and hand are both to be trained, it is of importance to the beginner that only the best models should be presented for imitation. In some of the forms given, there is a very imperfect execution of the letters; and the table of *errata* attached to the work, shows several instances in which the writing is so imperfect that we are reminded that "the text will enable the student to read correctly."

BOOKS RECEIVED.

Fairy Tales: Their Origin and Meaning. By John Thackray Bunce. (New Handy Volume Series). Price 25 cents. New York: D. Appleton & Co. [Porter & Coates.

Thomas Carlyle: His Life—His Books—His Theories. By Alfred H. Guernsey. (New Handy Volume Series). Price 30 cents. New York: D. Appleton & Co. [Porter & Coates.

Education as a Science. By Alexander Bain. (International Scientific Series, Vol. XXV). Cloth. 12mo. Pp. 453. Price \$1.75. New York: D. Appleton & Co. [Porter & Coates.

Bismarck in the Franco-German War, 1870—1871. Authorized Translation from the German of Dr. Moritz Busch. 2 vols. Cloth. 12 mo. Pp. 364 and 347. Price \$4.00. New York: D. Appleton & Co. [Porter & Coates.

A Thorough Bohemienne. By Madame Charles Reybaud. (Handy Volume Series). Price 30 cents. New York: D. Appleton & Co. [Porter & Coates.

Ocean Wonders: A Companion for the Seaside. By William E. Damon. Cloth. 12mo. Pp. 229. New York: D. Appleton & Co. [Porter & Coates.

The Fairy-Land of Science. By Arabella B. Buckley. (Illustrated). 12mo. Cloth. Pp. 244. New York: D. Appleton & Co. [Porter & Coates.

Personal Appearances in Health and Disease. (Health Primer). By Sidney Coupland, M. D. New York: D. Appleton & Co. [Porter & Coates.

Greek Hero-Stories. By Barthold Georg Niebuhr. With illustrations by Augustus Hoppin. Translated by Benjamin Hoppin. 12mo. Cloth. Pp. 120. Price \$1.00. New York: Dodd, Mead & Co.

Joan the Maid: Deliverer of France and Engand. A Story of the Fifteenth Century, done into modern English by the author of the Chronicles of the Schonberg-Cotta Family. Cloth. 12mo. Pp. 357. Price \$1.50. New York: Dodd, Mead & Co. [Claxton, Remsen & Haffelfinger.

At a High Price. From the German of E. Werner. Translated by Mary Stuart Smith. 12mo. Cloth. Pp. 384. Boston: Estes & Lauriat. [Claxton, Remsen & Haffelfinger.

The Barque Future, or Life in the Far North. By Jonas Lie. Translated by Mrs Ole Bull. 12mo. Cloth. Pp. 253. Price \$1.00. Chicago: S. C. Griggs & Co. [Claxton, Remsen & Haffelfinger.

English Actors, from Shakespeare to Macready. By Henry Barton Barker. (Amateur Series). 2 vols 12mo. Cloth. Pp. 308 and 311. Price \$3.50. New York: Henry Holt & Co. [Porter & Coates.

Motives of Life. By David Swing. Sq. 16mo. Cloth. Pp. 162. Price \$1.00. Chicago: Jansen, McClurg & Co. [J. B. Lippincott & Co.

A Treatise on the Horse and his Diseases. Sw'd. 16mo. Pp. 89. Price 25 cents. B. J. Kendall, M. D., Enosburgh Falls, Vermont.

Manual for Visitors among the Poor, with Directory to the Charitable and Beneficent Institutions of Philadelphia. Published by the Philadelphia Society for Organizing Charitable Relief and Suppressing Mendicancy. 16mo. Cloth. Pp. 217. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co.

Dress. By Mrs. Oliphant. 12mo. Cloth. Pp. 103. Price \$1.00. Philadelphia: Porter & Coates.

The Life of J. M. W. Turner, R. A. By Philip Gilbert Hamerton. Cloth. 12mo. Pp. 404. Price \$2.50. Boston: Roberts Brothers. [Porter & Coates.

Life and Letters of Frances Baroness Bunsen. By Augustus J. C. Hare. 12mo. 2 vols. in one. Pp. 516 and 486. New York: George Routledge & Sons.

Address of Prof. Robert H. Thurston before the Association for the Advancement of Science, St. Louis, August, 1878. Sw'd. 8vo. Pp. 20. Salem Press.

A Reply to Roswell D. Hitchcock, D.D., on Socialism. By a Socialist. Sw'd. 16mo. Pp. 67. New York: Charles P. Somerby.

THE
PENN MONTHLY.

MAY, 1879.

THE MONTH.

CETEWAYO has done England good service. He has pricked the Imperialist bladder, and has brought the English people back to their sober senses, out of the intoxication of their vigorous foreign policy and its sham successes. In the debate on the resolution of censure in regard to the Zulu war, the Liberals rallied their forces for the first time since the present administration began, and even received the support of some decided Tories. This posture of affairs was largely brought about by the discovery that Sir Bartle Frere, the British pro-consul in Southern Africa, had had the government's tacit approval of a plan to extend the authority of the Crown over all of Southern Africa up to the Portuguese possessions and Lake Ngami. Had Lord Chelmsford not sustained a grave defeat in that quarter, the proposal would probably have excited little or no opposition. But, in the face of a great disaster, "manifest destiny" takes an unpromising hue; and the announcement of the plan by one of the Liberals, struck a chill into the Tory ranks. The Ministry were forced to disavow any purpose to annex Zululand; and, as Cetewayo indicates his desire to make peace, the end of the war is probably not very far distant. The English will probably be inclined to rest satisfied with their recent small successes.

All indications point to an early dissolution of this Parliament, and the return of a large Liberal majority to its successor. Lord

Beaconsfield's luck deserted him when he decided to let the present Parliament last as long as it has. The election might have been over before the present backset came. And, as misfortunes never come singly, just at this moment Italy and the other European powers are agreeing to tear up the Berlin Treaty, by refusing to allow Turkey to occupy Eastern Roumelia. As the formation of that province and its separation from Bulgaria was the one British achievement in the "Peace with Glory," its occupation by other troops than those of the Sultan would be a decided blow to Tory prestige.

And worse still, the utter prostration of industrial interests, instead of showing any amelioration, grows daily and manifestly worse. Great collisions between masters and workmen on the question of reduced wages, are the order of the day, and the *Times* confesses, that "at no time since the gloomiest days of Pitt's administration has England had to face such a complication of disasters." For England is now excluded not from one continent, but from two; two continental systems of protection, each of them more gigantic than that which Napoleon planned, have placed effectual embargoes upon her attempts at export. Her manufactures are prostrate, and her commercial interests are no better off, to say the least. It really looks, at first glance, as if Mr. Ruskin's aspiration for the restoration of the rural beauties of England, in shires now blackened by factory smoke, were to be realized; and it is remembered that Mr. Bright predicted that, to her ruins of her great castles, England would, by-and-bye, add the ruins of her great factories. But there is just as little profit in English agriculture as in her other industries. America undersells her wheat-growers by five shillings a quarter less than it costs to raise wheat in England, and our meat export furnishes beef at prices equally defiant of competition. "It comes to this, therefore, that English agriculture, under present conditions, cannot go on."—*Spectator*. And Mr. Wilson, in the April *Macmillan's*, declares that radical changes are needed in their system of land tenure; and it is not impossible that the mischievous precedent of the Irish Land Law,—the interference with the rights of landed property in order to correct wrong economic conditions,—will be attempted by the next Liberal ministry.

All this is helping the Tories onward to their doom. They

have not the boldness to propose any corrective measures. They are losing their hold on the machinery of the administration. They suffer from the opprobrium which attaches to administrations whose tenure of office coincides with the prevalence of general distress. They tell even their staunchest supporters, the farmers, that it would be of no use to appoint a commission to inquire into the causes of this distress; that they can only promise an inquiry into the depreciation of the precious metals. It is the weakness of English statesmanship to throw the blame of distress, if it be possible, on causes which nobody is responsible for. Indeed, all their political economy seems to be constructed on this plan.

THE Khedive of Egypt, after being for a time under French and English tutelage, as regards the management of the finances of his bankrupt kingdom, has turned the foreigners out of doors, to the great satisfaction of all Egyptians, and has put a purely native ministry in the place of the mixed one. In all this we believe the Egyptians are quite right. A worse ruler than this Turk, the Khedive, it is hard to conceive of. His whole government has been devoted to the ruin of his country and its people, and the ruin has been all the more thorough because he is not an ordinary Oriental despot, but a champion of improvements and of European methods. When he came into power, he was surrounded by a flock of Europeans, who told him what a grand country Egypt might be made by European capital and European management. This and that crop could be cultivated; the sugar markets of Europe might be supplied from the Nile Valley, and so forth. He heard of a vast revenue as thus made possible, and he embraced their plans. He seized on the lands of the peasantry to convert them into royal domains. To pay for them, never entered his head. Compensation for private rights is an idea unknown to Turkish finance. But land was not enough without capital. The Khedive presented himself in the money markets of France and England, to solicit a loan. The resources of Egypt, the progressive character of her ruler, and fourteen per cent., were the inducements. No questions were asked about the wretched Copts and Arabs, through whose ruin these great improvements were to be effected. The "maximum of production," and "the benefits inuring to society through individual selfishness," were the economic

formulas by which questions of conscience were kept out of the market in those days. The worst ruler in the world was lent English and French money in handfuls, without a single moral guarantee as to the manner of its expenditure. He wasted it on English and French employes, machinery and implements; he wasted still more on his pleasures and his palaces,—for, surely, the ruler of a country of such resources and such capacity need not be stingy to himself. In one point he was economic; he wasted little or nothing on the poor *fellahs*. Having stolen their land, he proceeded to steal their labor. They were driven in gangs from their villages to his domains, to work under the lash. Men, women and children alike were forced to go. “Delicate little girls,” we hear of under the lash of the taskmaster. In return, they got sometimes a little food, more often nothing. On the other hand, they had to pay the whole expenses of the government out of their own ill-cultivated patches, the remnants of their fields. The great estates, even under European management, did not bring in the returns which had been expected; Europe ceased to lend money. The *fellahs* had to pay taxes at a rate unknown outside of Oriental countries,—sometimes more than half his whole crop.

At last England and France interfere; but for what? Not to secure any redress for the wrongs of the Egyptian peasant, but to save the interests of the Egyptian bond-holders. The honest people who spent their money in buying shares in the Glasgow bank, must pay to the last farthing that they own, to make up the bank's losses. They took the risks of business, and the government cannot help them. But the people who poured money into the coffers of the cruel and licentious despot, who holds the people of Egypt under his heel, and robs them by wholesale, are a legitimate object of diplomatic interest. The French and English officials thrust upon Egypt by diplomacy, construed their mission in this sense. They simply made the condition of the *fellahs* worse than it had ever been. They introduced European exactness and rigidity in extorting an excessive revenue. They demanded that the Khedive's estates be given up, not to their rightful owners, but to his European creditors. The system of enforced and unpaid labor under the lash went on as before. The only change was the addition to the expenses of several large salaries, paid to Europeans and hoarded to be spent in Europe. Thousands died of utter

starvation under this civilized rule, which the people felt to exist only "to perpetuate the injustice and to continue the imposts under which the people groan." The knotted ropes and the palm staves were as busy as ever over the heads and backs of the poor peasants, and all the horrors of an Indian famine have been rampant in their villages.

RUSSIAN Nihilism has consummated its atrocities in an attempt on the life of the Czar. There was some disposition to sympathize with this party, as a sort of natural opposition to the despotic character of the Russian government, so long as it confined its exertions to a rude sort of retributive justice, and inflicted death upon subordinates who had morally deserved it, through their gross abuse of power. When there is wholesale mortality among political prisoners, the conscience of the world is not greatly outraged by hearing that the governor of the prison has been shot. But when these fanatics of destruction assail the life of a venerable sovereign, who commands the respect of the world equally with the affection of his own people, all notion of excuse or palliation of their conduct is at an end. They have ranged themselves at once beside the Communistic assassins of Germany, Italy and Spain, as the murderers of the innocent representatives of social order, rather than avengers of blood upon the guilty. It is no longer (as with the old German *Vehmgerichte*) "a life for a life," by irregular means in the absence of satisfactory legal tribunals. It is the operation of a purely destructive and devilish instinct, which aims at social confusion for confusion's sake.

The extent to which this Nihilistic conspiracy has permeated Russian society, is still altogether uncertain. It is confined to the educated classes, except perhaps in Little Russia, where a vast amount of discontent has been excited by the rigors of legal Russification. When it is made a crime to write even a love song in the native language, the peasants are brought within the range of disaffection. Elsewhere the *Mujicks* are loyal to the Czar, and as they constitute the vast majority of the population, the government is as stable as any in the world. But conspiracies and secret associations have long been the curse of Russian society, as they always are where intelligence has been diffused more rapidly than

self-government. And there is every reason to suspect that the Nihilist party has adherents, especially among the women, in the highest ranks of society. Arrests have been made of the wives and daughters of prominent officials, but the Russian police are so inefficient, with all their severity, that these arrests furnish no ground for safe inference.

It has been suggested that the present condition of Russia is not unlike that of France in 1789. But the resemblances are superficial only. The great bulk of the Russian people are honestly attached to their sovereign; and the government, while inefficient through excessive officialism, is very far from being burdened with the iniquities and corruptions of the old Regime. With many faults to amend, it has nothing of the hopeless incapacity, the judicial blindness of that of France before the Revolution. With the abolition of the communistic village system, and the establishment of representative institutions and official responsibility—the two great reforms which will characterize the next Czar's reign—Russia will enter upon a time of peaceful growth which will enable her to assert her rightful place among the nationalities of Europe.

It marks the new position of our American industries that one of our railroads cannot make a purchase of steel rails abroad, without becoming at once the subject of general remark and censure. The purchase of steel rails made in England by the New York Central Road is, indeed, a large one, but not so large as some earlier purchases made by the same road without exciting any adverse comment. The motive for the purchase is not far to seek. The pretence that American rail-makers would not guarantee their rails to wear as long as the English will, has been conclusively overthrown by Mr. Morrell and others. Where the two classes of rails have been laid side by side on the same road, there has been no discoverable difference in their endurance. And except in the yards, at abrupt curves, or on uphill grades, the American makers will guarantee their rails for the full period specified by Mr. Vanderbilt, while no make of rails will stand for that time the wear and tear of the three positions named.

The truth seems to be, that the New York Central does not

derive as much benefit as its rivals from the carrying trade directly created by our manufactures. Its route runs to Albany and thence westward, but not through the great iron, coal, or cotton regions of the country. Hence its continual hostility to the policy which has enriched rival lines, and the willingness of its president to take a step which he thought would furnish an argument against the Protectionist policy.

The Free Trade cause is greatly in need of some reinforcement just at present. To find anybody but an importer who thinks himself aggrieved by our Tariff, is a real godsend to its champions, for, in the present status of prices, and in view of the rapid improvement of the quality of our products, it is difficult to talk seriously about any class being robbed by our Protective duties. They are heartily welcome to their new supporter, such as he is. His own contracts are a standing illustration of what Protection can do to reduce prices. Years ago he contracted with English producers of steel rails for forty thousand tons, at \$112 a ton, and before their delivery was completed, our native competition had pulled down the market price to about one-half as much. Not content with being so badly bitten then, he now throws away the money of which he is but part owner, in buying twelve thousand tons of English rails at \$55 a ton, when he could have had as good at home for \$47. And if we had no manufacturers of these rails at home, he would still be paying from \$112 to \$140 a ton to the English producer, instead of \$55. The London *Engineer* has had the candor to admit that "the low price of rails in England is due, in part at least, to the fact that America does not buy from us." Or, as Stephen Colwell said, in 1847, British prices are fixed, not by the cost of manufacture, but by the degree of the pressure on her markets by the demands of the rest of the world.

A little more of such management in the New York Central, and we shall have one more illustration of the general rule, that in America the fathers make the money and the sons squander it.

THE fierce Democracy in Congress are illustrating the German proverb,—“The soup is not eaten as hot as it is cooked.” They forced a special session by their failure to get two appropriation bills through the House, a failure due partly to wilful neglect of

the public business, partly to their provoking a partisan conflict by attaching riders to those bills. This objectionable practice has hitherto been employed chiefly to secure the passage of legislation, which could not be carried through otherwise at a late stage of the session. But no sooner did the new Congress get itself well together, than they proceeded to vote, in Democratic caucus, that such riders be fastened to the bills at the opening of a session called for their passage. This action was evidently not taken with the purpose of retreating from their position if the President vetoed the bills; for, in that case, why have put the country to the expense, and the party to the risk, of a special session? It meant that they intended to place the President in the dilemma that he must either violate his oath of office by signing a bill of which he did not approve, or must stop the wheels of government by refusing to agree to the proper appropriations. Mr. Hayes very manfully avowed his choice of the latter alternative, and the Republican minority in each House—led by Blaine and Garfield—placed the conduct of the majority in such light before the public, that the attempt to supersede the President in matters of legislation, although openly avowed by prominent Democrats at the beginning of the session, was definitely abandoned. The net result of the Democratic policy has been, a needless session of Congress; a heated partisan discussion, in which the solid South has been so prominent as to disgust the whole North; and an inglorious back-down.

As to the merits of the two riders, that to forbid the use of the army at the polls is the less important. The two regiments who occupy the South, are not likely to prove very efficient agents in despotic government; and the only immediate effect of the measure would be to fling a gross insult in the face of the army, which is now supposed to be small enough for insult with impunity. The Republicans did a wise thing when they offered to vote for the repeal of the whole law which it was proposed to amend, and to leave the powers of the President, as commander-in-chief, as they are defined in the Constitution and in the earlier legislation of the nation. But this the Democrats could not accept, for the simple reason that the force of the legislation adopted during and since the Rebellion (*sit venia verbo*) has been rather to limit than to extend the powers of the President; and to clothe Mr. Hayes

with the powers entrusted to Washington and Jackson would make matters only the worse for them. And the real purpose of the majority is to deprive the President of his constitutional rights, by putting out of the way all the laws which are thought necessary to give them efficiency. Perhaps they will find the Supreme Court thinks a clause of the Constitution of about as much force as a law of Congress.

The rider designed to put an end to national supervision of the elections of President and Congressmen, is the real bone of contention. We have already declared our entire agreement with the Republican minority in their resistance to it. We should rather desire to see national supervision made far more thorough and authoritative. A citizen of the United States, engaged in discharging the duties of that citizenship at the polls, is entitled to the protection of the national government against every one who interferes with his rights, or seeks to rob him of his suffrage by stuffing ballot-boxes, or by any other means whatsoever. And the law will never be in full conformity with the genius of democratic institutions until every such offence is declared to be treason, and is punished as such. No man, not so prejudiced by partisan hate but that he is still in his senses, will deny that a majority of the voters in several of the Southern States are, at this moment, practically disfranchised by the conspiracy of an armed minority. The existing law is too weak to secure them redress. It is strong enough, however, to detect a few of the offenders, and to make an example of them. And, therefore, its repeal would be a national condonation of the grossest wrong, slavery and the Indian policy excepted, which disgraces our national history.

THE movement to bring General Grant to the front, as the Republican candidate for the Presidency, continues to gain adherents. The "stalwart" element of the party is pretty thoroughly united in his favor; "stalwartism" being the belief that the Republican party's war record is such that it can dispense with regard for decency and for public opinion. Nor is the strength of this element inside the party a despicable one. It is, possibly, a majority of the party, though far from being a majority of the nation. And the Republican newspapers which do not

desire the General's nomination, display their anxiety by their eager repetition of the truism that a candidate's chances are not always bettered by his priority in the field.

If, however, General Grant should receive and accept the nomination, nothing but the worst mismanagement on the part of the Democrats will prevent his defeat at the polls. With Bayard or Hancock at the head of their ticket, they will have an easy time of it. For, never in our history was it so true that neither straight-out Democrats nor stalwart Republicans could of themselves secure a majority throughout the country. The middle party, which is not bound very closely to either, was driven from the Republican side by Grantism,—a policy which gave us the least respectable government we have had since Pierce's time. The folly of the Democrats, the Southern outrages, and the general good conduct of nearly all the Republican leaders, has been rallying that middle party back to the support of the Republicans. It is an element not strong enough to force upon the party the choice of any candidate. It is not even heartily united in the support of any. The Evarts, Bristows and Schurzes control only an infinitesimal section of it. But no Republican candidate who is as offensive to it as is General Grant, will bring out its vote in 1880, and nothing but an equal repugnance to the Democratic candidate will make his election possible.

The stalwarts can nominate General Grant if they choose; but they should weigh very carefully the present status of the parties, and the fact that it is not the majority, but the minority of the party that it is most important to take into counsel in this matter.

Another consideration is the gross ingratitude involved in making such a nomination. It is quite true that the party cannot reward with the presidency every man of ability who has done his utmost in its cause. But to pass by all those who have labored, in Congress and elsewhere, during these days of difficulty, for the success of its principles, and to take instead a gentleman whose leisure has been spent in interviewing the royal and noble personages of Europe and Asia,—a gentleman whose eminent services during the war have already been rewarded by eight years of the Presidency—is not the best way to secure such services in the future. The way in which the ablest Americans,—Hamilton, Clay, Webster, Seward, and, some would add, Sumner,—have been passed

by in favor of the "available" candidates, is a disgrace to our history. And the Republican party has no dearth of really able men. The two leaders in Congress, Blaine and Garfield, are either of them worthy of the nomination. For ourselves, we decidedly prefer the latter of the two, in spite of our differing from him on many points of policy. He has the better manner, the gift of keeping on gentlemanly terms with both his friends and his enemies, and not so much of that Yankee adroitness which the ex-Pennsylvanian has acquired during his residence down East. And he has atoned for his one great mistake—his membership in the Cobden Club—by a staunch support of our industrial interests, when assailed by Mr. Wood's tariff. Nor is he, either in soundness of moral principle or in general ability, the inferior of any American now in public life.

A DAILY newspaper of this city, which rarely notices our magazine except when it has some fault to find with it, makes the suggestion that we change our color from blue to green, as we have been defending the principles of the Nationals. We need no special exercise of charity to assume that this statement was made through inadvertence, and not with any intention to misrepresent us. *The Ledger*, whatever its faults, is a thoroughly truthful paper, and would not tell a lie even to secure the reelection of General Grant; but it is either ignorant of what the platform of the Nationals really is, or—more probably—of our unvarying opposition to all the chief articles of that platform.

We have always protested against the uncharitable and intolerant attitude assumed towards the debtor and suffering classes by the Eastern organs of public opinion, but we have never given countenance to any of the financial vagaries which have grown out of their distress. We have no faith in Fiat money, in unlimited issues of greenbacks, in free coinage of silver, or in its coinage at any standard which gives the public a dollar worth less than that of any other currency; and we have always opposed these measures when they were before the public. We have, indeed, maintained—with the sanction of English economists and boards of trade—that the nation should have the monopoly of the manufacture of paper money, as well as coin, and that its issue by private

corporations, and for their benefit, is a gross anomaly. Exactly here is the amount of our agreement with that party.

On resumption, we differ from the Nationals most decidedly. They opposed resumption as such, as a thing not worth having, or even a mischief in itself. We have always favored it, provided it be reached in a natural and unconstrained way, believing that the equalization of the values of all our sorts of money would be a very desirable thing, though by no means the chief end of our national finance. And since the recent measure called "resumption," was effected, they have given up their active opposition (without abandoning one of their schemes for wholesale inflation), while we have redoubled ours.

We have no faith in a resumption which floods the country with depreciated silver, without putting a gold coin into circulation; which puts a stop to the reduction of the national debt by accumulating in the Treasury hundreds of millions of coin which might have been used for the reduction of the public burdens; and in which its very champions show their want of faith, by insisting that a reserve which no solvent bank would think of keeping on hand, is necessary for its maintenance. For the sake of resumption our debt is even to be increased, if Secretary Sherman is to have his way. Every sudden drain on a Treasury which contains two hundred and thirty millions in coin, he proposes to meet by the issue of new bonds. And all this injury is to be done to the public interests in order that the Treasury may make its boast that gold can be had for paper money across one counter in New York. The popular instinct repudiates this Resumption as a farce. As *The Ledger* itself admits, gold is hoarded by those who have any, just as much as before, and the Secretary's policy, instead of inspiring public confidence, has been met with distrust.

THE rumor that Secretary Sherman intends to remove the site of "Resumption" to Sitka, lacks confirmation.

SECRETARY SHERMAN, with the aid of banks and syndicates, has finished the conversion of all the redeemable bonds into four per cents. Since March 1877, he has thus converted nearly eight hundred millions of five and six per cent. bonds, and the public is now to hold its breath in awful admiration of this great financial achievement.

We cannot imagine any grosser instance of the shortsightedness of the business public, than the applause with which this measure has been received. Nobody who gives the matter thought, supposes that these four per cent. bonds can permanently maintain themselves at par. *The Nation*, for instance, and *The Ledger* agree in repudiating any such expectations. It may be wise and honest for a great nation to take advantage of a temporary condition of the market, and of certain facilities that it has for dictating terms to some classes of investors, to put out great quantities of bonds which must depreciate in the course of a few years, or perhaps months; but are depreciated obligations a sign of national honesty? It was thought they were not when they took the shape of paper money. What makes the difference when they are bonds?

Is it wise for a nation to fund its debts in bonds which its own people, in ordinary times and for ordinary purposes of investment, cannot afford to hold? Do we gain anything by the transfer of our debts to foreign countries, and the necessity of paying the interest abroad? We certainly add nothing to the security of the debt and of our financial honor. We are putting another weapon into the hands of demagogues, and giving a new facility to the authors of dishonest policies. And that these new bonds will have to go abroad in great quantities, as soon as times improve, is conceded very generally.

As a comment upon the attempts to repeal the safeguards of our national elections, comes the wholesale emigration of colored people to Texas, from Mississippi and the cotton belt of Louisiana. This movement is not so new as is commonly supposed; it has been going on for years past, and has assumed its present proportions because of the reports of the success of previous settlements. It is not due, as was charged, to any lying circulars, offering each negro a mule and other absurd advantages. The negroes who stopped at St. Louis deny that they ever heard of any such offer.

The story told by these poor people is pitiful enough, and its monotonous uniformity gives assurance of its truth. They leave the South partly because of the political difficulties of their situation. Bands of armed whites have made it their custom to spend every public holiday in killing off the "smart" negroes—that is,

those who take part in politics—and in terrorizing the rest. The better class of whites, including many of the planters, have in vain attempted to put a stop to this. Young white rowdies, graduates of the Confederate army, are too much for the orderly class, and, in some cases, have effected a jail-delivery of their comrades who were arrested for their misconduct. In a few instances, the planters have even been obliged to arm their hands, and drill them as militia for their self-defence. But attempts to punish or to defend are exceptional. The general condition of these emancipated and enfranchised slaves differs from their former servitude chiefly in the fact that escape to free soil is no longer unlawful, and that the refugee has nothing to fear and everything to hope from the national authorities.

But their stories bring to light another side of the situation in the South, which is newer to the Northern people. We have been in the habit of assuming that the negro's only difficulties were those which grew out of their aspirations after social and political equality, and that they were at least as well off in matters of sustenance as their natural laziness would let them be. We have, indeed, been inclined to suppose that whatever the faults of the Southern people, they were not likely to take any other than a political advantage of the negro's inexperience; and that, in many respects, Sambo was better off in the sunny South than he might have been in a pushing, money-making community of the North. But these negro fugitives have dispelled this pleasing allusion as regards the Southern character. Being armed with the powers implied in the exclusive possession of the soil in a purely agricultural community, the planters have treated the negroes after a fashion which recalls the stories we used to hear about Irish middle-men or the old Regime in France. Southern land has been rented to them at eighteen dollars an acre, and their little crop of cotton has been taken off their hands on such terms that the end of every year has left them with a deficit. It is this, even more than their disfranchisement, which is driving them northward, from the area of serfdom to that of liberty,—to the regions where Uncle Sam can give them that great object of negro ambition, a bit of land.

The Southern people are awakening to the danger into which the lawless class among their white population has plunged them. It is not the political danger of the reduction of population, and conse-

quently of congressional representation, which troubles them, but the wholesale deportation of their laborers. They are now ready to offer anything to induce them to stay, but also ready to resort to any measures, however violent, by which they may compel them to remain. And, in the absence of a national bankrupt law, there is reason to fear that measures will be taken, by legislation and otherwise, to convert the negro debtor into a virtual slave, as has been done with the Dravidian peoples of Southern India.

OUR Pennsylvania legislatures are not, ordinarily, the wisest or the most upright assemblages in the world, but the present one is bidding fair to eclipse its predecessors in the badness of its record, and our new Governor is fulfilling some of the worst predictions made at the time of his nomination. Governor Hartranft, we are sure, would never have appended his signature to such an act as that which authorizes the collector of delinquent taxes to levy on the effects of tenants, instead of proceeding, like any other creditor, against the tenant as garnishee. Our taxes, as Emerson remarks, are paid more reluctantly than any other debt, which shows what the popular estimate of the governing business is. And this bill will invest the collector of taxes with powers granted to no other creditor,—will enable him to vex and oppress persons who have been guilty of no neglect of duty, and whose only relation to the matter is through their having made an innocent contract with the delinquent.

Our legislators have done so many bad things with impunity, that they seem to think there is no limit to the public endurance. They will probably learn, at the next election, that the numbers of those who rent houses in Philadelphia are far from inconsiderable.

THE vexatious suit for breach of promise of marriage, brought by an adventuress against Mr. Simon Cameron, furnishes a good opportunity to raise the question whether the law should take any cognizance of such cases. Whatever be the view of marriage taken by the law—whether it be regarded simply as a contract like any other, or as a contract of a nature so sacred that it is wise

to apply to it maxims we would not apply to other contracts—there seems to be no reason for punishing the breach of promise to marry.

If the former view be taken, then what has the law to do with promises to make contracts? They are not contracts, and have no right to be enforced as such. The law will not punish John Jones if he break his promise to sell an article at some future date. It takes cognizance only of engagements in the present tense.

If the more elevated view of marriage be accepted, the policy of punishing the breach of promise is equally doubtful. For nothing tends so much to debase the public estimate of the marriage relation as these displays of aggrieved affection claiming to be recompensed by a money payment. If the aggrieved party actually sued for the hand of the respondent, and the court had the power to sentence the latter to marriage, the case would be better, although bad enough. But the very notion of a suit for damages because of the refusal to enter into the closest and most sacred of human relationships, contains in it something so incongruous, so ridiculous, that it is impossible but that every such suit should be an occasion of mirth to the irreverent. It would be a great gain to society if every statute which authorizes such prosecutions were at once repealed.

THE ENGLISH METHODS OF LEGISLATION COMPARED WITH THE AMERICAN.

IMPROVEMENTS in legislative machinery have not kept pace in the United States with their financial and industrial development during the past century. The invention of labor-saving contrivances; the application of steam to industrial pursuits and to rapid and comprehensive means of transportation; the sudden creation and extended use by society of the machinery of credit—bonds, stocks, checks, letters of credit, bills of exchange, etc.,—have combinedly resulted in a very great accumulation of wealth: accumulation beyond all comparison greater than the values of real property. This wealth being, in great part, under the control

of corporations created by law, which have grown beyond all precedent within the past century, has thrown upon the legislatures and administrations of all civilized communities a burden and a strain which have been differently borne and variously met in different countries. The responsibility which arose from this changed condition of social organization has been discharged, more especially so by England, by a scientific system of legislation, contrasted with which our method leaves very much to be desired.

Before examining, however, the English system, a brief examination of the fundamental principles that distinguish, in the mind of the civilian, general from special legislation is of service. The Roman jurist has, as his guide upon this subject, the well-established maxim:—“*Jura enim non in singulas personas sed generaliter constituuntur.*” (Legal rights are not established for individual persons, but for the general good.)

Of this maxim, Zachariae, the great German civilian, says that *leges speciales*, or special laws, are really *constitutiones speciales*, and are not laws, in the proper sense of the term, at all. Rights flow from the general law, privileges from special law, and such are at all times subject to alteration and change, and even revocation, without any violation of rights. The Romans, therefore, scarcely knew, in the sense of law, special privileges; regarded them as accidents arising from the will of the sovereign; and even accompanied and controlled their exercise with a maxim which holds that special privileges which injuriously affect the condition of third parties under the rights guaranteed by general laws, are assumed to have been surreptitiously and fraudulently obtained,—that is to say, obtained by the withholding of such material facts from the notice of the sovereign, which, if they had been disclosed, would have caused him to deny a grant of a special exemption or franchise, and therefore such a franchise is declared by the jurists to be void, as obtained by a suppression of the truth.

Puchta, one of the leading commentators on the Pandects, lays down the rule that all these *privilegia* or *constitutiones personales* are at all times to be strictly construed, and to be regarded as abnormal,—for, in the strictest sense of the Roman conception of law, they do not exist. Hence, the German nation, as the successor of the Roman Empire, which, more thoroughly than other communities, has incorporated the Roman law, refuses to recognize

distinctive special laws. In the strictest sense of the term it has no special laws; all its laws are general. There are laws, it is true, which affect special interests or special classes, but these are laws not as to any individual, not as to any corporation, but they are general in their nature as to all who are similarly situated. All such privileges or exceptions, when they exist, emanate from the sovereignty, as represented in the person of the king or emperor, who, together with his ministers, in strict analogy with the Roman prototype, formulate cabinet ordinances, or ministerial administrative decrees, which take the place of three-fifths of the contents of our statute books.

To illustrate what I mean: In the United States, in imitation of the English system, the legislative body is sovereign as to all such powers as have not been delegated either to the United States executive and judicial government, to the executive departments of the state, or to the judiciary thereof; the legislature, in other words, is the general reservoir of public power. In Germany, on the other hand, sovereign rights are in the executive and his ministers, who together compose the general reservoir of power, as does here the legislature, from which only so much is taken as has, by constitution, been conferred upon the judiciary and the legislature; hence, when any special privilege is to be conceded to any corporation or individual, it is done by a concession of the sovereign will subjecting the recipient to the general law,—if there be one in such a case. If a railway is to be built, or telegraph wire is to be laid, after the company is organized under the general law, before it can obtain in Prussia the right of expropriation (that of eminent domain), the project must be accepted, and its necessities recognized, by the ministry of the interior. The legislature cannot grant any such concession; the most it can do is to ask why the concession was refused. But were the Reichsrath never so much persuaded of the expediency and justice of the building of a proposed line, it, of itself, could not confer the right of eminent domain. The sovereign power is lodged in the king and his ministry, and can be exercised only by virtue of his direct or indirect consent.

Legislation is strictly confined, in the countries where the Roman law prevails, such as Germany and France, to the making of general laws. The extending of special privileges under those

laws is lodged in the administrative departments, and their decisions are, as a general rule, guided by experts, socially and scientifically of such dignity as to be far removed from temptations of the vulgar type; so that the concessions or *constitutiones personales* are neither corruptly nor arbitrarily given. Further, in such countries, the maxim that concessions which injuriously affect the rights of third parties (and such probable injury was not brought to the notice of the sovereign at the time of their granting) are held to have been obtained by fraud, which in itself is a wholesome preventive against misleading the minister or sovereign in whose hands the right to make special privileges in a given case rests.

Schiller makes Stauffacher say in "William Tell:"—

"To the Emperor himself we refused obedience when he made justice swerve to private ends. When the priests of Einsiedeln claimed, by imperial patent, the valley over which our ancestors had grazed their herds for centuries,—a fact carefully withheld from the Emperor's knowledge,—we answered, surreptitiously got—ten is the grant; and if you do not right us, we shall in our mountains right ourselves; for no emperor can give to others that which is our own."

Our scheme, more wisely, perhaps, gives this sovereign power to the representatives of the people; but, less wisely, insufficiently guards against its arbitrary or corrupt exercise.

The comparison, therefore, of the manner in which the pressure has been met upon modern society, for special laws, or special exemptions from general laws, can properly be made only between England and America. Here we tread upon ground familiar to most of us, and that comparison is, therefore, one which is more likely to prove fruitful of beneficial results.

First: How did the conception of making special laws or special privileges originally arise, and how did it, contrary to imperial precedent, get into the hands of Parliament?

As is well known, the constituent elements of Parliament are the King, the Lords spiritual and temporal, and the Commons. Leave out either one of these elements, there was, and is now, no Parliament. Originally, the king not only opened Parliament in person, but sat with it or continued to remain there by proxy. At the present day, the royal mace, which rests upon the wool sack before the Speaker's desk, is the symbol of royalty ever present in

Parliament. The estates sat in one chamber, and Parliament was therefore both the administrative and law-giving power, and was absolutely supreme in both, as in it sat the fountain of justice as well as of law; and it was at some period between the forty-ninth year of the reign of Henry III. and the seventeenth of Edward III. that the separation between the Lords and Commons took place. This separation took place from the fact that when a question of peace or war was at issue the Commons separated from the Lords, and each body deliberated by itself. When the Commons thus deliberated apart, they sat in the chapter-house of the Abbot of Westminster; and, down to to-day, the Parliamentary palace is practically an adjunct to Westminster hall.

The early applications for justice, or for the passage of laws, were in the form of petitions. The king in person took those which made appeal for the enforcement of existing law, or for equitable relief, and handed over those which were for special decrees in the nature of new laws, or exemptions from law, to Parliament. These petitions were addressed to the "High Court of Parliament;" and, where the common law courts offered no redress, the case was submitted to this high court of Parliament and adjudged by it, before that system of equity grew up which was subsequently administered by the chancellors. In the reign of Henry IV., courts of equity, having in the interim been established, relieved Parliament of much of its remedial jurisdiction; the petitions were now granted more in the nature of private bills than equitable remedies of private wrongs, and the orders of Parliament upon such petitions which were entered as decrees, began to partake of the nature of special legislation; but even to this day, Parliament, in acting upon private bills, acts judicially and not legislatively; and the recent developments of parliamentary procedure in England, are, in point of fact, a reverting to the condition when Parliament was regarded, as to its powers to enact special laws, as a court, rather than as a legislative body.

However, personal privileges, monopolies of gifts of power, granting of patents, were still regarded as part of the royal prerogative, and formed sources of revenue to the crown. It must not be forgotten, in tracing the origin of special laws, that Parliament was the court of last resort of the English kingdom; and when a division of the houses brought with it a division of func-

tions, the House of Lords remained the highest judicature in the realm. By means of judgments or decrees, the Lords could dispense with law, and such decrees frequently partook of the nature of special immunities or special exemptions, having more the character of legislation than of judicial determinations. As the sovereign is still supposed to be present in Parliament, accompanying symbolically all its deliberations, there is no violence done to the general principle that special privileges and exemptions flow from the royal will, when Parliament exercises the right to pass special laws. As the sovereign assent is assumed thereto, Parliament may, under those circumstances, be deemed to act as an advisory body. In form, however, instead of these special laws being acted upon in the shape of privileges granted by the sovereign power, they are in England to-day regarded as more in the nature of decrees, "the proceedings partaking," as Sir Erskine May says, "in those cases, of a judicial character: inasmuch as the persons whose private interests are to be protected appear as suitors for the bill, while those who apprehend injury are admitted as adverse parties in that suit." Many of the formalities of a court of justice are maintained, various conditions as to procedure are required to be observed, and conformity with them to be strictly proved. It is regarded so much a private suit, to be followed by an act of the sovereign power, in the nature of a decree, that, however much Parliament may be persuaded of the value of a private bill, if, at any stage of its progress, it is abandoned by its promoters, Parliament takes no further step in connection therewith. Nay, more; though the right of petition is one of the recognized fundamental principles of the English Constitution, the Court of Chancery will, when the passage of a bill through Parliament is attempted in a private interest, enjoin the promoters from prosecuting it,—if such prosecution is in violation of a right of contract; and Parliament, as well as Chancery, will, in certain cases, compel parties to make application for bills, when justice to others or the performance of a contract requires parliamentary assent, thus placing judicially the prosecution and promotion of a private bill before Parliament, upon the ground that they are *privilegia* or *constitutiones personales*, not partaking of the nature of law, which Parliament and the sovereign are called upon to enact and to which the right of petition appertains. This important distinction is still more clearly drawn

by the difference in the forms of expression of the royal assent by which the bills are permitted to become operative. In the case of a public bill, the expression is "*la reyne le veult*,"—it is the Queen's wish; of a private bill, "*soit fait comme il est désiré*,"—be it ordered as prayed for.

The first evidence of danger from the modern corporation is afforded by the East India Company. In the latter days of William III., and in the early period of Queen Anne's reign, already the moneyed interest was, as Lecky, in his recent *History of the Eighteenth Century*, says, superseding the landed interest. "Individual capitalists, and still more the two great corporations, the Bank of England and the East India Company, descended into the political arena, wrested boroughs by sheer corruption from landlords who had for generations controlled them, and strained every nerve to acquire the political influence which they thought essential to the security of their property. In 1701 there had been grave inquiries in Parliament about the lavish sums which the East India Company expended among the members, and the increasing *corruption* at elections was universally recognized. Several persons, utter strangers in the counties to which they went, had made a progress through England, endeavoring, by very large sums, to get themselves elected. The Bank of England and the East India Company were mainly charged with these deeds; and Bolingbroke says, 'the mischievous consequences which had been foreseen and foretold at the establishment of these corporations appeared visibly, and that among the members of every Parliament numbers were immediately or directly under their influence.'" It is commonly supposed that parliamentary corruption dates from Walpole, but he simply organized it for the special purposes of his government. Even before Walpole's time, however, corruption discovered was visited with immediate punishment, for in 1698 a system of fraudulent endorsement of exchequer bills, with a view to defraud the revenue, was discovered, and two members of Parliament were expelled and sent to the tower for being guilty of it. Hungerford was expelled from Parliament for receiving a small sum of money for expediting a private bill through it; the brothers Shepard were expelled for bribery at elections; and Sir Robert Sutton, for having, through

carelessness, become the director of a swindling company, and Cardonell for the acceptance of an illegal though customary gratuity. The main corruption at that period of time was by the distribution of secret service money to maintain venal political writers; to purchase seats for members of Parliament; to pay election expenses; or, through the instrumentality of the civil service, to provide places for friends and relatives of members.

The pressure of private interests for legislation, and the sinister influence which it exerted, by bringing about a vast body of special legislation, both in England and America, began after the separation of this country from its parent stem had already been consummated. We fancied that we imitated the English system when we lodged the power to pass private bills in our Legislature, because Parliament seemed alone to exercise this power. We, however, dis severed this power from its source, and were, in so doing, unmindful of the important fact that Parliament possessed this power of special legislation through its double function of entering decrees without appeal, in private controversies, as the court of last resort, and as an advisory body of the crown in dealing with its prerogative; and in losing sight of and never applying the maxim which made, even in the hands of monarchs, the exercise of the granting of special privileges a comparatively harmless one, that if it affected injuriously the rights of third parties, courts would declare them void, as having been fraudently obtained, we quite threw the reins over the horse's neck. This vast power of special legislation was lodged in the hands of our legislatures just at a time when corporations were beginning to develop from the very small germ of their eighteenth century existence into an enormous growth, to take possession of, and to a degree control, the supply of commodities which labor-saving machinery enabled us to produce in vast quantities with great economy; when the business of building highways and transporting goods thereon was rapidly being monopolized by them; and when wealth was accumulating in the hands of individuals, at a rate far beyond the development of the refinement, self-restraint and virtue which usually accompanies its growth when the accretions proceed more slowly. Simultaneously with this development of wealth, a large debit factor to the generally beneficent law of the division of employments made its appearance in differentiating for us in this country a low class of wire-

pulling, caucus-making politicians, who undertook the performance of the public political duties of our over-worked and busily-occupied citizens. Early in this century, the success of the Duke of Bridgewater's canal gave a very great impetus to the starting of similar projects to do that by corporate action which his great wealth enabled him to perform single-handed, and there was considerable pressure brought upon Parliament to concede the right of eminent domain to canal companies; the turnpikes which they were superseding were in a great part public trusts, and the lobby, as an organized adjunct to legislation, for the first time made its appearance. The canal companies became, in process of time, powerful consolidated corporations, and with the introduction of the locomotive and consequent applications to Parliament for grants of power to railway corporations, a double lobby was formed,—one in opposition to the railway in the interest of the canal companies, and one to obtain legislation for the railway. The historian of the railway system admits that the very first statute authorizing a public railway—the Manchester and Liverpool line—was accompanied by a little mustard seed of corruption, in the way of a skilful distribution of shares among the friends and relatives of members of Parliament and among shareholders of canal companies, so as to overcome the direct opposition of the land-holding and canal interests. From that time on until 1844, when the railway crash came, corruption continued to increase, so that Mr. Herapath felt himself at liberty positively to assert that members had not been merely canvassed to support a bill, but that large sums had been spent upon them to secure their support. The *Athenicum* said, about that time :—“ It is the fashion to assume that our legislators “are not now open to pecuniary bribes; it may be so, but we must “leave that question to be decided by our children's children. If “public rumor be no more than usually scandalous and false, there “are some curious revelations yet in store for these youngsters, “relating to railway bills.” One company was able to boast that it had command of one hundred suffrages in the House of Commons; and Francis, in his *History of the Railway*, says :—“ That “members were personally canvassed, solicitations were made to “peers, influences of the most delicate nature were used, promises “were given to vote for special lines before the arguments were “heard, advantages in all forms and phases were proposed, to suit

“the circumstances of some and the temper of others. Letters of allotment were tempting; human nature was frail; and the premium on five hundred shares irresistible.”

This pressure of private legislation upon Parliament began, in time, seriously to interfere with the performance of its public duties, with the passage of general laws, and with the administration of the empire; and in 1847, a code of standing orders was adopted, which, together with certain statutes as to costs and the establishment of the gazettes and the notices for publication therein, now regulate practice in relation to private bills with the same completeness and detail, with the same careful regard as to the rights of parties, as the practice in courts of law is regulated by the Supreme Court judicature act, or by our codes of procedure.

Fully to enable you to realize this very complete system, let us follow the course of a private bill through the palace of St. Stephen's. Every bill conferring any power on a special borough, city or town, or upon any corporation or individual or set of individuals, or amending any powers already conferred, is regarded as a private bill; and even bills conferring powers on the Metropolitan Board of Works are regarded as private bills; the bills in relation to the Corporation of London are classified as private bills; and, indeed, all bills which we in this country designate under the terms special and local bills, are denominated private bills: they must pass through the formalities prescribed by the standing rules.

These bills are divided into two classes,—the first class embracing all subjects of enlarging or altering the powers of corporations; or which may relate to a church or a chapel building, burial ground, to cities or towns, to paving and lighting, to county rates, to ferries, to fisheries, to gas works, to lands, to letters patent, to local courts, to markets, to police, to poor rates. The second class includes the making or maintenance of any aqueduct, archway, bridge, canal, cut, dock, drainage, embankment, ferry, harbor, navigation, pier, port, railway, reservoir, sewer, street, tramway, turnpike, tunnel or waterworks; in less words, the second class embraces all such bills in which the exercise of the right of eminent domain is involved.

Bills of both these classes must, before Parliament meets, be preceded by a notice of intention to apply for the power they contain, together with the time and place when copies of the bill will

be deposited in the private bills office in the House of Commons. If it is a bill of the second class, this deposit must be accompanied by the submission of an accurate engineering and topographical survey of the lands intended to be taken, together with the name of the owners and the value of the lands, and an estimate of cost. The notice preceding the session must be published in the London, Edinburgh or Dublin Gazette, if it affect an English, Scottish or Irish interest, for six weeks prior to the deposit of the bill, and if it is one of the second class, it must also be published in a newspaper having the largest circulation at the nearest point where such land is to be affected or to be taken. A list must also be deposited of the names of the owners, lessees and occupiers of property which is to be affected or taken by the powers intended to be granted by the bill. These notices of the intent to apply are published in the month of November. It will be remembered that Parliament generally meets in the latter part of January, unless specially convoked. Two copies of the bill, and, in the case of a bill belonging to the second class, two copies of the plan, a book of reference in relation to the plan and a list of owners, a copy of the list of owners, and copy of the Gazette notice, must be deposited in the office of each clerk of the peace in the county or district wherein the improvement is to be made or the powers to be exercised; one copy of each of the same documents at the office of the Board of Trade; one copy in the Parliament office; one copy in the private bills office of the House of Commons; a copy of the plans and sections at the parish clerk's office; and, in the event of its being any churchyard bill or burial ground bill, or if any commonable land is proposed to be interfered with, a copy must likewise be deposited in the office of the Secretary of State for the Home Department. On or before the 15th of December notice must be personally served on the owners, lessees and occupiers of all lands, houses and premises which are to be affected by the provisions of the bill. On or before the 17th of December, a printed copy of the bill must be deposited at the Parliament office of the House of Lords; and, on or before the 21st of December, a printed copy of the bill, with the petition annexed, at the private bills office of the House of Commons, and the private bills office of the Board of Trade. And, in addition to all this, in the

case of any canal, railway or tramway bill, or one relating to any public work requiring the exercise of the right of eminent domain, there must be deposited, on or before the 31st of December, an estimate of expenses, signed in duplicate—one for the Lords and the other for the Commons—at the private bills office and at the Parliament office. An entire list of owners and occupiers must be deposited in the House of Lords, in the same form as that in the House of Commons. On or before the 14th of January, a deposit of a sum of money equal to five per cent. of the estimates must be made in the High Court of Justice, and a deposit must be made at the time of the filing of the papers, to pay the expenses of the bill in the two Houses of Parliament.

If the bill is unopposed, it is taken up by officers called examiners, who begin their work on or about the 18th of January, according to such directions as shall have been made by the Speaker. Seven days' notice of the proposed examination of the petition and bill is sent out, and if the petitioners do not then appear before the examiners, the bill is stricken out; if the petitioners appear, which appearance is generally made by the parliamentary agent or solicitor, a judicial inquiry is then made, whether the provisions of the standing orders as to notice, publication, deposits of plans and moneys have all been duly complied with, and whether the necessary disbursements for the consideration of the bill have been deposited, which vary in the first instance from £20 to £30. If, upon such examination, it appears that the rules of procedure have not been complied with, the bill is thrown out, with the endorsement, "standing orders not complied with," and nothing farther is done that session with it. A qualified or conditional opposition to the bill may be made by the adversaries to it, upon the question of non-compliance with the standing orders, so as to avoid the necessity of a trial of the bill on its merits. If it can be shown, before the examiners, that, either through negligence or fraud, the promoters of the bill have failed to comply with the parliamentary requirements, the bill is thrown out in the same manner as though the examiners had discovered the defect by their unaided inquiry. Assuming that the examiners find that the promoters have fully complied with all these preliminary requirements, the private bill is then referred to the chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means of the House, who, at a con-

ference on private and local bills, with the chairman of the Committee of the House of Lords, determines in which House of Parliament the bills shall respectively be first considered, and in what order they shall be considered; upon this determination, neither parties nor counsel are heard. Thereupon, the chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means, with the assistance of the counsel to the Speaker, examines all the private bills, independently of the question whether opposed or unopposed, and calls the attention of the House, and also that of the chairman of the committees, to all points that may appear to him to require it, and, at any time after a private bill has been referred to a committee, the chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means is at liberty to report to the House any special suggestions relative thereto which occur to him to require it, and to inform the House that, in his opinion, any unopposed private bill should be treated as though it had been opposed, and evidence shall be taken to prove the petition and clauses affirmatively.

Before the committee acts upon a private bill, whether opposed or unopposed, it is again submitted to the chairman of the Lords' committees and his counsel, who amends it, alters it, or recasts it as he may see fit; or, if he finds that it is inexpedient on the whole that the bill should pass, he endorses it that "The Lords will not concur in the passage of this bill," and all farther progress thereupon is arrested, because the Commons, since the existence of the standing orders, have never yet seen fit to urge upon the Lords the passage of any private bill, when so high an authority as Lord Redesdale, who has been for many years the chairman of its committees, signifies the disinclination of his chamber to consider a special private bill. Hence the suggestions that come down from Lord Redesdale's committee to the promoters or to the House of Commons are generally incorporated in the bill, in the way of amendments, almost without question, and because they have resulted from the scrutiny of an upright, careful and conscientious jurist. The bill is then referred to committee; the committee carefully consider its provisions, call in the aid of the parliamentary counsel or agent who has endorsed the bill, to explain it, assist in its modification, if modifications are suggested, and the bill is then reported to the House, favorably or adversely, as the committee may determine. If disapproved of by the committee, as a

general rule, there is an end to the bill. While the power really exists, on the part of the House, to disagree with the report of the committee, they recognize the fact that the disagreement is inexpedient, as against a committee who have examined, with judicial accuracy, the provisions of the bill.

The chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, together with three others, are appointed by the speaker as referees, who constitute tribunals for the trial of opposed bills. They have power to suggest the increase of their number, and constitute sub-committees. The chairmen only of these committees need be members of the House of Commons; upon special bills committee-men are generally selected who are specially fitted as experts. They enter into an examination of the question whether the bill is to become a law, and under what modifications, restrictions and safeguards it is to become law. This committee really, therefore, enters into a trial of the petitions for and the counter-petitions against private bills; trials which they are called upon to make as aids to Parliament to determine its course, precisely as a common law jury may be called to aid a court of equity to determine questions of fact.

The chairmen of these various committees of selection meet together and form a calendar of opposed bills. In the case of bills for which there are regular standing committees of the House, such as railway and canal bills, such committees try them, and do so under the suggestions, whether opposed or unopposed, of the Board of Trade. The standing committees who have, in the first instance, the power to try the bill if they see fit so to do, can either do so or place it upon the general calendar of these courts thus constituted for the trial of opposed bills. The trial is, as already observed, upon issues joined on the petition of the bill and its several clauses, by a counter-petition against it, in which the counter-petitioners deny the facts set forth in the petition, and ask that they may be heard in opposition to the bill. The opposed bill is treated precisely as an unopposed bill, as to all the preliminary stages, passes through the hands of examiners, as to compliance with standing orders, the scrutiny of the chairman of committees of the House of Lords and House of Commons, etc. When once on the calendar of the general or special committee to which the same is referred, it takes its turn for hearing, precisely

as a cause which is put upon the calendar of the court awaits its time for trial.

If, as sometimes happens, the private bill is of considerable public importance, when the chairman of the Ways and Means committee of the House of Commons seeks a conference with the chairman of the committees of the House of Lords for the purpose of determining which bills should be considered first in the House of Lords and which in the House of Commons, then such a bill, if deemed of public importance, is by these chairmen simultaneously introduced in the House of Commons and Lords, and referred to a special joint-committee of the Houses, who thereupon proceed to try the petition of the bill as a joint-court. The writer attended the sessions of such a special joint-committee during the last summer, on the disposition to be made of the Epping forest. Evidence is then taken precisely as in a court of justice: although a little greater latitude is allowed both to counsel and to the court. The rule as to hearsay testimony is also somewhat relaxed; but documents are produced, maps examined, experts heard, elaborate arguments of counsel had, and every adverse interest allowed a hearing; suggestions are made with reference to amendments, and all proceedings are precisely in the same form as though these committee-men were judges.

No man can become a member of the committee to sit upon a special bill without making a declaration, in writing, that neither the borough that he represents, nor he himself individually, has an interest in the bill to be considered, and that he will hear all the evidence before voting upon the acceptance or rejection of the bill; thus again recognizing the judicial character of the determination of the committee, and applying to each special case that general rule which applies to the judiciary, that they are not permitted to sit in cases in which they have a personal interest.

To secure the full attendance of members of committees, it is a standing rule that it can transact no business if more than one of its members is absent, and if a member absents himself more than twice from a committee, his name is taken off from that committee and some other member is substituted; and when any incorporated company presents itself before Parliament, to have any of its powers extended, altered, or amended, any body of shareholders, although in the minority, may be heard in opposition to such bill.

At any stage of the proceedings, if the promoters of the bill abandon it, the bill is disregarded and thrown out, and the expense incurred lost to the parties who have promoted the bill.

By the 28th and 29th Victoria, a complete system of costs was established in relation to contests before committees, so as to make the proceedings still more analogous to those of a court of justice. This gives the power to the committee on a private bill, that, where they hold that the preamble of a petition is not proved, or if on the motion of the opposition they insert any provision for the protection of such opposing petitioner, or where they strike out or alter any provision for the protection of the opposing petitioner and report that the opposing petitioner has been unreasonably or vexatiously subjected to the necessity of defending his rights, by reason of the promoters of the bill not carefully guarding the same in the bill as filed, he is thereupon entitled to recover costs from the promoters. On the other hand, when the committee unanimously report that the opposition has been vexatious, and that the promoters of the bill should not have been opposed, so much of the costs and expenses as relate to the trial of the bill may be thrown upon the opposing petitioners. This act, however, very wisely provides that no landowner who, at his own risk and charge, in good faith opposes a bill which proposes to take any of his property, shall be mulcted in costs because of the non-success of his opposition.

The expenses, in the way of disbursements, for filing, examiners' fees, etc., attending the passage of an unopposed bill, are scarcely ever less than two hundred pounds. These are made at the various stages of the bill, as preliminary to its being further considered or carried through the House; and these disbursements pay the whole expense of Parliament,—its stationery for public purposes, its Speaker's special counsel, its parliamentary draftsman, etc., as well as the expenses incident to the consideration of the bills through the committees.

All bills are subjected to being re-drafted by officers under the supervision of the Speaker's counsel—the parliamentary draftsmen. This Speaker's counsel generally is a lawyer of great dignity and attainments. Sir Henry Thring has for many years held this position, and if the bill in question is one to which public attention has been drawn, the probabilities are that it is submitted to his scrutiny and revision.

England's course of procedure, by bringing method into its legislation, has completely done away with her lobby in the sense that we know it. There is a difference of the same character between such a system and the course of legislative action in the vast majority of the States of the Union, that there is between the procedure before the Supreme Court of the United States and before some court in southern Russia or Turkey. Unless report woefully belies those countries, the court is "fixed"—propitiated by presents—before it hears the arguments of counsel. In some cases, it is influenced probably by family considerations, and the function of the counsel who appears before the court is of very small consequence indeed, compared with him who has been closeted with the judge before the day fixed for trial. The function of counsel in such a case is to give, with more or less ability, a mere pretext for a pre-determined judgment, and that can be performed by persons of a very low order of mind, as the result is not dependent upon the degree of ability with which this service is performed. The few Westminster lawyers who appeared before the parliamentary committees at the time of Walpole, were probably called in with such a duty to perform, and the vast number of lawyers who appear before legislative committees in our country, consciously or unconsciously, perform a not very much higher one.

When committees of Parliament became courts, a heavy draft was made upon the Westminster bar to supply this new demand for special training for enquiry and debate, and numerous lawyers, soon devoted themselves exclusively to the trial and argument of causes before the parliamentary bar. A new class of solicitors, known as parliamentary agents, came into existence, drawn from the same classes of the community as those which supply the practitioners at the chancery or common law bars. These agents prepare briefs for counsel, draw the bills, and attend to all the practice part of private bills legislation. Honors and distinction are won as much at the parliamentary as at the law and equity bars, and the silk gown is at St. Stephen's, as at Westminster, the reward of merit. Parliamentary lawyers are not so readily transferred to the bench or the wool-sack as are those who practice in the courts of justice; their emoluments are larger, however; hence, as the parliamentary practitioner acquires pecuniary fortune more rapidly than his brethren who practice in the courts of justice, he

feels himself somewhat compensated for not being able to look forward to the comfort, ease, and social distinction which accompany judicial position in England.

England, therefore, has relieved itself from the pressure which the modern corporations and the growth of wealth have brought upon its legislative functions, by submitting their demands to so careful a scrutiny and trial, and surrounding property with such safeguards, that Englishmen can well dispense with written constitutional guarantees to prevent the encroachment of accumulated individual and corporate wealth upon the rights of property not thus consolidated.

Our readers may remember the fact that Parliament adjourns on the 12th of August—"St. Grouse's Day." There is a provision in the rules that no private bills shall be read a second time after the 11th of June. Therefore, the private bills legislation that is not in a sufficiently forward state for second reading by June 11th, is lost for that parliamentary session. This gives, towards the end of a session, a royal right of way to public legislation.

Public legislation in England has not so many, yet some few distinctive features which are noteworthy. Any member of the House of Commons, upon giving due notice for leave to introduce a bill, may introduce a public bill, state his reasons at the time of the introduction in brief for so doing, and have the same committed to its proper committee. Public bills involving taxation and grants of money, trade and commerce, the prerogative of the crown, or the rights of the church, cannot be introduced unless a resolution for their introduction is first passed by a committee of the whole of the House, so that great public questions cannot, without due preparation, or unless the House is willing to consider them, be thrown into Parliament so as to convert it into a debating club. The ministry in the main takes charge of the public bills, more especially those that are mentioned in the Queen's speech at the opening of parliament, and it is the business of the ministry to see to it that these bills are properly prepared and properly presented; and, as every ministerial department has in the numerous offices under its control a large array of counsel, it can, quite independently of the official counsel or draftsmen of the nation, command the highest order of ability of the kingdom, to prepare, with the utmost care and in harmony with the general legislation of the

land, the public legislation which, for the public weal, it proposes to submit to Parliament for passage. It is this which creates a party responsibility in England, of which we in this country have no notion whatever. The party entrusted by the people with a majority of its suffrages and with a working majority in Parliament, having the power to pass laws, considers that power coupled with the responsibility to secure the passage of public laws in the public interest. Faithlessness in the performance of this trust, is a proper arraignment of the ministry, both on the hustings and in the press, to justify its overturn and expulsion from office. The several committees, both of the House of Commons and the House of Lords, may for their information proceed to the trial of a public bill as though it was an opposed private bill, take evidence and hear arguments upon the same; and where a public bill affects large private interests, precedents are not wanting where, before the bar of the House or before the bar of the Lords, counsel for such special interests were heard, and thereupon a due inquiry was instituted to take special clauses of the bill into consideration. Frequently, the proposition for a law has resulted in determining on the part of Parliament that it had not sufficient information to deal with the subject, and in the appointment of what is known as a royal commission composed of the ablest experts that the nation affords, who are well paid for their work, to consider and report upon the public measure intended at some future day to be converted into law. Such was the course, in 1872, resulting in the appointment of the royal commission on railways, which reported in 1873, and in consequence of which report the English Railway Board of Commissioners was called into being. Of course, in all cases where the bill contains penalties and disabilities it has been usual to order a copy of the bill, and of the order for the second reading, to be served upon the parties to be affected thereby, and to hear them by counsel.

When a private member introduces a bill of a public nature, which the ministry agrees to as salutary in its effects, it is generally adopted by the ministry and passes as a government bill. Frequently, as a mere matter of party tactics, an important and beneficial bill, to the principles of which the ministry stands opposed, is offered in Parliament with a view to create a division, upon which the ministry may be defeated. Extreme care is of

course taken by the opposition, under those circumstances, that the bill shall be well drawn, so that it may not be shown to be slipshod in its provisions, and a successful opposition made thereto quite independent of the merits of the clauses. In all other respects, except of course the royal assent, which is never withheld, although an absolute veto rests in the hands of the sovereign, the proceedings are quite analogous to those of the legislative bodies of the United States.

As already shown, the division between our country and the mother country took place before the differentiation between public and private bills was in England accomplished as it is now, and our system, with a partial exception in favor of the State of Massachusetts, has continued to proceed as though no such change had been made; the consequence is that, from the opening of every session of our legislative chambers, the hotels of the city in which they sit, and the corridors around the legislative halls, swarm with a numerous horde of politicians, briefless lawyers and trained corruptionists, for the purpose of influencing favorable or opposing unfavorable legislation to the various special interests of the community. There is no ministry responsible for the public legislation; there is no examining or drafting committee; there is no speaker's counsel nor counsel of chairmen of committees; no council of revision. In almost all the States of the Union the bills are thrust pell-mell into the legislative hopper, to be ground out as laws. A bill to grant to a railway the right to construct a branch line jostles a new code of procedure, which, in its turn, is elbowed by John Smith's desire to be authorized to change his name to Montrose Livingston. A constitutional amendment is on special orders for consideration on the same day, and may be crowded out from being considered at all, by a bill to grant to a remote township a method of draining some of its waste lands. As there is no organized public body charged with the duty of securing the passage of public laws, the pulling at the other end of this legislative mill, by the representatives of private interests, brings out, only at the close of the session, a large number of private bills, in the passage of which there is money; quite independently of the question of the venality of legislators, the only pressure to which they are subjected is that of private interests; and they are not pressed to pass the bills of a public nature.

The officials of committees—clerks, engrossers, etc.—are all interested in private measures, but not in public bills, as the latter yield no perquisites. The consequence is, that upon the lists of the various committees private bills slip forward and the public bills remain behind until towards the close of the session, when public measures are either passed without debate, on the strength that somebody who prepared the bills was competent to draw them, or are left for a subsequent session of the legislature. Inquiry of a judicial character is scarcely ever had upon a private bill. In the State of New York, and in many of our Western States, the committees deem it a concession when, before they act upon a private bill, they give somebody an opportunity to be heard by counsel; and when they do it, they generally accompany it with the suggestion that the committee has many things to consider,—which is true,—and that counsel had better confine themselves to half an hour. Notice to an interest to be affected by a private bill is remitted to chance; no provision is made as to the filing of bills, nor is any order insisted upon as to when it is to be introduced. Private bills of the most sinister character are frequently withheld until towards the end of the session; purposely not printed, so as to withhold information as to their contents, so that not even by accident shall the interest to be grievously and injuriously affected by their provisions, hear of their existence.

If such an opposing interest desire, towards the close of a session, to be heard, if it is heard at all, it is permitted to make violent assertions, to be met by equally violent assertions to the contrary on the part of the advocates of the bill; and which of these assertions the committee may or may not believe, in most of our States, is left to its discretion. That a legislative committee, towards the end of a legislative session, is to sit as a court and make an inquiry in the nature of a trial, to hear witnesses and to examine documents, would be regarded by it as the wildest of dreams, and the man making it as a fit subject for an inquiry *de lunatico*.

The false notion of the committee's duty in the premises goes so far as to lead many legislators to regard argument upon a private bill as an interference with them as law makers, which they are willing to tolerate, but that gentlemen who come before them with the view either of opposing or urging the passage of a par-

ticular measure, must be thankful for this good-natured tolerance of such meddlesome interference. Committeemen, therefore, loiter into the committee-room and loiter out of it during the progress of an argument, and listening to such argument is not at all done as the performance of a duty, as a part of a legislative inquiry, but mainly as filling up an interval of time between two legislative sessions, when the business of grinding out laws which are scarcely read, but little understood, and never investigated, continues. Much of this indisposition to hear discussion is due to the fact that all these arguments are based upon *ex parte* statements of facts of no judicial value.

It is true, we have written constitutions; but it is nobody's business to see to it, before a public or private bill is passed, that the bill is in conformity therewith; and it is a mere accident, again, if some lawyer happens to be on the floor of the house, competent or willing to draw the attention of the house to the constitutional objections. In the case of a private bill, not only are the constitutional objections disregarded, because no one has drawn the attention of the house to them, but the flippant answer is constantly made, that if the bill is unconstitutional the courts will take care of it; and the courts, in turn, say that if the bill is passed by the legislature, there is a presumption of its constitutionality. Thus, vast quantities of bills are annually passed in this country, forming in the aggregate about thirteen thousand printed pages in the various States of this Union, with about three hundred pages more of Congressional work, as a body of legislation from which the courts are to fish out the unconstitutional measures, after an infinite amount of mischief and violation of private rights has been done by them. If an ounce of prevention is better than a pound of cure, a system that prevents bad legislation or encroachment upon private rights is beyond all comparison better than one which first permits those encroachments to be made, and then throws the burden upon the courts to remedy them after they have been committed.

In nothing can the evil of this system be better followed than in the beginning and growth of the railway legislation in this country. The first railway was chartered in this country in 1826, by the State of New York, as the Mohawk and Hudson Railroad.

With great care did the legislature circumscribe the franchises

of this proposed road, so that they shall be conservative of property rights, and carefully guard the safety of the person. A tariff of charges was laid down for the railway, to which it was compelled rigidly to conform, and a provision was inserted authorizing the State to repeal the franchise, or modify it in any degree. As the road ran parallel with the canal, it was forbidden to carry freight. When other roads gradually extended, between 1827 and 1837, to the system which is now known as the New York Central R. R., provisions were inserted authorizing others than the railway companies to use the roads with their carriages, and the provisions relative to forbidding them from carrying freight were gradually limited to restrictions upon carrying of freight of first class only.

Strangely enough, as it may now seem to us, the idea originally entertained of the railway was very much as our present idea of ballooning—that if the project will work and can be perfected, the extremely luxurious and rich only could afford to travel by that method, and as the suggestion that balloons might carry heavy freight in competition with railroads would now appear chimerical, so it then seemed equally visionary that railroads should compete with water routes; and the only reason why there was a provision limiting and forbidding the carrying of heavy freight, was because the state owned the canal and did not desire to charter corporations which might even possibly enter into competition with it.

The charters of the railroads in Long Island, which were among the earliest in our states, contained provisions looking forward to a state purchase of the railway, and thus all the ideas which are now looked upon as communistic were quite thoroughly entertained and put in practice in relation to railways in their earliest development.

As these new roads extended their operations they became powerful factors in finance, and gradually in state politics, and there is scarcely any trace of this early legislation left. Little by little, in one way or another the railways became first sufficiently powerful to organize a lobby to prevent the adoption of such legislation as might possibly be regarded as necessary by reason of the growth of the railway as a power. This lobby did not confine itself to preventing unfriendly legislation, but saw to it that legislation should become friendly. There was no ministry to see to it that

this important interest should be kept under check. It was nobody's business, and the railways saw to it that it should be their business.

The restriction upon the carrying of freight was, in the '40's, changed to the payment of toll to the canal fund. Then came the general Railway Act of 1848, which, however, still required railways to obtain the right of eminent domain by a special legislative grant. But even this restriction was swept away, under the influence of the companies, by the general Railway Law of 1850, which amended the former act and left out the safeguard as to eminent domain, and thus an interest which in the state of New York collects from its citizens ten times more than is collected by taxation—state, county and municipal—has been absolutely freed from all legislative control and has gradually *there*, and report says *here*, made itself the master of legislation, instead of being the slave it was at the outset. All this, of course, could not have happened if there were but half as much responsibility connected with legislation in this country as there is in administration, and if there were a proper distinction between public and private bills.

To the lawyers of our communities, the evil I have detailed, resulting in this chaos of law, is specially oppressive. In every profession, and in the pursuit of every art, long continued occupation and persistent effort in its methods give to their votaries a dexterity and advantage which a *tyro* cannot expect to have. Laborious effort becomes in process of time, by being oft continued, a merely mechanical and almost unconscious mental operation, and the underlying principles of the science or practice of the art present themselves seemingly spontaneously to the mind and hand. In the United States, the lawyer alone is deprived of the advantages of long experience. Our legislation is in so chaotic a condition, and so multitudinous are the acts which roll from our legislative halls, and so little can we trust that they are in harmony with previous legislation that no lawyer, however long in practice, can venture to give an opinion off-hand upon almost any subject, or to try a case without seeing what the legislature of his state or of the United States may have done, within the past few years, with principles which early in life he had been taught were fundamental. This serious drawback makes the life of a large and influential class of the community enormously laborious and causes a wasteful expenditure of time to the lawyer and money to his clients.

The lawyer in England, the lawyer in France or in Germany, can look forward to the same ease and comfort in his labors which his friends in other professions can fairly look forward to. As years roll on, that which was laborious once becomes easy afterwards, so that with increasing honors and increasing practice come decreased labor and increasing leisure. That the followers of that profession cannot enjoy this, so to speak, rest in labor, accounts for the alarming increase in the death-roll of younger members of the bar.

The crying evils arising from this non-division of public from private legislation and our failure to treat private legislation as decrees of a court of last resort, instead of as legislation proper, had become in the State of New York so formidable and unbearable that a constitutional commission, in 1872, recommended the limitation of the power of the Legislature in the case of private bills, by cutting off those entirely which had become the greatest source of political corruption, and compelling the Legislature to effect all those objects by general legislation thereafter. This provision was incorporated into the constitution of the State of New York, in January, 1875, and is now making the rounds of the states, as a remedy for the evils of the lobby. It will, however, not do much in that direction, and is in itself the source of a mischief of very considerable magnitude.

These limitations forbid the Legislature from passing any private or local bill to change the names of persons; to lay out, open, alter, work, or discontinue highways or alleys; to locate or change county seats, or change the venue in civil and criminal cases; to incorporate villages, to provide for the election of members of the board of supervisors, to select, draw, summon or impanel grand or petit jurors; to open and conduct elections and designate places of voting; to create or decrease fees, percentages or allowances of public officers during the term for which the officers are elected or appointed; to grant to corporations, associations or individuals the right to lay down railroad tracks; to grant to a private corporation, association or individual any exclusive privilege, immunity or franchise whatever; but, as before observed, they are required to do these things by general law.

Already has the protective value of this provision been very considerably destroyed by a decision of the New York Court of

Appeals, in the rapid transit cases, which, without directly deciding, inferentially holds that it is a limitation upon giving rights to new corporations, leading to the *reductio ad absurdum* that by the simple trick of amending or altering an existing charter such rights which could not, *de novo*, have been conferred, may be granted. The main danger from this constitutional amendment, however, is that it threatens to throw the whole body of the general law into confusion. Wherever the limitation will press, there will be an interest created to change the general public law for the purpose of meeting the special case; and as there is no organized counter-interest on the part of the general body of the people, by means of a ministry, to prevent the public law from being thus tampered with, these checks will probably in a very short time throw the little harmonious legislation that we now possess into hopeless confusion. Another proposed method of correcting the now generally confessed evils incident to our legislation, is to have the legislatures meet less frequently. Amendments to constitutions of several states have already been adopted and in others proposed, looking to biennial instead of annual sessions of law makers. This is empiricism run mad. The parallel for this treatment of political distempers is to be found in the ridiculous methods of treatment of physical ailments which prevailed in the good old days of Dr. Sangrado, who urged "when man is sick his blood is diseased, tap him of half his blood and he is but half as sick as he was." The absurdity of such a method of treatment, is made manifest at first blush, if you but imagine dealing with a corrupt and ignorant judiciary in that way. Suppose some one had proposed that the way to get better judgments from Barnard, was to have him hold four instead of eight terms in the year? This is precisely what is proposed to be done by holding biennial instead of annual sessions as a cure for our radically defective method of legislation.

To insist upon the distinction between private and public legislation; to regard private legislation not as law, but as an adjudication after a trial;—would rapidly extinguish the lobby. He who is willing to be used as an instrument to bribe a judge, is generally unfit to argue the merits of a cause before the same officer in public; as the education of the one, as a general rule, differs from that of the other. He who appears before the bar feels himself to be a member of a noble profession, and is prevented by self-respect and

respect for his calling from doing things by indirection; the other is a manipulator of the weaknesses of men, but without the capacity, by processes of reasoning, to show the logical force, necessities and advantages of a given situation. No better end to the lobby could be devised than the requirement that they shall become lawyers. Even if a few of the most capable would convert themselves into members of the legal profession, the great mass would, in a very short time, sink from a position which they now occupy, and be driven to the performance of lower but possibly more useful functions.

In the various States of the Union, it is true, there are legislative provisions as to the manner of the passage of a bill; but these provisions generally relate to the number of times a bill shall be read, what majority special bills shall require, and as to the mode of engrossing and promulgating laws through the office of the secretary of state:—provisions adequate enough for an agricultural community of homogeneous interests, but utterly inadequate to prevent hasty and mischievous legislation under the pressure of special interests of such magnitude as now bear upon our legislative bodies. Were our legislators incorruptible statesmen, these provisions would not be adequate, but the absence of proper regulations affords a ready excuse, as well as a cloak, for much of their venality and corruption.

That we have accomplished comparatively so little with the vast resources of our country; that the accumulation of wealth is not much greater here than in France, and that the wages of labor are, when we take into consideration the purchasing power of such wages, not much higher than in England, is, in great part due to the fact that we have allowed private legislation to assume such huge proportions that special interests have created themselves into monopolies, controlling our legislative halls, which directly and indirectly tax the community at their own sweet wills.

We have carried division of employments farther than is done elsewhere, and we make cotton cloths, and all kinds of machinery as well as, and in many instances better than, anywhere on the face of the earth. We have recognized the fact that in large communities occupations, to be successfully carried on, must be differentiated; but in legislation, that most important and far-reaching of all occupations and services rendered to society, we are still

in the cross-roads country-store condition, whose proprietor sells silks and molasses over the same counter, does a little cobbling and a little doctoring, is in one corner of his shop a druggist, and in another corner a hatter. As civilization and population increase, these functions become the business of many individuals, each one performed with greater skill than this cross-road's store-keeper attended to them all.

Thus with our legislation. Assuming it to be well-intentioned, it is cross-roads legislation; and the consequences are to be found in the wasting of our resources, in the overtaxing of our communities, in the tyranny of monopolies created by law, in the trampling upon private rights, and in the general confusion into which it has thrown the moral sense of the community, by giving it over to spoliation and confiscation under the forms of law, and which, but for this garment of legality, would at once be recognized as unmitigated robbery.

SIMON STERNE.

REPUDIATION: PAST, PRESENT AND FUTURE.—II.

I.

THE man who would correctly appreciate the future should prepare himself therefor by study of the past. To such study the reader is now invited, as follows:—

Driven from the ocean in the time of the Napoleonic wars by means of outrages perpetrated by both of the contending parties, and forced finally into war with Britain, our people found themselves compelled to look homeward for a substitute for the foreign commerce of which they had been deprived; and hence it came to pass that at the close of that war, in 1815, producers and consumers had here been brought so near together as to make it absolutely certain that, with a continuance of the protection to domestic commerce that had thus been forced upon us, the day would be not far distant when there should have been established that industrial independence in whose absence there could be no possibility of monetary independence. Unfortunately, however, Southern planters had failed to make themselves familiar with the fact which had been shown by an eminent advocate of the British

school, that under that colonial system which had so recently prevailed, American producers, as a rule, retained for themselves not more than a fourth of the proceeds of their products, the remainder being absorbed by charges for freight, interest, commissions, insurance, taxes, and other contrivances for augmenting the fortunes of those merchant princes to whom their predecessors had been indebted for oppressions by which they had been compelled to war for independence. As a consequence, Southern effort was now given toward reëstablishment of that system of industrial dependence against which Southern men had so recently rebelled, and with such effect that, with the exception of the brief and brilliant periods of the tariffs of 1828 and 1842, it had been maintained throughout the more than forty years that elapsed before the Carolinian act of secession, in December, 1860. Throughout that period Liverpool was the hub around which American commerce revolved, Southern producers of raw materials and Northern producers of food there making their exchanges with each other by means of the intervention of British traders in cloth and money by whom the unfortunate producers, North and South, were stripped of their property after a fashion the most approved. The consequences of this, briefly stated, were as follows:—

1. That, in the absence of protective duties, the great mineral centre of the Union remained almost entirely undeveloped :

2. That our main lines of communication presented little else than parallel lines leading eastward to the cities through which the rude products of the country must make their way to Liverpool :

3. That limited, as it almost altogether was, to agricultural pursuits, Northern population, foreign and domestic, steadily overflowed in the direction of the North-west, Southern increase of numbers meanwhile exhibiting itself in a steady passage toward the Gulf States of colored people who should have been employed in developing the great mineral resources of Virginia and Kentucky, Maryland, North Carolina and Tennessee :

4. That in the absence of any considerable internal commerce there existed no possibility that Northern and Southern roads, tending to tie the Union together, should be made :

5. That in the absence of any such tie, with a weight continually increasing at both its extremities, dissolution of the political union came as a necessary consequence.

Conversing on this subject, in the first month of the war, with President Lincoln, I asked him what it was that even then held the Union together. "Is it not," as I continued, "the Mississippi?" "Yes," said he, "that is the cross tie." "Well, then, Mr. President, if you had a great iron cross tie through the mountain region, from here to the gulf, do you, think it would then be possible to dissolve our Union?" "No," said he, emphatically; "there could be no possibility of such an occurrence." So decided was he in the view thus presented, that had he been spared to us his best efforts would, I am sure, have been given to promotion of that domestic intercourse which would, before this time, have caused the creation of a railroad system that would have brought North and South into such intimate connection that hundreds of thousands of Northern men would be now employed in cultivating the abandoned lands of Southern States, at each and every step strengthening those relations between North and South which would tie the parts together with bands of steel so strong as to set at defiance all further attempts at dissolution of our glorious Union.

It is common to attribute the War of Secession to the existence of a slavery system so much at war with the mode of thought and feeling at the North. Than this, however, nothing could be less accurate. British free trade and slavery, here as elsewhere, have always travelled together; the only real road to freedom being found in maintenance of that domestic commerce which results from bringing producers and consumers to take their places by each others' side. Had the tariff of 1842 been allowed to continue in operation the Southern States would, before the day of the fall of Fort Sumpter, have been filled with mills that would have been giving, in a finished form, cotton to all the markets of the world; with furnaces aiding in developing the wonderful mineral resources of its monster states; and with a colored population gradually and gently becoming free, as the approximation of producers and consumers was more and more giving monetary value to the land, and aiding in further developing the intellectual faculties of those by whom the land was owned, as well as of those by whom it was being cultivated.

II. Prior to the war all the circulating notes of the country were furnished by banks existing under State laws differing in

their various provisions as the States themselves differed in their estimates of what did, or did not, constitute "honest money;" such money as would best contribute toward accomplishing the object for which alone money of any kind could be needed, to wit:—that of so facilitating exchanges of commodities, or services, as would give to the societary body a rapidity of circulation corresponding with that which, in the physical body, is always the accompaniment of health and vigorous life. To what extent power over the circulation was exercised by the various States is shown by the following figures, giving the number of banks, their capitals, and their respective circulations in 1856, shortly previous to the great crisis which followed so closely upon the enactment of the horizontal and Free Trade Tariff of 1857.

	NUMBER.	CAPITAL.	CIRCULATION.
Eastern States,	492	\$110,000,000	\$47,000,000
Middle States, embracing New York, New Jersey, Ohio, } Pennsylvania and Maryland, }	486	125,000,000	58,000,000
Southern States,	129	48,000,000	35,000,000
South-western States,	108	41,000,000	34,000,000
Western States,	183	16,000,000	18,000,000

Throughout New England, with its limited space and with a population of less than three millions, the number, as we see, was sufficiently great to give to every neighborhood, and almost every man, facilities in reference to the investment of capital and the performance of exchanges, scarcely elsewhere equalled in the world; as a consequence of which it is safe to say that nowhere had the same amount of service been rendered to a people at so small a cost, whether of money or of risk, as for half a century before the war had been the case with New England banks. Nevertheless, nowhere had there been a more total absence of that expensive machinery of circulation whose almost exclusive use, in the form of the precious metals, is now so strongly urged upon the nation by men whose ancestors had had so much reason for congratulating themselves upon the almost exclusive use of the cheapest and most "honest money" then in use in any portion of the Union.

Passing southward, we find, at almost every step, a diminution of freedom of association on the part of those desiring to trade in

money, with corresponding increase in the tendency toward compelling the people of the various States to use of the costly metals in transactions that in the more civilized New England were being accomplished by use of the inexpensive paper. Pennsylvania limited herself, in this direction, to prohibition of notes of less denomination than five dollars, thereby enabling the more advanced States of the North and East to flood the State with such notes as were needed by the people for the domestic commerce. Upon the still less civilized Missouri it was vehemently urged, by Col. Benton, that there should be an universal proscription of notes under ten dollars; but whether or not the idea was anywhere carried out, I do not now recollect. With every step in that direction we find a diminution of stability; the New England States, with an almost exclusive paper circulation, passing almost unhurt through successive crises, at each of which legislatures of other States were required to interpose for protection of their banks by passage of laws sanctioning just such suspensions of payment as should, in accordance with their respective charters, have been followed by total forfeiture of the privileges that had been granted them.

On each successive occasion of suspension banks were required, at an early period, to put their houses in order and resume payments in specie; such resumption having, however, been precisely such a farce as is, at this moment, being played by the Secretary and his friends of the Treasury Ring; demands for coin having then been followed by proscription of the claimants, precisely such as would be now experienced by any merchant adventurous enough to ask for gold when he could not fail to know that almost our whole stock of that metal has been so securely locked up as to have been made entirely inaccessible to both banks and people. Under the old system banks promised to pay dollars; but, as was well said by the then most eminent of New York bankers, it was with a clear understanding that "they were not to be asked for." So it is now; the Treasury having resumed under such circumstances as positively forbid that banks or people should be enabled to extract either gold or silver from the vaults in which they now stand imprisoned.

As has been shown, the national policy tended towards maintenance of the industrial dependence by means of which financial dependence was rendered certain; each and every change in the

money market of London having been followed by corresponding changes among ourselves,—the remarkable exception to this being found in the fact that throughout the brilliant periods of the protective Tariffs of 1828 and 1842 there was no financial disturbance whatsoever, except that which was caused by removal of the public deposits by President Jackson, in 1833.

With each new bank created under the State bank system there came an addition to the local circulation, enabling the people of the neighborhood more freely to make their exchanges with each other. The local advantage thus gained was, however, in some degree antagonized by the fact that such notes, having no national circulation, were subjected, in the distant cities, to charges for exchange tending much toward diminution in the facilities of intercourse between the several portions of the Union. Whether or not the advantages gained on the one side equalled or exceeded the disadvantages inflicted on the other, is a question that need not be here discussed. Sufficient is it to say, that a system which had given to Georgia banks with \$16,000,000 of capital and half that amount of circulation, and to Missouri nine of the one and eight of the other, possessed some advantages over one which gives but little of either to the one or the other of those great States. For strengthening and increasing those advantages, and for giving to the State system all the advantages of a national one, nothing had been needed but persistence in that policy of 1842 by aid of which the domestic commerce was growing with a rapidity that would soon have given to the country a circulation almost, if not even quite, as perfect as that which now exists.

III. The month of February, in the year 1863, witnessed the first step toward annihilation of a State bank system that would have proved a very perfect one had it not been attended by an effort at maintaining specie payments side by side with a revenue system based upon the idea that the colonial dependence upon Britain, against which the country had so recently rebelled, was still to be continued. The National Bank Bill, whose adoption by Congress had been so earnestly urged by Secretary Chase, then was made the law of the land, but it proved to be so encumbered with regulations and restrictions that the State banks, almost with one accord, declined to accept it, as a consequence of which it remained a dead letter for a year or more. Determined,

however, that his scheme should be carried into full effect, the Secretary next prevailed upon Congress to pass an act taxing out of existence all State banks, thereby establishing a monopoly of the circulation in favor of persons who should agree, to the extent of \$300,000,000, to lend their capital to the government, receiving bonds bearing six per cent. interest in gold, all of which were to remain on deposit in the Treasury, as security for payment of \$270,000,000 of circulating notes of which they were to have the use. The bounty thus offered to a very limited number of persons was tempting in the highest degree, securing to them, as it did, not only very large interest, but also almost a monopoly of the banking power for the whole Union, during a period so far extended as to warrant the idea that the population subjected to it would, before its expiration, attain a figure little, if indeed at all, inferior to those of England and France combined. As a natural consequence of this, not only did the State banks, with few or no exceptions, seize promptly upon their share of this monster monopoly, but throughout New York and New England new associations were formed with the same intent, and with such promptitude that to those States, with less than a fourth of the population, there were awarded banks with capitals amounting to \$200,000,000, being two-thirds of the sum allowed.

Peace soon after coming, banks, bankers, and money-lenders generally, holding thousands of millions of securities that had been purchased when the gold premium ranged from fifty to a hundred and fifty per cent., quickly found that that vast body of greenback property had almost doubled in gold value. So large a profit so promptly made, held in connection with a monopoly of the money power that had cost them nothing, ought surely to have contented them; but, as avarice grows with what it feeds upon, they closed their eyes to all that had been gained, calling aloud and through all the journals in their pay, like *Oliver Twist*, for "More! More!" To that end it was essential that the people should be made to believe that the circulation was in excess,—that return to the old pretence of specie payments was required,—and that the only road leading in that direction lay through vigorous contraction. Unfortunately for them, the President, believing this to be really "a government of the people, by the people, and for the people," was too honest to sanction any measure looking in

the direction of REPUDIATION of the contract by which bond-holders had bound themselves, while receiving large interest, to accept from the people payment of the principal in greenbacks: and hence it came to pass that, when some of his friends expressed doubts of the fitness of Mr. Hugh McCulloch for the place of finance minister, he gave the most positive assurance that not only was that gentleman a thorough protectionist, but that he was also as thoroughly opposed to contraction as he was himself.

The President, unhappily for his constituents north and south, soon after passed away, but his Finance Minister, for some few weeks, remained firm as regarded the pledges given when office had been accepted. Suddenly, and without explanation of any kind, he became so fully enlightend as to the propriety of repudiation by the bond-holders of their contracts with the people, that about midsummer he felt warranted in assuring his friends that return to specie payments would speedily be accomplished. The assurance then privately given was made public some few weeks later, when, in a manifesto of so insolent a character as would have warranted impeachment, he graciously informed the nation that an entire change of system was certain; that specie payments were to be resumed; that, at an early period, all debts, public and private, would be payable in coin; all contracts limiting the power of bond-holders having finally been repudiated. The Secretary, forgetting all his pledges, thus placed himself in the lead of that great money power upon whose support he confidently relied when so insolently dictating to our whole people a change of policy whose effect would be none other than that of doubling, if not even trebling, the burthen of debt incurred by reason of the recent war, with correspondent advantage to those who had already so largely profited by the peace.

Thenceforward, from day to day, the world was assured that prices were yet too high; that they must and would fall; that those who then built ships or houses, furnaces or factories, would find that they had given for them far more than they were worth; and thus was the sword of Damocles held suspended over the heads of our people until a paralysis was produced scarcely less complete than those which had accompanied the financial crises of 1837 and 1857. Purchases were made only from day to day, or from hour to hour, none desiring to be caught with merchandise

on hand when the day of final settlement should have been reached. Prices fell steadily, but the lower the price the stronger became the belief that there was before us a yet lower deep, and the more the desire to refrain from supplying even the most necessary wants until yet lower should have been reached. Threats of early repudiation of the contracts with the people having brought us to that sad condition, it was then, in sheer despair, suggested that we should almost at once take the great leap, making public declaration that at an early day the Treasury would sanction repudiation by paying with gold its obligations of any and every kind; and that from and after that day the banks would be required, on pain of forfeiture of their charters, to do the same. The Rubicon would then have been passed; the lowest point would then have been reached; men would then begin again to buy and sell; commerce would then become active; mills and furnaces would then be built; and prosperity would then again become the order of the day. So, at least, we were assured by those journals which then advocated the Secretary's policy, and most especially by those of New York and New England, representing as they did the holders of thousands of millions of greenback bonds, whose exchangeable value was thus to be doubled at the cost of all tax and interest payers throughout the Union.

The perfect accuracy of the picture here presented will not be questioned by any of those who can now call to mind the paralysis that existed in the time that intervened between the issue of Mr. McCulloch's declaration of war upon all debtors, and that accomplishment of the work of repudiation by means of which coin was to be made to take the place of greenbacks in all payments to public creditors, with the effect of opening for them a market abroad for their securities, and thereby preparing for the grand "inflation" which resulted in the crisis of 1873; an "inflation" that has, from that hour to the present, been charged by the advocates of "honest money" to that innocent greenback to whose aid they themselves had been indebted for their escape from a general ruin of which they themselves had been the cause.

More than by any others had the New England States manifested that insatiable greed which prompted to a call for resumption of specie payments which really meant repudiation, by themselves, of all those contracts with the nation by which their power

had been in any manner limited. Why was this? Because, with little more than a *twelfth* of the population, they had secured to themselves more than a *third* of the great money monopoly that had been created! Because, to those States, small as they were, there had been granted an average circulation of no less than seventeen millions! Because, the channels of commerce were there so abundantly filled with notes of every size as almost to annihilate demand for either legal tender notes or the precious metals! Because, but very few millions would suffice for supplying all their needs; and because those millions would, on the day of resumption, be at once obtained from Treasury vaults! Because, being creditor States, they desired that all existing claims should be paid in gold, the commodity of highest value! Because, being purchasers of wool, cotton, and other raw material, they desired that the agricultural and mining States should find themselves compelled to accept the lowest prices! For all these reasons, the votes in Congress of Eastern members were almost unanimously favorable to the Treasury policy of contraction and repudiation.

Equally unanimous in their opposition to it were the people occupying the vast territory south of the Delaware and the Ohio and west of the Mississippi, fifteen millions in number, and likely soon to be thirty millions. Why? Because, to their thirty States and Territories, with *two-fifths* of our total population, there had been allotted but a *ninth* of the great money monopoly that then existed! Because, while the average circulation allotted to the little New England States was more than \$17,000,000, that allotted to their States and Territories scarcely exceeded a single million! Because, by reason of the monopoly, they now found themselves almost entirely dependent on legal tenders for machinery of circulation! Because, even then they gladly paid from two to five per cent. per month for the use of circulating notes issued by Eastern banks, for the private profit of their stockholders! Because, with every step in the progress of contraction the price of money tended to rise, and that of wool or cotton tended to fall! Because, even then they found themselves ground as between the upper and the nether millstone! Because, being debtor States, they preferred to pay in the commodity that was receivable at the date of contraction of the debt! Because, being sellers of raw products they

did not desire to be thrown on the "tender mercies" of eastern traders, leaving to them to fix the prices at which they would receive those products. For all these reasons the people of two-thirds of the States and Territories of the Union, rightly believing that the Treasury policy could have no result other than that of making them mere hewers of wood and drawers of water to their more favored brethren of the East and North, were to a man opposed to it.

Before the war, with a banking capital of eighty-five millions, the New England States had a circulation of thirty-four millions. At the close, with one hundred and forty-five of the one, they had one hundred and three of the other,—the latter having more than trebled in less than half a dozen years. Thus well provided at home, they found themselves not only ready to dispense with Treasury notes, but also ready to furnish, at double or treble interest, the circulating notes required by the less favored Centre, South, and West.

In May, 1865, very shortly after Mr. McCulloch's accession to the post of Secretary, I had a long and free conversation with him, any and every part of which I was authorized by him to make public, in the course of which he declared himself a thorough disciple of Mr. Clay, and a full believer in protectionist doctrines. Regarding as sincere this expression of opinion, I said that in view of the great changes now to be met, millions of men, North and South, returning from the field and needing to seek employment at a time when the government must not only cease to be a purchaser, but must, on the contrary, become a seller of commodities it had already purchased, it was most desirable that all our measures should tend in the direction of stimulating production and making demand for labor; and that if I had my will, gold should be at two hundred for the next seven years, as the premium afforded a protection that even false invoices would not enable the foreigner to avoid. Fully coinciding in the the view thus suggested, the Secretary answered: "That is too much, but I should gladly see it at one hundred and seventy-five." Three months later he was instructing his representative abroad to give assurance that we should have resumed specie payments before the first seven-

thirty's became due. Two months yet later came the destructive Fort Wayne decree; and from that hour did the Secretary persist in the absurd and injurious course of policy therein announced, no explanation having then or since, to my knowledge, been vouchsafed in reference to the extraordinary conversion that had so suddenly been brought about.

About that time, as then was understood, was formed that Treasury Ring which, at a little later date, by means of the deposition, in favor of our present Finance Minister, from the Chairmanship of the Senate Finance Committee, of that most enlightened and honorable of Senators, Ex-Secretary Fessenden, attained to that control over our finances by aid of which money dealers generally have been so much enriched; the people, meanwhile, having been taxed, as has been shown, to such an extent as to have spread ruin throughout the land.

The reader who may have studied the picture thus presented of a selfishness and greed that have rarely, if ever, been exceeded, will now have little difficulty in arriving at the conclusion that it is mainly to North-eastern repudiation that we stand indebted for the lesser repudiation of which Northern and Eastern men now so much complain, and to whose study another and concluding paper will be given.

HENRY C. CAREY.

CHURCH AND THEATRE.

THIS old controversy, associated with the names of William Prynne, Jeremy Collier and William Law, has been revived once more, by the popularity of a trifling and harmless opera, whose lively nonsense has attracted to the theatre no small number of those who are more regular in their attendance on church than at such places of amusement. The ministers of several denominations in the city have taken the alarm, and have borne their testimony against the theatre, as an institution essentially corrupt and corrupting in its influences, and one which no Christian can, with consistency, countenance. And the friends of the theatre

have spoken with not less emphasis, through such channels of public utterance as are open to them, in its defence. In undertaking to discuss this subject, we do so at the request of a very "sound" Presbyterian pastor, who is not satisfied with the discussions which have been had, and has not felt free to speak from his pulpit with the decisiveness used by his brethren in the Ministerial Association.

We begin by insisting on a division of the question. There are very few popular issues, under which several distinct questions are not confounded. Those handy, sweeping generalizations which the public loves, are not favorable to a discriminating discussion of things. The two separate questions here at issue, are—

1. What is the duty of the Church, as such, towards the Theatre, as such?

2. What is the duty of individual Christians, and of anyone else who is desirous of progress in moral culture, towards the existing Theatre?

It is the former of these we shall chiefly speak of. We use our distinction to clear up the question, and to prevent the obtrusion of irrelevant arguments.

Upon what grounds, then, does the (or any) Christian Church defend itself, in taking up an attitude of hostility toward the theatre, as such?

1. It is seriously urged that the theatre has no right to exist, because attending it is not a converting or sanctifying ordinance! * But neither a corn exchange, nor a picture gallery, nor a Dorcas society, nor a scientific lecture, is such. No body of Christians, outside of the Trappists and a few others of the severer orders of Roman Catholic monks, hold that life is to be made a round of religious exercises and solemn duties. There have, indeed, been types of Protestantism so narrow and intense in their religious fervor, that their adherents manage to occupy themselves exclusively with religious themes and exercises of the spirit. But this sort of Christianity is not only not practicable for all sorts and

* Luther tells us, however, that in the age of the Reformation there were many Roman Catholics converted in Lower Germany by means of spiritual dramas: *Scio in inferiore Germania, ubi publica professio Evangelii prohibita est, ex actionibus de Lege et Evangelio multos conversos et amplexos sincerioveram doctrinam.* He, therefore, advises against the prohibition of such *actiones sacrarum historiarum*, or miracle plays, in Anhalt. De Wette, *Luther's Briefe*, v., 553.

conditions of men, but it seems to us to lack some of the truest characteristics of Christianity itself. For the Gospel comes not to destroy life, but to save it, to consecrate it. It must therefore show itself able to "lay the strong hand of its purity" upon every innocent and sinless aspect of human life, that it may bless in the name of God. All innocent employments, all harmless pastimes, all honest trades, it will not proscribe, but sanction. And any type of Christianity which is too narrow to do this with anything that is innocent in human life, stands self-confessed to be less than the truth of God.

2. More pertinent, if true, is the objection, alleged to be drawn from all experience, that the theatre is incapable of being innocent and harmless. The appeal is made to its history, and to the denunciations which have been meted out to it, not by moralists and divines only, but by men of worldly tastes, and even by those who have written for the stage. This objection is generally accompanied by a *catena* of quotations, which remind one of the dictum of Lord Macaulay, that a history might be written, in which every single statement of facts should be true, and yet the whole be false. These quotations are each, no doubt, fairly made, but the impression which is meant to be made by them is not a true one. These quotations do not represent the attitude of the enlightened and moral portion of mankind, as a whole, towards the theatre. Each of them could be matched by another as strong and clear on the other side, if it were worth anybody's while to collect them. And each of them could be further matched by a denunciation of the actual Christian Church, and its public assemblies and councils, without taking a single quotation from any but ecclesiastical writers. This method of arguing, by testimonials *pro* and *con*, can never lead to any result. It might be protracted by mutual retort, till even the printers' ink should be utterly exhausted.

Furthermore, all these methods of argument assume that what the theatre has been, that it always must continue to be. It undervalues the influence of the Christian Churches themselves, in alienating from the theatre all, or a great part of, these social elements which might have been employed in its elevation and its reform. For centuries past, the whole ecclesiastical influence has been employed to force the theatre to depend for its patronage upon the classes who care much for depraved excitement, and

little for moral culture. The Church has treated the theatre as the press had been treated by the good old saint who thanked God, in the prayer-meeting, that he had never read a newspaper. If all Christians had followed that example, *The Day's Doings* might have been the typical weekly of modern society, and we should have been told that the whole history of the press and all experience showed the periodical press to be incapable of being rendered innocent and harmless.

Nor is it any sufficient answer to point to the provocation given to the English and American Churches to adopt the attitude of hostility. It is true that the English theatre made a most unfortunate commencement in this respect. It threw itself on the side of civil and religious tyranny, and used every means to blacken and discredit those who had any honest desire to maintain the liberties of their country, or any spark of religious enthusiasm or earnestness. The liberties of the people of England, and the rights of conscience, were won by its enemies; not a single dramatist or actor being found on the side of that great movement which we now discern to have been the salvation of England. The child of the Pagan Renaissance, the English theatre, was altogether incapable of appreciating the higher moral forces at work in the society of that time. Not even Shakespeare has ever shown a spark of insight into the type of character of which Milton, Cromwell, Colonel Hutchinson, Richard Baxter and John Bunyan are the recognized instances,—a type amply represented in the England of his own time. As Charles Kingsley has shown, in his essay on "Plays and Puritans," Prynne had ample occasion for swinging his *Histriomastix* over the heads of the early Stuart theatre. Not only religion, but virtue, had become the sport of its mockery. All the seven deadly sins were presented on its stage, without decency or reserve; and the hypocrisy of concealment was the only one for which the play-writers had any censure. With the Restoration, things were not so much worse than before, because they could not be. But it is not now the Puritans, but royalists and high churchmen like Collier and Law, whose voices are raised in denunciation. The religious party, which had tolerated the offences of the earlier theatre, and winked at its iniquities, because it was fighting for the same ends, were at last forced into opposition, and obliged to protest against its vileness.

The Church has had provocation enough, and if that were sufficient reason for hostility, it might still with justice prefer that attitude. The bad example set in those past ages is still followed, more or less closely, by the stage. It deals only with the frivolous surface of life, or, at most, with the worldly passions of those who profess no outlook beyond the life that now is. And the profession of moral or religious earnestness, if it appear on the stage at all, is generally associated with insincerity and hypocrisy. The view of actual society, and of the elements of which it is composed, as presented by modern stage-plays of the average type, is about as misleading as the catalogue of the elements of English society, which some one once compiled from *Hudibras*.

But we hold that we have always a right to insist that the Church shall consider every question from the stand-point of the interests of society at large. If the theatre be an institution which is to last in society, and to exercise over it a great influence for good or evil, it is in order, at any time, to call upon the Church to lay aside all resentments, and to reconsider her own position in regard to it.

Nor has the mutual attitude of these two institutions been always that of hostility. The relation of the antique tragic drama to the moral life of India, Greece and Rome, was most friendly. The intense Catholic fervor of Spain is reflected in the dramas of Lope de Vega and Calderon, as well as on the canvass of Murillo, and whatever may have been the defects of that type of Christianity, even its critics will concede its grandeur and nobility. At the other pole from Spain stands Scotland, as Knox is the antipodes to Loyola. But on this point Protestant Scotland and Catholic Spain were at one. They each employed the drama as a means of intensifying the popular fervor as regards the religious movement of their time. Sir David Lyndsey's plays were among the most potent agencies in preparing Scotland for the Reformation. The Reformers, instead of placing the drama under an embargo, put it under the control of the authorities, so that nothing offensive to religion and morality might be brought upon the stage.* And it ill becomes those who boast ecclesiastical descent from Knox to say that no true Christian can consistently attend the theatre, when a Scottish ecclesiastical historian records that a certain event took place in Knox's presence in the the theatre.

*See Principal Lee's *History of the Church of Scotland*, I. 3, 313.

Similarly the English Reformers in the time of Henry VIII. The players and preachers were in close alliance for the promotion of the Reformation. In the Parliament of 1544, in which the Catholic party had the majority, "all songs, plays and interludes, with all other books in English containing matters of religion, tending any way against the 'Six Articles,' were abolished." Bishop Gardiner complains to the Lord Protector in the next reign that "certain printers, players and preachers make a wonderment, as though we knew not how to be justified, nor what sacraments we should have." And Fox the martyrologist, Puritan though he was, comments on his letter as follows: "He thwarteth and wranglenth much against players, printers and preachers. And no marvel why: for he seeth these three things to be set up of God, as a triple bulwark against the triple crown of the Pope, to bring him down; as, God be praised, they have done meetly well already." And the Protector Somerset puts the three classes "printers, players and preachers" together in his reply, as disturbers of the world's peace, and speaks of the innovating party as writing "lewd rhymes and plays." Matters went so far that an injunction was issued, saying that—"if there be any of your parishoners, or any other person or persons, that will obstinately or violently enforce such plays, interludes or games to be declared, set forth or played in your churches or chapels,"—they should be reported to the Bishop.*

In fine, if the verdict of history were as unanimous as is alleged, it would still prove nothing. But it is far from being so unanimous.

3. A third objection alleges that the theatre is altogether a needless institution, whose existence is confessedly accompanied with moral dangers, and whose abolition would be accompanied by manifest gains to society. Even Mr. Beecher says that it is safer and easier to invent new amusements than to reform old ones.

This argument is brought into doubt by the fact that the theatre has originated independently under so many types of civilization,—Chinese, Japanese, Indian, Greek, Roman and modern European, and that the influence of the Christian Church, although exerted for so many centuries in opposition, has not succeeded in exterminating it. All that part of society which is not under the

*Maitland's *Essays on Subjects Connected with the Reformation in England*. London, 1849.

Church's influence, inclines to go to the theatre. In all those churches in which this hostile influence is not brought to bear, a very large portion of the members gravitate towards theatre-going, being deterred partly by the general feeling against it which the churches have produced in religious circles, and partly by the unsatisfactory nature of the drama. And even in those churches where the rule of abstinence is most insisted upon, there is a steady pressure against it, which forces conferences and associations to be loud in their protests. There are exceptions among educated men who feel no desire to attend any dramatic representations. The present writer for instance, has never felt the slightest curiosity as regards the inside of a theatre, nor does he take any great delight in reading dramatic poetry of any sort. But taking the average human being, we find implanted in him a delight in dramatic representations. That desire seems to be a natural one, and its absence to indicate a defect of mind or sympathy. It is not confined to "the world's people," and is not exterminated by "growth in grace." The best Christians flock to hear Mr. Gough "lecture," drawn thither simply by his admirable acting. The difference between Mr. Gough and Mr. Jefferson seems to be one of accessories only. They feel equally free to attend Charlotte Cushman's and Mr. Murdoch's Shakespeare readings. And all this seems to show that the churches were not so much taken into account in the constitution of human nature as they ought to have been. And if the Gospel is meant to save man as he is made, and not to supplant man by introducing a new sort of beings in his place, then it will not exterminate, but purify and elevate, this innocent delight.

More especially is this true of our Anglo-Saxon type of manhood. It delights in dramatic poetry beyond every other race. It has produced the most perfect specimens of that poetry. It loves fair play, and therefore desires that each side shall have its say. It delights to see character brought to light by action rather than by description. It loves activity, movement, rather than contemplation. Shakespeare is the very greatest name in its literature. Milton hesitated whether or not to cast *Paradise Lost* as a drama.* Even the theology of the race takes the dramatic shape. The Cocceian doctrine of the Covenant of Works, and the Cove-

* See the "Introduction" to Charles Kingsley's *Saints' Tragedy*, by F. D. Maurice. We have followed his statement by memory.

nant of Grace, clung for centuries to the popular theology, because it presents the great controversy of God with man in a dramatic shape. And the apologues of preachers like Christmas Evans, and hymn-writers like Charles Wesley, who could dramatize theology, have had wide currency among the common people.

Hence the vitality of the theatre on English and American soil. It is surely time to recognize the plain fact that the Church has not and never will exterminate the theatre, and is only unfaithful to her own high calling in continuing the attempt.

4. The influence of the profession upon the lives of its members is alleged as a reason for discrediting it. There has been, by far, too much reason for this reproach. We did not need Olive Logan's indignant denunciations to tell us that the theatre is not always, nor commonly, the school of purity and chastity. But it must be remembered that any profession which lies, for any reason, under the ban of the best elements of society, is liable to moral degradation for that very reason. We all of us need the support of social approval,—of knowing that Society expects us to do our duty. That is one of the very reasons why the Christian religion shapes itself into a Christian Church. "Let us consider one another to provoke unto love and good works," the Apostle says, in explanation of the function of a church. And just because of the force which social approval carries, we exercise a very serious responsibility in refusing to extend it, and in dealing out wholesale and indiscriminate condemnation of any profession. Especially is this true in the case of an organization which embraces the greater part of the serious and ethical elements of society, as does the Christian Church. Such a body has power, where it acts unitedly, to contribute very largely to the realization of its own condemnations. As there are prophecies which verify themselves, so there are moral judgments, whose very utterance tends to make their object deserving of them.

And the attitude of the Roman Catholic Church toward actors has been a fair specimen of the treatment they have received at the hands of the churches. The actor, like the suicide, is debarred from Christian burial. He may not be laid in consecrated ground. Only the interference of Louis XIV. procured Moliere's interment in the churchyard of St. Joseph's, and then only by night, while the crowd of devout rioters that gathered had even then to

be pacified by a distribution of money among them. France's greatest dramatist, because he was also an actor, had to purchase thus a resting-place from the Parisian Catholic mob. There are some signs of the growth of a juster feeling in some of our churches. Among these we reckon the following article which we cut from *The Christian Intelligencer* of March 13th, the organ of the Reformed Protestant Church of the United States. We do not assent to all its statements, but it is worth quoting :

“ What we are about to say at this moment may be regarded as quite heretical by those holding certain standard opinions, but it has long seemed to us to be the fact in the case. The Theatre is not, has not been a school of virtue. It has by very much the larger part of its doing promoted vice. It is no better to day than in the past. But this present age is one in which curses are removed, evils taken away, diseases of all kinds, physical, spiritual, social and political healed, and goodness more and more substituted for badness. It may be that the Theatre can be converted, and made to minister not only to the amusement but the moral progress of the community. The condemnatory criticism has not wrought any improvement, nor indicated how an improvement can be brought about. Meanwhile, here are the actors with their admirers and friends, forming a body by no means insignificant in numbers, or intelligence, or influence hostile to the Church. Would it not be well to look more deeply into this department of life, and get at causes if possible? Suppose we ask first, how is it that some men and women are actors? Are they not just as much born and not made as the poet, the painter, the sculptor, the novelist? And if a man or woman is born an actor, are they not *divinely* endowed with certain talents and tendencies? What if we should acknowledge this to begin with, and order our conduct toward such persons accordingly? Suppose we put a Garrick, or Siddons, or Booth on a level with our chief painters. The one copies, delineates character, the other nature. Who will venture to claim that the painter is endowed with a genius superior to that of the actor? Now if this is acknowledged, and the actor is admitted to our homes and to social attentions, as the painter is, perhaps a long step toward the elevation of the Theatre would be taken. Would it not be as well to give suitable recognition to a divine endowment as to ostracise it and make it an enemy?

But we are going to be somewhat more heretical. There are reasonable and profitable amusements, and we entirely fail to see why a tragedy or comedy could not be made such a thing. A display of histrionic talent ought to be as innocent, as much a restful entertainment as a concert, or a gallery of pictures. How shall it be made such? The devil now is gentleman usher at the

Theatre. Is it not possible to dismiss the gentleman usher? The Theatre does serve the devil. Can it not be induced to serve God and virtue, to serve humanity, to be at least an innocent amusement? Here are divine endowments turned to the service of evil. We cannot change the endowments, but we can, perhaps, find proper work for them to do. The people who have the endowments would perhaps themselves find an unexceptionable use for them if they had Christian hearts. If we acknowledge the endowments, and the source from which they come, and treat reputable actors as we treat artists; if we follow the example of the rector of the 'Little Church around the Corner,' may it not be that actors would before long become fellow-workmen with us in all that we hold best and most desirable?"

The objection, therefore, cuts both ways. There can be nothing so essentially demoralizing in the actor's profession itself, as to explain the truth which there is in these wholesale charges brought against the craft. It can only be explained from the demoralizing influence of social proscription.

But these wholesale charges are true only in part, and less true, I am told, of the theatre of these times than of that of the past. Certain it is, that the English and American stage has been chosen as a profession by a large number of men and women whose lives were and are above reproach. From the days of Mrs. Siddons to those of Miss Kellogg, there have never been wanting to the stage women of stainless fame; and every indiscriminate fling at actors or actresses is a slander, since it must include in condemnation such women as Fanny Kemble, Charlotte Cushman, Parepa Rosa, Christine Nilssen, Madame Goldschmidt, and a multitude of others.

5. This objection was stated in another and very ingenious shape during the recent discussion. It was alleged that the essential vice of the profession is the fostering of insincerity. The very effort of the actor to put himself in the place of the character he personates, to see with his eyes and feel with his heart, has the effect of exhausting the capacity for natural emotion of any sort. When the time comes in his own life for the natural flow of joy or of tears, the fountains are dried up in his breast. In becoming an actor, he has ceased to be a man, and has lost a man's sincerity.

This objection has a greater seeming of truth and force than any other we have heard of. It enjoys the support of a very distinguished English author. Mr. William Black, in his *MacLeod of*

Darc, portrays an actress whom her profession has thus spoiled and made unwomanly. When a sincere affection for the young Highland laird brings her to the point where she must choose between being an actress and a woman, she finds herself too far gone to make the nobler choice, and can only bring ruin upon her lover and his household.

But the argument has the unfortunate defect of proving too much. It would proscribe all historical oratory, all sympathetic pleas of the orator for oppressed classes and nationalities, all public readings, and nearly all singing. It would sweep our libraries of all dramatic and nearly all lyric poetry, to say nothing of novels and every other sort of fiction. Anything which shall excite, by words, the emotions which are properly and in the first instance excited by actual events and experiences, would have to be laid under the ban, as immoral in its tendency; and while the few very great preachers would not be touched by it, nearly all the rest would find their sphere of movement seriously restricted.

Nor, whatever may be the case in novels, is it true that the actual men and women of the stage are seriously incapacitated by their profession, for right feeling and right action. Many actresses have been excellent wives and mothers, as devotedly attached to their households as if they had never ventured out of the real into the mimic world. Others have devoted themselves entirely to their art, to the exclusion of such ties; just as other women have devoted themselves to literature, or to painting, or to beneficence, and have found in their chosen pursuit the substitute for husband and children. And in the great excess of women over men, the supply of wives and mothers is not so limited that we need grudge beneficence a Florence Nightingale, or literature a Frances Power Cobbe, or art a Harriet Hosmer, or the stage a Charlotteushman. A great multitude of women in every monogamous country, must find other careers than that of the *matr-familias*.

Nor do we find that actors are so devoid of genuine and sincere feeling in life's broader relations, as this objection would lead us to suppose. They have, in many instances, shown themselves warm-hearted friends, public-spirited citizens, and kind neighbors. Indeed, it would probably puzzle anyone to discover in real life any instances in which the profession of an actor had made a man either worse or better, in these respects, than he would have been

as a grocer. The worst faults learnt on the stage are the superficial tricks of manner. Mrs. Siddons not seldom put the commonest request into tragic blank verse; while her question, "Will it wash?" struck speechless the haberdasher's clerk from whom she was purchasing a print for a servant's dress. Knowles, in his Baptist pulpit, still retained the buskin-style; and the narrative of Governor Banks's interview with an eminent American actress, is altogether amusing.

On the second of the points into which we divided the question, the duty of individuals as regards the theatre as it is, we have not much to say. What we shall say must be by way of protest against the high-handed style in which many have asserted their right to settle a question of conscience for other people. An excellent lady, the mother of a family and connected with one of our strictest sects, remarked to me that parents find their attempts at wise guidance in the matter very seriously interfered with by the manner in which the subject is *sometimes* treated from the pulpit. The appearance of dictation, and the wholesale style of statement adopted, produces exactly the opposite effect to that which is intended. A spirit of antagonism is aroused, which sorely prejudices the more rational discussions and dissuasions of the fireside. The young people of this generation are fully aware that there is neither the unanimity of badness in plays and troupes, nor the unanimity of condemnation on the part of religious people, which once existed—or was asserted to exist. They are aware of a difference between *Pinafore* and the *The Black Crook*; or between Miss Kellogg and the woman who calls herself Lydia Thompson. And they are very commonly acquainted with excellent Christians, especially among the members of the Protestant Episcopal Church, who allow themselves the occasional indulgence of an evening at the theatre. Wholesale denunciation of plays and play-actors, of theatre-goers, is no longer of such efficacy as it once was. It has the air of an attempt to supplement a weak case by authority, or by what somebody calls "Godly bullying;" and the day for that is gone by.

The Church has a case against the theatre, as it is, which, however, will only be spoiled by over-statement. It would be a moral calamity if the attendance, in even the best of these amusement shops, became a general habit in society. For the amuse-

ment theatre is a degraded theatre. Its true function is art, not amusement. And the manly protest which Richard Wagner is bearing against Italianized music, is, as this greatest of living musicians fully recognizes, equally forcible against the modern theatre, the child of the same Italian Renaissance. The theatre of the future will be the child of Teutonic seriousness and Christian earnestness of mind. It will be one in which the great art of Æschylus and Sophocles, will reappear under forms appropriate to Gothic thought and modern civilization. It will not leave unrepresented the few great Christian dramas already produced, such as *Comus*, *Philip van Artevelde*, and *Pippa Passes*. It will add to their number works as full of lofty thought, moral insight, and ideal enthusiasm. It will banish the frivolity and the clap-trap of the present stage into Ariosto's limbo, and present us with works of art fit to place beside Thorwaldsen's statues and Turner's pictures.

And in saying all this, we say no more than the best members of the profession have longed for. But without the friendly cooperation of the most earnest and Christian elements of society, such a theatre will never be.

JOHN DYER.

BISMARCK AND HIS BOSWELL.*

THE man who was a hero to his valet has at last appeared, and here we have him in black and white. Two stout volumes barely serve to give us an account of Bismarck's sayings and doings during the seven months of the German conquest of France; but then it is only fair to note that this amount of space gives room for a great deal of padding. Dr. Busch tries to secure himself a niche in the future, as well as the contemporary, fame of his master, by reprinting, at great length, many of his own news-

* Graf Bismarck und seine Leute während des Kriegs mit Frankreich, nach Tagebuchs-blättern, von D. Moritz Busch. Leipzig, Verlag von Fr. Wilt. Grünow, 1878. 2 Bde.

Bismarck in the Franco-German War, 1870-1. Authorized translation from the German of Dr. Moritz Busch. 2 vols., pp. 364 and 307. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

paper articles, given, in some cases, on the score of being inspired by the great Chancellor; but, Boswell-like, the secretary does not hesitate to tell us often when and how the master had disapproved his version, and required instant recantation.

The sight of a man as great in his achievements as Bismarck, thus heralding his own words and closely watching the effect of their publication upon the public—both that of his own country and abroad, as far, even, as America—is not wholesome. Still, Bismarck himself never fails to appear as a thoroughly great man, going directly to the point in what he says, and claiming the reader's respect even for his own frankness in publishing his finesse in diplomacy, his jealousy of the greatness of his military associates in the greatest achievement of the century,—the defeat of France on its own soil,—and his delightful cynicism and contempt for the rest of the world. Dr. Busch evidently looks for a large circle of readers in this country, and his own residence in the United States enables him to measure the amount of tall talk that will make his book popular here, while the events and the men that figure in it necessarily interest English and French, as well as German readers; and certainly our own countrymen figure often enough in his pages to make their part in the French war well known. General Sheridan, as is well known, was the guest and companion of Bismarck in the opening scenes of the memorable campaign of 1870; and it would be well if there were, once and for all, some authoritative denial of the statement made by Busch, that Sheridan had volunteered the opinion that true strategy required so much suffering to the inhabitants of the country that they will long for peace and press their government to make it; and "nothing should be left to the people but eyes to lament the war." Bismarck himself needed no such prompting to inflict every possible injury upon the French, for he was always reproaching the military men in charge of operations, for their leniency and tender-heartedness, while his wife kept up a constant suggestion of condign punishment of French non-combatants, and both, no doubt, fully represented the prevailing spirit of their class towards unhappy France.

Dr. Busch occupied a subordinate place in the movable office that accompanied Bismarck to the scene of hostilities; and a main business with him was to note all the speeches that fell from his great chief and those who surrounded him, both as employes and

visitors; and this taking notes was so well known, both to his chief and to the superior officers with him, that they freely supplied material for his journal,—not without a little anxiety to appear favorably in the book that always follows such industry, and, perhaps, with a little clever malice in giving their colleague, big with authorship, frequent occasion for recording the disapproval of his work, in newspaper articles and inspired communications by mail and telegraph, by their common chief.

Busch carefully notes some vagaries of his superior, Abeken, the immediate subordinate of Bismarck himself; but still it is plain that Abeken was a man of great learning, and high in the well-earned good opinions of Bismarck and the Emperor, while Busch himself was well in the back-ground, and only now and then got a chance to say or do anything of his own motion and volition. Abeken had a thoroughly German liking for royal favors and notice, and he received them, as well as decorations, in return for his services; while Busch seems to find comfort for his own insignificance in repeating, in the cold blood of his printed pages, the small talk and the sounding nothings of his great companions that can hardly be pleasant reading to them or to their admirers now. His constant and loving description of Bismarck's gourmandise and love of eating, and talk of his drinking bouts, reprinted in all sorts of notices of his book, might well be the prevailing impression made upon the man who sat below the salt at so many and such varying repasts; but they prove nothing except that Bismarck's greatness is largely the result of a splendid physical nature, with a powerful will and a strong sense of the best way of accomplishing his purpose in the great as well as the small things of statecraft.

Busch's littleness is shown, too, in his careful record of all sorts of small items of dress, not without their value and significance perhaps, but evidently of disproportionate importance in his eyes. He tells us that at Sedan, and at the very moment of his surrender, Napoleon wore white kid gloves; while he also notes that when Bismarck wore plain clothes for the first time during the war, he meant to signify that peace was at hand. He tells us that Bismarck disliked thirteen at table; that he made collections of newspaper cuttings about himself; that he had a predilection for Americans, and was glad to supply the correspondents of Ameri-

can papers with his views; and that he inspired Busch's newspaper articles on Bismarck's moderation and sagacity,—all evidences of a petty nature; but then these may have been utterances intended for Busch, and no more real than much that he reports as said and done to the French representatives, native and foreign, in their efforts to secure advantages during the war, in the way of alleviations of the hardships of the siege, or of the terms of peace.

Americans of all kinds seem to have mixed themselves up in the negotiations that were always going on. Burnside even took a hand at it, with his usual ill-luck; O'Sullivan, once the American minister to Lisbon, tried to repeat his diplomatic experiences; Home, the American spiritualist, put in an appearance. But men like Washburne, who really did good to both France and Germany, and some American doctors, who served faithfully in a professional way, seem to have earned, as they deserved, the hearty good will and liking of the great German. Bismarck himself says some things that are hardly consistent with our knowledge now; as, for instance, his expectation of help from American privateers, and his reference to the precedent of American affairs, the conduct of the United States towards Mexico; but then it must be borne in mind that much of this sort of thing was only a counterblast to the follies of the French press, which he was always pricking with his sharp, clear sense of what was right and wrong. On the other hand, we find traits of thought and speech that characterize Bismarck, in the earlier volumes of his familiar and authentic letters to his wife and his intimate friends, such as his repeated declaration of his abiding faith in the religion of his ancestors; in his watchful eye for the beauties of nature; his love of country life; his frequent references to the soundness of his old opinions, for instance, his opinion of Napoleon, sixteen years before his fall, that he was stupid and sentimental, and its confirmation by recent events; his evident pleasure in recalling his experiences in Russia and in Frankfort, where his diplomatic cleverness planted the seeds that brought forth such noble fruit and such rich harvests in the years of his masterful greatness; his evident impatience of military men and of their jealousy of his influence and importance; his simple-hearted delight in sending off news of victories received by him from the Emperor, when the general staff sedulously kept him in ignorance of their plans and successes; his finesse in having a

couple of members of the Reichstag sick, so as to keep their delegation waiting for the slower movements of the representatives of the potentates of Lippe; his sharp inquiry as to another transparent royal scion, "Is he a soldier, or only a prince?" These, and such as these, are the anecdotes and incidents that we owe thanks to Busch for preserving and recording for us.

Again, he has done well in prefacing his second volume with a sensible and detailed sketch of the siege of Paris, by Major Blume, and it is rather suggestive of the wisdom and prudence of Bismarck, and the degree to which his subordinates copied so good an example, that he and they made no effort to be well up in the front, or to take any part in the actual fighting. Still Bismarck, not unlike our own civilians, was never tired of giving his opinion as to the right way of carrying on the war, of expressing his impatience at the slow progress of the professional soldiers, of urging them to storm Paris, and to take every place by a *coup de main*, of reproaching them for taking prisoners, for paying for supplies, for protecting non-combatants,—in short, always ready with a harsh word for everybody that gains glory without his help, and for everything that is done without his knowledge and approval. When Bismarck speaks of what he himself knows, he speaks, of course, with weight and force, and even Busch's report cannot deprive it of these characteristics; while Abeken's account of Bismarck's political confession of faith in their conversations shows the trained listener, as well as the able statesman, who speaks. Thus his brief sketch of his own political career, and of his idea of political consistency, is very striking and sound, in marked contrast to the same sort of thing in Senior's well-known books, mainly on France, where the speakers are always posing for the public, and the freedom of colloquial intercourse is weakened by the revision which, they afterwards gave his notes.

Bismarck tells, with great and effective simplicity, the story of his bet with an American, in 1833, that German unity would be accomplished in twenty years, his fruitless effort to pay his loss, a box of champagne, at the end of that time, and his own slow and gradual conversion to the ideas and faith of the political party at whose head he did at last achieve the ideas and hopes of his callow days. Busch, too, does his best work, in reproducing the description given by one of his colleagues, Keudell, of their common

chief, of Bismarck's genial, youthful nature; his easily-excited temperament; his manifestation of deep sympathies; his inclination to take himself away from the pressure of business; and his victorious way of carrying things through. He gives us, too, a good picture of Bismarck as an hereditary *Franzosenjresser*, whose ancestors, for over two centuries, have been fighting against France,—his father, with three of his brothers, in the Napoleonic wars; his grand-father at Rossbach; his great grand-father and his father against Louis XIV.; others of his race in the Thirty Years' war, some on the Emperor's side and some for the Swedes, and one of them was with the Germans who fought for the Huguenots as hired troops; and Bismarck evidently treasures up the traditions of his family, and feels and feeds upon the transmitted love of German greatness that comes to him through such a doughty race.

Something perhaps of this, too, inspires his dislike of parliamentary government, and his contempt of great cities, of Berlin and its representatives in the Diet, and his respect for the United States, where he finds so many good influences directly traceable to the strong infusion of German race and blood, and modes of thought and action; wholesome and salutary, both in the new country built up so largely by men of his own faith and training, and in the good example set to the people of their ancestral home, in the wise preference of agricultural life and pursuits, instead of the hollow pleasures of great towns.

There is frequent reference to the Jews in the book, and of a rather puzzling kind. Bismarck speaks of the strong infusion of Jews in the French Republic,—Simon, Cremieux, Magnin, Picard, Gambetta, even Favre, to judge by his face; and he seems to think well of the Jews in German finances,—Bleichröder, Strousberg, Henkel, and others who came to his help in regulating the great business of the French indemnity; but, perhaps Busch himself belongs to the proscribed race, and treasured up all that his great chief said about them. Indeed, Bismarck's extraordinary and coarse reference to the intermarriages between Jews and Christians in Germany, with the possible hint that his own sturdy sons might do well to follow the fashion, can hardly have been clear to his listener, who certainly leaves the reader in doubt as to whether it was offensive irony or only simple statement of opinion.

Busch has hit off his own characteristics in a very happy phrase, when he wishes he were rid of the limpness and giddiness that perpetually recur. He meant to apply it only to his physical condition after an ill-timed attack of illness, but it gives exactly the terms that best describe the man, and yet his book has a value, although it would be greatly enhanced by judicious trimming, cutting and compression. Poor Busch, when his turn of sickness came, might well note, with respectful awe, Bismarck's *menû* after a rather serious attack. He came, fresh from several days in bed with liver complaint, to a dinner of turtle soup and wild boar's head, with a compote of raspberry jelly and mustard, and drank beer and champagne and Vichy water. Is not such a man a hero to his valet? And is it not natural that Busch should give us the date when his chief began to let his beard grow, as well as Bismarck's account of his early training of artificial Spartanism with never enough to eat at school; and the great man's melancholy confession that he had unsuccessfully tried his hand at newspaper writing in his youth, in contrast to Busch's own facility in that line, enabling him to throw off six newspaper articles at a sitting, and to fill up any number of columns and despatches upon a hint from Bismarck or any of his secretaries? Still, even in his quality of newspaper man, Busch unconsciously helps us to pronounce our judgment of the man behind the throne, when he points out to the readers of his official utterances, the difference between the honorable peace sought by the Pope, through Cardinal Bonnechose, and the advantageous peace that the German Chancellor meant to secure. Busch, too, finds plenty of sharp reproaches for the false reports and mendacious statements made by the French officials, to keep their countrymen in good heart; yet he coolly confesses that Bismarck kept him busy spreading lies about Thiers, through accredited agencies in London and New York, although Bismarck himself certifies to Thiers as a man of fine intellect and good manners, and far above the other representatives of the vanquished nation.

The book has many merits and many faults; and while the reader can balance them for himself and yet find in it much that is well worth reading, it is plain that Bismarck may have reason to regret the heedless volubility and verbal accuracy of his too faithful, faithless reporter. Indeed, it looks to us as if the book

had been begun with some sort of sanction and approval that imply examination and confirmation of its earlier statements, while, perhaps, its very length and diffusiveness wearied the censor, and lulled him into careless indifference to the sharper things that bristle in the closing scenes of the great siege.

With all the boasted literary freedom of Germany, where the restrictions upon the newspaper press are rarely extended to a book, it is plain that such a man as Busch could hardly have ventured so far upon the privacy and confidence that are implied in his official subordination to the Chancellor, without some license; and it is, therefore fair to presume that in this work, just as in the *Familiar Letters*, Bismarck is maturing another very successful bid for popularity, even at the expense of sacrificing something of the regard of his own colleagues, and risking the poor opinion of people of his own rank. The great military achievements of the German army and its leaders have been put upon record in a series of works that reflect infinite credit on the famous general staff over which Moltke presided with equal success in the field and at the desk. Bismarck knows that state documents, protocols of peace negotiations, and long-winded blue books about treaties and indemnities, even formal political histories and official records, have few readers, and he has boldly ventured into the literary world in popular biographies, familiar letters, and the note-books of his own clerks and secretaries, and Busch's book is the last of the series. It will certainly bring the great Chancellor of the empire home to a very large reading public, and he can see himself put in the best light by those who shared his work and now claim a little of the glory that has settled upon him for his great achievements, by showing that they, too, were employed in the memorable task of building up the German Empire, while soldiers and civilians alike, were successfully overturning the rival across the Rhine.

The publication of Busch's book is another and sharp offence to France, for it puts its public men in the worst possible light; and it reiterates all that is disagreeable and unpleasant to recall of Gambetta and his associates in the French Republic of to-day, by telling again the story of their utter failure to resist the successful invasion of Germany upon their soil, and the siege of their splendid capital. How far such an attack could have been made by an

insignificant subordinate like Busch, and how far he was again inspired to his work by Bismarck, are questions that will lead a great many readers to take up the book in hope of being able to make their own answer,—and in doing so they will perhaps wonder how so good a statesman as Bismarck has proved himself, could have worked with such subordinates as Busch. He has, however, given us a portrait of his hero and a picture of the scenes through which they passed some eventful months together, such as would be difficult to find in any other book on such a subject.

TO LYDIA.

(HORACE, BOOK I. ODE VIII. *)

TELL me, sweet Lydia, I adjure thee,
 By all the deities who dwell above,
 Why Sybaris no more himself can be,
 Transformed and maddened by the arts of love.
 Why, patient no more of dust and sun,
 He quite forsakes the bright and sunny plain,
 Where with his mates in olden times he won
 The proudest prize of all the warlike train.
 No longer on his steed of Gallic blood,
 He prances through the admiring crowd,
 No more he battles with old Tiber's yellow flood,
 Or hears the wrestlers' plaudits long and loud.
 No more the discus by his brawny arm,
 Light as a feather to its goal is flown,
 No more the swiftly flying spear can charm,
 That far beyond its shining mark was thrown.
 More than the deadly viper's poisonous blood
 The oil which bathed his manly limbs he hates,
 And shuns the glorious field where oft he stood,
 As if beleaguered by avenging fates.
 Why hides he, Lydia, like a craven hind,
 As sea-born Thetis' son—in youth unmanned—
 In women's clothes was hid, lest fate should find
 Too soon, the hero born to scourge the Lycian band.

T.

*Translations by members of the Chestnut Hill Horace Club.

NEW BOOKS.

THE RACES OF EUROPEAN TURKEY; their History, Condition and Prospects. By Edson L. Clark, member of the American Oriental Society; author of "The Arabs and the Turks." Pp. vi. 532, 8vo. New York: Dodd, Mead & Co.

The class of books which grows out of public curiosity about countries in which great events are happening, rarely contains works of standard value. This is a branch of book-making in which sensationalism and inaccuracy abound, and the most popular and partisan pamphlets, with no claim to permanence in literature. The present struggle in the East—for we do not regard it as anything more than suspended—has produced a pretty long list of such worthless works, though none of them, perhaps, are so irredeemably bad as those which were produced during the Crimean war. It is no longer possible to foist upon the ignorance of the public such a work as that called *Schamyl and the Circassians*, and published by a respectable New York house,—a book in which Schamyl, the Lesghian and the Shiayee, is represented as fighting for defence of a country whose borders he never crossed, as belonging to a race utterly alien from his own, and, by inference, as professing a creed which he abhorred as an apostasy. Throughout the book, the author supplies the defects of his information from the exuberance of his imagination, in a way quite in harmony with the beginning.

The present war has produced a very large proportion of solid and excellent books, written by men who either possessed special means of information, or had taken the pains to study the proper sources of information. Mr. Clark's is one of these books; the only one as yet produced by an American pen.

The points of contact between America and the Turkish Empire are both numerous and important. We have not a great trade with Turkey,—nobody has,—but the efforts of the American churches to evangelize the East have secured us better means of information than generally flow in commercial channels, while the self-sacrificing and thoroughly unpolitical character of the work done by our missionaries has secured for our country a public regard which is not inferior to that accorded to any other country. Roberts College, in the Sultan's capital, and the American mission press at Beyrout, might be specified as the two centres of our influence, which have been repeatedly and publicly recognized by the ambassadors of other nations. Turkey is, therefore, a subject of intelligent interest in America, and the writings of our missionaries have been repeatedly used as standard sources of information by even the British quarterlies.

Mr. Clark divides his work into three portions. The first gives the history of the Byzantine Empire down to the capture of Constantinople, in 1453. With Mr. Finlay's excellent but little read works before him, it was easy to construct such a narrative as would surprise the average reader. We think Mr. Clark rather underrates the vitality and the energy of the Eastern Empire. A power which served for seven hundred years as the Eastern bulwark of Christendom against the Saracen and the Turk, must have had a power of life in it, whatever its faults and shortcomings.

The second portion discusses modern Greece and the Albanians. The story is that of centuries of oppression, and of brilliant decades of struggle and victory, by which Greece resumed her place among the nations. Every friend of modern Greece has to apologize for the disappointment of the excessive expectations awakened at the time of her liberation. Mr. Clark, following Tuckerman, shows how vast the progress which has been effected, while admitting the faults and weaknesses of the new government.

The account of the Albanians, the descendants of the old Epirotes, lifts the curtain from an obscure corner of European history, and explains to us some of the recent dispatches from Europe. These wild highlanders have remained hardly touched by the series of civilizations which have swept around them and over them; speaking a sister language to ancient Greek, but without a literature or any attempt to reduce their speech to writing; known to the outside world only when some Pyrrhus or Scanderbeg led them forth against other peoples; bad Christians, bad Mohammedans, bad neighbors.

The last part is occupied with the Servians and other Slavs, the Bulgarians, the Wallachians, and the Gypsies. The story of the first is more familiar, and that of Bulgaria is known to the readers of Gibbon. That of the Wallachians, the remnant of the old Latin colony which Trojan planted in the Eastern Carpathians, while not a cheerful story, is the most curious of all. Overwhelmed, forgotten, supposed to be extinct, the Latin life and speech of this people has returned to life with the dawn of a better era, and, while the social life of the people is perhaps the lowest, in a moral point of view, of any of the Eastern Christians, they exert a great assimilative influence over their Slavic neighbors.

DESTRUCTION AND RECONSTRUCTION: Personal Experiences of the Late War. By Richard Taylor, Lieutenant-General in the Confederate Army. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 8vo., pp. 274.

The recent death of the author of this book has attracted unusual attention to his peculiar merits and methods. General Dick Taylor had already figured in print in a number of articles in the

North American Review and other journals, and in this volume these papers are gathered together, along with others giving his political opinions and his personal reminiscences of the war, in an artless fashion that has the merit of being very readable. An actor in the doings of the Confederacy from the very outset, in the famous Charleston Convention, down to the last surrender of organized troops; a soldier by inheritance, for he was the son of Ex-President Taylor, and had a brief boyish experience of war in Mexico; a man of reading, rather too multifarious perhaps to be accurate; intimate with men and things in both sections of the country:—General Taylor sought to justify his own action in the Rebellion and secure himself credit for military services not generally accorded to him. If he could have restrained his fondness for “western orientalisms,” excess of epithets, an abuse of quotations, and a love of display of himself, his family, his learning and his deeds, his book would have been of much greater literary excellence; but still it is not without some value as a contribution to the civil history of the Rebellion, especially as to the unfamiliar events of the War in the South-west and the temporary success of the Confederacy. General Taylor confirms the report that there was once on foot a scheme of secession by the Gulf States, whose leaders proposed setting up a government of their own, under the protection of the French and Maximilian, who, in return it is asserted, was to recognize his new subjects by making one a Duke of Red River, and another a Marquis of Plaquemines, and still others noblemen, with titles suitable to their possessions as the great land-owners.

General Taylor rather happily hits off Buchanan, as the “last great Hapsburg who reigned in Spain,” and he is by no means modest in his praise and dispraise. McClellan was in his eyes the great organizer, while Pemberton and Kirby Smith, on the one side, Banks and A. J. Smith on the other, are guilty of every crime known to the soldier. Sherman and Sheridan are roundly denounced for barbarity, and Butler and Canby are white-washed very freely. Grant is ranked far below Hancock, and Lee below Johnston, and Porter and Farragut are made to tell the true story of the Red River disaster at the expense of the official reports of the Union Army commanders. The army gathered together under Taylor, for the defense of his own state, was a motley crew, counting Irishmen from New Orleans, “Acadian” Frenchmen from Taylor’s Louisiana neighborhood, Germans from Texas, and among his officers were Prince Polignac, as a type of European civilization, and Forrest, as a soldier of fortune, rising from the lowest social scale,—and of all of them Taylor gives a very graphic description, not without its value in determining the relative merits of the two armies. His good, old-fashioned Southern credulity is not proof

against the stories that Northern cavalymen began their novel work by being tied to their horses and seeking protection in breast-plates of mail. On the other hand, his frank statement of the want of legs in the Southern infantry confirms the story of the North Carolinian who gave as a reason for not liking to walk, that he had once walked eight hundred miles and was still tired; and when asked where, "Oh," he said, "just wherever Sherman chose to send us, and he never gave us any chance to rest, so I'm tired yet and can't walk."

General Taylor's relationship with Jeff. Davis might well make him a partial critic of his administration, and yet he frankly tells his readers that just as much harm was done in the South, by deferring to imaginary public opinion, as in the North by the civilians who overruled the trained soldiers and even superseded them. His sketches of Thad. Stevens and Henry Winter Davis are characteristic examples of his cloudy style, overladen with epithets,—Davis was "a radical Amaryllis, with the head of a Medusa and the eye of the Basilisk,—he might have represented Siva in a Hindoo temple." Stevens, "deformed in body and temper, like Caliban, was the Lord Hategood of the fair." The picture of Stonewall Jackson has some novel features about it, and many of the men of less note are well hit off in a few words. As a friend and companion of men engaged on both sides, both in war and peace, as a Southern politician and a Louisiana planter, Taylor's knowledge of the leaders of the Rebellion, of its inception, its rise and fall, and its wretched results for both North and South, enabled him, aided by considerable literary skill, to describe in a forcible way some of the marked characteristics of the foremost men, especially such notable characters as Hardee and Bragg, Ewell and Toombs. The hard fate that pursued him, his own personal losses and his fallen fortunes, all modestly told, may well account for his pessimistic view of the utter ruin that has been visited on the South and awaits the North. While it is very plain he is right in saying that the war has left behind a legacy of corruption and dishonesty in public and private, it is saddening to think how little the South has learned from its hard experience of the bitterness of unsuccessful rebellion.

TALES FROM THE GERMAN OF PAUL HEYSE. New York: D. Appleton & Co.

We have long recognized in Heyse one of the most powerful writers of our day, and it is with feelings of increased admiration that we close this new volume and turn to introduce it to the reader as one of the best of its kind. Each of these four stories bears the stamp of the author's peculiar genius; brilliant in conception, strong in characterization and vigorous in style, they hold the attention captive to the very end.

THE LIFE OF J. M. W. TURNER, R. A. By Philip Gilbert Hamerton. Roberts Brothers, Boston.

The reputation of Mr. Hamerton as a vigorous and charming writer upon art topics, has already been well established through such books as "*Etching and Etchers*," "*Thoughts About Art*," "*The Unknown River*," etc., but the volume at present before us, both by reason of the high reputation of the artist of whom it treats, and the fame of the brilliant writer who has given us so much upon the same subject, is likely to attract additional attention. The tone which characterizes Mr. Hamerton's book throughout, cannot fail, we think, to impress sober-minded students of art with the thorough honesty of his views, as well as the care and wisdom of his investigations. In this respect he wins, and is entitled to win, the confidence of those who have thought, though more humbly and superficially it may be, in the same line with himself. He has depth and delicacy of insight with a cool impartiality of judgment, which at once leads him to do full justice to the splendid genius of Turner, whilst it restrains him from falling into that altogether unqualified admiration which so frequently engulfs Mr. Ruskin and his unquestioning followers. It is cheering, indeed, to meet with a critic who gives the world his views, not through the medium of dogmas, which he will not admit to be fallible, but by the less pretentious though more convincing agency of logical reasoning. Mr. Hamerton's book is likely to be of great service, not only in making more reasonable that large class of otherwise intelligent persons, who, disgusted with the excess of Mr. Ruskin's views, have been disposed to jeer at Turner's merit altogether, as well as in suggesting more discrimination to those who, blinded by the richness of Mr. Ruskin's literary gifts, have accepted him as an unerring guide. The book in parts may be found somewhat tedious by general readers, where the author treats with great detail and thoroughness of the peculiar methods of the artist, but it suggests thoughts which may be profitable to all, independent of art interest. The life of Turner brings very forcibly to our notice the case of a man endowed, far beyond his fellows, with powers noble in themselves, but for whose development he was content to sacrifice, not only all those accomplishments which are usually considered the required ornaments of life, but nearly all those qualities which belong to a sound and dignified character. It would not be amiss, we think, if not only art students, but young professional men generally should ask themselves at the outset of their career, even with such a glittering example as Turner to the contrary, whether success must be purchased at the sacrifice of purity, liberality, and sympathy for fellow-men.

THE BOHEMIAN, a Tragedy of Modern Life. By Charles De Kay. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

Those who may so far "slander any moment's leisure" as to follow *The Bohemian* throughout his brief career to its ghastly *dénouement*, will probably unite in pronouncing this "tragedy of modern life" unnatural in the extreme. For ourselves, however, we are disposed to congratulate the writer upon his remarkable originality. The average story-teller selects his characters from real life, and, however diverse the setting, there is generally a touch of nature somewhere in the picture; but Mr. De Kay, soaring superior to precedent, seeks in the realms of imagination only the unreal and impossible. Dickens roaming in disguise through the purlieus of London, and Thackeray going about making sketches on his thumb-nail, what did they, after all, but bring us face to face with men and women very much like ourselves? It remained for the author of this "tragedy" to evolve from the midst of New York society characters thoroughly unique, and not made after the likeness of any thing in heaven above or on the earth beneath.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

Natural Resources of the United States. By J. Harris Patton. Cloth. 16mo. Pp. 115. New York: D. Appleton & Co. [Porter & Coates.

Baths and Bathing. (Health Primer). Cloth. Sq. 16mo. Pp. 93. Price 40 cents. New York: D. Appleton & Co. [Porter & Coates.

Destruction and Reconstruction: Personal Experiences of the Late War. By Richard Taylor, Lieutenant-General in the Confederate Army. 8vo. Cloth. Pp. 274. New York: D. Appleton & Co. [Porter & Coates.

The Great Italian and French Composers. By George T. Ferris. (Handy Volume Series). Pp. 248. Price 30 cents. New York: D. Appleton & Co. [Porter & Coates.

The New Tendencies of Political Economy. By Emile de Laveleye. Translated by George Walker. 8vo. Sw'd. Pp. 27. New York: Published by Bankers Magazine and National Register.

Wanderings in Patagonia. By J. Beerbohm. (Leisure Hour Series, No. 104). New York: Henry Holt & Co. [Claxton, Remsen & Haffelinger.

Our Methods of Legislation and their Defects. By Simon Sterne. 8vo. Sw'd. Pp. 22. New York: Published by the New York Municipal Society.

International Copyright considered in some of its Relations to Ethics and Political Economy. By George Haven Putnam. (Economic Monographs, No. XV.) Sw'd. 12mo. Pp. 54. Price 25 cents. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

Annals of Philadelphia and Pennsylvania, in the Olden Time. By John T. Watson. Enlarged with many revisions and additions, by Willis P. Hazard. Vol. III. Cloth. 8vo. Pp. 524. Philadelphia: J. M. Stoddart & Co.

Every Man his own Poet; or, the Inspired Singers' Recipe Book. By a Newdigate Prizeman. 16mo. Sw'd. Pp. 32. Price 25 cents. Boston: A. Williams & Co.

Academie Royale de Belgique. Bulletins Nos. 1 and 2, 1879. Bruxelles: F. Hayez.

THE
PENN MONTHLY.

JUNE, 1879.

THE MONTH.

THE situation of affairs has hardly improved greatly as concerns the British Empire. The conquest of the Zulus seems no nearer than when the English set out on that errand. Not a spot of Zulu territory is in English possession. The roads into it have been found all but impassable. The one feat of the war, has been the successful rescue of some beleaguered English troops, in the face of a Zulu army. The supply of beasts of burden is exhausted, and the native guides and drivers refuse to cross the frontier. And yet the English, although repudiating any desire to annex Zululand, have not abated a jot of their pretensions. Cetewayo must disband his army, must accept a British resident at his court, must put himself in the way of being peaceably annexed to the Empire fifty years hence. He evidently prefers to fight now, rather than after he has been stripped of the means of resistance.

In Afghanistan, the present British policy is to get out of the country as fast as is possible. Even the East Indian troops are succumbing to its pestiferous climate, as they did in Cyprus. It is found practicably impossible to hold any of the cities, or anything more than a couple of mountain passes. Yakub Khan, may have his wretched country to himself, if he will but acquiesce in the English occupation of their "scientific frontier." As this involves no more on his part than the abandonment of a dozen of turbulent mountain tribes, he is hardly the man to offer resistance. And

there seems little chance that the old plan of settling a British resident at his court, will be carried out in its spirit.

One reason for this readiness to come to terms, is found in the condition of India itself. A year of horrors is evidently opening on that ill-fated peninsula. The cholera has broken out among the pilgrims at the Hurdwar Mela, a religious festival on the upper Ganges, at which six million of Hindoos assemble every year. Of recent years, the annual recurrence of this calamity has been prevented by rigid military discipline and inspection. But at a time when every soldier was needed on the frontier, the force required to keep six million people in order could not be spared. The pilgrims have died by tens or even hundreds of thousands, and the survivors have carried the plague into every corner of the Ganges valley. After the pestilence is coming the famine. The meteorologists predict a year of severe drought throughout Southern Asia, a region where every failure of the rice crop sweeps away millions of people. The trouble has already shown itself in Cashmere, but other and still larger areas of India—notably Bengal,—are equally threatened. If India were what she was under native rule, a country of varied industry, she might escape. She would have something to fall back upon, when her agriculture failed. But all her eggs are in one basket now ; when that falls, all is lost.

Domestic discontent is spreading over the southern half of the peninsula. The rude Dravidian races, less pliant if also less polished than the Hindoos, are rising in armed insurrection against their foreign rulers. Their leader, a former employee of the government, seems to have gauged the nature of their troubles with considerable accuracy. He demands employment for the people, the encouragement of native trades, and the reduction of taxes and of the salaries of highly paid Europeans. And no wonder. English rule has destroyed every industry except rice-farming and money-lending, while it taxes the poverty-stricken natives twenty per cent. of their scanty incomes to pay these enormous salaries, which are spent in England. And even this excessive taxation is not enough ; the natives are under the pressure of heavy monopolies like that of salt, while a paltry import duty of twenty per cent. on cotton goods has been taken off at the insistence of Manchester, because it threatened to prove protective.

And these English, who have managed India so well, undertake to teach the world Political Economy.

THAT there is soon to be a dissolution of Parliament seems to have been indicated by the character of many of the recent transactions in Parliament. These have the air of being meant to tell at the polls. But a recent and evidently inspired article in the *Times* seems to show that the Tories have made up their minds that it would be madness to go before the popular tribunal this year, and as they can still put off the evil day somewhat, they will not dissolve Parliament until its term expires under the Septennial Act. They are waiting for something to turn up, feeling that this is a bad year for vigorous and imperial statesmen, and convinced that the next year cannot, at its worst, be worse than this has been.

We do not believe that their unpopularity has been entirely due to their own faults, but we do not see any chance of their escaping from it through the changes a year may bring. They have been to blame for their selfish and aggressive foreign policy. The demon of Imperialist ambition they have deliberately invoked, and they have involved their country in half a dozen wars and squabbles with no result but disappointment and expense. They have given way to Russia; they have ceased to attempt to bully Egypt; they have kept Greece quiet in Turkey's extremity by promises which have not been kept; and they have brought upon their hands two petty but costly and disastrous wars, besides undertaking vast responsibilities as regards the future of the worst government in the world. In Egypt they have shown sense, but of just the sort which they despised and denounced in their less vigorous rivals of the Liberal party. They have told the Khedive that if he rejects the financial advisers England and France have sent him, he must take the responsibility; and he has taken it. This is but sorry news for those excellent Christians, who made themselves accomplices in the robbery and enslavement of the Egyptian people, by lending money to a Turk at fourteen per cent.

But a year will bring about no changes in favor of the Tories for the fault is not in their stars, but in themselves. An old Greek would have said that the Gods were visiting upon them the penalties of their *hubris* (insolence); in the language of later thinking, judicial blindness is the penalty which falls upon the wilful transgressors of divine laws. The Tories are judicially blinded,—they have lost their heads, and have lost their hold upon the course of events.

Their blunders of the year left them for repentance, will be as great as those of any which went before, for they are not capable of honestly and finally renouncing the vile and selfish maxims by which their course has been governed.

As to the other great source of their unpopularity, the depressed condition of English interests throughout the world, the Tories are far less to blame than their antagonists, and their present leader the least of all. The financial policy of England during the last thirty-five years has many points of resemblance to the *jingoism* of the present administration. It rests on maxims equally selfish. It differs chiefly in being less insolent and more hypocritical. It has professed to be a policy for the advantage of the whole world, and no doubt has been held to be such by some innocent enthusiasts. But its true purport has been to preserve for Great Britain certain exceptional advantages, which enabled her to monopolize the markets for manufactured goods. The world has not acquiesced in that policy; it has refused to accept the inferior position to which England would thus consign all other civilized nations. And now the evil day is come, when the commercial supremacy upon which she has made the bread of her people to depend, is to be taken from her, and the prophecy of her poet is to be fulfilled—

Slowly comes a hungry people,
As a lion, creeping nigher,
Glares at one that nods and winks
Behind a slowly dying fire.

And neither one year nor ten years will bring such an improvement as would relieve the Tories of the unpopularity which hard times bring upon the party in power. Had they shown any disposition to grapple boldly with the problem thus brought before them, their fate might be different. Had they sought to take back the millions of their people to the land, to restore the small farm system, to reconvert farm laborers into yeomen, they might yet save England at the expense of her mills and her loomlords, and of their own aristocratic prejudices. But "the day of no judgment," which Burke dreaded, has come upon England, and her counselors know not whither to turn for her relief. Not one of them has any intelligible theory as to the course of the present prolonged distress. The best they can say is to point to other times not unlike these, and express the hope that as England came through

them, she will come through now. But the present times are altogether different from any previous times. These are times of the transition of supremacy from nation to nation.

THE French Republic does not improve with age. It has encountered several great misfortunes of late years. The first was the removal of a hostile and somewhat unscrupulous president, in whose presence good behavior was indispensable. The second was in the elevation to the presidency of one of the best and most influential of the Republican leaders, whose presence in the *Corps* is greatly needed. Under this constitution, the president of the Republic must either be a danger or a cipher, and M. Grevy is the latter. The third was the elevation to the Premiership of a statesman without imaginative or theatrical gifts, a man of the type which Frenchmen admire for a day, and hate for the rest of the year. M. Waddington, this English Frenchman, is unhappily the representative of moderation and conciliation. His fall, which is not far distant, will be an injury to the Republic. The fourth is the outbreak of anti-clerical zeal in M. Jules Ferry, and his educational bills. Such an outbreak was easily foreseen, and hardly avoidable, but it has raised the most fatal of issues for the Republic. A policy of steady and kindly conciliation towards the hierarchy, even with a proper restriction of the power to confer degrees, might have resulted in destroying the monarchical prejudices of French churchmen. The spirit of Lamennais and Lacordaire might have been evoked once more in the ranks of the French clergy. At the worst, France, like Italy, might have reached some basis of mutual toleration in its negotiations with Leo XIII. But, instead of this, the Republic has rallied against itself the most sleepless, the most untiring of enemies, the great corporation which has seen many changes of government in France, without changing its policy or relaxing its hold upon the mass of the people.

But it is useless to talk of policy to fanatics, and the passionate atheism of the Liberal classes in France is very little short of fanaticism. They do not merely distrust the priesthood, as likely to use its power in an unpatriotic direction; they hate a priest as a being malevolent and maleficent by the very nature of his office. They hate him as a wielder of a power which they cannot get rid of, but would gladly annihilate. They hate him as the represen-

tative of beliefs which are at once their scorn and their torment. The sight of a cassock inflames them as a red rag does a mad bull. They must attack the church sooner or later, whatever the reasons of policy and common sense for avoiding a collision. The radicals of countries in which sacerdotal influence is too weak to excite any wrath, see and deplore the animus of the new law. Mr. John Morley, the English radical who spells the name of his Maker with a small "g," says "it is rather of the nature of a weapon of retaliation than a well considered attempt to reconstitute national education."

PRINCE BISMARCK is not as prompt with his new Tariff legislation, as were our Canadian friends. Old world legislators take up such laws in detail, while on this continent they are passed in the lump. But the success of the new Tariff and the defeat of the Free Trade party have been assured from the first. The latter had followed the English example, in resting on their past victories, with the assurance that the sublime truths of Free Trade theory were so self-evident, so beyond all dispute, that nothing need be said in their defence; while the Protectionists worked like beavers for the restoration of the old duties on imports. Now they are former awake in somewhat the condition of the shell-fish in the Japanese story, which shut itself up when it heard the net coming, and opened its shell again in the fish-shop. They are trying all sorts of agitation to put a stop to what is doing, or at least to secure its future repeal. The duties on foreign grain, by which the Juncker party are induced to support Bismarck, seem to furnish the best point for resistance. They propose a great Anti-Corn-Law League, and a general agitation like that begun by the Manchester school in England. But they mistake the facts of the case. In England, agriculture was the interest of a small minority; in Germany, it is that of the great majority of the people. In England, food for the whole people could not be grown on English soil without an entire revolution in her land tenure system. Germany can produce grain for export even, when she utilizes fully the resources she is now employing. In England, the manufacturers carried the repeal of the corn laws, because they had nothing to expect or hope from the continuance of protection. In Germany it is the manufacturers who have made

their league with the agricultural majority, and have agreed to a general system of protection, as needed by both. In England there was and is a very large and influential body of persons who live on fixed incomes, and are concerned only to get commodities as cheap as possible. In Germany this class is found only in the government service; the rest of the people, like Americans, are interested not so much in cheapness, as in the relative prices of what they sell and of what they buy. For these reasons, we believe the example of the English league and its success, is only delusive as regards Germany. The opposition to the new corn laws will be confined to a few municipalities, especially on the coast, and will disappear as the years go on.

THE Nihilist conspiracy in Russia is far from its end, although military government has been established in all the chief centres of population, and the severest restrictions employed. The platform of the conspirators has been better made known, and is thoroughly oriental in its character. They ask neither for constitutional guarantees nor orderly methods of rule. They have no faith in either, as regards Russia. They simply ask for the practical administration of exact justice for all classes. They will go on assassinating so long as political prisoners are murdered in prison,—so long as an oppressive bureaucracy crushes the land with which it has no sympathy.

It might seem easy for the Czar to grant all this, but in truth it is the hardest thing of all to secure. Russia is in a most unfortunate condition, as a nation whose methods of rule have been modelled after those of foreign countries, instead of having grown out of the political life of her people. Peter the Great began the mischief, and his successors have carried it to perfection, until we have a half or quarter civilized people, with civilized methods of administration, and a great host of real or virtual foreigners entrusted with the management. For their educational processes, through which the higher classes, whether in office or not, must pass, have been as foreign as the administrative. Schools and colleges and universities, practically sundered from the influence of the somnolent national church, have been training great bodies of half-educated, one-sidedly intellectual persons, whose heads are full of the latest theories from half Europe. A glance at the

parts of French, German and English literature which circulate in Russia, shows what are the tendencies of this class. The sounder and more wholesome books are rarely or never seen, while Buckle, Büchner and their like are sold everywhere in the originals or in translations. The intelligence of these people has been divorced from faith in anything but evolution and progress, and has, of course, become a destroying instead of a constructive force. Nihilism is but an extreme instance of the danger which besets all modern society, in case of the destruction of religious faith as a popular conviction. When any country, or any large and separate class in it, gets so far as that, the race of competition begins as to who can cast off the most of the principles and notions formerly accepted, and claim for himself the most "advanced" position. The Nihilists say that liberty is an obsolete issue, that Republicanism is as dead, that even the Commune represents a point in progress which has long been passed.

What the outcome will be, it is at present impossible to say. The Czar will leave a difficult problem to his successor.

THE Republican party owes much to its rival. Like all liberal parties, it is perpetually disposed to go to pieces on secondary issues, or to lose control of its own right and left wings. But a merciful providence has provided it with an antagonist, which always helps it to rally and reunite its sundered parts. Six years ago it looked as if the party were very fast resolving itself into excellent material for new political combinations. To-day it is as united and steadfast as if the war had just ended,—or were not yet ended.

The one chance which the Democracy and the South possessed was in not re-opening the issues of the war. We do not mean by this any attempt to re-establish slavery, or revoke the amendments, or alter any of the formal results of the struggle. But, deeply implanted in the popular mind is the conviction that the war decided that this country is a nation, not a confederacy, and that the talk about State Rights is as obsolete as the phlogistic theory or the Ptolemaic system. Whatever toleration the people may show to the colonial arrangements, which are perpetuated in the Constitution, and whatever intolerance it might show towards the attempts of General Grant to uphold state governments which ought to have

fallen by their own weight, the popular feeling is summed up in General Dix's order—"If any man pull down the American flag, shoot him on the spot."

But the Democracy, instead of taking pains to avoid this issue, have run themselves against it at every turn since they got control of Congress. They have misinterpreted the popular dislike of Grantism, as a reaction against the Republican party and these informal results of the war. Therein they have shown themselves blind to the signs of the times. Mr. Hayes had the American people with him when he ordered out of the South the troops needed to uphold unworthy governments. He has the American people equally behind him, in sending back with his veto the legislation which proposes to destroy the national control of elections in which the nation is concerned. Whatever blunders the Republicans have made in the past, it is now felt that they alone represent the convictions reached through four terrible years of suffering and sacrifice, and that they cannot afford to sacrifice the great central principles of their party for the sake of lesser questions of Reform, Finance, and the like.

THE extra session is now seen by even the Democrats to have been a blunder, and they are chiefly eager to do something before adjournment, which may retrieve their blunder before the people. They never—we believe—had any real intention of leaving the government without resources in case the President vetoed their partisan legislation. They only hoped that he was weak enough to shrink from the responsibility of such a veto. There was very little in Mr. Hayes's earlier record to show that they would be disappointed, and his doings of the past few months excite a larger respect for his firmness and insight than do those of the rest of his administration. Without being, as Mr. Grant said *he* was, the President of the Republican party, he shows that he knows what the Republican party stands for, and is ready to act in accordance with its principles. He has not excited any enthusiastic desire for his renomination, but he has reconciled even those Republicans who distrusted him to his being president for the rest of his term.

The Democracy have managed to keep some of the worst elements of their party in positions of especial prominence. Of their southern members, Senator Vance is the only one who has

spoken with the good sense which reassures the North by making them feel that there are sensible people in the South,—people not governed by the unpredictable forces of passion and sentiment.

The rest talked as wildly and as boastfully as if they had never been threshed, and Senator Hill of Georgia sought to give emphasis to his extravagances by a fictitious version of his own record as a Southern Unionist. The favorite sentiment seems to be as regards the war: "God alone knows which was right." We had always supposed the war was an appeal to His arbitration, and that the result was the announcement of His decision. Never was there a clearer case of such a decision than the late war. Two systems of civilization, after long existing within the same country, were brought into collision by the wilfulness of those who adhered to the beaten cause. One of the two went down utterly,—was wrecked and ruined by the inherent vices of the social system it had produced. The other came out of the trial—as we believe—stronger, purer and more vigorous than ever before. And then the very party which challenged the arbitrament of Providence, informs us that there has been no decision. Better have said, with the Stoic poet, *Victrix causa Diis placuit, victa Catoni.*

THE Democrats have not shown their wisdom in trying to retrieve the blunders of the extra session by their bill for the free coinage of silver. The measure is objectionable because it proposes to retain the present wrongful standard as the basis of coinage, and to require the Treasury to issue coin certificates to depositors of silver bullion at the same rate. A still worse fault was obviated by an amendment authorizing the mint to charge for coinage the full difference between the market value of the silver bullion and the nominal value of the silver coin. We have always maintained that it is unwise and unpatriotic for Americans to discredit silver as money, and that a national currency in which this should predominate would be the best hard money we could have. But to try to force into circulation coins worth less than their face value, is to set at defiance many of the best ascertained principles of economic science. There was some excuse for such a measure at the time of the former legislation on this subject. It was then hoped that that the demand thus created for silver would have the effect of restoring that metal to its former price. The expectation

has proved mistaken, and we should either cease to attempt the establishment of a silver currency, or increase the weight beyond the present standard.

The bill is urged as a measure of relief for the silver-producing parts of our country. They have no right to relief at the expense of the people at large. And it is not they only who would profit by it. The silver which Germany holds in store, and the silver which gluts the European markets since the natural outlet for it to the East was closed by England's financial blundering, would be brought over, converted into coin or certificates, and used to purchase our gold and bonds for transportation to Europe. This fact is very properly urged by some hard money organs, which have made the discovery that they never were opposed to silver *per se*, but always favored a double standard. If so, they managed to keep their preference a profound secret. We are not aware of a single daily paper in the East that did not denounce the simple proposition to restore silver to its currency as money, and that did not abuse those, who, like ourselves, favored its remonetization at a higher standard of weight. It is now urged by them that we should wait until the distress in Europe has forced those nations to recede from the single gold standard, meaning until the Greek Kalends. No country but India, no European class but the East Indian merchants, are suffering from the demonetization of silver. England will not, Germany need not, and the Latin Union dare not resume the coinage of silver; and the proposed negotiations will come no more speedily than did those in which Gen. Walker so staunchly presented the silver side of the case.

SECRETARY SHERMAN has had another theatrical success. His Ten Dollar Certificates, adopted as a substitute for a Post Office Savings Fund, have been disposed of with such rapidity that the whole \$40,000,000 will be evidently taken up as fast as they can be printed. But the certificates considered with reference to their main purpose have been a complete failure. They have not been, and never could be sought after by the poor as an investment. They have not been the means of enlisting millions of voters on the side of order and public honesty, by giving each an interest in the honest repayment of their debt. They have been bought up simply because of their capability of conversion into bonds after a

few months have elapsed, and their sale is simply the last chapter in the sale of the four per cents. In some cases the postmasters, it is said, have themselves increased their profits on their sale by selling to their own agents, and then disposing of the certificates to the brokers. In other cases the agents of the brokers themselves have earned a pittance by standing in the line of purchasers under police inspection, to invest a fifty dollars after hours of waiting. But in one way or another, the certificates have found their way to the brokers' offices, and when the date for conversion comes hardly one but will be presented.

This, although not so large an operation as the sale of the four per cents., was after the same model. The speculators in that case saw the chance of creating a huge corner in governments. The bonds to be replaced by the four per cents. are very largely in the possession of national banks, savings banks, trustees and other investors, who are practically limited by law to investment in this class of securities. A vast quantity of new bonds they must secure by the date fixed for the redemption of the bonds they now hold, and the syndicate saw its chance to force them to pay a high price for them. Hence the wholesale bid for the last quantity which was thrown upon the market, a bid clearly speculative and not under orders for investment; for how else could the Treasury's favorite bank—the First National of New York—give up so large a slice of what it had secured to the English syndicate? The ring engaged in creating this corner have thus far succeeded beyond all reasonable expectation. They have sold or distributed to their lesser confederates the bulk of their purchases; they have relieved the home market by a heavy shipment to Europe. And they calculate that the national banks outside the ring will need \$40,000,000 more than they have secured, and, of course, will have to pay a high price for them. And the Treasury, knowing, of course, the character of the transaction, has given into their hands the power to extort such a price from institutions and trustees throughout the country. So far as appears, the motive for this line of action was found in the brilliancy of the *coup de theatre* with which the sale of the four per cents. terminated.

The ten dollar certificates present the only relief, the only postponement of pressure of the bond market, which is now left for most of those who have trust funds to invest. In New York, the

Legislature has legalized investments in District of Columbia bonds, and similar measures of relief should be granted in other states, in so far as it is consistent with safety to do so. In some cases the national banks will probably be forced to retrench their circulation.

All this shows the absurdity of counting upon the present price of the four per cents. as permanent. The prices created by a corner are, in the very nature of things, excessive, factitious and temporary.

THE KEY TO SUCCESS.

THE whole universe of matter and mind is under the absolute control of exact laws. There is no world too ponderous, nor floating mote too minute to be beyond the reach of these systematic methods of God's working. Leverrier, the celebrated French astronomer, once staked his reputation with all the implicit trust of science on this mathematical precision of the skies. One night in the summer of 1846, at a late hour, he might have been seen, pencil in hand, intensely studying sundry papers lying on the desk before him. He was solving the problem of the cause of the perturbations of Uranus. The next morning, over his well known signature, the Academy of Sciences received the startling announcement that if astronomers would turn the tubes of their telescopes as he directed, they would find a hitherto undiscovered planet belonging to our solar system. The tubes were turned, and, sure enough, there shone Neptune, which had till then escaped the notice of mankind. Even the comets that so frighten the untaught by their seemingly wild dashing among the stars, vary not a hair's breadth from the circuits assigned them by unchangeable laws. The poetic fancy of the music of the spheres rests on a fact foundation.

Look at the human eye. How exact is its structure; how exact the laws of refraction which light obeys in giving perfectness to the image it paints on the retina. The surfaces of its little water-lenses are curved with such delicate nicety, and their distances fixed with such precision, they wholly avoid that spherical

aberration which has so long troubled science and compelled learned men, in order to effect its removal from their instruments, to expend millions of money and months of thought.

In the vegetable kingdom are met the workings of alike immutable laws. A series of fractions, whose variations in value are in accordance with the rule of arithmetical progression, determines the position of leaves on plant-stems; the peculiar arrangement of wood-cells shows the veining of those leaves, and their green pulp tells the climate where they thrive, the average moisture of the atmosphere and the amount of sunlight that reaches the place of their growing. By some strange alchemy, whose secret has been entrusted to them by Him who fixed its unerring laws, those plants convert invisible gases into tinted flowers, change starch to sugar and turn carbonic poison into wholesome food.

So exact and universal are the laws that govern in the structure of animal organisms, if you take to a comparative anatomist a fossil bone, he will tell the size, weight and form of the animal of which it once formed part, where it lived, and on what kind of food it was its custom to feed. Tempests and torrents that tear oaks in such fury from the soil where they have been rooted for centuries; volcanoes that light the heavens with their breath and cause palaced cities to stagger like drunken men; avalanches that rush with thunder-peal down the mountain sides and sweep the plains with quick ruin,—the very wildest forces in nature, implicitly obey the dictates of law.

Higher in the scale of existences are found the same systematized methods of working. Metaphysicians give the laws of sequence that control those endless trains of ideas that begin at birth; of association that govern their recall; and of conception which fancy is forced to follow in fashioning out of this rough lumber of the brain its gorgeous palaces of thought. Combinations of colors, proportion of parts, varieties of motion and succession of sounds, awaken their correspondent emotions with the certainty of fate. Love and hatred that bless and blight the heart, set on fire assemblies, hover over battle-fields to comfort and to curse, are known to work by rule. In brief, search where you will among creations of matter or conceptions of mind, you will find the same immutable laws reaching and ruling all.

Science discovers the laws that underlie phenomena; art uses

them. Science discovers the expansive power of steam; art by its cog-wheels and cross-bands compels it to weave its fabrics, print its thoughts and draw its trains of trade. Science discovers the chemical action of light; art properly preparing its canvas, seizes a sunbeam and with single strokes of the brush, paints pictures that outvie the master-pieces of Raphael that hang on the walls of the Vatican. Science discovers that a compound of nitrate of potash, sulphur and charcoal will explode when touched by fire; art places the compound into the bore of a cannon and with it hurls iron balls over ramparts and into the ranks of rebels. Science discovers the chemical affinity of oxygen, zinc and sulphuric acid; art lays its Atlantic cables and weaves together the continents of a world. Science discovers the laws of beauty, of melody and of eloquence; art goes to the marble quarry and with mallet and chisel uncovers the Greek Slave's beauty, makes strong men weep while Paganini draws his bow across his violin, and by Demosthenes' famed philippics breaks the charms of subtlety and turns the tide of war.

Effective geniuses are they who, having diligently investigated, implicitly obey these fixed laws. They readily dazzle the unsuspecting by their seeming miracles of attainment, simply because they alone are cognizant of the existence of such laws. We naturally stand wonder-struck if, entering one of the workshops of the world, and, unacquainted with the details of the process, we see rough bits of metal, after passing through various machines and manipulations, changed into Elgin watches, throbbing as if they had souls in them. Equally marvellous is the phenomenon of odd bits of experience, stray snatches of town gossip, neighborhood traditions, cast-away scraps of the street, thoughts and facts that any one can have for the asking, going into the nicely adjusted machinery of the busy workshop of some trained brain, and coming out golden orbed and beautiful to please and polish the fascinated thousands. But if we have explained to us the training and drudgery submitted to by that brain through a long series of years, its painful, persistent, persevering efforts, the numberless rules and regulations it carefully sought out and strictly obeyed; if we are allowed to follow the process step by step, all traces of mysterious mental witchcraft rapidly disappear; its resources of power are found quite attainable. Relative suggestion, the great kaleidoscope

of genius, in which the little broken pieces of ideas that are but the trampled rubbish strewn the thoroughfares of unthinking minds are changed into patterns of rarest symmetry, ceases to be a marvel when we discover that its sides are lined with hidden reflectors, and that only by its simple conformity to law it becomes gifted with power.

How the world wondered when, for the first time, a philosopher split a sunbeam with his prismatic knife, and tamed lightnings into postboys. A gardener drops into the soil a bulb not weighing an ounce, and with scarcely a mark of grace: out steps a white-robed lily whose praises are heard from the lips of the Saviour. A genius plants a seed-thought which, under the operation of laws that never can be changed or monopolized by him, sprouts, branches, blossoms, ripens into fruit.

To secure accurate knowledge of these hidden laws that underlie phenomena, and effectually to practicalize in any field their restless energies by skilled appliances, demand frequently the unremitting industry of a life time. Indeed so filled are biographies of the world's successful workers with instances of persistent painstaking; so seemingly evident is it that their achievements are the requital of sleepless toil and so uniformly has reward ever followed such persevering effort, that Buffon, one of the most indefatigable and brilliant explorers France ever gave to science, unhesitatingly pronounced patience to be the true touchstone of genius; John Foster, the great English essayist, named it the faculty of "lighting one's own fire;" and one of our distinguished college presidents, "the power to make efforts." The best definition, however, I have ever found is, "common sense intensified."

On final analysis of the methods of men's working, an enlightened and sustained enthusiasm will be discovered to be that into which all the essential elements of success can be resolved. There must be enkindled an intense longing to realize a definitely conceived ideal; that ideal must appear worthy of any sacrifice; that longing must glow with white heat. There are undoubtedly marked differences in mental endowment in the same department, but those differences prove often more nominal than real, and by serving as incentives secure to the less gifted the more frequent victory. Franklin affirms, "I have always thought that one man of tolerable abilities may work great changes and accomplish great

affairs among mankind if he first forms a good plan and, cutting off all amusements or other employments that would divert his attention, makes the execution of that same plan his sole study and business." Emerson in his "American Scholar" remarks, "The one thing of value is the *active* soul. This every man is entitled to. This every man contains in himself, although in most all men obstructed and yet unborn. The soul active sees absolute truth and utters truth or creates. In this action it is genius, not the privilege of here and there a favorite, but the sound estate of every man." And again, Professor E. P. Whipple says, "If we sharply scrutinize the lives of persons eminent in any department of action or meditation we shall find that it is not so much brilliancy and fertility as constancy and continuousness of effort which makes a man great."

Thoroughness, concentration and courage are the main, distinguishing traits of great men, qualities rather of the heart than head, not necessarily exclusive inheritances to be enjoyed by the few, but possible acquisitions in reach of the many.

One of Wellington's chief sources of success was his thorough mastery of details. While in Spain he gave precise directions how the soldiers should prepare their food; in India, the miles per day the bullocks should be driven that were provided for the army. The equipments of his troops were cared for in all their minutiae. The same exactness he introduced into his administration of civil affairs. From his earliest school days in every transaction this trait of thoroughness appears. The confidence and unfaltering devotion he thus inspired unquestionably secured him his many and decisive victories. No great commander leaves anything to chance, but seeks to anticipate every emergency and to provide for it.

Gray spent seven years perfecting his *Elegy* which you can readily read in seven minutes. Into it he generously poured the very ripest scholarship, an intimate acquaintance with the rules of rhythm and an exhaustive study of the varied excellences of English and Latin classics. Every syllable was submitted to closest scrutiny, the cadence of the verse was suited to the character of the thought, every outline was vivid, every tint toned, every picture perfect, before he suffered his poem to pass into print. This palace of thought was no single night's work of slave-genii obeying the behest of one holding some magical lamp of Aladdin, but was

built up like coral reef, particle by particle. And this complete mastery of detail was secured only by the most protracted concentration of effort. By resolutely chaining his thought to his theme, completely surrendering himself to its guidance, the inexorable laws of suggestion irresistibly led him back through the past's faded and forgotten scenes in the humble lives of the sleeping cottagers until the scenery and personages of every picture at last brightened and breathed before his mental vision with all the sharply outlined vividness of real life.

This intense vividness of vision, the sure outcome of mental concentration, is absolutely indispensable to success. Fancy must first paint the canvas before the brush touches it. The Greek Slave stands before us now with no more clearly defined symmetry of form than she did before Powers long ere with the chisel his skilled hand threw off her rough mantle of marble. A celebrated French actor in order that he might on the stage successfully impersonate the dying, frequented Paris hospitals and narrowly watched each spasm of agony that passed over the faces of those that were in the very act of dissolution, thus gaining a vividness of conception that never left him. Macaulay says: "Dante is the eye-witness and the ear-witness of that which he relates. He is the very man who has heard the tormented spirits crying out for the second death; who has read the dusky characters on the portal within which there is no hope; who has hidden his face from the terrors of the gorgon; who has fled from the hooks and the seething pitch of Barbariccia and Diaghignazzo. His own hands have grasped the shaggy sides of Lucifer. His own feet have climbed the mountain of expiation. His own brow has been marked by the purifying angel." Handel, being asked about his ideas and feelings when composing the *Hallelujah Chorus*, replied, "I did think I did see all Heaven before me and the great God himself." It is related of him that he would frequently burst into tears while writing and was once found by a visitor sobbing uncontrollably when in the act of setting the words, "He was despised." Shields tells us that his servant who brought his coffee in the morning often stood in silent astonishment to see his master's tears mixing in the ink as he penned his divine notes. We are informed by the author of *Credo* that Foster used to walk the aisles of his church at Chichester often by moonlight and star-

light, until at length he wore a path in the solid pavements. He wrestled by the hour in prayer struggling with eternity and immortality and fashioning those mighty sentences, which, says Robert Hall, "are like a great lumber wagon loaded with gold." He used to kneel in charnel houses and pray the dead to break the silence and speak to him of the Invisible.

Inseparable from these traits of thoroughness and concentration is that of unfaltering courage,—courage to undertake great enterprises, "to scorn delights and live laborious days," to brave public sentiment in faithful adhesion to conclusions of your own thinking; courage that will not fail even in the hour of last extremity, but inspire you to be lashed as was Farragut to the mast of your battle-ship on the eve of action, or like the gallant crew of the Cumberland to pour your heaviest broadside on the enemy and boldly flaunt the banner of your purpose just before you go down. It must be the courage of that Switzer of the fourteenth century, Arnold Winkelried, who in the engagement of Shempach gathered to his breast the spears of the Austrian phalanx that thereby he might open a way for the rude hammers and hatchets of his countrymen. It must be such courage as inspired Luther to resolve to answer the summons of the Diet at Worms though he should meet as many devils as there were tiles on the houses; to hurl his inkstand at what he firmly believed to be the veritable Prince of Evil; even to deliberately compose himself to sleep at a time when, as he thought, fiends from hell had passed within his chamber door and were flitting threateningly about his very bedside.

Cortez, when entering upon that series of triumphs which finally overwhelmed with irremediable ruin the proud throne of the Montezumas and filled Europe with admiring wonder, first resolutely burnt every ship behind him, keenly discerning that by lessening the hopes of retreat he proportionately lessened the chances of failure. Wellington conquered the armies of Napoleon and twice rode victor into Paris, mainly because he was a general who durst carry out his own matured ways of warfare despite the mad clamor of all England, bravely trusting in the laws that governed the temper of the French army which inevitably fell to pieces when not led to frequent victory; and because he was one, who, when the time was ripe, fell like an avalanche on the famed soldiery of France and pressed his advantage with indomitable will through dangers and difficulties and the most exhausting fatigue.

The quiet walks of literature demand this courage equally with the stirring scenes of national battle-fields. Wordsworth's sublime adoption and advocacy of his own deliberately formed judgment of true taste against the adverse criticism of the entire world of letters, his jeopardizing every prospect of earthly preferment rather than violate his convictions of poetic excellence, demanded as great moral bravery as is required to climb a ship's mast in a storm or face the fire of an enemy.

These traits, thoroughness, concentration and courage, I conceive to be the three essential gifts of greatness. Without them no alertness of intellect has ever achieved a work which bears the impress of immortality; with them rarely need any one despair of accomplishing "that which the world will not willingly let die."

These gifts, I further conceive to be but different manifestations of some one master-passion, enkindling and controlling every mental faculty; appearing either as an intense love of the perfect, seeking satisfaction in some acquired excellence, combined with a keen relish and aptitude for the chosen work; or as a thirst for power and fame, akin, in the imperative nature of its calls, to bodily thirst; or else as the soul's nobler devotion that grows out of its warm attachments to home, country or the Cross of Christ. These passions, separate or combined, must be the mainspring of every action; they must be the inspiration of every thought; they must flood the whole life with an irresistible and perpetual influence. Through them, unlettered and ill-balanced minds have worked wonders in the world. Infuse men of enlightened common sense with their deathless fires and obstructing walls of adamant crumble at their touch.

The further my researches extend into the private histories of those who have acquired eminence through intrinsic worth, the more am I convinced that an enlightened and sustained enthusiasm has been their real source of strength, that only through its influence have been developed the mighty mental forces that have moulded the character and controlled the destiny of any era; that only intense temperaments working under the stimulus of profound passion could ever have exhibited such exhaustless patience, such concentration of thought, such heroic fixedness of purpose, hunger, ignominy, even death, proving powerless to damp their ardor. What wonder that the world has ever persisted in

calling its geniuses its madmen. Prescott, we are told, spent twenty years in the libraries of Europe, collecting from musty manuscripts and neglected letters material for his Spanish histories, and a large portion of that time he was stricken with blindness so that he had to make use of the eyes of another. Gibbon rewrote his *Memoirs* nine; Newton, his *Chronology*, fifteen; and Addison, his inimitable essays, twenty times.

Spinoza and Buckle each spent twenty years in carefully forming and maturing their judgment before they published their systems of thought. For Spinoza, those were years of the most intense self-study; for Buckle, the most exhaustive research into the literatures of all ages and peoples, embracing every conceivable theme. Those years were by both spent in profoundest obscurity, and bore witness to a patient confidence in the final triumph of labor, to a self-trust and self-mastery that were absolutely sublime.

It is related of Balzac that before he commenced any work of fiction he wandered week after week up and down the streets of Paris, studying phases of character and prying into different modes of life; then, for months excluding himself from all society, he toiled incessantly, perfecting his plot, untolding the traits of his personages and polishing his periods. When he came from his retreat a blanched cheek told a tale of utter exhaustion consequent upon such protracted mental struggle. But his untiring industry by no means stopped here. The proof sheets underwent such thorough revision that the type had to be reset. New sheets, subjected to like ordeal, were blackened with fresh corrections. Again and again this process was repeated until his fingers were no longer able to hold his pen, or his printer to keep his temper. This author's first books were failures. They either fell unheeded from the press, or were noticed only to be decried. His friends flatly told him he had no faculty for fiction and attempted to dissuade him from making any further efforts, as they feared that each additional volume would but give wider publicity to his deficiency of gifts. He, however, with undaunted spirit patiently plodded on through years of deferred hope, until by persistent painstaking his struggling genius at last found fit expression. The French public then reversed its verdict and made him its idol.

Montesquieu, speaking of one of his own writings, remarked to a friend, "You will read this book in a few hours, but I assure you

it has cost me so much labor it has whitened my hair." Hugh Miller, even while he felt his brain burn with incipient insanity, while his imagination was conjuring up the horrid phantoms that flit before the cursed eyes of the crazed, was so determined to write the last page of that marvellous book, *The Testimony of the Rocks*, he bent over his manuscripts till long after midnight for weeks together, keeping at bay a horde of insurgent thoughts foaming to hurl reason from its throne till the work was complete.

Goldsmith's style, famed for its simplicity, being clear, musical, flowing as a brooklet, seemingly artless as a child's talk, was acquired by strict examination of every word, every vowel-sound, every consonant. Burke who did not enter public life until thirty, and who was one of the most indefatigable of students during those years, on one occasion after holding the Parliament of England for over two hours with one of his masterly arguments on an important national theme, impressively pausing an instant, for five minutes spell-bound every heart with bursts of splendor. After the speech a friend congratulating him, remarked "I thought you had finished, but you extemporized such eloquence as I never expect to hear again." "Ah," said Burke, "that extemporaneous passage, as you are pleased to term it, cost me four days' hard labor, nearly two of which were expended on the closing sentence."

Dr. Harvey spent eight, Dr. Jenner, twenty, and Sir. Charles Bell forty years, maturing their three famed discoveries in medical science. Titian painted daily on one picture for seven years and eight on another. Calcott drew forty sketches of his *Rochester* before it met his ideal. Palissy before he won his laurels as a worker in clay was counted a lunatic. So desperate was his resolve he reduced himself and family to the very verge of beggary. He burnt his scanty furniture, even tore up the flooring of his cottage to feed his furnaces, but at last out of those hungry flames came the long sought for white enamel, and then the rich and titled of the Empire were prodigal of their praises.

Ghiberti, a Florentine artist who flourished toward the close of the fourteenth century, executed for the Baptistery of his native city two pair of bronze doors, the bas-reliefs in whose panels were in point of conception and workmanship so masterful that Michael Angelo, in a mood of ecstasy, pronounced them worthy to be the very gates of Paradise. But to thus project in thought and after-

ward embody in bronze these representative scenes in Bible history consumed forty busy years of this artist's life. His fame, however, has proved as enduring as his works were perfect. From Ghiberti, critics date a new epoch in Italian art.

Paganini profoundly studied the relations of sound to emotion and disciplined his muscles to utmost nicety of movement before he was prepared so wondrously to move and melt his audiences. Raphael acquired liberal college culture, carefully examined the works of great painters, copied hundreds of their designs, spent several years in the study of perspective, personally dissected human and brute organisms, accurately observed facial expressions, postures of grace and strength, and noted precise effects of tints and shadings on the canvas.

There were thirteen years of untiring effort, of the free outpouring of princely fortunes, and of disastrous failures, before the telegraphic cable, whose grand ideal was first wrought out in the workshop of an American brain, at last rested a signal success on the broad plateau beneath the waters of the Atlantic, binding together the continents of a world. Thirty-three times Field crossed that ocean and fought with tides and tempests. All the accumulations of a successful mercantile life went down, until naught but an unrealized ideal, sustained by an unconquered will, was left him. Twelve of those years were gone. Four times he had tasted the bitter ashes of disappointment. At the fourth trial the distant shores were joined, but the few faint throbbings of electric life served for the succeeding death-hush only as a prelude and a warning. The bonfires went out and the darkness of the night grew denser. Again he thought at last to grasp the prize; but the imperfect cable parted and in an instant buried itself, and, to all seeming, the hopes of its projector, under the sea. For a moment hot tears fell on the deck of the *Great Eastern*. "It is but a mad attempt at the impossible," was the judgment of mankind. One year more of dauntless striving and science claimed one of her proudest triumphs and history recorded the name of another hero.

Though Ignatius Loyola was in the full noon of life, without the least knowledge of books, and engaged in a cause demanding the most thorough discipline of the schools; though he was deeply chagrined at thirty-three years already dissipated in aimless folly, yet, such was his enthusiasm to realize the ideal which he had made the bright espousal of his thought, he gave, now already

grown bald-headed, ten toilsome years to study, and kindled in the breast of Xavier and other of his countrymen the same fierce fires of devotion that burnt in his own. Sadly mistaken as was this founder of the Jesuits, despotic and blasting as was the hold of his Order on the souls of men, still who can fail to admire, as he turns the pages of Jesuitical history, the well-nigh irresistibility that lay in that singleness of aim, that full consecration to a purpose which characterized this earnest man. Garibaldi, the patriot of to-day, who has snatched glad Italy from the clutch of a despot; whether he coasted along the shores of the Mediterranean, or foot-sore and fatigued rested on his arms in the serpent-crowded forests of South America; whether he wept over the thinned ranks of his comrades as he desperately fought for the liberties of a strange people, or fled with a dead wife in his arms before the blood-hounds of power and dug her grave in the desolate pass of the mountains; never in his life was known to forget the enthusiastic vow of his youth, but rather made the rough, rude winds of trouble fan his zeal for country to a brighter and a purer burning.

At the opening of this nineteenth century, in the dungeons of the First Napoleon, Toussaint the Haytian Liberator, lay dying. The renown of one who had been a slave till fifty the base despoiler of nations envied and durst not let such genius live. In former years across the waters had come tidings of the black warrior and his conquering bands of serfs. When he entered the arena five armies were in death-grapple, without purpose or plan. Nobly determined to liberate his people, he joined forces with Republican France. Such was his energy in battle, the English were driven from every stronghold; twenty-eight Spanish forts in four days fell before his advancing columns; he maintained against an allied enemy long lines of impregnable defence, successfully besieged St. Marc, and closed the campaign by English capitulation and the retreat of the Spanish forces. Soon after, French jealousy began to burn, kindling against him the mulatto fury, and opening afresh the wounds of civil war, but with firm hand he quelled insurrection, restored order, encouraged industry, and with far-seeing statesmanship gave constitutional guarantees to freedom.

Loyal still to France he unwittingly sent advices to Napoleon, then First Consul, who, fearful of the rising splendor of the negro chieftain, and uneasy under watching eyes at court, sent against the island thirty thousand veterans and upward of sixty men-of-

war, dreaming of easy triumphs and the re-enslavement of a free people. His generals, long drilled in war and fresh from conquests on the Continent, here at last found a master.

The brave blacks at Cape Francois defiantly burnt the city in their faces and sounded to battle. Napoleon sent Toussaint's unsuspecting sons from their schools in Europe, bearing messages of mingled threat and promise, in hope thus to unman the patriot through the tender love of the father. Could Toussaint violate confided trusts and betray to ruin liberty bought with blood? Following his sublime refusal came that conflict in which ten thousand of Napoleon's trained soldiery were slain, and the disordered remnants of his defeated forces fell easy prey to the galling fire of mountain marksmen. Out-generalled in open fight, the French officers, under Napoleon's express command, resorted to cowardly intrigue, professing friendship and promising liberal rule. The African's nobly confiding nature led him into the hands of his captors.

They could manacle the old man's body but not his thought; could desolate his home but its clustering associations, comfort-laden, were above the reach of their vandal fingers. Breaking the distant prison's lonely stillness came the accents of a people's benediction; on its darkness fell the radiance of approaching glory. Regal powers had been developed in the conflict; and none could ever rob him of the joy of their conscious consecration to a work of love. Napoleon was taken to St. Helena, followed by the curses of widowed Europe. His death-bed memories wandered vaguely to troubled battle scenes and faded battle glory. He had outlived his honor, and for him no brightening promise beckoned beyond the future's lifting curtains. To such self-sacrificing enthusiasm for country Toussaint owed the development of his marvellous military genius. None of us can know with what possibilities we have been divinely gifted until our lives possess this singleness of aim, this profound consecration to a purpose. Toussaint could have truthfully said in the beautiful words of the Eastern fable, "I was but common clay till roses were planted in me."

We have but touched upon the romances of enthusiasm with which the pages of the world's history abound. But what need is there of further multiplying instances of the achievements of this wonderfully transforming power. Time would fail me to speak of Hayden and Huber, Milton and Beethoven, who, despite defects

in sight and hearing sufficient to have paralyzed any but those of unconquerable spirit, have left acknowledged masterpieces in painting, science, poetry and music, the four highest departments in human achievement. It is beyond all controversy that it is to the enlightened, persistent, painstaking enthusiasts this world belongs and the fulness thereof. Whence, then, comes this irresistible impetus of zeal? How may it be most readily and certainly attained? Thoroughness, concentration and courage, the distinguishing traits of great men, I have in this paper maintained to be but different manifestations of some master-passion, appearing either as an intense love of the perfect combined with a keen relish and aptitude for the chosen work, or as an imperative thirst for fame and power, or else as the soul's nobler devotion to home, country, or the Cross of Christ. At least some one of these passions must flood the whole life with an irresistible and perpetual influence. There have undoubtedly been effective workers who have been under the sway of but a single one, but it is only from those in whom they all co-exist and co-operate that we can look for the largest results.

First, then, our natural tastes and aptitude should, as far as circumstances permit, control us in determining both the nature and methods of our work. Specialization of effort is becoming more marked each new decade. The world has been steadily progressing from the uniform to the complex. The employments of men, their wants, their capacities and their tastes, have been multiplying, and are destined still to multiply so long as the evolution of a perfect personality remains unattained. It is now generally conceded that those who would succeed must consent to become specialists, and must choose those callings for which they have marked fitness and relish. The increasing competitions in trade and the broadened culture of modern times are demanding with emphasis the most skilled products of hand and brain. There is, therefore, an ever growing need to intensify thought by concentrating it, and to train the bodily organs by long practice on some one specific thing. We have each been gifted with a distinct individualism, which should ever be courageously maintained, for only through its healthful development can we secure that originality, or that indefinable personal magnetism which we all covet and before which we all instinctively bow. If our chosen life work is to discover truth we must be in a receptive, suggestive, entirely candid frame

of mind, at the same time exercising our individual reason and implicitly relying on its conclusions. The fruits of others' labor can be of benefit only as they are thoroughly mastered and assimilated by us, only as they are passed through the alembic of our own minds. They must serve simply as stimulants to afterward independent thinking. If we ever strike out new paths it will be either through discoveries of new facts or through independent courses of reasoning. The latter can be reached only as we cultivate unobtrusive, yet firm self-reliance in thought. This demands both a certain self-abandonment and a certain self-assertion. An abandonment, in that the attention must be completely absorbed in the pursuit. There must be a resolute ruling out of all extraneous and diverting subjects, together with such a genuine heart-love for the truth as we find it that we will joyfully become its disinterested, outspoken, uncompromising champions. A certain self-assertion, in that we must habitually exercise, and most positively assert, a greater reliance on our own conclusions than on those of others, and courageously state and stand by them, whatever may betide. A precisely parallel argument could be urged in reference to the selection of one's style in oratory or authorship, or, if a life of action rather than meditation be determined upon, in the planning of those campaigns by which one hopes to win his way in the stern world of fact. Only, then, by this maintaining unswerving loyalty to one's own inborn individuality, our natural tastes and aptitude, and our own independent convictions of truth and duty, can we attain unto, or permanently possess, that impetus of zeal that becomes inspiration and commands victory.

With this enthusiasm of individualism should also be combined, as we have said, the zeal of emulation. This is too axiomatic to demand any extended proof, or even any especial emphasis of statement. It is simply necessary to caution against any selfish or meretricious phase of it. No personal advancement not founded upon pronounced personal merit should ever be sought for or accepted. And then when to these two are added, as their crown and finish, that world embracing sympathy, that self-forgetting love, that "enthusiasm of humanity," as the author of *Ecce Homo* happily styles it, which Christ embodied in his life and sought to enkindle in the hearts of his disciples, the soul comes into its best estate of creative energy and accomplishes its most enduring work.

WILLIAM W. KINSLEY.

MY TESTAMENT.

“ To lie in cold obstruction, and to rot.”—*Measure for Measure.*

WHAT shall be done to it ?
 This body that I love so well,
 This house which I inherit,
 Feeling myself a spirit ;
 For it I do profess
 Infinite tenderness
 That words cannot express.
 What shall its fortune be,
 In the day which I foresee,
 When it shall be said,
 “ Lo, he is dead ; ”
 In that day which I foresee,
 What shall its fortune be ?

SAY you I shall not care,
 I shall be other-where,
 A glad new-winged thing,
 In bright spheres hovering,
 That doth forget the shell
 In which it once did dwell ;
 A glad thing that doth run
 Beyond the stars and sun,
 Where the first is as the last,
 And there is no past
 Nor ending—where is naught
 But all-pervading thought ?

It needs not further breath,
 Have I not faith ?
 Or putting that aside,
 Have I not pride ?
 I too believe the tale
 That ever doth prevail
 In the despite of sense
 And wrong of evidence ;
 And that it shall be thus,
 Doth make more piteous
 The last neglected state
 Of my soul's sweet mate ;
 In that day which I foresee,
 What shall its fortune be ?

Now that it is mine,
 How all things rare and fine
 To serve it will combine;
 Pleasures of sight and sound
 Encompass it around,
 Joys hath it as intense
 As can be known to sense,
 And pains as keen,
 The unseen and the seen
 Do it prefer
 As their interpreter,
 That in a concord sweet
 Their union makes complete;
 Unworthy should I be
 Of this fair mystery,
 Could I at once let slip
 Its dear companionship,
 Nor cast one backward look
 Upon its sealed book.

Ah, well I know them all,
 Our dealings funeral,
 With the defenseless dead;
 When low lieth the loved head,
 When its delight hath turned to dread,
 How for a little space
 We give it place,
 As an unwelcome guest
 Spoiling life's feast;
 And then, ere its offence
 Grows rank, it is borne hence,
 And thrust away
 To fester in the clay,
 Turning to foulness the fair earth
 That gave it fragrant birth;
 A blot on Nature's page,
 Made by the coward age,
 The coward faithless age.

To me is all in vain
 The singer's sweetest strain,
 Chanting his church-yard elegies;
 I see not what he sees,
 And what he sees not unto me is plain
 As it were open to the skies,
 A sight to scar the eyes,

That turns the poet's trope,
And the fair sculptured hope,
To hideous travesties.

Is it truly our friend, our lover,
That thing that the earth doth cover?
And do we keep it thus
Nearer to us?
Keep it with pious care,
To poison all the air,
And foul the secret source
Whence the waters have their course,
Avenging its offence
In wasting pestilence?

Alas, that it is true,
This shameful thing we do.
'Tis thus our boastful age
Endeth its pilgrimage;
Thus, thus our creeds confess
Their utter hopelessness;
While art and science fair,
Stand dumb in their despair,
And men with blanched cheek,
Whisper, but dare not speak;
So powerful the thrall,
That custom binds withal,
So heavily doth fall,
Religion's sombre pall.

BETTER the pagan faith,
That carved its angel Death
So fair that none might dread;
More pure and wise by far,
Braver and tenderer,
Its service to the dead;
And when that day comes which I foresee,
Let its rites be done to me.
Bring the sweet herbs that grow
In the gardens all a-row,
Incense of Araby,
And spices from the sea
With fragrant birch and resinous pine,
Their odors to combine;
And build a funeral pyre,
That will make clean and sweet

The way of my retreat,
With purifying fire ;
And when all tenderly
My couch arrayed shall be,
When the farewells are said,
And the last dues are paid
In the old words of the church,
Let my best lover who loves me
Apply the torch ;
And feed the kindly flame,
That doth redeem my shame,
Till nothing remains of me
But a fragrant memory.
Ay, make my grave in the air,
And bury me everywhere.

C. E.

OUR HOSPITALS FOR THE INSANE.

IN the *PENN MONTHLY*, for April, Dr. Van de Warker, of Syracuse, makes certain sweeping allegations against American hospitals for the insane ; charges the superintendents with gross ignorance and stupidity ; asserts the superiority of English hospitals as curative institutions ; and attributes their excellence to their system of government supervision. I am convinced, however, that it is only to the uninitiated, to those who have no practical knowledge in the premises, that Dr. Van de Warker's statements might easily pass for truth.

Let us examine severally the points that have been made in the article alluded to. The purpose of the writer is to advocate the plan of government supervision for the insane—a matter which has been more or less agitated for some years. But no just comparison can be drawn between government supervision of the insane as it exists in England and what it would be if it should be adopted in this country. With our vast extent of territory it would be exceedingly difficult and preposterously expensive to carry on such a system of supervision. England, whose entire area embraces less than sixty thousand square miles, which is less than the area of the state of New York, may very well exercise government supervision over the hospitals from one central office ; indeed, one

does not see how any other system would be likely to be suggested; but in this country such a system must operate under very different conditions: to establish branch offices, to delegate authority, and to employ an army of clerks, would so cripple the action of the central board, and pile up expenses that it must be apparent to the practical mind that such a system is not applicable to our institutions.

We will not criticise Dr. Van de Warker's opinions as to status of our asylums in the absence of such supervision, but will merely examine his alleged facts. "The American Association of Asylum Superintendents, which has preserved its organization and membership with the exclusiveness of a trade union, formally resolved that no one shall be appointed to the medical charge of an asylum except those who have been bred to the profession of an alienist in an asylum."

As a matter of fact, the Association of Superintendents has no corporate powers, whatever—has nothing at all to do with making appointments. The Association is exclusive in that degree which its title implies, which is, by the way, correctly given as the Association of Superintendents of American *Hospitals* for the Insane. That its membership should not include gentlemen of other professions, or specialists in other branches of the medical profession, or alienists who are not superintendents of hospitals, does not impress the ordinary observer as being a more singular circumstance than that laymen, or clergymen of different denominations, are not found among the members of a given conference, or diocese. There is little in Dr. Van de Warker's article that could, by any possible construction, apply to private hospitals, of which there are but few in the country, while of state hospitals for the insane there are seventy-one; so we shall conclude that he is considering the state institutions. Appointments of superintendents to state hospitals are always made by the local trustees; and the trustees are always appointed by the governor of the state; hence we see the extreme improbability of the association ever having "formally resolved" upon the matter at all; and as no documentary evidence of such resolutions can be found, we must consider the statement erroneous.

Again, we read, "The medical history of the management of the insane in this country shows for twenty years we had the

leadership of the world. * * * Since for twenty years the treatment of the insane in this country has been stationary, while in other countries there has been a continual advance, it is reasonable to conclude that the men who have had the undisputed control of our asylums are themselves at fault." We must suppose that these remarks apply to the history of the hospitals during the last forty consecutive years; we cannot well date the beginning of the twenty years of progress further back than 1839; because there were at that time but four state hospitals in the country. Placing side by side the English and American statistics upon the treatment and curability of insanity during the last forty years we shall see the wisdom and fairness of these strictures. Forty years ago Dr. Samuel Woodward, superintendent of the hospital for insane at Worcester, Massachusetts, wrote as follows: "There have been admitted, since the hospital opened, three hundred and thirty-four cases of less duration than one year; of which two hundred and seventy-six have recovered, which is about eighty-two and two third per cent. In most institutions it is customary to deduct those that have not had sufficient time; this may be said of the twenty-eight recent cases left in the hospital at the close of the year; these deducted, the per cent. of recoveries will be ninety and a half. If we make a further deduction of the deaths of the cases from this class, which is also the rule in many institutions, we should increase the per cent. to about ninety-four."

Dr. Woodward arrives at this cheering deduction by methods which do not admit of much improvement in the art of piling up per-centages. First, he throws out of the account all cases remaining in the hospital; and he then sets aside all who have died while under treatment; because, as he very justly remarks, if they had not died they might have recovered; yet the conscientious doctor seems to have a scruple about placing the actual percentage of recoveries above eighty-two and two-thirds; and as in 1820 Dr. George Burrows, of London, published a report of ninety-one per cent. of cures as the result of his practice among the insane, we see that the business of "leading the world" had not yet begun; but it was soon to follow. In 1842, Dr. John Galt, superintendent of a hospital for the insane at Williamsburg, Virginia, reported ninety nine per cent. of cures for that year; and remarks that if he might, in a single case of a patient who died, apply Dr. Woodward's plan

of exclusion, he would be able to report one hundred per cent. of cures! Dr. Galt adds, "From such facts as the above I am led to believe that there is no insane institution, either on the continent of Europe, in Great Britain or in America, in which such success is met with as in our own."

In 1843, Dr. Bell, of the McLean Hospital, Massachusetts, wrote as follows: "All cases whose origin does not, either directly or obscurely, run back more than a year, recover under a fair trial. This is the general law; the occasional instances to the contrary are the exception."

Dr. Van de Warker does not state the grounds on which he bases the assertion that for twenty years the American hospitals enjoyed an uninterrupted progression in the art of curing the insane; but, evidently, the inference was drawn from other sources than the official statistics; for they show that the percentage of reported cures has steadily declined since 1840. Let us see how they have fared in England under what Dr. Van de Warker is pleased to call an "enlightened management." In 1840 Dr. Ellis, who was connected with the hospital at Wakefield, England, reported ninety per cent. as his proportion of cures. The historical result of the treatment of insanity in England is briefly summed up by Dr. Thurnam in his study of the curability of insanity as presented in the patients treated in the Retreat in York, during a period of forty-four years, from 1831 to 1875 inclusive:

"In round numbers, then, of ten persons attacked by insanity, five recover, and five die, sooner or later during the attack. Of the five who recover, not more than two remain well during the rest of their lives; the other three sustain subsequent attacks, during which at least two of them die. But, although the picture is thus an unfavorable one, it is very far from justifying the popular prejudice that insanity is virtually an incurable disease; and the view which it presents is much modified by the long intervals which often occur between the attacks; during which intervals of mental health (in many cases of from ten to twelve years duration), the individual has lived in all the enjoyments of social life." It would be difficult to find, in the annals of American hospitals, a less cheering view of the curability of insanity than that taken by this celebrated English writer; it has, however, been heartily endorsed by Dr. Pliny Earle, superintendent of the hospital at

Northampton, Mass., than whom there is no better informed or more successful practitioner in his speciality in this country.

After making general charges of ignorance and stupidity against American alienists, Dr. Van de Warker asks "How else may we explain the almost absolute absence, for nearly twenty years, of any original contributions to the literature of the pathology or treatment of mental diseases?"

In 1877 Dr. Earle published a pamphlet on *The Curability of Insanity*—a synopsis of methods and results in the treatment of insanity, both at home and abroad. It has been widely distributed among all English-speaking people; has been translated into several languages; and is familiar to everyone who properly pretends to a knowledge of the hospital treatment of insanity. Dr. Earle explains the practices by which the early superintendents, whom our critic describes as being "simply large-hearted * * * not yet hampered by a narrow special training," were able to report such astonishing percentages of cures. We find the percentage was reckoned, not on the number of *persons admitted* to the hospitals, but on the number of *cases discharged*. Thus the percentage of recoveries was grossly exaggerated in two ways: the number of patients remaining in the hospitals from year to year in a chronic state of disease, were coolly slurred over by these "large-hearted" men, who were "not yet hampered by the rules of special training." To illustrate: a hospital might receive two hundred patients; in the course of the year, fifty die, ninety-nine are discharged, cured; one is discharged unimproved; fifty remain in the hospital; yet, the reported percentage of cures would be ninety-nine; because, as Dr. Woodward naively explained, in 1839, who could say that if the fifty that died had not died, they might not have got well? And of the fifty remaining in the hospital, who could say that they might not yet get well?

Again, percentages were reckoned on the number of *cases discharged*, not on the number of *persons treated*. The prime object of the superintendents being to report cures, no mention was made of the persons who might be recommitted to the hospitals, and sometimes re-cured a number of times during a single year, each time that they were discharged being reckoned as a *case cured*. In the history of the State Hospital at Harrisburg, Pa., opened in 1851, it is recorded that one hundred and forty-seven *persons* have

been cured four hundred and eighty-nine times. Another hospital records forty-six recoveries which have been contributed to its statistics by a single individual.

Passing over the notices which have appeared in this country relative to Dr. Earle's treatise on *The Curability of Insanity*, let us see how it has been received in England, where Dr. Van de Warker tells us that even the name of the American system, "when used at all, is used as a term of reproach." We shall also see in what light they *now* regard the American system at the period when it had the "leadership of the world."

Dr. Daniel Tuke, joint author with Dr. Bucknill of the *Manual of Psychological Medicine*, wrote: "It is a valuable addition to our literature, and such a setting forth of the subject as has been long required; but it is an unpleasant task to do anything which even seems to render the curability of insanity less hopeful than it is." The new edition of the aforesaid manual contains the following paragraph: "The fallacy of taking the recoveries of *cases* instead of *persons* has been ably insisted upon and illustrated by Dr. Earle, in a pamphlet on *The Curability of Insanity*, which is deserving of serious study by the superintendents of asylums in Britain as well as in the states."

Sir James Coxe (since deceased), for many years a member of the Scottish Board of Lunacy, wrote: "I have read it with much interest, and regard it as a most valuable contribution to the statistics of insanity. It cannot fail to exercise a powerful influence in neutralizing that spirit of inflation which, I am sorry to think, is a too prevalent characteristic of writers on this branch of medicine."

Dr. W. A. F. Browne, formerly superintendent of the Crichton Royal Asylum at Dumfries, and subsequently a member of the English Board of Lunacy, wrote as follows to Dr. Earle, in a letter which has since been published: "I have always demurred as to the accuracy of both Burrows and Woodward, even after giving credit for all the advantages and deductions claimed by them; but I was more than staggered by the practice which you reveal, and most properly denounce, of calculating the proportion of cures on the discharges; although I almost rejoiced over the explanation thus afforded of the ninety per cent., hundred per cent., etc., of cures which seemed to attend your labors in America, and which

excited the envy and despair of my *confreres* and myself. The process by which you eliminate the numerical truth brings out nearly the figures to which we, in England, are now accustomed."

We have given these extracts at some length, because, as coming from English alienists, they aptly disprove the allegation that the American system is held in contempt in England. What they do prove is that no well informed person in England or America now believes that the statistics given by the American superintendents at the period fixed by Dr. Van de Warker as that in which they had "the leadership of the world," are worthy of credence. They also prove that "the treatment of the insane in this country" has not "been stationary, while in other countries there has been a continual advance," since a member of the English Board of Lunacy remarks that the present percentage of cures in American Hospitals are "nearly the figures to which we, in England, are now accustomed."

Scarcely two years have elapsed since Dr. Earle published his now world-famous treatise on *The Curability of Insanity*; yet Dr. Van de Warker speaks of the "almost absolute absence of any original contributions to the literature of the pathology or treatment of mental diseases." We are left to conclude that Dr. Van de Warker is ignorant of the above-mentioned treatise.

Let us now go briefly over the paths pursued by the disaffected doctor, and see what facts and fictions may be gleaned by the way.

Dr. Van de Warker: "In England * * * we find modern asylums constructed at one-tenth the maximum and one-half the minimum of recent American hospitals." "The State of Massachusetts * * * * * determined to build a new hospital at Danvers. * * * * * Here is a total of over \$3,000 for each inmate—or double the original estimate—an excess which the consulting architect attributed to the insane experts." We are not explicitly informed what this last term means, but we suppose that by "insane experts" are meant superintendents of hospitals for insane.

Dr. Earle, in *Hospital Report* for 1876, alluding to the Danvers Hospital, says: "The appropriation of \$900,000, which had been granted for its construction having been expended, the commissioners of that hospital issued a report in which they represent that \$600,000 would be requisite for its completion; and they asked the legislature of 1876 for that amount. They backed their request by

letters from several superintendents of hospitals of whom the writer of this report was one. * * * The opinion was expressed that the hospital ought to be completed as soon as properly practicable ; and a single reason was given as the basis of that opinion. That reason was, 'the crowded condition of all the other state hospitals.' I assuredly thought, and the conviction still abides, that, under the circumstances stated, the hospital ought to be finished and put into operation, notwithstanding my firm belief that *it never should have been begun* upon the extravagant scale of expenditure that was adopted."

Taken out of its connection, the fact that the superintendents endorsed the motion of the commissioners to have the hospital *completed*, is made to appear as evidence that they were responsible for its construction, whereas the *onus* of that preposterous affair properly lies with a party of theorists in Boston.

The Northampton, Mass., Hospital opened in 1855, cost, for land and buildings, at the rate of \$871.34 for each inmate so provided for. The Norristown, Pa., Hospital, not yet completed, will cost \$800 per capita. Across the water we find that the hospital at Kinross, lately built, cost \$700 per capita. When we consider the difference between the cost of labor and materials in the two countries we find that \$700 at Kinross represents a greater purchasing power than does \$800 at Northampton or Norristown ; hence, some good American Hospitals are the cheaper ; though instances of extravagance are not wanting.

Dr. Van de Warker says of the American system : " Considered broadly, the system has two leading traits,—restraint and non-employment. It is believed and taught by insanity experts here that it is good for a madman to be tied down, to have his arms confined in a muff or straight-jacket. It is supposed that his mind is made clear by confinement in a dark room. These things are done for his good. When men who claim special knowledge tell the public that this is the only proper way to treat the insane, nine-tenths of the people believe it."

Dr. Reed says in *Report of Western Pennsylvania Hospital*, 1878 : " Considerable changes have taken place in the structure and arrangements of Scotch asylums, and in the management of the patients. The aim of the superintendents of the different asylums, is the improvement of the condition of the patients, by a rational

extension of the principle of non-restraint in their treatment; by the encouragement of healthful, profitable and interesting occupations; by efforts to make asylum life resemble ordinary life, and by a full appreciation of the value of general hygienic measures as promotive of recovery in curable cases and of comfort and contentment where recovery is hopeless. The diminution of restrictions on the personal liberty of the patients is, perhaps, the most important of the changes in the Scotch asylums. I am glad to be able to point you to the fact that the point attained by the Scotch asylums after years of experience is that at which this hospital began more than sixteen years ago."

Dr. Curwen, in *Report of Lunatic Hospital at Harrisburg, 1878*, speaks of employing patients in farm work: "Employment at certain periods can be given to a large number, who would otherwise be listless and unoccupied. When thus used as an auxiliary to the course of treatment, labor serves the very excellent purpose of enabling the medical officers to provide an amount and character of occupation and recreation which could not otherwise be obtained."

Dr. Schultz says, in *Report of Hospital for Insane, at Danville, Pa., 1878*: "By occupation in any and all innocent ways, the mind is lifted, if possible, out of its unhealthy ruts."

Dr. Earle says, in *Report of Hospital for Insane, at Northampton, Mass., 1878*, referring to a tabulated statement of day's work performed by patients, the average number in the hospital being four hundred and forty-two: "The total of day's work here recorded is 16,263. This is what was performed by the regular workers on the farm and in departments mentioned (kitchen, sewing-room and laundry). No record was kept of the work on the ornamental grounds, at the stable, in the bakery, the boiler-room and the carpenter's shop. A large amount of other work is done, both in the halls, and at irregular times, out of them."

We might take up other points in Dr. Van de Warker's article and disprove them by citing facts; but work which is so easily done offers little incentive to the doing of it, and in correcting but one further instance of misstatement on his part we shall be done. He remarks: "At a meeting held in Baltimore, in May, 1853, the following resolution was adopted: 'The Board of Trustees should be composed of individuals distinguished for liberality,

intelligence and active benevolence ; *above all, political influence.*' It is not singular that the American system should become a reproach to us, when such a proposition is to be found among the articles of faith held by American alienists. * * * In irresponsible asylum management, right, justice and equality have been defeated in the use of the public funds, due mainly, we think, to the fact that the asylum managers are selected for having, "above all, political influence."

By italicising the last four words in his quotation, Dr. Van de Warker isolates it from the rest of the sentence ; and by the introduction of a comma between "all" and "political" he has so perverted the sense, that he proceeds to inform the reader that here is the root of error and corruption in asylum managements. The original document ran thus : "The Board of Trustees should be composed of individuals distinguished for liberality, intelligence and active benevolence ; above all political influence." To their honor be it said that they had placed on record the resolution to which they have steadily adhered that they would never countenance a movement which would level their honorable position to that of a political perquisite.

It fills one with astonishment to reflect upon the floods of nonsense which have been poured out upon a credulous world in regard to the insane *in hospitals*. Outside the hospitals we see that the insane do not receive much consideration ; there is nothing thrilling or romantic in our relations to A. or B. whom we occasionally meet in business ; who never seems to know exactly what he is about ; and whom we always overreach. Perhaps, in a moment when he knows less than usual of what he is about, he violates a statute law ; and then he goes to prison, and we say it is good enough for him. Perhaps he only grows more idiotic ; and then everybody overreaches him ; and at last he is taken to the almshouse ; and we don't care anything about him, anyhow ; but if his insanity takes a violent form, and he gets fairly inside of a hospital, then he grows intensely interesting. Our feeling is a lofty one. We couldn't exactly express it by sending him a good overcoat, or a pair of shoes ; that would be humdrum and commonplace ; but we write to the newspapers about him, and we want the state or the government or something, to give him a piano, and a phonograph, and a room with a southern exposure, all to himself ; with

a skilled physician in constant attendance, and the tenderest of nurses. And then we want the superintendent to take this poor, bruised, battered creature, who was a misfit from the start and reorganize him—call back again the forces that were filtered away in the years when he was trying to cope with an unpitiful world, that proved, in the language of poor little Joe, “too many for him.” And if the superintendent doesn’t do it, we say he doesn’t understand his business. If we don’t know anything about it (and probably we don’t), and we think other people don’t know anything about it (and probably they don’t) we say that if he were in England, and in a hospital, the doctors would make him over, and the government would make them do it.

Is this a good, fair, honest, genuine, work-a-day interest which, through the medium of the press, the public so unanimously agree to hold for the insane? Or is it the factitious state superinduced by novel reading and that love for the “horrible and awful,” which is inherent in our nature, and to which the astute newsboy directs his talent in advertising his wares? The evidence, alas! is all in favor of the latter supposition. The Philadelphia press is justly famed for the extent and variety of plans which it has promulgated for the better protection and comfort of the insane in state hospitals. Its members are cordially agreed that they should have books, papers, etc. But do they do anything toward supplying them with these comforts? Not much. *Arthur's Magazine* is sent gratuitously to the Harrisburg hospital, and is, by strict interpretation, the only one of the Philadelphia publications, whether of periodicals, newspapers or religious papers, that is sent by the publishers, free of charge, to any of the State hospitals for insane in Pennsylvania; yet the Philadelphia *Evening Bulletin* is sent to the Western Pennsylvania Hospital for the Insane; though not a state institution, yet, from its general characteristics, it comes within the spirit of the letter, and the *Bulletin* should be credited.

Is it the insane, or is it the hospitals,—clothed in that air of mysticism and romance and tragedy in which they have been invested by sensational writers—that really interest the public? A few weeks ago we read of an almshouse in Dutchess County, New York, in the insane department of which sixty inmates are living in a state of wretchedness in a building two stories high, thirty-six feet long and twenty-four feet wide. The description dropped,

still born, from the press. It was not interesting. The same week an editor in New York felt worried because he thought [he was, by the way, mistaken] the hospitals did not possess "such necessary instruments as ophthalmoscopes, æsthesiometers, dynamometers, sphygmographs, microscopes, Faradic and galvanic electric batteries, etc." The news spread like wild fire. There was a general agreement that *that* was a dilemma.

There are, in Pennsylvania, four thousand nine hundred and fifty-three insane persons. Of this number one thousand eight hundred and ninety-two are in hospitals, and two thousand four hundred and ninety-three in almshouses. Of the smaller number that are in hospitals, volumes are annually written; of the larger number that are in almshouses, the Secretary of the Board of Public Charities annually writes a few terse paragraphs. In the insane department of Blockley one thousand and four persons are living in a building that has proper accommodations for but seven hundred and sixty-six. They are officially reported in the *Report of the Board of Public Charities* for 1878 to be "in a state of semi-starvation," and that one-fifth of them are without shoes. Bye and bye, when they get into the *hospital* at Norristown they will become fit subjects for editorial pens; but in their present plebeian surroundings their case does not furnish the kind of literature the world wants.

My friend picks up Dr. Van de Warker's article on *Government Supervision for the Insane*. "Did you read it?" I ask. "I read all except that about the almshouses."

"That about the almshouses" was the nearest approach to the truth that the article presented; for that was once true, though, happily, its worst features have passed away. The confidence of the public in the hospitals has been weakened by the indiscriminate abuse which they have received from the malicious and the uninformed. Meantime the insane are ground "between the upper and the nether millstone." The public will not support the efforts of the really philanthropic, who seek to provide hospital accommodations for *all* the insane, because one party says hospitals are a failure, and the other party says hospitals must be equipped in a style of luxury which cannot be afforded by the average tax-payer. If state hospitals are furnished more luxuriously than circumstances properly warrant, it is that the superintendents have sometimes

yielded to pressure from without. The public has demanded extravagant appointments. There are seventy-one state hospitals in the country. The superintendent is often the treasurer. Thousands of dollars are annually passing through his hands. Does anybody ever hear of a superintendent absconding with the public funds? No. They have been assailed from all possible points. They are always surrounded by the captious and disaffected, both among the sane and the insane. Their public and private life is subjected to the closest scrutiny by the people who know that the prejudiced public is waiting for a new sensation. Spare a moment to candor and truth, and compute how much of all that is charged *en masse* has ever been proven against the individual.

From the figures which have been presented, taken both from American and English statisticians, we find that the percentages of cures in both countries range from twenty to twenty-five per cent. on all *persons* attacked by insanity. It has been said that "to reform the drunkard one must begin with his grandfather." The paradoxical truth contained in that remark aptly applies to the cure of insanity—that is, prevention. "Science has furnished no prevention, and the measures which are best calculated to act as such, are those which characterize a life governed by prudence, moderation, a good judgment and sound common sense."

E. M. LAWNEY.

PRIVATE LETTERS OF WILSON, ORD AND
BONAPARTE.

[EDITED BY DR. ELLIOTT COUES, U. S. A.]

THROUGH the kindness of Professor S. S. Haldeman, I am put in possession of certain letters received by him from Miss Malvina Lawson, daughter of the famous engraver who executed the plates of Wilson's and Bonaparte's "American Ornithology." As will be seen from this lady's letter, Prof. Haldeman is placed at liberty to make any use of them he may please, and he makes over the same privilege to the present writer. Accompanying the papers is a finely-executed drawing of the school house in which

Wilson taught, made by M. S. Weaver, in 1841. It is believed to be more satisfactory and reliable than any one of the several hitherto published.

The letters speak so fully for themselves, that little is left for the editor to say. They are all three addressed to Mr. Alexander Lawson, whose connection with the great works of Wilson and Bonaparte made him only less eminent than the authors themselves, and to whose extraordinary ability as an animal engraver so much of the fame of these works is to be attributed. They are strictly private letters, written without a thought of publication; but they contain nothing that may not properly appear in print. Each of them speaks of matters relating to the inside history of the books, then in preparation, which were destined to achieve immortality; and they have on this account some permanent historical value. Especially is this the case with Wilson's letter; otherwise, however, the correspondence is chiefly interesting as the "gossip of the great."

Wilson's fame seems to have derived a fresh lustre of late from the appearance of Grosart's work and the re-issue of two of the leading editions of his "Ornithology" (Ord's and Jardine's). Every scrap of his unpublished writings has acquired additional value in the eager search of late made for manuscripts of his, or any other record which may serve a biographer's purposes. The letter herewith presented has long been in print, *in substance*; it is in fact one of those best known, having been used by George Ord in preparing his *Life of Wilson*, about 1825, and therefore being already a historical document. But I find, on comparing it with Ord's print, that it has never been published correctly, or in full. In editing the letter, Mr. Ord abridged it in several places; suppressed the names of several persons mentioned, for obvious reasons of expediency which do not hold now; paid no attention whatever to the punctuation and capitalization, and "dressed up" Wilson's careless phraseology throughout. This is an editor's proper business, under ordinary circumstances; but it becomes an unpardonable sin in the case of a historical document, such as Wilson's famous Pittsburg letter has become. It is therefore highly desirable to publish this letter *verbatim, literatim et punctuatim*, thus for the first time transferring it correctly from manuscript to print. (The compositor should carefully "follow copy"—if it

goes out of the window, the editor can correct the proofs from the original).

To those who may have no acquaintance with Wilson's life and writings, a word about this letter may be acceptable. With the first two volumes of the "American Ornithology" (published in 1808 and in January, 1810) under his arm, the "melancholy poet-naturalist" had set out on an extensive tour to canvass the country for subscribers, and hunt for new birds. It was one of the turning-points in his career, and curiously repeated the time when the Paisley weaver, as he tells us in his autobiographical fragment, set out as an itinerant pedlar in Scotland, to travel in the interest of "pack and poems." The letter describes his journey to Pittsburg, his impressions there, and his preparations for a boat voyage alone down the Ohio. It is one of the most *characteristic* of all those which Ord and Grosart have given us; the man himself pervades it, not the ornithologist; and I think its flavor is better retained in the shape in which it is here given, than it has been under editorial polishing. Wilson was all his life oppressed with poverty; he successively figured in the roles of weaver, pedlar, poet, pedagogue, orator, artist and naturalist; he was a tall, thin, hooked-nosed, black-haired person, given to despondency and flute-playing, very irritable and of uncertain moods, of insatiable ambition, intolerant of criticism, rather illiterate, and with very moderate *talent* for anything; emerging from obscurity by an indomitable perseverance that fairly beat bad luck out of the field, the "smoking flax" of his mysterious genius at length burst into flame that made his life luminous. His actual attainments in Ornithology were slender; the point is not so much what he did, as that he did much of anything under the circumstances. The man was greater than the ornithologist.

I append a few explanatory notes which seem not misplaced.

The letters of Ord and Bonaparte require no other comment. George Ord completed Wilson's work in 1814, in nine quarto volumes, only seven of which Wilson lived to see completed, having died August 23d, 1813, aged forty-seven. Charles Lucian Bonaparte, Prince of Musignano, subsequently one of the most famous of naturalists, published a quasi-continuation of Wilson's work in four quartos, 1828-1833. Ord's edition of Wilson is the one commonly seen in this country, the original being scarce. We thus

see how the names of these three men are linked together in the early history of American Ornithology, and it is peculiarly fitting that they should be found, as they are in this case, addressing themselves with one accord to Alexander Lawson, who conferred upon their works not less lustre than is reflected back upon himself. The letter of Miss Malvina Lawson properly goes with the others. Besides vouching for the authenticity of the papers and the drawing (were this necessary), it gives us a new glimpse of Wilson, in the receding perspective of over half a century. Here it is, first:—

West Chester, February 6th, 1879.

PROF. HALDEMAN,

DEAR SIR :

I am unable to give you the date of Helen [Lawson]'s engraving of the Rice Bunting, or in what it was published; I think it was in a magazine edited by Harrison Hall (the *Port Folio*). I have only one impression of the plate, which is of course invaluable to me. I send you three letters addressed to my father, of which make whatever use you please. You will find also a drawing of Wilson's schoolhouse, which was given me many years ago by the artist, Mr. Weaver. I have a sketch in colors by Helen taken from the other side of the building which is more picturesque, but the building is the same. There was an old lady who died here two years ago who was a scholar of Wilson's in that house. * * * When we were children, father often diverged a little when taking us to Bartram's garden, to visit the place where his old friend lived and suffered. I do not think there is an inch of ground in that locality that remains the same. It was a short distance from what was then called the Gray's Ferry road. I was not seven years old when Wilson died, and my memory of him is in pictures as childhood's memory always is. I remember him offering me a Baltimore yellow bird he had shot in the woods, when coming to our house in the country, and my decided refusal to touch it. But I remember perfectly his brilliant eye, and hair black as an Indian's and as straight. Within the last three years I have received several letters from gentlemen engaged in literary pursuits asking for anecdotes of Wilson's career. My reply has always been, that *Ord's Life* comprises all that need be known of his actual labors.*

* There have been some half dozen "Lives" or formal biographies of Wilson, aside from innumerable sketches, notices, etc. Ord's was an early one, among the first of any consequence; it is prefixed to his edition of Wilson. There is one by the Rev. W. H. Hetherington in the Edinburgh (Jameson's) edition of Wilson in Constable's Miscellany. The other Edinburgh edition of Wilson, (Jardine's) has a biography by Sir William Jardine. By far the most complete and accurate is Grosart's "Poems and Literary Prose of Alexander Wilson," (2 vols., 16mo, Paisley, 1876), which contains

But I think that a great moral lesson may be drawn from his life. When a man in seven years becomes famous in a path of science and as a draughtsman whose birds live forever, without any other help than the cheering voice of friendship to aid him in his new studies, it seems almost a miracle. When we think of Wilson shouldering his gun and knapsack and setting out for the wildness, not only of nature but of ignorance and prejudice, and after months of wearying travel, returning with his drawings and specimens, worn out with fatigue and oppressed by poverty, to sit down to the composition of a work as truthful, as beautiful and as charming to read as any romance, what a sermon on the virtues of faith and perseverance! And to all his other trials was added the fact that killed him—the dishonesty of his publisher.†

You give me so much pleasure when I learn that you have been speaking of my father, for you know and estimate him as he justly deserves. He was very fond of you, and always spoke of you as a true worker for the improvement of mankind, and a zealous enemy of humbug.

I do not know whether I ever mentioned to you, that the plates father engraved for Ord's Work on Animals ‡ are lost. I enquired of his executor, Mr. Williamson, about them, and he told me they were not among his effects. * * * I sit here a prisoner and all the past comes vividly before me; the dead arise and mingle with the living.

Your friend,

PROF. S. S. HALDEMAN.

MALVINA LAWSON.

the most extensive collection of Wilson's letters, and the most nearly complete gathering of his poems, speeches, autobiographical fragments, etc.,—in short, his literary work aside from his ornithology. The poetry and the miscellaneous matter make two considerable volumes; perhaps Wilson actually wrote and published a quantity of this not much less than the whole amount of his ornithology—a fact of which few are aware. His poetry may be summed, in a word, as pretty bad, though not without the spark here and there. Some of it crept into early volumes of the *Ornithology*; but not much. The tradition runs, that Wilson asked Major L.—, (a distinguished naturalist,) how he liked the work; the latter replied that he liked it, “all but the poetry;” and Wilson seems to have taken the hint. I think that on the whole Ord's mild but firm remarks on this subject indicate better judgment than Grosart's encomiums.

† History calls it “dysentery.”

‡ See, toward the close of Ord's letter herewith: the proofs Ord speaks of exhibiting in London were doubtless from these plates. But I do not think they were ever published. Ord is the author of many papers on natural history, but published no illustrated work on mammals, that I know of.

[1.: A. WILSON to A. LAWSON.]

DEAR SIR

Pittsburgh Feby. 22d 1810.

From this first stage of my Ornithological pilgrimage, I sit down with pleasure, to give you some account of my adventures since we parted. On arriving at Lancaster, I waited on the Governor, Secretary of State, and such other great folks as were likely to be useful to me. The Governor received me with civility, passed some good natured compliments on the volumes, and readily added his name to my list. He seems an active Man, of plain good sense, and little ceremony. By Mr. Leech I was introduced to many members of both houses, but I found them, in general, such a pitiful, squabbling, political mob, so split up, and justling about the mere formalities of legislation, without knowing anything of its realities, that I abandoned them in disgust. I must, however, except from this censure a few intelligent individuals, friends to Science, and possessed of taste, who treated me with great kindness. On Friday evening I set out for Columbia, where I spent one day in vain. I crossed the Susquehannah on Sunday forenoon, with some difficulty, having to cut our way through the ice for several hundred yards, and passing on to York, paid my respects to all the literati of that place without success. Five miles north of this town lives a very extraordinary character, between 80 and 90 years of age, who has lived by trapping Birds and animals[*] these 30 years. Dr. Fisher carried me out in a sleigh to see him, and presented me with a Tolerable [*sic*] good full length figure of him; he has also promised to transmit to me such a collection of facts relative to this singular Original, as will enable me to draw up an interesting narrative of him for the Port Folio. I carried him a half a pound of snuff of which he is insatiably fond, taking it by handfuls. I was much diverted with the astonishment he expressed on looking at the plates—he could tell me anecdotes of the greater part of the first volume, & some of the second. One of his traps, which he says he invented himself, is remarkable for ingenuity and extremely simple. Having a letter from Dr. Mulenburgh to a Clergyman in Hanover, I passed on through a well cultivated country, chiefly inhabited by Germans, to that place, where a certain Judge *Hustetter* took upon himself to say, that such a book as mine ought not to be encouraged; as it was not within the reach of the commonalty; and therefore inconsistent with our Republican institutions! [†] By the same mode of reasoning, which I did

**Sic*. Wilson might have better said "Birds and other animals." Ord helped the Ms. by printing "birds and quadrupeds."

†This sentiment of the staunch Republican judge has become historical through Wilson, but it has perhaps not been known before who the person was, for Ord suppressed the name. Ord's print italicizes the whole sentence after the word "ought," but Wilson's Ms. is not underscored, except at the word *Hustetter*, nor is the punctuation or capitalization of the Ms. preserved in the print.

not dispute, I undertook to prove him a greater culprit than myself, in erecting a large elegant three story Brick house, so much beyond the reach of the *Commonalty* as he called them, and consequently grossly contrary to our Republican institutions. I harangued this Solomon of the Bench more seriously afterwards, pointing out to him the great influence of Science on a young rising Nation like ours, & particularly the science of Natural History, till he began to show such symptoms of *intellect*, as to seem ashamed of what he had said. From Hanover I passed through a thinly inhabited country, and crossing the North mountain at a pass called Newman's Gap, arrived at Chambersburgh, whence I next morning returned to Carlisle, 30 [?] miles, to visit the reverend Doctors of the College. During my stay here, which was two days, I examined a remarkable Cave about a mile from the town. About 300 yards from the spot is a farm house, where I halted to procure a candle and with that, and a brand of fire, I arrived at the mouth of the cave, which is at the bottom of a perpendicular clift [*sic*] of limestone rocks of 40 or 50 feet in height. The entrance is about 9 feet high & rather more in breadth—the roof nearly horizontal, the floor, dry and smooth, was studded with numerous transparent pillars of ice from three to 4 feet high, & 6 or 8 inches in diameter, occasioned by the droppings from above—Twas early in the morning. One solitary *Winter Wren* had taken possession of the place, who with some reluctance gave way to me. I lighted the candle and with that in one hand and the firebrand in the other, I began slowly to explore the confines of this silent and gloomy cavern. In some places the roof rose to the height of 20 feet; in others it was so low that I was forced to stoop. I was obliged to thrust my lights into every crevice to observe its appearance. In this manner I advanced, sometimes winding, once or twice turning at right angles, for upwards of 300 yards till I came to a place where the cave seemed to separate into several paths—the walls were wet and miry and at my feet were several springs of water perfectly clear, standing in little hollows, but not running ones. Here I stuck down my lights, and sat down on a shelving part of the bottom to indulge in a train of solemn and melancholy contemplations, that forc'd themselves on my mind in this gloomy & silent recess. On my return I picked up several Bats that hung in a seeming torpid state from the sides of the cave, and wrapping them in my handkerchief put them in my pocket. On reaching the tavern I was relating to several people in the barroom, my mornings expedition, when two of the Bats, feeling the influence of the stove, had disengaged themselves from my handkerchief, & were flying round the room to the surprise of the company.[*] The towns of Chambersburgh and Shippensburg

*The whole of the passages describing this visit to the cave are omitted in the Ord print.

produced me nothing. Sunday the 11th I left the former of these places in the stage; and in 15 miles began to ascend the alpine regions of the Alleghany Mountains, where *above, around & below* us, nothing appeared but prodigious declivities, covered with woods, and the weather being fine, such a profound silence prevailed among these aerial solitudes, as imprest the soul with awe, and a kind of fearful sublimity. Something of this arose from my being alone, having left the stage several miles below. These high ranges continued for more than one hundred miles, to Greensburgh 32 miles from Pittsburgh; from thence the country is nothing but an assemblage of steep hills and deep valleys, descending rapidly till you reach within 7 miles of this place, where I arrived on the 15th. We were within two miles of Pittsburgh when suddenly the road descends a long and very steep hill where the Alleghany river is seen at hand on the right stretching along a rich bottom, and bounde[d] by a high ridge of hills on the west. After following this road, parallel with the river, & about a quarter of a mile from it—through a rich low valley, a cloud of black smoke,[*] at its extremity announced the town of Pittsburg. On arriving at the town, which stands on a low flat, And looks like a collection of Blacksmiths shops, Glass houses, Breweries, Forges and Furnaces, the Monongahela opened to the view on the left running along the bottom of a range of hills so high that the sun at this season sets to the town of Pittsburgh at a little past four. This range continues along the Ohio as far as the view reaches. The ice had just begun to give way in the Monongahela, and came down in vast bodies for the three following days. It has now begun in the Alleghany, and at the moment I write it is one white Mass of rushing ice.[†] The country beyond the Ohio to the west appears a mountainous & hilly region. The Monongahala is lined with Arks, usually called Kentucky Boats, waiting for the rising of the river, & the absence of the ice, to descend. A perspective view of the town of Pittsburgh at this season, with the numerous arks and covered keel boats preparing to descend the Ohio, the grandeur of its hills, and the interesting circumstance of its three great rivers—the pillars of smoke rising from its Furnaces Glass-works &c. would make a noble picture. I began a very diligent search in this place the day after my arrival for subscribers and continued it for four days. I succeeded beyond expectation having got 19 names of the most wealthy & respectable part of the inhabitants. The industry of this town is remarkable; every body you see is busy; & as a proof of the prosperity of the place an

*Under these words, Wilson subscribes the words, "Success Business," without context: showing that the object of his journey was brought uppermost in his mind in penning this evidence of prosperity.

†Ord prints it thus: "the river presents a white mass of rushing ice."

eminent lawyer told me that there has not been one suit instituted against a merch. of the town these three years! The Glass Houses, of which there are 3, have more demands for Glass than they are able to answer. Mr. Bakewell the proprietor of the best, shewed . . . yesterday a Chandelier of his manufacture highly ornamented, . . . for which he received 300 dollars. It would ornament the . . . in Philada. and is perfectly transparent [*] Gentlemen here assure me that the road to Chilicothe is impassable on foot by reason of the freshe[t]s. I have resolved to navigate a small Batteau which I have bought, & named the ORNITHOLOGIST, down to Cincinatti [*sic*], 528 miles, myself; intending to visit five or 6 towns that lie in my way. From Cincinatti I will cross over to the opposite shore, & abandoning my boat make my way to Lexington, where I expect to be ere your letter can reach that place. Had I gone by Chilicothe, I would have missed five towns, equally large as it. Some say I ought not to attempt going down by myself—others think I may—I am determined to make the experiment, the expense of hiring a rower being considerable. As soon as the ice clears out the Alleghany, and the weather will permit, I shall shove off, having everything in readiness. I have ransacked the woods and fields here without finding a single bird new to me, or indeed anything but a few snow birds and sparrows. I expect to have something interesting to communicate in my next. Please send me finished proof of the plate you have begun, and while it is absent begin another. Direct to me at the Post Office Lexington. If Conrad will allow me to publish those birds of Clarks[†] I wish you to begin that next. My friends will please accept through you my best wishes and kindest respects, and I regret that while the grand spectacle of enormous mountains, regions of expanded forests, glittering towns & noble rivers are passing in rapid succession before my delighted view they are not beside me to enjoy the varying scenery; but as far as my pen will enable me I will freely share it with them, and remember them affectionately, untill I forget myself.

Yours most sincerely

MR. LAWSON.

ALEX WILSON

Frid. 23. My Baggage is on board I have just to despatch this and set off. The weather is fine & I have no doubt of piloting my Batteau in safety to Cincinatti. Farewell! God bless you. A. W.

*The breaks in these sentences are at the place of the seal, where the paper is gone. Ord omits the three sentences.

†Here is a very interesting allusion, suppressed in Ord's print. It refers, of course, to the three species procured by Lewis and Clarke—Lewis's Woodpecker, Clarke's Crow and the Louisiana Tanager, which were published in the next (the third) volume of Wilson's work, engraved by Lawson on plate xx.

[II.: G. ORD to ALEXANDER WILSON.]

London, June 25— 1820.

DEAR SIR,

This being Sunday morning, and all quiet in our house, I embrace a leisure moment to inform you that we arrived here in four weeks, to a day, from our departure on board the Steam-boat in Philada. We were truly fortunate in a good ship, an excellent captain, abundance of provisions, agreeable company, and, to crown all, moderate weather: we did not experience a single storm the whole passage. England is certainly a fine country. We landed at the famous watering place Brighton, fifty-two miles from London, and were much pleased with the rural scenery on our way to the Metropolis. The roads and stage coaches in this country excite our astonishment; as much as we had heard of them, yet the reality exceeded expectation. I much question if any country can afford such facilities to the traveller as England.

I would speak of London, if I knew where to begin, or had time for the narration; but I must content myself with a few observations, and wait until we meet, before I can enter fully upon the subject. London is a noble city; its public and private buildings; its improvements for convenience, for pleasure, for general utility, excite our astonishment; evidences of its enormous wealth crowd upon one at every turn. And when one views its immense population, one cannot but admire the regulations of its police, which appear to keep this motley mass in excellent order. I am sorry to say that our city falls far short of London with respect to its police; and, as far as my observations have extended, we are more subject to disturbances, and avoidable noise. The continual passage of coaches, wagons, carts, &c. causes an incessant noise, which from the circumstance of its being incessant, in a short time ceases to be disagreeable to a stranger: the native heeds it not. But you observe no one striving for precedence in the street: a line of fifty coaches &c. &c. &c. passes on, and is sometimes obliged to pause from some interruption, without a 'damn your eyes, why don't you move faster?' or a fight as we often witness among its advocates of liberty and equality in America, the Irish porters.

Of all the great buildings of London, not one has given me so much pleasure as the Cathedral of St. Paul. It is the master piece of Sir Christopher Wren, and not only does honour to his genius, but to the nation that caused its erection. The eye is never tired of gazing upon this magnificent structure. When I first entered its walls, I was filled with awe; but when I reached the centre, and cast a look up to the dome, a chill of delight ran through my whole frame, and my eyes were moistened with tears. The late Sir B. West is interred in the crypt of this church; with Sir J. Reynolds, Barry, Opie, Nelson and some others. In the church there are

some good monuments: the group representing the death of Sir Ralph Abercromby is excellent. The 52d exhibition of the Royal Academy is still open. There are but few good pictures there, though the collection is numerous. Leslie has but one piece, entitled Londoners gipsying, which has much spirit; I like it much. Ward has laboured, with considerable success, a Cossack horse, represented as trotting; but the artist has given proof of a total ignorance of the laws of muscular motion.

I was yesterday at the British Museum, and had the satisfaction of viewing the spoils of Athens, and of cursing the scoundrel that committed the sacrilegious depredation, Lord—— The Egyptian head is not the real Memnon; but I was told that arrangements are making to convey also to England this wonder of the world. When will the destruction of these modern Goths and Vandals end? The zoological collection is not extensive or very valuable; but the minerals and fossils are great and highly to be prized. The collection from Herculaneum is inestimable.

I had with me a proof of your Elk, Ground Hog, Lizard, Big-horned Sheep, Antelope, and the last Hawk of Wilson's 9th vol.; all of which I presented to Dr. Leach,[*] who has the care of the zoological department of the Museum, a young man full of intelligence and zeal. There were two naturalists in company; and they all viewed your Elk and Ground Hog with astonishment. They united in declaring that such work could not be produced in England. I asked whether or not they thought Scott was equal to the task; they replied that Scott and Milton could produce fine pictures, but not such representations of nature. This is a big feather for your cap, my friend.

By the bye, when Leach saw the Antelope, and was told that I had erected it into a new genus, an account of which was published some time ago in the *Journal de Physique* of Paris,[†] he laughed, and said that a paper on this very subject was about to be published in the *Transactions* of the Linnean Society, and was written by one Smith,[‡] whom I saw in Philadelphia, and to whom I showed the animal in Peale's Museum. So you see that I am to windward of Smith. I am happy to find that the naturalists are satisfied that I was right in establishing a new genus for the animal.[§] Give my respectful compliments to Mrs. Lawson and the children. I have merely room to say that Joseph and myself are in good health. He

* Dr. W. E. Leach, who died of overwork soon.

† Genus *Antilocapra*, Ord. *Journ. de Phys.* lxxxvii, 1818, p. 149.

‡ This allusion, with scant courtesy, is to Major Hamilton Smith, whose paper on *Antelope furcifer*, the one here meant, appeared in the *Trans. Linn. Soc.* vol. xiii, p. 28, pl 2, in 1822.

§ Not only so, but later naturalists raise Ord's genus into a separate family of ruminants.

is delighted with London,—is married to some woman who came out in the Tontine with a son. I know her not. Perkins and he seem to be doing well, though the Bank has not employed them. We expect to go to France in a week or ten days. God bless you my dear friend,

—
G. ORD.

[III. : CHARLES L. BONAPARTE to MR. LAWSON.]

Florence October 5 1829

MY DEAR M.R LAWSON

I can hardly suppose that you have forgotten me, or so little cared about me, as never to drop me a line since I left your happy country! . . . Yet I have never received any thing, neither a line nor a proof-sheet, & was it not for a few hints I received long ago from M.r Cooper, I should be perfectly in the dark of your labours so interesting to me, as I am about your health & prosperity of your excellent family to which I bear the warmest interest.

The present will be delivered to you & in your own hands, by our excellent Nurse, Mrs. J. Dougherty who leaves the care of my children to return to her own, in her own country. Though lamenting very much her departure, we cannot blame her. I will give you no details about my mode of living, health & family as I doubt not you will get out of her as many details as you like: she will also remit into your hands several lithographies & engravings by my Sister in law, in order to complete your set. One of the first represents my house & garden in Rome. I have joined to them a small marble back [?] to prevent your proofsheets to be carried by the wind; on it, is represented, in a new mode of engraving, the celebrated church of St. Peter. I hope you will consider the intentions of the giver, more than the gift in this occasion & be assured that it is the most friendly & kind. I received only a month ago the third volume of the Ornithology & was well pleased with the two plates I had not yet seen, that of the Grouse especially. "*Lawson can do no wrong*" but that confounded Rider has enraged us to a pretty considerable extent. Look at volume first all the red and orange tints have been obliterated! . . . Shame upon him for employing such colours! I doubt not that all the plates for volume 4.th are engraved (the Condor & six plates of Waders) & that you are now at work for vol. 5.[*] Mr. Cooper was to furnish the drawings & the birds as well as all the directions & you were to begin by a plate composed of the Canada Crane, a large Godwit with a black tail, & the young Phenicopterus & go on with the Pelican, Gulls &c. I am going to send the MS. for vol. 4. which will I

*The third volume of Bonaparte's Ornithology was published in 1828; the fourth (with the Condor and Waders) not until 1833; and there never was a fifth volume.

hope be out next spring. Of the plates, if I mistake not, the Condor only was paid for. I hope Messrs Carey & Lea have punctually paid for the others either on their own account (which I should prefer) or on mine. The only point not well settled between us was the price of the plates, which they wanted to be the original price (60) while I thought it but just that they should be paid (90) the price of the Condor. But I hope by this time you have come to an agreement, & at all events Messrs Carey & Lea have certainly paid you as my agents in the case. Write me all about it & do send me a proof or two of the new plates. Every letter or package sent for me to Messrs De Rham [—?] & Moore at New York (in case no ship would sail from Philadelphia to Leghorn) is sure to reach me with safety & expedition: I cannot be left any longer in the dark. In the mean time I shall be delighted to hear from you all the news. I shall also probably send you a drawing done under my own eyes to engrave & you must be pleased with it & do it justice, as it will be accompanied by the bird. Present my best wishes to Mrs and Miss Lawson, who must by this time be quite an artist & believe me sincerely your most affect friend

CHARLES L. BONAPARTE
Pr of Musignano

REPUDIATION: PAST, PRESENT AND FUTURE.—III.

I.

THROUGHOUT the brief period which intervened between the surrender at Appomattox and Secretary McCulloch's declaration of war to be made upon debtors for the benefit of creditors whether public or private, the Union, as a whole, presented to spectators throughout the world a picture of prosperity and power the like of which had never before been known, attained, as it had been, in the less than half a dozen years that had elapsed since the *London Times* had so insolently notified our people that not even a single British shilling would be furnished for enabling us to carry on a war having for its object the maintenance of our national life. Thousands of millions of dollars had been since required for that purpose, and yet so admirably had our people responded to the heavy demands that our foreign debt at the date of the death of President Lincoln must have been little, if even at all, greater than it had been on the day in which he had taken possession of the Chair of State. Almost millions of men, north and south, had

been summoned to the field, and yet so quietly had vast armies melted away that their return to civil life had caused scarcely a ripple in the societary movement. A thoroughly protective system had given to manufacturing industries an impetus which promised, with the return of peace, to give to the nation that industrial independence of which it had before stood so much in need. A distinctive national currency had given us that monetary independence whose admirable effects soon after exhibited themselves in enabling us to pass unharmed throughout a monetary crisis the most severe that Britain had ever known. Judicious governmental aid had enabled private enterprise to give to the world, and with a celerity wholly unexampled, a great highway by means of which Europe and Asia, to a great extent, now make their exchanges with each other. Magnificent as were these various movements, and great as was their demand for service upon the several departments of the government, never, even for a moment, were they allowed to interfere with the various civil service operations that had been entered upon in the peaceful period by which the war had been preceded. So remarkably had this been the case that foreign journalists were disposed to characterize as "mere affectation" the calm and quiet references to public works unconnected with the great contest, which found their place in each and every of the annual messages of President Lincoln.

II. Such having been the picture presented for the world's consideration by the loyal states, and by it regarded as representing the Union at large, let us now look within the Union to see how widely different was that presented by the states which so recently and so earnestly had sought to bring about that Union's dissolution, as follows:

The first and most striking fact that thus presents itself for consideration is that of the existence of four millions of men, women, and children who just previously had been emancipated so far as, and no further than, that they could no longer be held as property to be disposed of at private sale, or on the auction block, at the pleasure of their owners: a concession to the anti-slavery feeling of that extreme north whose monetary movements have been heretofore described, so small in real value that it may even now be doubted if the position of the subject class has not been by it essentially deteriorated. When Prussia emancipated her serfs the

statesmen by whom the movement was so successfully engineered, fully appreciating the fact that liberty and land travelled always side by side, most carefully adjusted the relations of laborer and proprietor and thus enabled emancipation to come so gradually and gently that in an article on the subject published some ten years since it was clearly shown that after a lapse of more than half a century some of the provisions of the arrangement were yet in process of being carried into full effect. So, too, since then has it been with the Russian emancipation, the government having not only arranged with the utmost care for partition of the land, but having also provided monetary machinery by means of which the new arrangements might be carried into practical effect with the smallest possible inconvenience or injury to either the master or his serf. Widely different from this, our statesmen, if so they may be styled, seem wholly to have forgotten that while releasing the slave from obligation to work they had also released the master from all obligation to provide food, clothing, or shelter for the workers; the *power* of the man who owned the land remaining almost as absolute as it previously had been, his *duties* to himself as owner of the slave, or to the slave himself, having meanwhile wholly disappeared. Independent both, they stood among the ruins of a long established system, chaos having taken the place of order and neither one having power to help the other.

III. Side by side with the millions of people whose condition is above described there were twice the number of whites who but recently had been their owners, and generally accustomed so to treat them in reference to food, clothing, shelter, and medical attendance, that whereas the white slaves of Ireland, as Thackeray has told us, had been "starving by millions," they exhibited a natural increase of numbers without parallel, as there is reason for believing, in the history of the world. It is usual among economists, advocates of the Malthusian doctrine, to treat a duplication of the people of the United States in twenty-five years as a purely natural one; and yet, when allowance is made for immigration we find that for the whites forty years is the shortest period which may safely be assumed, that being, as nearly as it can be estimated, a full third more than that required for similar growth of our colored population. All this was, however, on the instant, to be changed. The late slaves were now to be regarded as free, and

as entitled to receive wages, but from what quarter could money be drawn with which to pay them? While liable to be bought and sold they constituted property whose exchangeable value could have been little less than \$2,000,000,000, and upon which money could at any time be borrowed as readily as upon the houses and lands of the people of northern and eastern states. All that property had, however, disappeared, and with it the circulating notes of their numerous banks, the banks themselves, and the circulating capital of individuals, leaving little in the hands of late owners of thousands of millions of available property but land more or less exhausted and entirely destitute of monetary value. Adding now to this the destruction, more or less, of farms and farm houses, villages, towns, mills, mines and roads of every kind, we have presented to us a scene of ruin the like of which can be found no where in history, in reference to any civilized portion of the human race, to have been accomplished in so brief a period. It was a scene calculated to excite the utmost feeling of sympathy even among those who had most opposed those proceedings of the South which had led to its existence, but it is desired here to speak only of the justice that was there and then demanded at the hands of northern men whose prosperity and power, at that date, has been above exhibited, doing this as follows:

IV. To North-eastern agitation mainly is it due that those millions of colored *children*, old and young, who had been accustomed to be fed, clothed, sheltered and otherwise provided for, had been deprived of the guardianship of their late owners, these latter having simultaneously been released from all obligation to provide for the now emancipated freedmen, their wives and children. That guardianship had of necessity been assumed by the people of the North who thus had bound themselves to see to the adoption of such measures as would enable the land owner to pay to the laborer the wages he had earned, and the laborer to become, slowly and gradually perhaps but certainly in the end, and with profit to all, owner of the little piece of land that would make him really free. Both needed to be cared for and justice, leaving even statesmanship entirely out of view, imperiously demanded of the loyal states that as they had made the whole people of the South one before the law, they were bound, economically, so to treat them, recognizing the fact that any omission or commission

to which they might be prompted by recollection of the crime committed by the whites must certainly prove injurious to the poor and ignorant colored *children* upon whose guardianship they had now entered. Were there any such commissions or omissions? Let us see :

(a.) Private property in land remained as it before had been, accessible, so far as regarded the nation's wards, only on condition of payment of rent. Public lands in the South, to the extent of forty-five millions of acres, were withdrawn from sale, settlement only being required. Land, however, had so little money value that to the poor negro, still chained by his poverty to the soil, this concession really amounted to nothing whatsoever.

(b.) Southern institutions of credit had disappeared. Was anything done tending toward renewal of their existence? Nothing whatsoever, and for the reason that banking, with the right to issue circulating notes, had been made a monopoly and mainly in favor of those Northern and Eastern states in which anti-slavery doctrines had most prevailed; and which were, for that reason, most responsible for care of the nation's wards.

(c.) Money had so entirely disappeared that the City of Memphis, desirous of enabling her people to have some little of the machinery of exchange, adopted an ordinance authorizing an emission of small bills to the extent of \$10,000. Trivial as was this attempt at interference with the privileges of Northern and Eastern banks and bankers, it was promptly repressed by imposition of a tax of ten per cent. upon all such interference with monopoly *rights*.

(d.) The legal tenders had been limited to the \$400,000,000 supposed to be needed for circulation among the 20,000,000 of people of the loyal states. Peace having brought with it not only a dozen additional millions of population, a third of whom were now for the first time entitled to claim wages in return for labor, but also a great enlargement of the field of occupation, an extension of the circulation became an absolute necessity if anything like *justice* were to be recognized in the relations of the several portions of the Union; or, if the newly made citizens were to be enabled in any manner to profit of the extraordinary changes that in their interest, as we had been assured, had so recently been made. Directly the reverse of this, however, there came from

North and East, head and front of the great monetary monopoly, a cry for contraction so loud and so determined as since to have brought about a state of things without parallel in the civilized world; the whole amount of circulating notes of five dollars and upwards in actual use by the almost fifty millions of our present population, being now less than half that of the several descriptions of notes so used by the twenty millions of the loyal states on the day on which Secretary McCulloch announced his conversion to the doctrine of Repudiation by the bondholders of those contracts with the people by which they had bound themselves to accept greenback notes in payment of their claims. Of this half but little could by any possibility find its way southward, the property upon which money could before the war have been borrowed, having, to the extent of thousands of millions of dollars, been annihilated. Under such circumstances competition for the purchase of labor even to the extent at which it had previously existed became an absolute impossibility, and in its absence the freedman must necessarily become more and more slave to the usurer, finding in him a far harder task-master than had been his former owner.*

(c.) The grand difficulty under which the South has labored may be found in the absence of those modes of rapid communication among themselves, and with their Northern neighbors, which would most naturally have come into existence under a system which looked to the creation of an internal commerce, but whose

*The new Germanic Empire having signalized its advent by a war upon the circulation similar to that in which our Treasury Ring has been engaged, the London *Times* describes the results that thus far have been obtained as follows:

"The statements of Herr. Von Schorlemer-Alst, who lately brought the subject before the Prussian Parliament, and the evidence of impartial persons, leave no doubt as to the misery which prevails among peasants who are duped by the village Shylocks. The same thing to be sure, is witnessed more or less wherever agriculture is carried on by men destitute of capital, and who live on the brink of extreme want. The hatred with which the Jews of Roumania are regarded by the country people springs from this cause; poor as they are, the farmers are at once the enemies and assiduous customers of the money lenders. The ryot in India is equally helpless; he borrows on exorbitant terms and reduces himself to such a plight that not a few Anglo-Indians deplore the disappearance of the usury laws. The historian Mommsen has graphically described the operation of similar cases in ancient Italy. The evil is, in fact, illustrated wherever the tillers of the soil are poor. It would require the temerity of a philosopher to deny the possibility of social maladies such as those described by Herr Von Schorlemer-Alst."

creation had been rendered absolutely impossible by an obstinate adherence to a policy which made of Liverpool the centre of American exchanges, and of American roads a mere collection of parallel lines terminating in Atlantic ports.

Bad as had been the state of things in that respect before the war its close exhibited one infinitely worse, the roads themselves being in a most dilapidated condition and the rolling stock that had before existed having, with some additions, become property of the government. Under such circumstances it would have seemed most natural that its present owners, the prosperous people of the North, having annihilated so nearly all of Southern property upon which money might otherwise have been borrowed, should release for the use of Southern people, black and white, the few millions worth of stock remaining in their hands. Directly the reverse, however, the ruined people were required to purchase it and at prices so exaggerated as almost to forbid that the contracts should ever be carried into practical effect. Since then, as is shown in a document published by the Republican-Congressional Committee, Arkansas, Mississippi, Louisiana and Texas have had grants of land amounting to about six and a half millions of acres, the Texas Pacific having had almost twice as much, making nearly twenty millions granted to the South and South-west; those meantime made to the loyal North, and mainly for the benefit of those Northern and Eastern men who had already secured for themselves a monetary monopoly more searching and more complete than could anywhere else be found, are given by the same authority at nearly a hundred and sixty millions. Nevertheless, the states for whose benefit these latter had been made were precisely those which had most strenuously protested against the continuance of negro slavery; those whose people had most gladly hailed a proclamation by means of which they had been placed in the position of guardians of four millions of poor and ignorant people utterly incapable without monetary aid of vindicating their claims to the freedom with which, nominally, they had been invested.

(*f.*) From the hour that Secretary McCulloch united his fortunes with those of the friends of "honest money" who have so earnestly and successfully advocated the doctrine of repudiation by the bondholders of their contracts with the people, no effort has

ever been spared that seemed calculated to increase the burthen of public debt; non-interest bearing greenbacks having been replaced by interest bearing bonds, three per cents. having been replaced by sixes, and coin bonds having taken the place of those which bore upon their faces the agreement that although the interest thereon was payable in coin, the principal was payable in lawful money of the United States. To threats of contraction simultaneously held before the public eye, as has been already shown, the country stood indebted for the general paralysis which marked so large a portion of President Johnson's administration, the pressure of debt becoming from day to day more severe whether as regarded the people or the government. To all the depression, however, there was one exception, that of cotton which continued high in price for the single reason that throughout the cotton states all still remained in a state of chaos, the laborer needing to be paid and the land owner having no property that could be made available for raising the money with which to pay him. Pending this unhappy state of things, when justice to both blacks and whites imperiously required of the prosperous North material aid to such extent and in such form as would enable land and labor to co-operate for the common good, Congress in utter defiance of that provision of the constitution which forbids the imposition of export duties, did impose such duty on cotton exported, and did collect from the ruined Southern people nearly \$70,000,000 to be applied to payment of interest on those borrowed monies by whose aid the prosperous and powerful North had been enabled to carry into practical effect that annihilation of Southern property which followed necessarily upon the issue of President Lincoln's proclamation.

The more this proceeding shall be studied, and the more it is considered in connection with other facts that have above been given, must we wonder at the fact that an eminent New York Senator—one who, as I think, has never failed to give his support to measures tending to strengthen the great monetary monopoly which, more than anything else, has tended toward making emancipation the melancholy farce that it has now become—should have ventured to twit Southern senators with the fact that, as he then told them,

“Of the \$235,000,000 of revenue collected during last year by the government, \$221,000,000 came from twenty-seven states and \$13,600,000 from the eleven states of Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia, of which \$6,500,000 was from the tobacco taxes of Virginia, this vast revenue having been collected to pay pensions made necessary by the rebellion, to preserve the government and protect laws made at inestimable expense.”

Can the reader now fail to wonder when, after the lapse of more than a dozen years from the surrender at Appotommax, such statements continue to be made in reference to a people, white and black, who had justice been done them would now, in all probability, be so far advanced in prosperity that the calamitous events of the war would be already as far forgotten as are those which have so recently occurred in the now prosperous France? Might he not, on reflection, arrive at the conclusion that the course of the latter had been directed by statesmen, whereas that of the former had been directed by the merest professional politicians on one hand and a corrupt Treasury Ring on the other?

In reply to this it will no doubt be said that side by side with provisions relative to the resumption which, as we are assured, has now taken place and which consists in piling up a large proportion of the little money of the country in New York vaults, banking has been freed, and if the Southern states continue destitute of institutions of credit the fault rests with themselves and cannot be charged to account of the monopoly system instituted by Secretary Chase. That the reader may form a correct judgment on this subject, it is proposed here to show in what it is that the monetary freedom of which the lovers of “honest money” make so much account, differs from the state bank system that had been taxed out of existence to the end that the new one with all its serious defects might be allowed to take its place.

Under the former, when any portion of the people of a state thought fit to club together to the end of establishing a new institution of credit, the whole amount of capital became at once available for the commerce of the neighborhood. To that came soon to be added the amount of circulating notes, and the deposits great or small as they might chance to be, the general result being that of almost, if not even quite, duplicating the machinery of exchange, to the great advantage of the domestic commerce.

Under the present system, on the contrary, the new bank has

been required to lend its capital to the government, paying in New York half a million of dollars for \$400,000 of bonds. At the next step it receives \$360,000 of notes, a fourth of which it is required to put out of circulation either in its own vaults, or in those of some New York bank where it can be counted as reserve. Of deposits, in the general ruin by which it has been surrounded, it has but little, but of even that little, in the almost total disappearance of private credit, the larger part is lent to New York banks at little more than nominal interest; the general result being that a Southern bank is little more than an insignificant shaving shop, at which the few who can give any sufficient security can be shaved at treble or quadruple interest.

Before the war the Southern and South-western states had two hundred and thirty-seven banks with capitals averaging nearly \$400,000 and circulations averaging \$300,000. Under the *free* system they have two hundred and five national banks with capitals averaging less than \$200,000, two-thirds of which have been lent to the government; to the remainder being now to be added an average circulation of about \$130,000. The general result of this process of free banking would seem therefore, to be that of greatly diminishing instead of increasing the facilities of exchange in the neighborhood in which it is placed.

Taking now Georgia alone, Empire state of the South, we find her now under the *free* system to have twelve national banks, whose joint capitals but slightly exceed \$2,000,000, all of which has been sent North to be lent to the Federal government. In return for this they have received less than \$2,000,000 of circulation, a fourth of which is required to remain dead in their vaults, or on deposit at New York, to secure payment of deposits so insignificant in amount (\$1,600,000) as scarcely to be worthy of the slightest notice. Under the state system the joint amount of banking capital, circulation and deposits, all available for purposes of the people of the state, exceeded \$24,000,000. Today, they scarcely exceed \$3,000,000, the *circulation alone* of the little New England States having meantime grown from 34 to 103 millions, a large portion of which is now lent at usurious interest throughout the South and West. Seeing all this, can we be much surprised at being now assured by a distinguished member of the Massachusetts delegation in Congress, that the system under

which the land of Georgia has become so nearly valueless is the very best to be found in all the world? Most assuredly so it is for the Shylocks who so promptly, after the close of the war, repudiated their contracts with our taxpayers and thus doubled the burthen of public debt.

Having studied these facts the reader can hardly fail to arrive at the conclusion, first, that nothing short of the most oppressive extortion could have enabled the banks to live at all even while receiving bonds bearing an average greenback interest of six per cent.; and second, that being now required to invest their whole capital in bonds bearing an interest of only four per cent., being little more, probably, than twice the amount of taxes, nothing short of a rate of interest ruinous to both proprietor and laborer can enable them to prolong their own miserable existence. So much for a free banking system that not only has in it no single element of freedom, but does secure, now and for all time, to a cold-blooded and selfish monied aristocracy a monopoly of power, the like of which can nowhere else be found, over the fortunes of a great people. Where that power rests, and how trivial is the counteracting force provided for the Southern states, is shown in the following figures:

	Number of Banks.	Capital.	Circulation.
N. Y. and New England,	825	\$256,000,000	\$167,000,000
14 Southern states,	205	40,000,000	27,000,000

Striking as in the contrast here presented it would probably be almost doubled were it possible to show to what extent the capital of the country, in the present state of general distrust, is forced into New York. At this moment the Treasury is said to hold in its possession \$400,000,000 that have been drawn from every part of the country, a large portion of which is understood to be on deposit, without interest, with New York banks and bankers whose connection with the Treasury Ring has so long existed and is now understood to be so complete.

VI. Throughout the middle ages, and in many of the states of Europe the landlord owned the mill at which the poor tenant's corn was required to be ground, and the oven at which his bread was required to be baked, taking for himself such proportions of both as seemed to himself sufficient.

Very generally such is understood to be the present course of

procedure in the cotton states, the tenant agreeing to give half the product of his labor for the use of the land, and to bring the whole product to the landlord's gin, allowing him then to pay himself. Side by side with the machinery thus provided for enabling the master to control his slave, stands the store at which the poor freedman can be supplied, on credit, and at prices dictated by the storekeeper; the general result having thus far been that even with cotton at 16 to 18 cents per pound the poor slave has had but little left for himself at the close of the year.

Step by step, however, since final adoption of the "honest money" system, now nearly five years since, the price of cotton has steadily declined, until the crop of the past year had fallen so low as actually, as we are told, to have brought active and well-to-do planters seriously in debt. Such having been the case with them, how must it have been with the nominally emancipated freedman, ground almost to powder as he before had been between the impoverished land owner and the greedy trader? The answer to this question may be found in the fact that an exodus is now in progress which threatens almost abandonment of a vast territory possessing every natural requisite for maintaining in prosperity twenty times its present population. The causes of this extraordinary movement are so well exhibited in a recent article, coming evidently from one who thoroughly understands the situation, that a part of it is here given, as follows:

"The negro owns no lands, cotton gins or presses. He has nothing but a stout pair of arms and the will, such as it is, that God has given him to constitute his capital. Cotton has never been profitably produced in that way, but the negro thought he could make a living at it, and he starts out first, by renting land at \$10 an acre, stipulating by way of security for the rent, to put a certain number of acres in cotton, subject to a lien in the landlord's favor against all other demands. Next he buys a mule, to be paid for when he has gathered his crops. Then implements and the provisions to carry him through. He also wants clothing for himself and family. He got all these, and much more, very much in the way his old master got them in the old times—he pledged the crop before he had started a plough, and went to work trusting in Providence.

The majority of them worked hard, steadily and perseveringly; others worked faithfully, and many others made only a pretense of work. Most of the land was put in cotton. Help had to be hired to do the picking, and this cost at the rate of \$1 per 100 pounds of lint. To gin and bale the cotton the negro had to pay at the rate of \$1 per 100 pounds to put it in marketable shape. While he was engaged in harvesting the landlord, merchant, and his other creditors watched him closely. The cotton was delivered according to agreement, and when the time came for payment sold for whatever price was just then quoted, the negro invariably coming out a loser. The result

of this kind of farming can easily be foreseen. As is well known the old planter's wealth increased with the natural increase of the slaves. There was not much profit otherwise. But the negro, for the first few years after the war, cotton being then high, made something over and above expenses, and some of them became quite well off. Many were able to give security for the land by liens on mules, cattle and hogs; but then there came an overflow and only a small crop was made and the Sheriff took the cattle and mules, reducing the negroes' capacity for recuperation. Undismayed, however, he tried again, but the crop failed and the Sheriff came again and left but little for any purpose. In this way the negro has been getting poorer, and where there is poverty there is discontent and a desire for change."

To the end that this exodus may be fully carried out meetings have been held in various places, and especially in New York and Boston, with a view to give material aid to the flying slaves, for slaves they now are and to masters far more severe than had been those of the days before the war. What they really need, however, is that material aid to the whole body of Southern people, white and black, which has thus far been denied them, and will continue to be denied so long as the country shall continue to be ruled by a Treasury Ring which has for its sole object a steady enlargement of power whose exercise, thus far, has brought ruin to hundreds of thousands of our most valuable citizens, and now threatens with total ruin a most important portion of the Union.

The CRIME, PAR EXCELLENCE, of the present century may be found in the facts of our having broken up the whole constitution of Southern society, and of having then subjected all its parts to a monetary tyranny without parallel in any country claiming to rank as civilized, and which from day to day sets more and more at defiance all efforts at their reconstruction.

VII. Not content with having withdrawn from the whole country South and West of New York and New England so large a portion of the circulating medium as almost to have reduced commerce to a state of barter: not content with having taxed our people in depreciation of the monetary value of property to the extent of thousands of millions of dollars: not content with having ruined a large proportion of our most useful and enterprising men: not content with having so destroyed the whole frame work of southern society as almost to have annihilated power for its reconstruction: not content with having forced states, counties and cities into following the example of repudiation initiated by Northern bondholders: not content with all these things the lovers of "honest money" have now entered on a further legal effort at

ousting the people, through their representatives, from all control of the instrument of exchange, doing this with the avowed intent thereafter to vest the same exclusively in men like to those to whose rapacity we have in the past been indebted for those financial crises of which the *New York Times*, their especial organ, has spoken rather approvingly as having enabled speculators to accumulate the large fortunes by which that city is so much distinguished, and to create those palaces which stand almost side by side with the miserable tenement houses which now afford shelter, such as it is, to more than half of the city's people.

That the legal tenders are now, with or without the aid of the Supreme Court, to be finally "wiped out" we learn from a paragraph recently given us by the same high authority in reference to the designs of the Treasury Ring in both New York and Washington, and which reads as follows :

"The legal tender notes, if presented for redemption, will be redeemed, and unless during the next week, Congress shall pass some measure directing their disbursement for some specific purpose, they will be retained in the treasury, and whatever may be the extent of their redemption, no considerable change in the currency is to be apprehended from this source.

On the other hand, there is no ground for any fear as to a lack of currency. Banking under our laws is entirely free, and the bank note circulation can be promptly and readily increased whenever the condition of business shall be such that an increase proves necessary. The legal tenders are now removed, let us hope forever."

The war thus announced to be made on the machinery of exchange in daily use by the whole people of the country, is not only a crime for which the present leaders of the "honest money" party should be held strictly responsible, but, as was well said by Talleyrand, in reference to the murder of the Duke d'Enghien by order of the Emperor Napoleon, it is "worse than a crime, being a serious blunder" as will here be shown :

At the date of the passage of the Resumption act the legal tender circulation amounted to \$382,000,000. Since then it has been forced down until, nominally, it now stands at \$346,000,000, showing a reduction of \$36,000,000. If however, to this be now added the notes hidden away in Treasury vaults in entire defiance of Congressional orders, we shall find the reduction to be little, if indeed at all, short of \$100,000,000. Have the national banks supplied the deficiency thus created? On the contrary, their nominal circulation has fallen from 354 to 322 millions. Why this

change? For the simple reason that the domestic commerce of the country having been almost ruined our people have little need for notes, and do not care to pay interest for their use.

Such having been the course of things in the four years of ruin through which the last have passed, how must it be in the future when, either by decree of the Supreme Court or by means of management on the part of the Treasury Ring and its fellow conspirators in New York and elsewhere, the greenback shall have been made wholly to disappear? Can the banks then add to their issues as is here proposed? Can they even maintain them at their present amount seeing that there will then remain nothing in which they can legally be redeemed, all the gold and silver of the country having been locked up in the Treasury, and all the greenbacks having been retired if not even destroyed? Assuredly not.

That the men who are now engineering this scheme see that paralysis the most complete must be the result of success in their war upon the "best currency the country has ever had" scarcely admits of a doubt. What then is their object? For answer to this question let the reader study carefully a paragraph from the *N. Y. Times*, the highest authority in regard to "honest money" schemes and schemers, here given as follows:

"It is very certain that American agriculture is on the eve of serious changes and of great improvements. This must be, for it cannot go back and it cannot stay where it is. The greatest industry of the country cannot remain in an unprofitable or unsatisfactory condition, nor can it long remain without the use of adequate capital to invigorate it and give it full scope. Thousands of persons now idle look to it for employment, and if there were farms to rent there would be plenty of tenants for them. Everything seems ripe for the change. Half the farms in the country are ready to be sold if buyers would only appear; and hundreds that can now be bought for less than their value twenty or thirty years ago need only some judicious outlay to make them as productive as ever. Few farmers can hope to provide their sons with farms of their own, and there is no place for these young men in the overcrowded cities. But to stock a rented farm is not so difficult a matter for a father intent on starting a son in life. This would be easy to do if the farm could be rented on a long and satisfactory lease. But before this can be done the owner of the land must hold it as a permanent investment, and not as a property to be offered for sale to the first comer. When farm land is so held by the owners, there will be some probability, if not certainty, that it will be permanently improved, and then such property will be eagerly sought for by tenants who will be able and willing to rent it on long leases, and cultivate it in a more productive and profitable manner than farms are now worked. And then will begin a new era in American agriculture, and one that seems to be very desirable."

Let him next remark that of all of our people's pursuits there

remain but two that can be regarded as permanently profitable, those of the Shylocks on one hand and the Sheriffs on the other. From hour to hour property everywhere, by aid of the latter, is passing at merely nominal prices into the hands of the former, and if the "honest money" schemes now on foot can be fully carried into practical effect, the day must inevitably come when the predictions of the *Times* will be realized, and when we shall have established among ourselves the system it so much admires, one whose admirable features have just now been exhibited in an article of one of the most respectable of English journals (*Macmillan's Magazine*) which reads as follows :

"More than half the soil of the United Kingdom is nominally owned by some two thousand persons. According to a valuable analysis of the very ill-arranged and incomplete Parliamentary return of the land-owners of the United Kingdom, published in the *Financial Reform Almanac* for 1878, 421 persons are the owners of 22,880,755 acres, or nearly 5,000,000 acres more than one-fourth of the total area of the United Kingdom. The mind is unable to grasp what such a monopoly costs the country, but certain features of it stand forth with a prominence, sufficiently notable. In a most absolute sense, the well-being of the entire population of some 32,000,000 souls is placed in the power of a few thousands. For these thousands the multitude toils, and it may be on occasion starves. Hence it is that all through rural England we have continually before us that most saddening of all spectacles, two or three families living in great splendor, and hard by their gates the miserably poor, the abject slaves of the soil, whose sole hope in life is too often the workhouse— that famous device against revolution, paid for by the middle class—and the pauper's grave. Our land-owners have not merely burdened the land with their game preserves; they have tied it up, and actively conspired to prevent its due cultivation. Instead of rising to the true necessities of the case, they cling to their game, make penal enactments about it, and struggle to augment the intensity of the evil which it is to the people, as if the very existence of the country depended upon hares and rabbits. In his absolute supremacy the land-owner overrides all justice, takes precedence of all ordinary creditors on its helpless tenants' estates, and controls the system of cultivation, often in utter disregard of private rights or private judgment, and in addition secures to himself the absolute reversion of every improvement which the tenant may make on the land."

Seeing that such is the tendency of the present system the question may be asked, "Will our people submit to the establishment of such a plutocracy as has been thus proposed in the columns of the leading "honest money" journal of the country? For answer we have the fact, that they have not yet rebelled against it although they have seen the product of the cotton plantation reduced in price two-thirds, those of the farm having experienced a similar reduction, as is shown by the following figures given by a leading Chicago journal :

PRODUCTS.	1868.	1878.
Flour, . . .	\$8.75 to \$9.50	\$3.10 to \$3.50
Oats, . . .	1.40	.34
Hay, per ton, . . .	24.00	9.00
Mess Pork, . . .	21.00	7.05
Mess Beef, . . .	32.00	14.50
Butter,45	.10
Cheese,19	.83

The annual addition to our population is now not less than 1,500,000, little, if indeed any part, of which is now absorbed by those pursuits which make a market for the produce of the farm, and thus add daily to the monetary value of both labor and land. As a necessary consequence of this there is a flood of emigration to the West without parallel in the past, with constant increase in the surplus of raw products seeking to find abroad the market that is denied them at home; and a diminution of force resulting from a steady decrease of agricultural independence.* Great as have been the results in this direction so far obtained, they must become daily greater until at length it shall come to be seen by tax payers and interest payers of the Centre, South and West that they are merely working for the money jobbers who commenced the work of repudiation and thereby doubled the weight of taxes and interest they were required to bear. The day of that awakening cannot now be far distant. When it shall have come the holders of government bonds may perhaps be led to appreciate the fact that the example of repudiation set by the extreme East and North is likely to be fully followed out by the working men of the Centre, South and West.

In further confirmation of the views above presented we have

* According to statistics presented by Hon. W. D. Kelley, in a speech February 14, 1879, it is estimated that since 1873, at least 1,880,000 people have gone from the east, and from Virginia and Kentucky, to the west and south, and as many as 500,000 of them during 1878, while Dun, Barlow & Co., estimate that nearly 20,000,000 acres of unbroken new land have actually been settled during the past year. In commenting upon this Mr. Kelley says, "Thus does our vicious financial policy drive to the west those who make a market for agricultural produce, to become competitors in our already ruined agricultural market. Producers of both butter and cheese in the east, and wheat in the state of New York, are now beginning to feel the terrible effects of this competition, and many have already been ruined."

now the great fact that the people of California, weary of the domination of a monied aristocracy the like of which can nowhere else be found among communities claiming to rank as civilized, have finally adopted a constitution so abounding in economic error that it had deserved to meet with nothing short of an unanimous rejection. That they should so have done ought now, by the money changers of the East, to be regarded as furnishing further evidence that the day of settlement with our whole people is near at hand.

Repudiation in the East paved the way for Repudiation in the South and South-west; Repudiation there compels an exodus of the negro race.* Monetary rebellion in California follows suit. What and where next? HENRY C. CAREY.

NEW BOOKS.

THE UNITY OF THE NEW TESTAMENT. Together with a Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews. By Prof. F. D. Maurice. First American edition. Boston: Lee & Shepard.

This volume is the first of a series which is contemplated by the American Maurice Memorial, and is ultimately to embrace all of Frederick Maurice's exegetical works, and perhaps his other principal books. Mr. Maurice has a large and, we believe, a grow-

* Of all the journals of the country there is no one that more strenuously than the *New York Times* has advocated the Northern Repudiation which has so largely contributed to the production of the present Southern Demoralization. How it speaks of the comparatively trivial Repudiation now in progress at the South is here shown, as follows:

"Whether the creditors of Tennessee agree to accept sixty or fifty per cent. of the debt due them, is a question which primarily concerns only themselves and the State. Whatever they do in the matter will be done under the pressure of apparent necessity. They are in a position akin to that of the victims of some brazen swindler and accomplished thief, who having escaped with his plunder beyond the reach of extradition proposes to return to them one-half on the condition that they abandon all proceedings against him. Tennessee knows that its creditors are helpless. It has robbed and cheated them, and now proposes as an act of grace to promise to pay one-half of the money it owes them. It only promises to pay, however, and it can give no guarantee that when the time for fulfilling the promise comes it will not repeat its thievish process. Still, the creditors must either submit or incur the risk of not getting anything. They are to decide, and third parties can have no wish to censure the decision."

NOTE.—The views here and in the previous articles submitted for consideration by the reader, are little more than a reproduction of those offered ten and twelve years since for consideration by Senator Henry Wilson and President Grant, the chief difference being to be found in the fact that much of what was then given as prophecy is now placed on record in history.

ing body of ardent admirers on this continent. His standpoint in theology is somewhat different from that of our religious parties in general. He is neither liberal nor orthodox, nor a compromise between the two. He is not a worshipper of the letter of the Bible, nor is he an irreverent critic, approaching it with more desire to discover what is false in the common estimate of the book, than to discover the secret of the influence it has exerted in the lives and the thoughts of men. To discover that secret for himself and his own generation, to show how close the relation of the truths of the revelation to the difficulties and the problems of this age, is his chief purpose as an expositor. But it is not from the age that his thoughts take their start; it is from something more central. In his preface he says: "I have not indeed troubled the reader much with what are *called* practical reflections, first, because I have always found them very unpractical; secondly, because I do not think it reverent to make use of the Bible, for the purpose of pointing a moral or adorning a tale of ours. I believe it contains a revelation. I desire to ask what it reveals."

The Unity of the New Testament covers the first three gospels, and the Epistle of the Apostles James, Jude, Peter and Paul. In other works, the Gospel of Luke, the Epistle to the Hebrews and the writings of the Apostle John are treated. This list goes over the whole of the New Testament,—the Gospel of Luke twice. The editor, Miss Peabody, has very properly appended his *Warburtonian Lectures on the Epistle to the Hebrews*, which, like *The Unity*, is out of print, and was published just before it. The two are closely related in manner and contents; they belong to the same period of his authorship. In some points they stand in contrast to his other New Testament commentaries, and we must say that we prefer the later among his exegetical works. Great as Maurice always and everywhere is, the troublous times which began in 1848 seem to us to have constituted an era in his history, which is reflected in his writings. It made the scholastic and the clergyman a deeper and broader man, by throwing him into contact with "all sorts and conditions of men." The David that tended his father's sheep, and played before Saul was a fine, brave, comely man; but the David that learned to rule over the discontented in the cave of Adullam, was a man of deeper insights. It was not for nothing that he was given the hardest class in the school to try his hand on. And Maurice's Working Men's College grew out of a genuine Cave of Adullam, in which the man learnt new lessons to teach to his age. In his earlier works,—his *Lectures on National Education*, his *Letters to Ward*, his *Subscription no Bondage*, even his great book *The Kingdom of Christ*,—there are traces of an ecclesiastical limitation of sympathy, which he afterwards repudiates. From the *Lectures on the Lord's Prayer* onward, the real greatness

of the man comes into clear light, and you feel that he belongs to all the churches, to all mankind.

Not that we see any evidence of narrowness in this fine book. We can even understand its author's feeling that "he would rather any of his works should go out of print than this." It is not a formal commentary. Anything more unlike in its form to a volume of *Lange*, it would be hard to conceive. It does not aim to replace such works, for those who feel the need of them. For the details of critical scholarship, Mr. Maurice felt no liking. He did not even appreciate them at their full value. He was justly repelled by the excessive value set on them by those who are experts in such matters. He gives us, instead, a series of readings into the sense of the New Testament, always calm, thoughtful and sympathetic, as well as characterized by that profound spiritual insight, and that rare and genuine unction, which are characteristic of the man. He faces the difficulties and perplexities which readers of the New Testament in these days must encounter, but not as an inventor of ingenious answers,—rather as one who dissolves difficulties in the light of a larger truth. He makes the reader who goes with him feel that most of these objections grow out of a rejection of the great primary truths of the gospel, and that those truths, when divested of some accretions of opinion, are themselves full of their own evidence,—evidence that the spirit of man cannot live without them. As for the unsympathetic reader, the impression is and must be distinctly different. One such said of him that he wrote a great many books "to prove that Christianity is true, if important." This caricature of his method is a very clever one; it does hit off his manner in part. He no more hopes to demonstrate his thesis than does a mathematician to prove the primary properties of number. He believes that there is in human nature a somewhat to which the great Christian truths present themselves with self-evidencing force, similar to that which mathematical axioms have for the human reason. He does not believe that they will reach that somewhat with equal force and readiness in all states of the mind and the affections indifferently. But he sees that there is nothing else in man than that somewhat worth speaking to on such subjects. And he feels that if that organ of perception perceives the "importance" of such truths, as the very food of its life, it cannot but believe them with a conviction of the most primal and ineradicable nature. If in this sense Christianity be important, it must be true.

Such a method may seem otiose to the ordinary type of theologian, who thinks it worth while to chase the sceptic from post to pillar over the field of controversy. Mr. Maurice does not deny all value to this other method of procedure, while he cannot adopt it as his own. He only doubts the permanent value of its

results, since its method is equally valid for all states of mind, the least spiritual equally with the most. And he fears that such a process has losses more substantial than its gains,—that the sceptic is at times robbed of convictions and truths which may have seemed, both to him and to his orthodox antagonist, inextricably intertwined with his doubts, but which he should have been taught to cherish as a precious possession, whose loss is irreplaceable. And on the assumption, ignored too commonly by both parties to such disputes, that Christianity is reality, is objective truth, it shows wisdom to believe that it needs only to be divested of mistakes and accretions, to commend itself sooner or later to the minds of men.

A SELECTION OF SPIRITUAL SONGS, with Music for the Church and Choir. Selected and arranged by Rev. Charles S. Robinson, D.D. Pp. 441, 8vo. New York: Scribner & Co.

Hymnology is a special branch of literature, with its own experts and enthusiasts. It is one which has made great progress in its practical aspects in this country and England, during the last thirty years, and to no one do the American churches owe more in this regard, than, to Dr. Robinson of Brooklyn. His *Songs of the Sanctuary* opened a new era among American hymn-books, and by its excellence doomed to destruction the collections of rhymed preachments, Watts and water, with which the American churches were stocked. Since its appearance, the Reformed, the Lutheran, the Episcopal, the Presbyterian and the Methodist churches have all adopted respectable collections of sacred song, and the less organized churches have each several of the same order. But the theoretical part of the subject is still altogether neglected both in England and America. We have no good history of English hymnology; our Wackernagel and our Kapp are still unborn. We have no good thesaurus of English hymns, such as Knapp, Rambach, Langbecker, Layriz and others have given Germany. The *Hymnologia Christiana* of Kennedy is spoiled by its anonymity and its unwarrantable changes. We have no decent hymnological index, giving the first lines of all our hymns, the authorship, the date of composition or at least of publication, and the place where genuine versions are to be found. We have, in a word, no way of testing the literary excellence of any hymn-book, except by comparing it with the contents of some other hymn-book, American or English.

Dr. Robinson's *Selection of Spiritual Songs* does not seem to us to possess as much significance as did his *Songs of the Sanctuary*. It is as good a book, and even better, but it is not as much better as the means now at the disposal of a collector should have enabled

him to make it. We are living in the midst of the most productive period of English hymnology. Even that which originated with the Methodist movement of the last century, will not sustain a comparison with it. Since John Keble's *Christian Year*, English hymnology has been enriched by a great addition to its store of native and translated hymns; the Oxford movement giving us great numbers from the Latin, and the Broad Church from the German. Dr. Robinson, however, makes far less use of these later hymns than we think their merits entitle them to. He follows the old stream of English hymnology, which begins with Watts and comes down through Doddridge, Cowper, Mrs. Steele, Montgomery, Hastings and Kelly to our own times. In this he is no doubt controlled by the dominant taste of the churches for whom he compiles his *Selection*, even more than by his individual preferences. The old hymns, even though not rich in matter nor fine in manner, have been associated with such tender memories, that they cannot be excluded from manuals of praise. And after all, there is a wealth of sober, thoughtful, but not profound or impassioned, poetry in those staple hymn-writers, which, after a due winnowing, furnishes a good kernel for a hymn-book.

To ascertain its relation to the *Songs of the Sanctuary*, we have counted the hymns which come under the first six letters in the alphabetical index and found them two hundred and forty-nine in number. Of these forty-two are new hymns, less than a sixth of the whole, while eighty-two in the older book have been omitted. Most of the omissions and of the insertions have been a gain, but not so the exclusion of John Byrom's "Cheer up, Desponding Soul," nor of the mediæval German hymn "Fairest Lord Jesus," nor of Faber's "Dear Saviour, ever at my side."

Of omissions, we have been most surprised that neither George Wither, nor John Mason are represented by a single hymn. Mason is the best of the old English hymn-writers, and the most manly. David Dickson is credited, on scant authority, with the authorship of "O Mother dear Jerusalem." Of modern British writers, Thos. T. Lynch is not represented at all, Miss A. L. Waring by but one, T. H. Gill by but two hymns. Bonar is the most abundantly honored of all later poets, while the hymn-writers of the Oxford school are present only in their acknowledged master-pieces.

Of foreign hymns, the greater part are designated only by the names of the translators. Thus Miss Winkworth stands for a number of German, and Mr. Neale for a group of Greek and Latin authors, and Mr. Caswall for St. Bernard. This objectionable practice is not consistently followed, which makes it still worse. One of Luther's hymns, for instance, is catalogued—funnily enough—under "Luther, Rev. Martin, D.D."—while his "*Ein feste Burg*" is credited to Dr. Hedge as translator.

But after all deductions, the book is a good one, much above the average of American collections. Its author's name will justly commend it to the attention of those who are in search of a manual of praise, and have not already received one from ecclesiastical authority.

ENGLISH ACTORS FROM SHAKESPEARE TO MACREADY. By Henry Barton Baker. New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1879. 2 vols. pp. 308 and 311. "Amateur Series."

That love of the stage which seems inborn with so many silent spectators, keeps up a steady demand for books about actors, and here we have one that covers the whole history of the English theatre, from the time when it first deserved a record down to almost the last of its best days. The original appearance of this curious medley of fact and fiction, of anecdotes and biographies, in the *Temple Bar Magazine*, goes far to account for the fact that it is full of repetitions and contradictions, of anachronisms and doubtful legends; but the class of readers for whose use it is mainly intended are not very nice in their tastes, nor very critical in their judgment. Few of its stories are new, and perhaps fewer still of its new stories are true, or at least have any foundation other than that love of old legends that bids us believe in the Shakespeare mask, or the Betterton gloves, or any of the other pleasant fictions that meet us at every turn in the collections of our own Shakespeare worshippers. There is something in the evanescent glories of the stage, in the delight with which the names of great actors are recalled, in the subtle qualities of their hold upon the public, that makes it impossible to give in strong, indelible characters, the exact reasons for popularity, and little characteristics are often hit upon by which men try to strengthen the memories of acting that has impressed them, in order to show the grounds of comparison with later players. Even with all the industry of the compiler of these volumes, the reader will find it hard to reconstruct for himself any standard by which to measure the excellence or judge of the success of the representations of Garrick and Siddons, of the Kembles and the Keans, and of their respective schools of acting. The elements that go to make good actors and to secure their success and popularity, are curiously mixed. We see in this record of their early years, that Woodward was a public school boy; Shuter, a Methodist; Smith, the original Charles Surface, an Eton and Cambridge man; Sam Foote, an Oxford man, and Garrick and the later Kembles were also University men; while the elder Kean and Booth were, like many of the famous actresses, quite without education. Then, while there are the great names of those who have left only the memory of their own achievements, we can count up five genera-

tions of Kembles, who for over two hundred years have held the stage in various characters, and the greatest of all of them, Mrs. Siddons, is a sort of tie between Dr. Johnson who talked to her, and Mrs. Kemble who tells us what Mrs. Siddons said to her. Mrs. Kemble, too, in her readings, simply renewed and popularized a custom that her great aunt made good by her success in reading to the royal family, just as Garrick and Henderson had done before; and innumerable others have followed the same fashion since. Of the literature of the stage, Mr. Baker gives a fair summary from the actors' point of view, with an occasional sketch borrowed from Hazlitt and Lamb, and the interminable German critic, who seems always to be taking notes. It is very plain that much of the success of plays and players in the last century was largely due to the fact that the houses and the audiences were much smaller than they are to-day, and hence that close relation and nearness of sympathy which was well shown in Garrick's farewell, where the public exhibited their regret and the deep impression made upon them, by refusing to allow the time-honored farce to be played. All of this sort of feeling is gone now, and with it much of our interest in the individuality of the actors who pass before us only as parts of an archæological restoration, or as a reason for an exhibition of modern furniture and finery. Perhaps as a plea for returning to the good old times of the stage this book has its best justification.

EVERY MAN HIS OWN POET, or The Inspired Singer's Receipt Book. By a Newdigate Prizeman. (First American from the third English edition, enlarged.) Boston. Williams, 1879. 16mo. pp. 32.

Mr. Mallock's success with *The New Republic* must account for the popularity of his 'New Paul and Virginia' and for the rehabilitation of his earlier essay, 'Every Man his own Poet.' The advertisement makes Mr. Rice, editor of the *North American Review*, a voucher for Mr. Mallock's authorship of this *jeu d'esprit*, but its solemn effort to be witty and its ponderous fun, may safely be attributed to the writer of the theological essays in which Mr. Mallock delights in confuting his Oxford friends and in scattering doubts as to his own doxy among believers and doubters. There is no great merit in the way in which the author hits off the leading characteristics of the living poets of the day, and Lowell and Thackeray, Aytoun and Bret Harte, have done the same thing with much more cleverness and ability than are shown in the prosy prose of the prescriptions here set down. There is a very strange attraction for the American publisher in the success of English authors, but in this instance the sort of close fellowship that makes a brilliant Oxford essayist popular in England, seems

little likely to make any headway with our rather obtuse reading public. It is clear that the names which may be labeled upon the poets whose methods are here furnished forth to the world, can easily be supplied, but this sort of satire hardly deserves more than the passing importance that it no doubt got as an undergraduate's smartness. To reprint it now is a cruel injustice to Mr. Mallock, as well as to the reader, who in vain seeks in this booklet anything of the sort of literary pyrotechnics that characterize his later work.

THE LIFE OF SAMUEL JOHNSON, LL. D., including the Tour to the Hebrides. By James Boswell. The original text relieved from passages of obsolete interest. New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1878. 8vo. pp. 689.

If this book needed or had room on its title page for a descriptive anecdote, it could be found in the body of the work, at p. 267, where Boswell reports the following conversation; Boswell "said printing an abridgment of a work was allowed, which was only cutting the horns and tail off the cow;" Johnson: "No, sir; 't is making the cow have a calf." The recent revival of a taste, or at least the opportunity for acquiring a liking, for the literature of the period when Johnson roared supreme, is shown in the contemporaneous publication of Mr. Leslie Stephen's *Life of Johnson*, Matthew Arnold's republication of *Chief Lives of the Poets*, and now in this abbreviated edition of Boswell's *Johnson*, that inimitable example of literary biography. Perhaps this abbreviation is a reaction from the wordiness and overgrowth of Croker's *Boswell*, but still one fault hardly corrects the other, and Johnson himself, and certainly Boswell, never could have consented to see his fine phrases reduced to the limit granted the author of to-day. Johnson was perhaps unconsciously hitting off the case when he met Boswell in London, the year after his journey to France, and gave him the following account of his tour, saying,—“ Sir, I have seen all the visibilities of Paris, and around it, but to have formed an acquaintance with the people there would have required more time than I could stay.” Of course ‘staying power’ is as much needed to read the ponderous volumes of the last century as for any other work, and yet it is questionable whether such a book as Boswell's *Johnson* is not needed as a corrective for much of the biographical literature of our day, with its faults of brevity and haste,—two qualities with which Boswell cannot be reproached. The index of this book seems to be well done, and as a test of its merit, let the reader look up Johnson's fine fury against America and Americans ‘sub voce,’ and see how the great thunderer poured out his wrath on those whose descendants have so largely helped to extend and perpetuate the memory of his really great services to literature.

HEARING, and How to Keep it. By Charles H. Burnett, M. D. 16mo., pp. 151. Philadelphia, Lindsay & Blakiston.

This is the first volume of the American Health Primers, a series which is to treat of familiar topics in a familiar manner. As all the volumes will be written by American physicians, the series will be applicable to existing local conditions with much more satisfaction than is the case with works written abroad. The present volume is full of valuable information, both as regards the very interesting subject of the anatomy and physiology of the ear, and also the various diseases and accidents to which this complicated organ is exposed. No organ of special function is so little understood by non-professional persons as the ear, and such a treatise as the present will repay any one the trouble of perusal. The general appearance of the volume is neat, the illustrations are numerous but at times somewhat blurred, and the text shows in some places a want of care in writing.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

Ruskin on Painting, with a biographical sketch. (Handy Volume Series). Price 30 cents. New York: D. Appleton & Co. [Porter & Coates.

An Accomplished Gentleman. By Julian Sturgis. (Handy Volume Series). Price 30 cents. New York: D. Appleton & Co. [Porter & Coates.

An Attic Philosopher in Paris. By Emile Souvestre. (Handy Volume Series). Price 25 cents. New York: D. Appleton & Co. [Porter & Coates.

A Rogue's Life. By Wilkie Collins. (Handy Volume Series). Price 25 cents. New York: D. Appleton & Co. [Porter & Coates.

Light in Dark Places; or, How the Camps Lived in their Poverty. By Henry S. Drayton. 16mo. Cloth. Pp. 275. Price \$1.25. Philadelphia: Claxton, Remsen & Haffelinger.

First Principles of Political Economy. By Joseph Alden. Cloth. 16mo. Pp. 153. Price 75 cents. Syracuse: Davis, Bardeen & Co.

Brief English-French Compend of the Grammar of the French Language. By John W. Mears. 12mo. Sw'd. Pp. 37. Price 50 cents. Syracuse: Davis, Bardeen & Co.

National Education in Italy, France, Germany and Wales. By C. W. Bennett, D.D. 8vo. Sw'd. Pp. 28. Price 15 cents. Syracuse: Davis, Bardeen & Co.

The Art of Questioning. By Joshua G. Fitch, A.M. 16mo. Sw'd. Pp. 32. Price 15 cents. Syracuse: Davis, Bardeen & Co.

Method of Study in Social Science. By W. T. Harris. 8vo. Sw'd. Pp. 23. St. Louis: G. L. Jones & Co.

Hearing, and How to Keep It. By Charles H. Burnett, M.D. (American Health Primers). 16mo. Cloth. Pp. 152. Price 50 cents. Philadelphia: Lindsay & Blakiston.

Dickens's Dictionary of London, 1879, an Unconventional Handbook. 16mo. Sw'd. Pp. 280. Price 35 cents. London: Charles Dickens. New York: Macmillan & Co. [Porter & Coates.

Reading Book of English Classics for Young Pupils. By C. W. Jeffingwell, D.D. 12mo. Cloth. Pp. 403. Price \$1.50. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. [Claxton, Remsen & Haffelinger.

The Puritan and the Quaker A Story of Colonial Times. Cloth, 12mo. Pp. 393. Price \$1.50. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. [Claxton, Remsen & Haffelinger.

The Great Fur Land, or Sketches of Life in the Hudson's Bay Territory. By H. M. Robinson. Cloth. 12mo. Pp. 348. Price \$1.75. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. [Claxton, Remsen & Haffelinger.

THE
PENN MONTHLY.

JULY, 1879.

THE MONTH.

THE Zulu war has acquired a sad prominence through the death of the young person who called himself the Prince Imperial of France. The son of Napoleon III. has lived through a great change of fortune, and in such publicity before all Europe, that his death cannot but excite pity and sympathy for the widowed ex-Empress, even in those circles where hostility to Napoleonic claims is the most unqualified. He was a bright, amiable, young man, unstained by any vice except the accursed ambition he had inherited from his father. But he had thrown himself heartily into the plans of the Imperialists, and this very expedition to Southern Africa was meant to forward those plans. He was to land at St. Helena, to weep at the willow-tree where the first Napoleon lay, to distinguish himself slightly, or more than slightly, in the war, and then to come back to Europe, with all eyes fixed on the candidate for Imperial honors. Zulu spears have put a sad, swift end to all such hopes; and the truest friends of France, while they may sorrow for a young life so suddenly extinguished, cannot regret that there is not to be a third adventurer of the Bonaparte stock to disturb her peace. "After life's fitful fever, he sleeps well." He is happier in his death than his father was in life, with no *Coups d'Etat* to burden his memory, no Sedans associated with his name. And if it be true, as is hoped, that the Napoleonic house will

furnish no successor to his pretensions, and that Imperialism itself dies with him, then the silver lining to the cloud becomes still brighter.

One curious modern prophecy is helped to its fulfilment by his death. When John Knox was on his death-bed, news came of the Massacre of St. Bartholomew, and of the part taken by Charles IX. in the slaughter of his Huguenot subjects. He predicted that from henceforth no king of France should be succeeded on his throne by his son. From that day there has been only one exception to this, and that one is uncertain. Louis XIII. thus succeeded Henry IV., but many historians deny that he was the son of his reputed father. Henry's second wife, while not so shameless as his first, equally requited his infidelity by her unfaithfulness, and the paternity of her children is not beyond dispute. In every other instance, Knox's prediction has been fulfilled, and every sort of French sovereign—legitimist, constitutionalist and imperialist—has failed to do what the earlier kings nearly always did—leave the throne to a son of their own. Whether the Empire should be restored or not, Knox's curse will not be broken.

THE war itself makes no real headway. Cetywayo is evidently a leader who can use to the uttermost the advantages of his position, and that position is exceedingly strong. There are no points in Zululand upon which it is worth while to march, for even the royal Kraal is no longer a basis of operations to the Zulus. And if there were any such, there are no roads by which to advance upon them, no guides to direct the course, no provisions to be obtained in the conquest. If the English choose to cut up the country into checkerboard squares by military roads, and to garrison a post at every intersection, they can conquer the Zulus; but as it is they are simply exposing a large section of their small army to slow and ignominious destruction, without accomplishing anything worthy of their efforts. An inferior, uncivilized race has some great advantages when it undertakes a defensive warfare in such a country, and this Zulu king has the wit to see them.

Bishop Colenso, of Natal, who was led to doubts of the accuracy of the Pentateuch by one of these Zulus, is now very outspoken in his denunciation of the war. He says, with great truth, that the annexation of the Trans-Vaal Republic a year ago was but

one step in a great scheme of South African aggrandizement, and that the Zulu war has proved the Nemesis of that scheme. The Dutch boers were deprived of their independence on the pretence that the natives were showing themselves more than a match for them. But at present the Trans-Vaal boers would have equally good ground for stepping in to annex Natal. The British authorities have needlessly provoked a struggle, by which the life of every white man in South Africa is seriously endangered, and show no capacity to bring the struggle to an end. The defeat at Islandana was much more serious than that which was made the pretence for the annexation of the Trans-Vaal. The story of these people has some elements of pathos in it, which are not commonly appreciated. They left Cape Colony because the government set over them by right of English conquest had become intolerable to them. They went into the wilderness and settled Natal and the Trans-Vaal. The English followed them up by seizing Natal, which they declared a British colony. The Boers then pressed still farther into the wilderness and settled the Orange Free State. Then came the discovery of the Diamond Fields and the district lying between the Trans-Vaal and the Orange Free State was seized and settled by English miners as the Griqua colony. The next Naboth's vineyard was the Trans-Vaal itself, and the Orange Free State would have been but a small bite if Sir Bartle Frere's plans had been carried out. The Boers of the Trans-Vaal have adopted a sort of solemn league and covenant, in which they rehearse the successive aggressions, and pledge themselves "to work together unto death for the restoration of the liberty of our Republic."

THE new Emir of Afghanistan has made peace, without really yielding any territory to the English, or conceding anything but the residence of an English representative at his capital. The English are to occupy several mountain districts along his frontier, but to pay him the surplus of revenue derived from them, to give him a large subsidy, and to guarantee his country against foreign invasion. As to domestic wars, he must take care of himself. The effect of this will be to extend the responsibility of the British Empire over the whole of Afghanistan. England will have the responsibility of any collision with China or Russia, but not the power to prevent such collisions by authoritative supervision

of the country. The English frontier is virtually pushed to within one hundred and fifty miles of that of China, while it actually touches on that of Bokhara, and runs for two hundred miles along that of Persia. England is made responsible for the treatment accorded to foreigners in Afghanistan, and for the safety of Afghans everywhere throughout the world.

To a genuinely imperialist people, such as the Romans were before the reign of Augustus, all these things would seem advantages of the first class. Genuine Imperialism accepts of no boundaries. It rejoices in every new extension of danger, responsibility and frontier, as the first step to still farther conquests. And if the English meant to subjugate China, Persia and Asiatic Russia, this treaty would be an excellent one. It contains in itself all those possibilities of quarrel and entanglement, which a Scipio or a Paulus Æmilius would have hailed with rapture. But for a less ambitious nation to bind herself by such terms,—for British taxpayers, ambitious chiefly of profits and dividends, to assume such responsibilities, is little short of madness. And it is as wicked as it is mad. Imperialism in any shape is the murder of nationalities, the destruction of the life of nations and the termination of their careers. It is the highest crime known to politics, and the one most certain to carry with it the germs of its own punishment. This Afghan people, whose independent existence the English mean to absorb inch by inch, as the devil-fish drinks in its victim, is not indeed the most admirable of nationalities. But it had all the rights of existence as a moral personality, and that existence is now to be destroyed wilfully and wickedly by another power, simply because that other is the stronger.

As is common in modern wars of aggression and conquest, the greed of the trader plays its part in the transaction. The Afghans are to enjoy the delights of Free Trade with England. They are not to take off the duties they impose upon goods coming in by any other frontier, but whatever comes by way of India is to be free. The provision is eminently wise for the purpose in view. The destruction of societary movement and of the power of association, which follows a few years of English Free Trade, is one of the most powerful of agents for breaking the spirit of a free people and reducing them to a wretched dependence. The trader will complete what the soldier has begun, and the experience of Colo-

nial America, of India and of Ireland will be repeated in the mountain valleys of Afghanistan. But it was with a view to the elections at home that the Tories introduced this clause. The premier has set his heart on carrying Lancashire, on defeating on its own ground the influence of that House of Stanley, whose head deserted his cabinet and assailed his policy. To win Lancashire, he insisted on the removal of the slight import duty on cottons entering India; to win Lancashire, he refused to accede to the wishes of his staunchest constituents, the landed classes, when they asked an inquiry looking to some relief of their distress; to win Lancashire, he has thrown open another area of Asia to Manchester's clayed cottons and Bolton's shoddy cloths. And in the coming election, which cannot be far distant, these services to the great cause of Free Trade will be put into great prominence by the last of the Protectionist statesmen.

If there were no other cause for rejoicing as regards Prince Bismarck's new policy, we would be glad that it has put an end to the wretched *Kultur-Kampf* which has been waged for years past upon the Catholics and other believing classes of Germany. The pseudo-liberals of the Falk type no longer control the councils of the Empire, and the alliance of the policy of Torquemada with the principles of Strauss is practically at an end. We believe that it is the duty of the German government to insist that all religious societies shall comply with the laws of the land, and shall give any reasonable guarantee that they are not about to engage in a conflict with the order of society. But the policy which sent Lutheran pastors and Roman Catholic Bishops to prison, because they would not violate the ordination vows, which they had taken upon them with the knowledge and the concurrence of the state, was itself a war upon the order of society, in the interest simply of a set of opinions. It was one more illustration of the truth that all men are by nature persecutors,—that they will persecute more fiercely for a negation than for an affirmation,—and that the interests of religious liberty are no safer in the hands of those who have whittled away their beliefs to a minimum, than in those of the most superstitious of believers.

The new policy of the Papacy has greatly helped to a better understanding between church and state in Germany. The *Non*

Possumus of Pio Nono is gone out of fashion, and a born diplomatist holds the papal power. Leo XIII. knows just when to speak a word of conciliation. His apostolical letter in regard to Socialism turned attention to the Roman Catholic Church in its favorite *role* as the champion of all conservative interests. He has removed the prohibitions which forbade the Italian Bishops to come to terms with the government, and which kept Swiss Catholics from the polls whenever parish priests were to be elected. By this latter move, he has as good as put an end to the wretched political movement which in Switzerland called itself Old Catholicism, and has restored the parish churches to the use of the Catholic people.

THE province of Eastern Roumelia, whose severance from Bulgaria was England's one achievement in the Berlin Treaty, seems likely to be, after all, no comfort to Turkey. The new governor, who holds office for five years unless the Great Powers demand his removal, has thrown himself into the current of anti-Turkish, national feeling. He will not hoist the Turkish flag; instead of the fez, he wears the Bulgarian head-dress; and his policy is expected to favor a separation from Turkey and a union to Bulgaria. The Sultan scolds, of course, but is believed to be entertaining proposals for the cession of the province to Bulgaria. He needs money more than the honor of a province into which he can send no troops and out of which he can get no revenue, and it is believed that the unnatural severance of Eastern Roumelia will not be as perpetual as was expected when the Peace with Glory was consummated.

Another of the Sultan's nominal dependencies continues to attract European attention. The holders of the Egyptian bonds in France are in many instances persons of great political influence, and they are not ready to give up their hope of coercing the Khedive into paying his debts. England, indeed, has evinced no disposition to aid in any such undertaking, and for this reason England has been receiving a sound scolding from leading French papers, and has been warned of the risk she runs of alienating her last political friend on the Continent. Considering the likelihood of where the next European war will be fought, the warning seems

a little uncalled for, but it has its purpose. England must help France to put the Khedive out of the way ; and the French consul-general at Cairo marches up to the Khedive's palace in official dress, and solemnly advises him to resign. This last move seems to show that the French ministry are influenced by these special interests, although they have no ear for the complaints of French manufacturers. And it is not impossible that the renewal of the Commercial Treaty will be made conditional upon English support in Egypt. It would be the second such treaty which had been bought by infamous concessions. But we doubt whether the good sense of the French people will tolerate an attack on Egypt in the interest of these influential usurers, and nothing less than war will avail. The uprisings of the natives in Algeria make any extreme measure still more unlikely.

THE month has not been eventful in home matters, except in the matter of its criminal records. Even Secretary Sherman has done little to keep himself before the public, or to remind us how a policy of local selfishness may be made to look grand by aid of tinsel. An Indian war, a large inundation, a hot wave, a new invention by Edison, or something of the sort is sorely needed to break the monotony.

Congress has been threshing empty straw with great vigor. The points of the issue between the parties inside each house, and between the majority and the President, have been made so familiar and clear, that we really do not see what opening the regular session will present for speeches. The material is already more than exhausted. The only possible solution of the entanglement could have been reached in forty-eight hours after the vetoes, if the members had meant business. Evidently the Democracy can do no more than embody their views as to the use of the army and the control of elections in separate bills, making these so reasonable as to secure either the approval of the President, or, if they were vetoed, the support of all the people whom they can alarm with cries of military despotism. Beyond this they cannot go. They cannot make Mr. Hayes sign a bill which he does not approve, for he will not break his oath to carry out the Constitution, and the Constitution forbids him to sign such a bill. Any

amount of squirming and tergiversation must bring them back to where they started, for, as long as the Constitution stands, a bare majority cannot override the President. Neither can they gain anything by refusing appropriations. Just as in their fuss about "bayonets at the polls," they show their characteristic inability to understand that the war-cries and methods of the struggle with European monarchies have no pertinence in a Republic. A king without revenues would be ill off; a President is not in the least affected. He is simply a public official, expected by the people to do his best with the material he has, but not expected to do things impossible. And a Congress which shall refuse him the means of doing his duty, will itself have to settle with the people. The power of the purse is no power to dictate in a republic.

SECRETARY SHERMAN does not seem to have been flattered by the rapid sales of his certificates, as he stopped them long before the maximum amount fixed by law had been disposed of. This step has a rather curious look. Confessedly, there is a great demand for four per cent. bonds at present, because of a virtual corner in that species of security. The purchase of certificates was one of the means resorted to by those who are "short" of those bonds. Their sale was authorized by law; it did no one any harm, while it promised relief to a class not especially worthy of our contempt. But the Secretary stops it without previous notice, and leaves a great mass of trustees, banks and others to get their bonds as they may. Had the business been in the hands of a Wall Street broker, this proceeding would have been interpreted to mean that he was coöperating with the Bulls. But in the case of the Secretary of the Treasury, one cannot suppose that he has any concern with such matters as the profits of a ring.

We commend this and the whole story of Mr Sherman's administration of the Treasury to those who argue that as soon as the Treasury ceases to issue paper money, it will cease to affect the money market. And, if we mistake not, the lessons of his administration will be made more patent to the public before the expiration of his term of office.

THE absurd silver bill, after passing the House, has been laid

over until the regular session. This measure should either have been thoroughly recast, or else rejected. The time is especially favorable for the restoration of silver as a part of our national coinage. The enthusiastic advocates of the gold standard have been brought to their senses by Lord Lytton's proposal to force a gold coinage on the people of the East. They begin to see that the quantity of gold now in circulation, or ever likely to become so, is not enough for the uses of the human race, as coin. And the fear of a great and sudden increase in the yield of our silver mines has passed away. A party is rising in England, which ascribes the hard times to the demonetization of silver, and in the absence of any better explanation there is a general disposition to think that "there may be something in it." This change of feeling has reacted on public opinion in America, and especially on the advocates of gold. There is hardly a newspaper now which is not ready to support remonetization of silver in some shape, although two years ago they raved at any one who was not ready to repudiate its use as coin. It is, therefore, especially unfortunate that the proposal for this remonetization which finds most favor is nearly as objectionable as it could be made; that it assumes the old standard as a permanent one, in the face of the uniform market price at which the metal has been offered for years past. The bill as originally proposed not only authorized free coinage at that standard, but gave the profit from its difference from the market price to the owners of the silver. As amended, it gives this profit to the government, which is less objectionable, but not greatly so. Nothing but the elevation of the standard will give us such a silver currency as is consonant with public honesty and stable values.

The bill to redeem the trade dollars and recoin them as standard silver dollars is greatly opposed as a measure for the benefit of the Asiatics who have millions of this coin in circulation. This difficulty also would be met without any breach of faith with their present holders, by prohibiting the importation of the latter in greater sums than five dollars. The bill as it stands is clearly one for the relief of our people, who have been led to accept these coins by the supposition that the inscription on them shows them lawful money of the United States.

Of any further and wiser legislation on financial matters, we see no sign. The National Bank lobby seem strong enough to pre-

vent the passage of legislation unfavorable to them. The law to prevent them keeping their reserves in New York still lingers in committee ; and no plan has been presented to supersede their circulation by treasury notes. From this Congress, the country need expect no such relief.

WITH every successive legislature the people of this state are inclined to say "Surely we can have no worse than this." Of that which recently adjourned at Harrisburg, we have had but one measure of relief, which is the law that the Legislature shall meet but once in two years. The Municipal Government Bill, and every other measure of the sort, was smothered or thrown out, while a law for the oppression of the tenants of Philadelphia remains perhaps the one brilliant act on the record.

Very much of this is the fault of the people of Philadelphia. It might have been expected that the people of this city would send men to Harrisburg, upon whom some dependence might be placed, to protect the special interests of the city. On the contrary, there is not a law for the robbery and the oppression of the city, which has not the support of all but a few of our city representatives, and we would positively be better off if we were wholly, instead of but partially, disfranchised by the state. Mr. Law and a few others have shown how powerless honest men are in conflict with such rascality ; but these men are so few and exceptional that they can neither relieve our disgrace nor protect our interests.

The measure proposed in this last legislature for the relief of Allegheny County from the costs of the Pittsburg riots, was chiefly valuable for giving us a full-length picture of our legislators. The most rigidly righteous of our cities, and the one which has labored hardest to associate the name of the commonwealth with repudiation and dishonesty, seems to have laid a plan for the corruption of the legislature, and of public opinion itself. The newspapers of the state were bought in great numbers, to become the organs of a plea for this iniquitous measure. Then the members of the house were approached with corrupting offers, and the very schedule of prices—so much for a representative, so much for a senator—was arranged. But so large a scheme was bound to defeat itself. It should have been mixed up with a general log-rolling, in which

other counties should make proportional drafts on the treasury. Presented as it was, it must be put forward in all its undisguised wickedness, and it must come to the knowledge of honest men in the House. Its denunciation, and the disclosure of the transaction, followed with a promptness surprising for Harrisburg.

It might have been supposed that our own representatives would, for once, be found on the side of honesty. The proposal was an insult to our city; it stigmatized our brave soldiers as the real authors of the riot. It recalled to everyone the infamous treatment which those soldiers received at the hands of the people and the authorities of Pittsburg. It proposed to transfer from Pittsburg to the state a burden which would in that case be borne chiefly by our own city. And yet the evidence showed Philadelphia representatives were the very foremost in bribing others to vote for the bill, and when the vote on their expulsion came, all but a few of the city members voted in the negative, although their guilt had been proved beyond a doubt. The majority of the house voted to expel, but a two-thirds vote being necessary, these worthies continue to sit in a house in which the majority have declared them no better than thieves. As for the minority which defeated expulsion, every man of them has placed himself under just suspicion by his vote. The public cannot but believe that he voted to sustain these corruptionists, and to condone corruption, because he feared what they might do or say in case they were expelled.

The matter is not without its importance in a political point of view. With few exceptions, the Democracy of the House voted for expulsion, while a majority of the Republicans voted in the negative. The Republican party cannot afford to make another such record in this state. It will drive its friends in many districts to support their candidates or vote the Democratic ticket, in sheer despair of its honesty, if this is to be the line of its conduct.

THE Communists have found new allies in the proprietors of the great mills at Fall River, in Massachusetts. We do not in the least deny that these gentlemen have sufficient reasons for asserting that wages must be kept down, if they are to run their establishments without loss. But when they show so little confidence in the justice of their case as to refuse to lay it before any impartial

tribunal, when they flatly refuse to submit it to the arbitration proposed by their workmen, and fall back simply upon their rights "to do as they please with what is their own," they need not wonder that they do so without the moral support of public opinion anywhere throughout the country. It is employers of this class who make Dennis Kearneys possible, and every demagogue in the length and breadth of the land rejoiced when he read their refusal in the daily newspapers. The truth is that the men who have gathered a dense population around their mills and factories, sustain obligations toward this population not to be defined in this peremptory fashion. They owe it to society to do everything in reason to secure a basis of agreement, a *modus vivendi*, with them. And when they see fit to stand on the rights of the purse in this loom-lordly fashion, they will have against them a power greater and more irresistible than that of the purse—the public opinion which crystallizes into laws, and keeps them from becoming a dead letter.

These proprietors have also announced that wherever one member of a family leaves off his work, all the others will be locked out. They will strike through the innocent at the guilty, —guilty, that is, of refusing to work on such terms as the employer chooses to offer. If the father refuses to work, the mother shall have no chance to earn her children's bread. If the brother is recalcitrant, the sister shall be turned out of doors. This insolent tyranny inflicts attainder of blood upon whoever is akin to the rebellious.

These may be European ideas of what is fit and just; they may be customary enough in Manchester; but we should tremble to see their general adoption by our American employers. Great institutions have been brought to ruin before this, because they were associated with the wanton abuse of power to the oppression of the people. And we see no reason to hope that the institution of private property, though bound up with the very life of our civilization, has any exemption from the possibility of such a fate.

HUMANITY AND ECONOMY IN WAR.

THERE can hardly be any direct dissent from the proposition that Christian nations should regard war from the humane point of view. Civilization, as far as experience has yet shown, does not promise to make wars impossible; it does not even seem to render their occurrence less frequent, or their consequences less terrible. It is true that the apostles of peace are hopeful that the world will some time accept their beneficent counsels, and that international arbitrations will be resorted to with increasing frequency. But the day is distant that can witness the general cessation of wars, even if we believe, notwithstanding Mr. Hobbes, that war is not man's normal state, and that human progress will in time reach a stage where wars will be obsolete. Meanwhile, the nations will study war as a calamity sure sooner or later to reach them, with the view of being prepared to meet it intelligently and to mitigate its evils. And especially does war need to be studied here, where neither the unvarying experience of all history, nor that of our own country, is able to eradicate the popular error that our comparative isolation exempts us from the common lot of nations. We have once seen our Capital burned by an invader; yet we persist in leaving our wealthy seaport cities at the mercy of any second-class naval power; and, although we had three wars, besides numberless Indian conflicts, within the half century from 1812 to 1862, our people and government act as if firmly determined to treat the military art as a useless study.

There ought to be a public opinion which would compel our legislators to acquire at least some rudimentary knowledge of the essentials of successful war; because they would then find that scientific war is comparatively economical and humane, while unscientific war is both costly and barbarous; because war carried on according to the soundest principles of the art involves the minimum waste of the products of human toil and, what is of immeasurably greater consequence, the minimum waste of life.

The first and most important requisite to a good army is efficiency in the individual officers and soldiers and in the tactical units, such as companies and battalions. As a corollary to this, it should always be present in the mind of the general that the most

costly thing in war is the veteran soldier ; he is the product of long training, and must be clothed and subsisted for many months before he is fit for campaigning ; he cannot be replaced off-hand by a fresh recruit, and as his loss is therefore for the time irreparable, it is not only dictated by humanity, but is an axiom in war that his life should not be ventured in combat without a probability of exercising some effect upon the final result of the war. That the sacrifice of life without a sufficient military object in view is not war, but murder, is a settled principle in military ethics. Readers of history will remember how severely Napier censures the victorious Marshal Beresford for giving battle to Soult at Albuera, because the bloody action produced, and could produce, no adequate result. Napier says :

“ These illusive advantages he purchased at the price of seven thousand men. With a smaller loss Lord Wellington had fought two general and several minor actions, had baffled Massena and turned seventy thousand men out of Portugal.”

Of all the lessons which our civil war has left for the critic, there is not one that has been so generally overlooked, and which, in the interests of humanity and the truth of history, needs so much to be dwelt upon, as the enormous waste of life involved in rushing vast masses of untrained or half-trained soldiers into fruitless combats that produced no change in the relative positions of the contending armies, and were therefore a sheer waste of human life. When one considers that in all that has been written upon this subject little or no importance has been given to this view, and that we have ever since been sending undrilled recruits, sometimes with inferior arms, to be shot down by Indians, one wonders whether we are not really almost as callous with regard to human life as the Zulus or Ashantees.

Every thoughtful officer who served through our civil war must look back with mournful feelings when he thinks of the vast multitudes of our bravest and best young men whose lives were sacrificed in combats which produced no effect upon the fortunes of the war other than that resulting from the decimation of the combatant population of the section which was inferior in numbers. He will recall that a great part of this useless slaughter came from ordering into battle comparatively raw troops. What a loss of human life, for example, was entailed by the enlistment of three months'

and nine months' men! What a vast expense was incurred in fitting out, in clothing, equipping, subsisting and transporting these useless militia men! And sad is the reflection that this enormous waste of money, and immeasurably more important waste of blood, would have been impossible, had there existed at the central government any intelligent conception of the conditions of successful war. It needed not that the President, his Cabinet, or Congress, should be military men. If they had only read attentively the history of ancient and modern wars, the deplorable errors which inflicted on both North and South such irreparable losses—losses of the best life-blood of our race—could hardly have been possible. We thus come to see how discussions of the art of war are not unprofitable to peacefully disposed nations in peaceful times. The old company and regimental commanders will remember with sadness that their best men were those most often left upon the battlefield, and that the straggler and skulker was most likely to be left to perpetuate the race. This is not an insignificant phase of the subject in considering wars, where in the aggregate such vast loss of life is incurred. Facts like these prove the proposition with which I began, that scientific war is more humane than unscientific, involving less strain upon the exchequer, and far less bloodshed. If arguments can be found, therefore, to show that the enormous armaments which the great powers are all now undertaking have not yet fully proved their superiority as systems of military organization, the interests of humanity will be served; while if it is shown by the most striking examples which the history of wars in all ages present, how invariably mere numbers have proved inferior to discipline, organization and morale, a point will at least have been established from which useful and economical ideas respecting our own army system can be obtained.

Even if the enormously burdensome systems generally adopted in Europe are necessary to the safety of those contiguous nations who are liable to be overrun and subjugated in a few weeks, it is obvious that the same necessity for numerically vast armies does not exist in the case of an insular power like Great Britain, and of course still less in our own. I cannot help thinking that the English are making a mistake in their half-way attempts at imitating the German system; and in shortening their term of enlistment to five years, they run a great risk of impairing the efficiency of

those incomparable regiments which, in the Spanish peninsula, so often proved themselves equal to two or three times their own number of Napoleon's veterans, even when the French were led by such accomplished soldiers as Massena and Soult. The British soldier of that day enlisted for twenty years, and I believe it never happened that one of those regiments was forced to give ground by anything like equal numbers. The conditions under which England is ever likely to engage in a great war indicate that she must employ an army small in comparison to those which Germany, Russia, Austria and France can set on foot, and that her statesmen and generals should train their minds to depend upon quality rather than numbers. This will simply be adhering to a system which has secured British supremacy for five or six centuries, and which carried British arms triumphantly through the long struggle with Napoleon, whose enormous levies belonged rather to the opposite system.

The military history of Greece proves nothing more clearly than that numerical superiority is not necessary to success in war, and that hardly any conceivable disparity of numbers may not be overcome by superior organization, discipline and skill. The Romans furnish a second illustration of precisely the same principle. The ancient masters of the art of war took infinite pains to select, arm, and train the individual soldier. It is true that the early Grecian and Roman armies partook of the militia character; but the Greeks, in time of peace, were constantly engaged in warlike and semi-warlike exercises; the Romans gave their chief attention to military organization and training, and both the Grecian and Roman armies were largely composed of the higher classes of citizens. The perfection of the Roman arms and of their infantry organization was so great that Hannibal copied them at serious risk, almost in the face of the enemy, in the early years of his Italian campaign; and it may be as well to remark here, that the wonderful career of Hannibal is but another illustration of the truth I am seeking to sustain—that in warfare numbers are not of the highest importance. Indeed, the great Carthaginian showed that training and discipline can be made to supply the place of patriotism. At this distance it looks as if Hannibal must have broken the Roman power if he had been sustained by but a tithe of the national spirit that sustained his adversaries. But to return

to the lesson of Roman armies. Lieutenant-Colonel Colley says :*

“ The Roman armies owed their long and remarkable ascendancy to three principal causes—discipline ; care in the selection, training, and exercise of the soldiers ; and readiness in adopting improvements, whether from friends or foes. In the first, the Romans surpassed all other nations. The second, especially, attracted the attention of contemporary students of their military institutions. Hirtius, Vegetius, Josephus, all speak of the constant exercise by which, in peace as in war, the Roman soldier was trained and inured to war. ‘ If,’ says Josephus, ‘ we consider what a study the Romans make of military art, we must confess that the Empire to which they have attained is not a gift of fortune, but a reward of virtue. They did not wait for war to handle their arms ; nor, slumbering in the bosom of peace, move themselves only when awakened by necessity—as if their weapons were born with them, as if they formed part of their members, they allowed no truce to exercises ; and these military games are real apprenticeship to combat. Each soldier tests his strength and courage every day ; thus battles are neither new nor difficult to them ; accustomed to keep their places, disorder never arises, fear never troubles their minds, fatigue never exhausts their bodies. They are certain to conquer, because they are certain to find enemies unequal to them ; and one may say, without fear of mistake, that their exercises are battles without bloodshed, and their battles bloody exercises.’ Josephus said truly, they would never meet their equals. When they fell, it was not because their adversaries were superior, but because they themselves were no longer what they had been.”

Of the changes which took place in the Roman military organization, after the contest with Pyrrhus, and before the Punic Wars, Mommsen says :

“ On the other hand, the new military organization necessitated a far more serious and prolonged military training than the previous phalanx system, in which the solidity of the mass kept even the inexperienced in their ranks. The Roman recruit now entered among the light armed ‘ skirmishers’ (*rorarii*) who fought out of the line, and especially with stone-slings, and he advanced from this, step by step, to the first, and then to the second division, till at length the soldiers of long service and experience were associated together in the corps of the *triarii*, which was numerically the weakest, but imparted its tone and spirit to the whole army. * * * The excellence of this military organization, which became the primary cause of the superior political position of the Roman community, chiefly depended on the three great military principles

* *Encyclopædia Britannica*, ninth Edition.

of maintaining a reserve—of combining the close and distant modes of fighting, and of combining the offensive and defensive. The system of a reserve was already forshadowed in the earlier employment of cavalry, but it was now completely developed by the partition of the army into three divisions, and the reservation of the flower of the veterans for the last and decisive shock. While the Hellenic phalanx had developed the close, and the oriental squadron of horse, armed with bows and light missile spears, the distant modes of fighting respectively, the Roman combination of the heavy javelin with the sword produced results similar, as has justly been remarked, to those attained in modern warfare by the introduction of bayonet muskets; the volley of javelins prepared the way for the sword encounter, exactly in the same way that a volley of musketry now precedes a charge with the bayonet. Lastly, the thorough system of encampment allowed the Romans to combine the advantages of defensive and offensive war, and to decline or give battle according to circumstances, and in the latter case to fight under the ramparts of their camp, just as under the walls of a fortress. The Roman, says a Roman proverb, conquers by sitting still."

Perhaps the most perfect army England has ever had, that of Cromwell, was not officered by an aristocracy, but by men who rose from the ranks, and who believed not only in religious freedom, but in complete political equality. Macaulay says:

"The army which now became supreme in state was an army very different from any which has since been seen among us. At present the pay of the common soldier is not such as can seduce any but the humblest class of English laborers from their calling. A barrier almost impassable separates him from the commissioned officer. The great majority of those who rise high in the service rise by purchase. So numerous and extensive are the remote dependencies of England that every man who enlists in the line must expect to pass many years in exile, and some years in climates unfavorable to the health and vigor of the European race. The army of the Long Parliament was raised for home service. The pay of the private soldier was much above the wages earned by the great body of the people; and, if he distinguished himself by intelligence and courage, he might hope to attain high commands. The ranks were accordingly composed of persons superior in station and education to the multitude. These persons, sober, moral, diligent and accustomed to reflect, had been induced to take up arms, not by the pressure of want, not by the love of novelty and license, not by the arts of recruiting officers, but by religious and political zeal, mingled with the desire of distinction and promotion. The boast of the soldiers, as we find it recorded in their solemn

resolutions, was, that they had not been forced into the service, nor had enlisted chiefly for the sake of lucre: that they were no janizaries, but free-born Englishmen, who had, of their own accord, put their lives in jeopardy for the liberties and religion of England, and whose right and duty it was to watch over the welfare of the nation which they had saved."

"In war this strange force was irresistible. The stubborn courage characteristic of the English people was, by the system of Cromwell, at once regulated and stimulated. Other leaders have maintained order as strict. Other leaders have inspired their followers with a zeal as ardent. But in his camp alone the most rigid discipline was found in company with the fiercest enthusiasm. His troops moved to victory with the precision of machines, while burning with the wildest fanaticism of crusaders. From the time when the army was remodelled to the time when it was disbanded it never found, either in the British Islands or on the continent, an enemy who could withstand its onset. In England, Scotland, Ireland, Flanders, the Puritan warriors often surrounded by difficulties, sometimes contending against three-fold odds, not only never failed to conquer, but never failed to destroy and break in pieces whatever force was opposed to them. They at length came to regard the day of battle as a day of certain triumph, and marched against the most renowned battalions of Europe with disdainful confidence. Turenne was startled by the shout of stern exultation with which his English allies advanced to the combat, and expressed the delight of a true soldier when he learned that it was ever the fashion of Cromwell's pikemen to rejoice greatly when they beheld the enemy; and the banished cavaliers felt an emotion of national pride when they saw a brigade of their countrymen, outnumbered by foes and abandoned by allies, drive before it in headlong rout the finest infantry of Spain, and force a passage into a counterscarp which had just been pronounced impregnable by the ablest of the marshals of France."

Though the principles of the art of war can undergo no change, systems of tactics must be altered to conform with improvements in firearms. Indeed, infantry and cavalry tactics are now in a tentative stage, and the problems growing out of the increased range and celerity of fire cannot be regarded as settled. Since Sadowa, the Germans have been discussing the effect of the new arms upon the merits of the defensive as compared with the offensive in giving battle, and their military writers have passed from one extreme view to the opposite one, without discovering that whether a commander should adopt the vigorously offensive, the defensive-offensive, or the purely defensive, does not depend in any degree upon

the sort of arms in use, but upon considerations of an entirely different character, such as the relative condition of the opposing forces as to numbers, discipline, or morale, the situation as to supplies and reinforcements, the configuration of the theatre of war, and even political considerations. The development of the carbine and revolver, by rendering the sabre useless, has revolutionized cavalry tactics, although English military essayists still write approvingly of "the cold steel;" * and probably the general who first clearly perceives the full bearing of the changed position of mounted troops will reap from it great advantages. Certainly, he who attempts to imitate the tactics of Murat and Kellerman, and gallop his squadron of sabres against lines of repeating rifles, will be studying the art of war in a dear school. The Indian of our western plains, who uses a rifle while advancing, retreating, or encircling his enemy at full speed, is quite as formidable as the Parthian horseman who baffled Crassus. All these things only go to show that the necessity for elaborate training of the individual soldier is as great, if not greater, than ever before. And the open order in which riflemen must now generally fight makes the courage, self-reliance, and confidence of each in his fellow soldiers of much greater importance than it was in an individual member of the more compact phalanx or legion. It should not be overlooked in this connection that the greatly extended lines of battle made necessary by the repeating rifles, also impose heavier demands upon the capacity of the subordinate officers, and diminish the quantity of personal attention to details at the front which it is possible for the division and corps generals to give, and in an even greater degree the amount of direct influence the commanding general can exert upon the swaying fortunes of the battle. When facility of fire makes an unlimited waste of ammunition possible, it is all important that the soldier should be cool enough to reserve his fire—a quality rarely found, except in the veteran—and this facility of fire makes it important that he should be a weight-carrier, to be able to march under the heaviest burden of ammunition, while the new tactics demand greater celerity of movement than ever.

The whole tendency of modern military establishments, at least among the great powers of Europe, seems to be towards setting

*Vide Colonel Russell's article, "Cavalry," in *Encyclopædia Britannica*.

the vastest possible armies in the field, the object aimed at being to convert the entire able-bodied male population into soldiers. It is obvious that while this system has certain advantages in case of sudden wars with near neighbors, it excludes the idea of bringing the forces to the highest state of efficiency. The Germans may regard a man passed into the reserve after two years' service in time of peace as a trained soldier, but he evidently cannot be one in the sense that term would be applied to the soldiers who have several times conquered the empire of the world. The German system of setting vast masses in the field must, in case of long wars or military enterprises carried on at great distances, break down on account of its costliness, and the difficulty of subsistence and transportation. Indeed, it may be said that the opposing systems—of having in the one case multitudinous armies, or levies of armed men, and in the other of having comparatively small, but highly trained and disciplined bodies of troops—have been tested again and again, and victory has generally perched upon the banners which waved over the better quality instead of the greater quantity. The Greek phalanx and the Roman legion have each in turn proved invincible against almost any disparity of numbers. The most important changes which wars have worked in the history of the world have not been made by means of general levies, but have been due to the slow and laborious preparation of relatively small armies of highly disciplined veterans, tactically perfect, and armed with the most improved weapons of their age. When such an army fell into the hands of a great strategist the results were always wonderful. It was with such a Ten Thousand that Xenophon retreated. It was such an army Hamilcar bequeathed to Hannibal along with the famous oath of eternal hatred to Rome. And it was such an instrument which King Philip of Macedon left to his son, and to the perfection of which, as much as his own superb strategy, Alexander owed his marvellous conquests. During their long wars the Romans frequently had blundering strategists; their system was one likely often to place inferior men at the head of the legions; but these were so chosen, so armed, so disciplined, and so inured to military exercises, that they were nearly invincible. The mere traditions of the legionaries sufficed to keep the great Roman Empire together long after the military spirit was lost in the nation, and, as one of the authors

we have already quoted says: "until their discipline was lost under a succession of weak and profligate emperors." The Great Frederick owed his successes almost as much to the improvements in tactics introduced by Leopold of Dessau—who, under the First Frederick, formed the army which the Second Frederick led to victory—as to his own good generalship. Frederick the Great, like Alexander the Great, fell heir to an army not vast in numbers, but which was a compact military instrument of the highest quality. Not even Frederick's genius would have enabled him to prevail over the vast odds with which he so frequently contended, and to win victories like Rossbach and Leuthen, if he had not inherited a sound military system—as much the creation of "the old Dessauer" as the Prussian system of 1815 was of Scharnhorst.

Cromwell's military greatness grew at first out of the care with which he formed and disciplined his Puritan Ironsides. Wellington was a master of the art of organization and discipline. He possessed in a high degree all the qualities of a great captain; he could watch and wait, and he knew too well the priceless value of his veteran soldiers to waste them uselessly. It was his possession of these qualities which made him invincible; and it should be added, by way of contrast, that it was the lack of them on the part of his great rival which finally shattered the fabric of Napoleon's ambition and brought the greatest mere strategist, perhaps, the world has ever seen, to die a captive at St. Helena. Napoleon wasted his veterans until they could not be replaced. Levy after levy of grey-haired men and beardless youths failed to fill the gaps made by his constant battles; and though the numbers of Frenchmen who in his declining tide were embattled at Leipzig and at Waterloo would have been ample, if disciplined, to repeat the feats to which the French armies had become accustomed, they were not the same material as those left on bloody fields like Wagram, Austerlitz, Eylau, and Borodino, on the hundred battle-fields of the Spanish Peninsula, under the sands of Egypt, and beneath the snows of Russia. Napoleon's fatal military fault was his wastefulness of his soldiers, and his recruiting ground was finally exhausted. A little less ambition, a little more patience, and some heed to the lesson taught by the wars of the Greeks and Romans, that quality rather than numbers is to be sought in an army, and Fortune might never have deserted him. It is impossible to see wherein

the conditions of modern warfare make morale, organization, discipline, and tactics less important to success than they were in the time of Alexander, Cæsar, Cromwell, or Wellington, or make mere numbers more important; but in any faithful study of the wars which constitute such a large part of human history there is no fact that stands out clearer than that the veteran soldier is the most valuable thing a commander can have, and that it is the highest of military crimes to use him recklessly.*

The chief value of the German system is as a means of mobilization. Having every man enrolled and his station and corps designated, enables an army to be raised to the desired numerical strength with surprising facility. But the men coming from the plough and workshop will not in any sense be veteran soldiers, even if they have been a number of years in the ranks before passing into the reserve. Though better than wholly untrained men, they will have lost a good deal of the military spirit during the period of civil employment. The *landwehr* or militia man is to the regular like an athlete long out of training, or a race-horse that has been sent to the stud. The term of service in Germany, before passing into the reserve, is nominally three years, but is generally shortened for the purpose of keeping down the expense. No matter how efficient a soldier he may once have become, it is evident that a man taken from his peaceful avocation cannot at first stand the hard marching and camping out which is easy to the hardened regular. Among the ancients, skill in the use of arms was undeniably of prime importance; but is it less so now? On the contrary, as weapons become more complex the demand for skill and experience to use them efficiently must increase. It took practice to learn to hurl a javelin or spear, to make good use of sword and buckler, or to launch an arrow to its goal; does it not require quite as much practice to acquire proficiency in long-range marksmanship or to use a revolver effectually at a gallop? Indeed, the shorter range of missiles in ancient warfare and the large amount of hand-to-hand combat would rather seem to have given

* "The Roman loss was insignificant in this battle [crushing the Belgic Confederation.] The most remarkable feature in Cæsar's campaigns, and that which indicates most clearly his greatness as a commander, was the smallness of the number of men that he ever lost, either by the sword or by wear and tear. No general ever was so careful of his soldiers' lives."—Froude's *Cæsar*, p. 241.

the superior numbers a greater advantage than they now possess; yet we find on every page of history evidence that skillful tactics and good discipline have proved themselves a better reliance than numbers.

It is certainly impossible that under the European system of general levies each individual soldier can be brought to the highest possible state of efficiency; or that regiments or battalions, with their men serving but two, three, or—as in the case of the English—five years, and then passing into the reserve, can possess that confidence in one another and *esprit de corps* that is of greater value than almost anything else in the hour of battle. The mere cost of the ammunition required to make a marksman of every individual in a *landsturm* would be enormous, and it is evident that marksmanship as well as athletic and tactical drill must be to some extent sacrificed to the attempt to put every available man in the field at short notice. Here we see how the opposing systems come into direct conflict. The German theory is to make every man physically able to bear arms a soldier. This can only be accomplished at a certain sacrifice of efficiency, and a useless one, if the lessons of those great conquests, which have several times changed the face of the world and the course of civilization, is not belied. Then, again, it is obvious that no country could stand the strain, financial and industrial, of the withdrawal of its entire arms-bearing population from productive labor for a great space of time. The theory which seems to have been thoughtlessly taken up, that future wars are to be quickly decided by these suddenly mobilized multitudes, as in the case of the German invasions of Austria and France, does not rest upon secure foundations. No nation, however great, need expect to maintain armies that cannot be outnumbered by a coalition, as Napoleon was at last and as Germany may yet be.

The interests of humanity require that there should be some protest against the present policy of general armaments. In case of war the use of these enormous forces entails a vast destruction of human life, while the cost of their maintenance is a crushing drain upon the resources of the most prosperous nation. A few thoughtful soldiers think the costliness and inhumanity of this system may hasten the invention of some alternative less dreadful than the general decimation of the arms-bearing population, which

would seem to be the inevitable result of a general and protracted European war during the present period. This idea was recently foreshadowed in a remarkable narrative entitled "The New Ordeal," published in Blackwood, and which represented the thirst for each other's blood that possesses nations as well as individuals as being satisfied by a combat of a small corps of champions on behalf of each of the disputing powers, carried out under the supervision of an international commission of neutral States.

The great powers of Europe may think it necessary to keep up such burdensome establishments, terrible as is the strain upon their resources; but there can be no doubt that the *landwehr* system is not suited to our environment. We cannot—until a revolution occurs in ocean transportation—be invaded and overrun by a suddenly mobilized multitude, as were Austria and France. There is no neighbor we are likely to invade where a small but highly disciplined army, strengthened if necessary by volunteers, would not be the most effective. What we need, therefore, is not to foster an extensive and costly militia system at the expense of the permanent army establishment, but to expend all that we may decide to allot to the military budget in making the Regular Army, whatever its size, as perfect as possible in morale, discipline, and organization. Our politicians are complaining of the burdensomeness of an army expenditure of \$29,000,000 yearly. Why can they not be made to understand that the way to reduce this expense without inflicting injury on the State is neither to discharge officers who have rendered faithful service and to whom the loss of their commission would be an undeserved hardship, nor to cut down pay and allowances which are already scanty, but to first increase the efficiency of the companies and battalions, after which it will be possible to save expense by stopping recruiting and retiring supernumerary officers?

Admitting that the first requisite for a superior army is good material, and that to secure the highest morale it is necessary that the soldier should have every incentive to ambition, it follows that, in order to get the best class of recruits, all the rewards of the profession must be thrown open to the enlisted man. This does not involve any material change in the Military Academy, except as to the mode of appointing cadets, all of whom should be selected from the army and from among those soldiers of a proper age who shall

have served not less than two years with their companies. The cadets should be chosen as nearly as possible in equal numbers from the various regiments, should be bona fide soldiers—not clerks or “general service men”—and the recommendations of the company commanders, called for from headquarters, should be only preliminary to a competitive examination, in which, however, good service marks ought to be considered. I believe such a scheme as this has never been formally proposed in Congress, except when it was offered last winter by the senior Senator from Pennsylvania.* That so obvious a reform should not have been noticed, either by the numerous officers whose views upon the subject of army reorganization have been given officially for the information of Congress, or by the joint committee on reorganization, whose labors last summer proved so abortive, is probably due to the settled conviction that Representatives will not consent to surrender their patronage in the nomination of cadets. Of course, it must be admitted that the new system is based upon the assumption that the enlistment of a sufficient number of well-educated young men will be stimulated by the enactment of a law requiring all appointments to the Military Academy to be made from the army. That, with the general diffusion of education, which is the distinctive feature of our society, there should not be among the enlisted men of the army a class fit to be sent to West Point, would, if true, be the strongest evidence that some measure is needed to raise the standard of recruits. Those who advocate this reform must not be misunderstood as implying that the academy is now turning out an inferior class of officers. But that the graduates of West Point are, as a class, so meritorious, must be placed to the credit of the high character of instruction and discipline which is maintained at our military school, and in part to the natural aptitude of our race for the military profession, instead of to any commendable feature in the present system of selection by political favor. The mode of appointment now pursued gives us a corps of cadets who possess precisely the average capacity of our fairly educated youth for the soldier's profession. Surely something better than mediocrity of talent, or average fitness for a military career, should be sought in those who are to be favored with an elaborate education at the

* Amendment to the Army Appropriation Bill proposed by Senator Wallace, February 15th, 1879.

public expense, and some of whom are in due course to rise to the command of our army. A veteran soldier once wrote: †

“Practice and study may make a good general, as far as the handling of troops and the designing of a campaign, but that ascendancy of spirit which leads the wise and controls the insolence of folly is a rare gift of nature.”

One of the vital faults of the system of political appointments by which our army is officered—a fault which the competitive examination plan does not obviate—is that it affords no means of getting at those moral qualities which are of the highest importance in the soldier, and of surpassing value in those who are to command soldiers. Courage, fortitude, endurance, will-power—all the faculties which are most needed in time of service—may or may not be found in the cadet as now chosen. But after one or two campaigns the captain will know which of his company have the right sort of stamina for a military career, and the nomination of the immediate commander will be of inestimably more value, in a military sense, than graduating with honor from any school whatever. A controlling reason why the present system of obtaining officers for our army should be abandoned is that it is not consistent with the genius of our institutions: we have no aristocracy and are supposed to have perfect equality of rights and privileges. The aristocratic feature of our army is the chief cause of the popular prejudice against it, and therefore of its principal dangers at the hands of the Legislature. The lamented Colonel C. C. Chesney wrote, that “Decisive success has in all ages followed the combinations of great commanders; and victory in the long run has seldom failed to pay homage to science.” No nation can hope to always have a great commander at the head of its armies, but the chances of having a competent one will be vastly improved by enlarging the area of selection for officers by throwing open the cadetships to be competed for by the whole army. Each officer will then be the product of a competition in actual service between tens and perhaps hundreds of soldiers actuated by an ambition which is now wholly absent from our army and which cannot fail to immeasurably improve its morale. That the most intelligent government cannot expect to always have a great commander at the head

† Major-General Sir W. F. P. Napier, K. C. B. “History of the War in the Peninsula.”

of its army is because real genius is as rare among soldiers as elsewhere, and because there is no means of discerning it in time of peace; but there is no excuse for giving the general, when war comes, an army of inferior material, badly organized and disciplined. History teaches clearly how the maximum of effectiveness can only be obtained, and it is this science of organization which it is the duty of the statesman to understand, and to neglect which is not only to waste the money expended on the military establishment but to criminally invite the greatest disasters which can befall a nation. The Duc de Fezensac, in his interesting *Recollections of the Grand Army*,* recounts how, when he joined his regiment in the camp at Boulogne as a private soldier, his father's friend, Colonel Lacuée, said :

“If I consulted only my attachment to you and your family, I would make you my secretary and keep you personally about me. But for the sake of your own career, you must learn to know those whom you will one day command; and the way to do that is to live among them. By doing this you will learn to know their virtues; *otherwise you will only know their vices.*”

Sound ideas for a Republican army, even if uttered by a nobleman to a scion of an hereditary nobility! How much the sounder to Americans, whose ideas of human equality are rather taken from the Puritans of the English Commonwealth than from the aristocratic powers whose military systems we have servilely copied. We cannot find a better model to form on than that Army of the Commonwealth, which, as Macaulay has told us, was well paid, and in which the soldier had a chance of promotion; nor can we find a better maxim than the words of Cromwell to Hampden: “A few honest men are better than numbers.” And if we reform and reorganize our army upon such a model, it may happen that some future historian will be able to record of it, as Forster † does of that organized by Oliver, that “They never were beaten.”

I. N. BURRITT,

Late Captain Pennsylvania Volunteers.

* “*Souvenirs Militaires de 1804 à 1814.*” Par M. le Duc de Fezensac, Général de Division.

† “*Lives of the Statesmen of the Commonwealth.*” By John Forster.

SUMMER MUSINGS.

(From the German.)

OH! wend thy way to sylvan shades,
 To verdant hedge and dark-hued oak ;
 For there love's fondest dreams take shape
 And Cupid dare his spells invoke.
 To greenwood where the bursting buds
 Thy heart inspire with hope anew—
 The silent forest knows thy thoughts,
 And speaks their voiceless language, too.

For there, in whispers soft and low,
 On gentle zephyrs brought to thee,
 A longed-for message greets thine ear,
 With names born of love's fantasy ;
 And forms that in the outer world
 In sullen silence pass thee by,
 The sacred groves now dedicate
 To thee, in solemn minstrelsy.

Can earth afford thee greater joy
 Than lonely walk through sylvan shade ?
 Can heaven send more blissful dream
 Than resting there with lovely maid ?
 And when the post-horn's sunny note
 Sends greeting through the coppice green,
 The forest, ringing with the sound,
 Bids thee once more taste joy serene.

S. A. S.

THE LANGUAGE OF ANIMALS.

IN these Darwinian days, the study of animals, of their mental and moral characteristics, has acquired an interest which it had not for our ancestors. The mere suggestion of our relationship has made such studies assume, in a measure, the air of a genealogical investigation. There is no doubt that the comparative anatomists have demonstrated our physical alliance with the

animals, and that, with modifications, all the varieties of vertebrates have arisen from the same central idea. That the hoof of the horse should by infinite gradations be connected with the complex mechanism of the human hand, appears impossible to any one who has not followed the steps by which the connection has been traced.

Has our complex speech arisen in the same way? The philologists oppose the opinion that it has. Max Müller speaks thus of what he calls the *Bow-wow* theory, and the *Pooh-pooh* theory, by which the origin of language was sought to be explained. "According to the first, roots are the imitations of sounds; according to the second, they are involuntary interjections. The first theory was very popular among the philosophers of the eighteenth century, and as it is still held by many distinguished scholars and philosophers, we must examine it more carefully. It is supposed, then, that man, being as yet mute, heard the voices of birds and dogs and cows, the thunder of the clouds, the roaring of the sea, the rustling of the forest, the murmurs of the brook and the whisper of the breeze. He tried to imitate these sounds, and finding his mimicking cries useful as signs of the objects from which they proceeded, he followed up the idea and elaborated language. This view was most ably defended by Herder."* The interjectional theory claimed that we could not suppose man to have been mute, while all other animals made sounds, since he, as well as they, has the organs for expressing his emotions, and from the cries, groans, interjections and other sounds which he made, it was argued that language slowly arose.

Müller's answer to these theories is this: "If the constituent elements of human speech were either mere cries, or the mimicking of the cries of nature, it would be difficult to understand why brutes should be without a language. There is not only the parrot, but the mocking bird and others, which can imitate most successfully both articulate and inarticulate sounds; and there is hardly an animal without the faculty of uttering interjections, such as huff, hiss, baa, etc. It is clear also that if what puts a perfect distinction betwixt man and brutes is the having of general ideas, language which arises from interjections and from the imitation of

* It is but just to mention that Herder afterwards abandoned it and accepted the theory of the divine origin of language.

the cries of animals could not claim to be the outward sign of that distinctive faculty of man. All words, in the beginning at least (and this is the only point which interests us), would have been the signs of individual impressions and individual perceptions, and would only gradually have been adapted to the expression of general ideas. The theory which is suggested to us by an analysis of language carried out according to the principles of comparative philology, is the very opposite. We arrive in the end at roots, and every one of these expresses a general, not an individual idea. Every name, if we analyze it, contains a predicate by which the object to which the name applies was known."

The modification which the study of language has undergone in modern times by the introduction of a scientific method is shown so perfectly here, that it will not be amiss to notice some of the wonderful results arrived at by the professors of the old methods in their researches. Dr. Murray claimed to have reduced all language to the following nine roots: ag, bag, duag, cuag, lag, mag, nag, rag, suag. Why he did not go a step further, and reduce it to the single root ag, is one of the inscrutable mysteries which can never be brought from the domain of the unknowable. The glory of this *tour de force* was, however, actually gained by a Dr. Schmidt, a learned German, who derived all Greek words from the root *e*, and all Latin words from *hi*. When, so recently, men of more than ordinary intelligence, and quite competent to conduct themselves creditably in the ordinary affairs of daily life, have performed such fantastic tricks, we can the more easily comprehend the dreams of the middle ages concerning the philosopher's stone or the elixir of life, and sympathize with the students of the thousand subtleties of scholastic speculation, in the mazes of which many of the wisest men of that time wasted their energies. Thus, in some measure, we can realize the privilege we enjoy in living in a time when a method for the rejection of all unverifiable hypotheses has been discovered for philosophy.

One of the results obtained by our modern methods of studying the phenomena of nature is seen in the rapidly growing conviction that the hypothesis of instinct, as a mysterious quality, differing wholly in character and function from reason, is inadequate to explain the evidences of mind which animals display. The difference which lies between them and ourselves, is one of degree rather

than of kind. They display the germs of all our emotions ; they reason as we do ; they learn from experience ; they analyze and compare ; they communicate with each other ; but they do not seem to have such a power of synthesis as enables them to arrive at general conclusions. That animals love and hate, no one who has ever observed them, even slightly, can doubt. Every raiser of poultry knows the love the hen bears to her chickens, and has seen evidences that certain hens will distinguish their own progeny from other chickens, and will drive these last away from their own. A poultry yard is a most interesting place for the study of animal characteristics. Hens differ as much in their idiosyncracies as human beings do. Individuals among them have the maternal sentiment so largely developed that they will receive any chicken which wants protection, while others, like most human mothers, seem to consider that their own brood constitutes the whole poultry world. It is difficult to say how large an idea of number a hen can grasp. She can certainly distinguish as many as four or five. Some of the native Australians are, it is said, incapable of counting more than five. Whether a hen distinguishes this number of her brood by their number, or by their individual peculiarities, it is difficult to say. Certain it is that when her brood reaches a dozen or more, she is by no means as likely to peck away intruders into her domestic circle. Some hens appear to have an antipathy to chickens of a certain color, and will not receive them at times, even though hatched in their brood.

The chick when hatched does not know how to eat, and has to be taught by the hen. This she does by going through the motions of pecking, while making at the same time her clucking noise. This sound excites the chicken to eat. A person who can imitate the cluck, can easily find by experiment, that in this way the chick is excited to using its organs. The brain of a fowl seems to be organized to respond to certain sounds, as bodies vibrate responsively to certain notes. The first time that chickens hear the low growl which their mother gives as a warning of danger, they cease all motion and chirping, and remain perfectly still. A repetition of this note with another in a different key, will lead them to scamper away and conceal themselves under any object near at hand, and this they will do nearly as promptly when they hear the warning for the first time in their lives as when they hear it for the hun-

dredth. Then, again, there are other sounds of which they learn the meaning. A young cock brought up in a flock in which there is no old rooster, will not know how to call the hens gallantly when he finds some choice morsel, but will speedily learn to do so when a more experienced rooster, who has this habit, is introduced into the family. In every flock of fowls a certain general stock of experience, arising from the individual constitutions of its members may be observed. They learn the times when they are fed, the sounds by which they are called, or to distinguish any premonitory signs of the preparation of their food, such as chopping of meat, and will gather about the door of their yard, or their place for feeding, and will do this frequently when the chopping, for example, is made at unusual times and for quite other purposes than feeding them. In peculiar circumstances, individual cases may at times be noticed where unforeseen and unusual conditions seem to stimulate them to the display of an intelligence which appears startling. The following instance is authentic: a young chicken which had been left motherless, was rejected by the other hens of the flock with chickens. During the day he got on well enough by himself, but at the approach of night, the absolute necessity of securing a position under some hen excited him. Having tried two or three times to smuggle himself under such, and being in each case driven away, he stopped at a short distance and appeared to consult seriously with himself concerning the situation. It was getting necessary to do something, and so, nerving himself for the attempt, he made a bold plunge and ran so quickly under the hen, that though she pecked him in his passage, yet he secured a position under her for the night. When once he was under her she could not distinguish him from the rest of her brood. Of this he seemed fully aware, and for a fortnight or so he every evening repeated this operation, waiting until it was dark enough to assure him that the hen had settled down for the night. Such precocity of intelligence is daily repeated in the thousands of poor, homeless children with which our cities swarm. Under the stimulus of an inexorable necessity, they develop, even at the earliest years, a shrewdness of adaptation to circumstances which is surprising.

In the development of their moral and social qualities, a family of well cared-for chickens, amply provided with the proper conditions, affords a most suggestive lesson. The selfish instinct for

self-preservation is at first their chief emotion, and the youngest of them, finding in its food some choice morsel, seizes it and runs away with it so that he can enjoy it all alone. A constant supply, however, of sufficient food for them all, leads to weakening the manifestation of this feeling, and finally the cocks practice a loyal gallantry towards their mates which amounts almost to self-abnegation. One of the most charming evidences of this, which is also very interesting as showing that fowls most certainly have the ability to communicate with each other, concerning their desires and emotions, is seen in the excited and sympathetic interest with which the cocks search for a convenient nest for the hens which desire to lay. The busy activity a chanticleer will display under such circumstances, the officious zeal with which he will himself get into the nest he has found, and by voice and motion assure his mate that the place is most admirably adapted for the purpose for which she desires to use it, is equalled only by the plainly expressed contempt she frequently manifests for his knowledge in such purely feminine necessities. She will get into it, scratch it to pieces, and leave it, saying as plainly as it can be said, "Oh! you males are incapable of comprehending our needs. It is astonishing how you swagger about your knowledge, while all the time you are displaying your incompetence."

In their social relations many animals offer us examples worthy of imitation. The bees, the beavers, the ants, and others seem to construct a social polity, based upon industry, and to have adopted the differentiation of labor by the operation of the same necessity which has led to its introduction in human society. Whether the precision they display is conscious or not, it would perhaps be injudicious to decide until they had been consulted upon this point. It is hardly just or logical to make our ignorance of their motives the basis of our assertions concerning them. Bees, it is said, carried from a temperate climate to the tropics, abandon the habit of storing up honey when they have found by experience that the blooming of flowers during the whole year renders it unnecessary.

The truth is, undoubtedly, that the correspondence of function to structure is imperative throughout all nature, and the differences in the different kingdoms is one of degree rather than of kind. From the lowest forms of life up to man himself, increasing activity accompanies the greater complexity of organization, and we are

not divided from the rest of nature by being cursed with a peculiar necessity of gaining our livelihood by the exercise of our powers, but we share it with all living things. That for us preëminently the necessity exists for the conscious creation of the conditions for the exercise of our powers is not a further disability, but a greater privilege ; and when, through ignorance, we fail to provide the conditions, the suffering thus caused should teach us that the blame is our own.

While there is no doubt that animals partake with us of our intellectual nature, as well as of our physical organization, it is no less true that they have equally the germs of sympathetic tendencies which have produced our social development. They are gregarious, and they organize immense orderly migrations. Besides this they have also their antipathies and disputes. Naturalists have frequently described the sanguinary and determined wars urged between different species of ants, rats or other animals. It would be most interesting if we could get at a clear comprehension of the origin and causes of these wars. We could compare them with the causes of human wars, and most probably we would find them quite as competent to justify their slaughter as the record of our own. Most certain it is, that the motives for an ant or rat battle could not be more frivolous or absurd than those which have originated the enormous majority of the wars by which the human race has principally illustrated its career upon this planet. While it is equally certain, if we can rely upon the description given by the witnesses of these contests, that as brilliant feats of personal bravery and devoted, desperate courage have been performed upon an ant-hill, or in a rat hole, as ever illustrated the most desperate human battle.

Nor is this the only evidence which animals can put forward to vindicate their claim to the possession of a certain amount of progressive social organization. Naturalists have discovered that some species of ants have instituted systems of slavery, and capture other insects which they keep in bondage. In the development of human society such a step is considered the first towards civilization, since it is at least in advance of the indiscriminate slaughter, mingled perhaps with cannibalism, which had previously prevailed.

The remorseless cruelty with which animals generally attack one of their number who is sick or disabled is often brought for-

ward to show that brutes have not even the germs of the social or moral qualities, by the progressive growth of which human society has passed through its various phases. But this conclusion is unwarranted. Such cruelty is simply an exaggerated result of the law of the survival of the fittest, and man himself is as inexorably subject to the working of this law as any of the lower animals, until by the knowledge he has gained by experience, he comes to be conscious of his ability to create for himself the favorable conditions of social order. That this period has not yet been universally reached by the human populations of the world, is evident from the numerous nations of barbarians which still exist, and also by the pauperism in every civilized community. Among the Esquimaux it is the common practice to leave those who are disabled by age to starve to death; while other tribes still in the world consider it the last duty of filial piety to kill one's parents when they have grown helpless from age. Among the natives of Fiji this is a common practice, and is explained by some travellers to arise from their belief that the soul after death continues in the next world in the same condition it was on leaving this, and that therefore it is cruel to allow it to pass away enfeebled and infirm, and so from sheer kindness, the children strangle their parents when it is supposed that they have lived their full time on earth. Catlin ascribes to our North American Indians the custom of abandoning their parents when they become infirm and old. Among the Mamaqua Hottentots this custom also prevails. The victim is surrounded with a fence, furnished with a little food, water and fire, and then left to perish. Travellers through the country frequently meet these enclosures, surrounding a pile of ashes and a few whitened bones. Among the Lacedemonians, as a policy for the best interest of the state, the feeble and deformed children were killed. Here the survival of the fittest was consciously made the rule of public action. Such a proceeding appears to us so abhorrent to every natural emotion that, if it was not for the testimony of history, we would be prompted to believe that it was impossible for human beings to have ever acted so contrary to the dictates of nature. But the question is, What are the dictates of nature? Those which prevail now among the civilized races are the results of innumerable generations, each one of which has contributed its quota to the final result. The slow process by which, in the moral

world, the law of the survival of the fittest vindicates itself, has developed the present races of civilized men from wandering tribes, whose members, archæology seems now to have proved, were originally all cannibals. Among the Lacedæmonians the interests of the state were considered of paramount importance, and the social relations of its members were so organized as to make the sacrifice of private emotions for the public benefit so ordinary an occurrence as to become natural.

A most singular instance of the transition period, from the cruelty of barbarism to the social sympathy of civilization, was recently afforded by the Japanese during the fire which burnt so large a portion of Yokohama. It was the more interesting, too, from the fact that the Japanese are themselves now passing through this transitional phase. While the fire was raging, the armed officers of justice slaughtered without hesitation the sick and maimed who were exposed to the danger of becoming its victims without the power to escape; and when the fire was over, the government opened freely its storehouses of provisions for the aid of those who had lost their all in the conflagration.

In comparing the evidences of the social and moral characteristics of animals with those displayed by human beings, it is manifestly illogical to consider only the worst cases of the first with the best specimens of the last; but the fitter course is to take the best evidences which animals have shown of these feelings and compare them with the sentiments displayed by the lowest specimens of mankind. By this method of procedure it will appear that the partitions which divide us are very thin, while the distance between us may be almost immeasurable.

The following incident is reported from the writer's personal observation. In the park of one of our eastern cities, a man accompanied by a friend entered the gate; turning round, soon after his entrance, he saw that his dog was following him, and giving him an order, "Go home, sir," he passed on. The dog stopped in the very spot where he was when the order was given him. He had come running in, full of a delighted expectation of a walk, his tail erect, and his whole bearing full of eager expectation. Hearing the command, his whole appearance altered. His tail fell down, and an air of disappointment and dejection was as plainly as possible expressed in his whole attitude. He remained standing

still fully a couple of minutes, evidently debating whether to obey or disobey. As he thought the matter over, he turned his head slowly from one side to the other, now looking after his master, and now in the direction of his home. That he was eagerly anxious to continue the walk could be plainly seen in the longing eyes with which he gazed after his master. By some means or other, however, the motive to obey had been so strengthened in his mind, that it restrained him. Between the opposing action of these two forces, his will continued wavering, while his body remained stationary, only the turning of his head indicating the varying fortune of the mental struggle. Finally, however, obedience carried the day, and, with a sort of sigh of relief that he had come to a decision, he turned toward home and trotted off. Not, however, with the eager promptness he had displayed in rushing upon the scene, but slowly, with his tail between his legs, and the hang-dog air which is so characteristic, even among his human compeers, of a duty performed upon compulsion. In this instance there was offered evidence which placed it beyond dispute that the germs of a moral self-restraint were possessed by this dog; and every one who has had any intimate acquaintance with animals, particularly with domestic pets, must have seen numerous instances proving the same thing. It does not alter the case to say that his master had whipped him for previous instances of disobedience, and that thus he had been taught to mind, so that in this case it was only the remembrance of a whipping which led him to obey. He certainly restrained himself, and this is all that the best of us do. While with the education of children it can hardly be said that the use of the rod, as a means for creating motives of self-restraint, has even yet become entirely obsolete, to be sure it is quite generally an accepted opinion, that this method of creating the desired motives in a child is a low and degrading one, both to the child and to the person who uses it; while the success which attends the use of purely moral suasion, where such means are used by thoroughly competent persons, who have sufficient intelligence to comprehend a child's emotions, and sufficient ingenuity to excite its motives to action by their use, seems to justify the belief that in other cases the necessity for the use of the rod is a proof of the incapacity of him who uses it, and of nothing else.

Possibly, too, the case may be the same with animals. We are

forced to use violence from our ignorance of their mental constitution, and from our consequent inability to excite their motives by skillful appeals to their emotions. The exhibitions of horse taming by Mr. Rarey, which were so well attended a few years ago, were an evidence of this. He seemed to understand a horse's way of looking at things, and appealed to quite other emotions than those of bodily pain. The same course seems to be followed by some of the most successful tamers of wild animals. With most of the "happy families," which are now so generally found in museums, the rod and plentiful feeding are the means relied upon to suppress the exhibition of their instinct to prey upon each other.

The probability is that with animals, as with men, the emotional forces, in their action, resemble somewhat the conduct of all forces originating from a centre, and that the mechanical law of mental action may be also that of the inverse ratio of the square of the distance. Hence the difficulty of overcoming the emotion excited by an immediate temptation by another excited by a fear of future consequences. The gold that tempts the thief is close at hand, while the prison, the fear of which we depend upon to restrain him, is at a great distance. The difficulty, therefore, is in exciting the restraining motives so strongly that, when the temptation arises, they shall be strong enough to more than compensate for the mechanical disadvantage at which they act. That this result was obtained in the case of our dog, shows that he had the germs of a possible moral culture, though it may have been limited from the narrow range of restraining motives upon the use of which we would have to rely.

If animals, then, possess moral and social qualities allied with our own, with modifications analogous to those which exist in their physical structure; if they have emotions and a capacity of expressing them in a manner to be understood by each other, why have they not a language? Max Müller speaks of the "faculty of speech which is the distinctive character of mankind, unattained and unattainable by the mute creation." And again: "Speech is a specific faculty of man. It distinguishes man from all other creatures; and if we wish to acquire more definite ideas as to the real nature of human speech, all we can do is to compare man with those animals that seem to come nearest to him, and thus to try to discover what he shares in common with these animals, and what is peculiar

to him and to him alone." "No one can doubt that certain animals possess all the physical requirements for articulate speech. There is no letter of the alphabet which a parrot will not learn to pronounce. The fact, therefore, that the parrot is without a language of his own, must be explained by a difference between the *mental*, and not between the *physical*, faculties of the animal and man."

Mr. Müller here seems to forget that the fact that the parrot does not speak our language is not conclusive that he does not speak his own. Travellers describe the chattering of parrots in their native countries, when in company of their peers, as incessant. There they have an opportunity to express their emotions to sympathetic hearers who can comprehend them. A parrot in a foreign country may be taught to speak the language of that country without understanding it, just as Milton taught his daughters to read aloud to him in languages which they did not understand. Should a foreigner, therefore, hearing them thus repeat a language they did not understand, and being himself ignorant of their own, be justified in supposing that they had no language?

It must not be supposed that it is intended here to maintain that animals have their language or languages. The only purpose of this writing is to present the testimony for and against, and by the evidence, as it may appear, perform the function of the judge, who criticizes the testimony given upon the matter in dispute and leaves it with the jury to decide concerning the facts. As Sydney Smith says: "I confess I feel so much at ease about the superiority of mankind—I have such a marked and decided contempt for the understanding of every baboon I have ever seen—I feel so sure that the blue ape without a tail will never rival us in poetry, painting, and music, that I see no reason whatever that justice may not be done to the few fragments of soul and tatters of understanding which they may really possess."

To be sure, the desire to do justice is rather impeded than aided by a feeling of contempt for the understanding of even a baboon; and the blue ape without a tail has the same right to the same enjoyment of all his faculties, and to be treated with respectful consideration, as the reverend wit himself had. There is no fear that either of them, if treated with justice, will receive either more or less respect than they are justly entitled to. The

sun shines as equally for the just as for the unjust, and the best evidence that the human being can give of the superiority of his mental constitution is by cultivating the spirit which leads him to have a contempt for nothing in nature, but a wide-spread sympathy with all its phenomena, of which we ourselves are but a part. In philosophy, as in social life, this is the true wisdom, and the fear that we can retain our position only by unjustly denying the rights of others is puerile, and unworthy the position which we claim for ourselves.

Humboldt says: "Man is man, only by speech: and to have found speech, he must have been man." Locke, in his *Essay on Human Understanding*, speaking of how we arrive at universal ideas, from the comparison of numerous impressions, says: "If it may be doubted whether beasts compound and enlarge their ideas that way to any degree: this I think I may be positive in, that the power of abstracting is not at all in them: and that the having of general ideas is that which puts a perfect distinction betwixt man and brutes, and is an excellency which the faculties of brutes do by no means attain to." Huxley says: "Believing, as I do, with Cuvier, that the possession of articulate speech is the grand distinctive character of man (whether it be absolutely peculiar to him or not), I find it very easy to comprehend that some equally inconspicuous structural difference may have been the primary cause of the immeasurable and practically infinite divergence of the Human from the Simian stirps." And again: "Our reverence for the nobility of manhood will not be lessened by the knowledge that man is, in substance and in structure, one with the brutes; for he alone possesses the marvellous endowment of intelligible and rational speech, whereby, in the secular period of his existence, he has slowly accumulated and organized the experience which is almost wholly lost with the cessation of every individual life in other animals: so that now he stands raised upon it as on a mountain top, far above the level of his humble fellows, and transfigured from his grosser nature by reflecting, here and there, a ray from the infinite source of truth."

So far, the testimony of the witnesses practically agrees upon the opinion that animals have no language. Yet we know that they do communicate their emotions to each other.

One of the most noticeable features of modern scholarship is

the intelligent use it has made of the traditional element. This is especially seen in the modern methods of historical research. From the folk lore, the popular traditions which were formerly held to be nothing but old women's tales, and wholly unreliable as historical evidence, the modern historical method has obtained suggestions of the highest value; while the fables of mythology, which formerly seemed inexplicable, except as indications of the unrestrained imagination of their makers, have been found to be of the highest importance as displaying the manner in which the evolution of the human intelligence proceeds, and have been made the foundation of comparative mythology, which, although as yet immature, gives the fairest promise of being one of the most valuable, if not the most reliable, of the aids which the modern methods of thought have furnished to mankind for the solution of the problem of human destiny. Of what significance, then, is the tradition (which has found expression in the early literature of so many nations), that the language of animals was formerly understood by man.

We can readily conceive that the emotions of animals and men must have been much more nearly allied when their methods of living were so much nearer the same, as they must have been, say during the period when Europe contained no higher specimens of human beings than those who inhabited the caves, sharing their lodgings with the wild animals, most probably often joining them in the pursuit of their prey, and unquestionably frequently contending with them for it, and then eating it raw. It is difficult for us to fully realize how purely animal must have been the lives of the human beings who lived as there can be no doubt the cave-dwellers of Europe lived. Some idea of it can be obtained from the accounts of the Bushmen, or others of the lowest savages still in existence. Their language sounds to a civilized man like a mere series of grunts, in which the intonation has much to do with the meaning. The circle of their ideas must be limited by the simplest physical wants, and they have but little or nothing to express which an animal has not. Supposing that among a people living in such a condition cases should arise of persons who inherited a marked natural facility for comprehending the actions of animals and sympathizing with their wants, their emotions and desires. In our own day we see numerous instances of this kind,

and the stories told of hunters' skill in woodcraft, of the fearless confidence they can inspire in animals, sometimes appear incredible. Such instances might very readily give rise in early times to the tradition that such persons understood the language of animals, and could converse with them. It would seem impossible to convey the idea to a canary bird, with such distinctness that he will act upon it, that he must fall down and simulate death when another bird pulls a string and fires off a pistol; that then he must stiffen himself while others roll him into a little wagon and cart him off; and yet the bird fanciers do this and much more.

But there is further testimony. A French writer, Mr. Pierquin de Gembloux, has written a book* upon the idioms used by animals, in which he treats the subject, according to his title, historically, anatomically, physiologically, philologically and glossologically. The same author has written two volumes upon the craziness of animals, and other works upon similarly intricate subjects. Mr. Pierquin is a believer in the divine origin of language, and supposes that in the Garden of Eden the primitive idiom was taught by the direct agency of Deity to both animals and man. He quotes from the Bible to prove that animals had and have the gift of speech. The serpent by his eloquence seduced Eve; he must therefore have spoken a language which was intelligible to her. The Deity also, we are told, made an agreement with the wild as well as the domesticated animals, while in the Jewish law, which was divinely given, animals were treated like men. "At what epoch, then," he continues, "did the differences of idioms become an insurmountable barrier of separation, not only between human families, but also between them and zoölogical families?" "When did it please God to divide into mutually unintelligible tongues, the primitive languages?" "When occurred the "calamitous philological cataclysm which separated humanity into inimical hordes without fraternal relations, and in which men alone were involved—as though the Eternal had wished to console the animals who had perished in a previous cataclysm, from which men alone had escaped, as is attested by the Bible and geology?"—"Thus I am not far from supposing that the primitive language,

* *Idiomologie des Animaux, ou Recherches Historiques Anatomiques, Physiologiques, Philologiques et Glossologiques, sur la Langue des Bêtes.* Par Pierquin de Gembloux. Paris, a la tour de Babel, Quai Voltaire 13, 1844, 8vo. Pp. 156.

gradually perfected by man until the phonetic disaster of Babel, was intelligible for all beings endowed with intelligence and with vocal apparatus (in complete harmony of relation with the needs of this intelligence), up to the moment when God rendered the language of men so multifarious that they were not able to understand each other. Since that day they have not ceased to dispute without agreeing, and the beasts even no longer comprehend each other." "The Primitive language," Mr. Pierquin continues, "must have consisted at first of monosyllables, or at most of trisyllables," and was constantly modified by man, while "all the other links of the zoölogical chain (*anneaux de l'échelle zoologique*), remaining strangers to the great phonetic cataclysm, have preserved their primitive and simple idiom intact." This progress on the one hand and conservatism on the other, are among the inevitable accidents "which successively multiply the insurmountable difficulties we meet to-day whenever we try to put ourselves in intellectual communication with animals by means of speech alone," and this is one of the punishments for original sin.

In considering the subject anatomically and physiologically, the author remarks, "that in general all that constitutes, I will not say the physiology of the voice, but the physiology of language, remains to be known." Then, after showing that "the mammiferae, birds, etc., possess in reality vocal apparatus, anatomically and physiologically resembling, more or less perfectly, that of man, but constantly in connection with the extent of individual intelligence," he continues thus: "Can any one persuade himself, now, that wise and foreseeing nature has endowed animals with the useless and derisory luxury of a complete apparatus of phonition, while depriving them of phonition itself—that is to say, of the natural and necessary functions of this very apparatus? No, certainly, for nature makes nothing absolutely useless, and as a general rule there is no organic apparatus without functions, and no functions without special organic apparatus; but the inevitable function, single and necessary, of the vocal apparatus being speech, all animals having a vocal apparatus are incontestably endowed with speech, for the existence of organs naturally involves that of their functions."

This natural language, which is common to both men and animals, he makes consist, first in modulations of the voice; second

in gestures; and third in the features and expression. The first of these modes of expression, as it is the phonetic language of the emotions, is natural to all animals who have a vocal apparatus in harmony with their moral needs, and is probably the same in both men and animals. Animals, we see, use it, and men would probably do so if they were entirely free from association, and dependent simply upon instinct which directs and produces these sounds. "For," says Mr. Pierquin, "instinct is, if I may express myself thus, the speech of the organs, very different, I hope, from the speech of the thoughts. This is the whole mystery. In fact the name which expresses it exactly is *splanchnic* instinct, and Mr. Dujes* is perhaps the first who saw the truth. Thus the domain of instinct, in man as in the animals, extends to all the physical or material needs, but intelligence is the domain of thought."

The results which Mr. Pierquin obtains from the preceding considerations, he condenses in the following five propositions:

"1. That the existence of a vocal organ presupposes necessarily a voice and speech, when the brain exists in a normal condition."

"2. That if the extent of intelligence explains always the richness and variety of the idiom spoken, we may equally determine *a priori* the extent and quality of the voice by the simple anatomical appreciation of the phonetic organs."

"3. That the intelligence varies as much as the art of speech, not only in the same human family, but also in the same zoölogical family."

4. "That in man, as in the animals, the pathetic portion of the general idiomology being in some way genuine minologisms, it is impossible that the same sentiment should not lead to the production of the same sound, and inevitably also upon the same point of the vocal organ for all beings, and consequently perfectly alike, always excepting the necessary and numerous modifications which may be given them by the accessory organs of the phonetic apparatus of each zoölogical family."

5. "Finally, that the same influences, interior or exterior, act equally upon the vocal organ and upon its functions, as well with men as with animals."

This metaphysical consideration of the subject will of course be

**Traité de Physiologie Comparée de l'Homme et des Animaux.* Montpellier, 1838, 8vo.

taken for what it is worth. In the fourth part, however, of his work, Mr. Pierquin gives us the results of his personal investigations concerning the vocabulary and syntax of the language of animals. While, with perhaps a pardonable pride, he congratulates himself upon the results he has attained, he confesses frankly his inability to furnish the world with anything like a complete dictionary of the various dialects of the language of animals. "It is evident," he says, "that to properly perform such a test, it would be indispensably necessary to have the results of all the observations of many scholars, for no single man could ever either see everything, or collect everything, and particularly in zoological idiomology, since nothing has as yet been done in this matter. Thus, finally, to hazard nothing, we will be short upon this point; and the Mezzofanti of zoological idiomology will deserve our admiration only when the new philology shall have arrived at the point to which human philology has at present attained."

The song of the canary, he says, "resembles in a measure the idiom of the Italian peninsula, created by Dante, or some of the indigenous idioms of America;" the song of the nightingale has "some sort of family resemblance with the sonorous, full, majestic and musical syllables of Spanish," while the song of the warbler (*favvettc*) is like Portuguese, which combines the sweetness of Italian with the majesty of Spanish; the crow seems to speak German, while the swallow, or sparrow speaks English.

His following suggestions are interesting. "With animals, as with men, thought is anterior and superior to speech, just as speech is to writing." "With animals, as with the Chinese, the idioms appear to be wanting in forms, and to do without grammatical connections." The syntax of zoological speech is very simple, according to Mr. Pierquin. He says, "It is said, generally, that the foundation of all human languages are the words which designate things; and yet no one doubts that these parts of speech are completely foreign to the idiomology of animals, as any one can easily assure himself. In fact it can be conceived that animals can call each other very well without naming each other, for this occurs very often with men. Hence there results the manifest inutility of proper names, personal pronouns, etc., and we can easily understand also that they have no need for substantives to designate things. Their life and their few needs enable them to easily forego such a

luxury of words ; and the proof that it is so is found in the fact that, instead of having different names for each individual of each family, when they wish to call them, they constantly emit the same sound, with the same articulation." In the language of animals, as in those spoken by many tribes of the aboriginal Indians of America, adjectives are also a useless luxury, since this part of speech is naturally confounded with the verb. They express the superlative, however, by the energy of their speech. The article is also wanting, as is the adverb ; while by tone, accent or repetition, they represent prepositions and conjunctions. The interjection is common, and, verbified or substantived, is really the foundation of their language, which may therefore be said to consist of interjections and verbal substantives. From his personal observation of a family of striated monkeys, Mr. Pierquin gives us a lexicon or glossary of their language. Though he tells us that they have a very rich idiom, yet his collection contains only twelve expressions. In this portion of his volume, Mr. Pierquin has given us three versions of the song of the nightingale, which we reproduce here as interesting evidences of what has been accomplished in zoölogical literature. The first was made by Marco Beltini, and occurs in his *Ruben, Hilario-tragedia Satiro-pastorale*, 4to., Parme, 1614.

Tiouou, tiouou, tiouou, tiouou, tiouou,
 Zpe tiou zqua,
 Quorrrror pipi,
 Tio, tis, tis, tis, tix,
 Quoutis, quoutis, quoutis, quoutis.
 Zquó, zquó, zquó, zquó,
 Zí, zí, zí, zí, zí, zí, zí, zí,
 Quorror tiou zqua pipiqui.

The second is from Jean Mathieu Bechstein, a German naturalist, and occurs in his *Gemeinnützige Naturgeschichte Deutschlands nach allen drey Reichen*, Leipsic, 1780, 2 vols., 8vo. This rendering of the nightingale's song so delighted Nodier, the well known bibliophile, that he declared it to be a *tour de force extraordinaire*. M. René Chalons, of Brussels, who is known to all amateurs of facetious bibliography as the author of the *Catalogue of the Fortsas Collection*, and other admirable productions in which real learning is blended with a Rabelaisian humor, was so pleased with it that he published a magnificent edition of it, in one page folio, with the title *Chant du Rossignol*, Mons, chez Jevanois, 1840.

Tiouou, tiouou, tiouou, tiouou,
 Sphe tiou tokoua ;
 Kououtiou, kououtiou, kououtiou, kououtiou ;
 Tskouo, tskouo, tskouo, tskouo,
 Tsii, tsii, tsii, tsii, tsii, tsii, tsii, tsii, tsii, tsii,
 Kouorror, tiou, tskoua, pipitksouis ;
 Tso, tso, tso, tso, tso, tso, tso, tso, tso, tso, tso,
 Tsirrhading !
 Tsi si si tosi si si si si si si,
 Tsorre tsorre tsorre tsorrehi ;
 Tsatu tsatu tsatu tsatu tsatu tsatu tsatu tsatu ;
 Dlo dlo dlo dlo dlo dlo dlo dlo ;
 Kouiou, trrrrrrrrritz,
 Lu lu lu, ly ly ly li li li,
 Kouio didl li loullyli.
 Ha guour guour koui kouio !
 Kouio konoui kououi kououi koui koui koui koui
 Ghi ghi ghi ;
 Gholl gholl gholl gholl ghiâ huhudoi.
 Kouï kouï horr na dia dia dillhi !
 Hets hets hets hets hets hets hets hets
 Hets hets hets hets hets ;
 Touarrho kostchoi ;
 Kouia kouia kouia kouia kouia kouia kouia
 Kouïati ;
 Kouï kouï kouï io io io io io io kouï ;
 Lu lyle lolo didi io kouia.
 Higui guai guay guai guai guai guai guai houïor
 Tsio tsiopi.

The third is by Dupont de Nemours, and occurs in the *Souvenirs de la Marquise de Crequy*, Paris, 1840, tome VI., p. 222.

Ti-ô-ou, ti-ô-ou, ti-ô-ou,
 Spe tiou z'cou-â,
 Cou-orror pipi,
 Ti-ô, ti-ô, ti-ô, couï cio !
 Ziou-ô z'cou-ô, z'cou-ô,
 T'si, t'si, t'si,
 Curror, tiou ! z'quouâ-pipi, couï !

To those of our readers who have felt sufficient interest in the results thus obtained by the students of the Language of Animals to continue their researches, we would recommend a work by Dr. Gardiner, *Music of Nature*. In it they will find much that is suggestive, and a great many other facts obtained from observation. The author has recorded many of the sounds made by animals, in the ordinary method of musical notation, and shown that

animals are allied to men in this manner of expressing themselves, very much as they are in the expression of their emotions through speech. To be sure, the interest in such studies requires a sympathetic devotion resembling that which leads a mother to discover in her infant's inarticulate cries, the most wonderful attempts to express itself intelligently, but those who can feel this will meet the reward which nature always and everywhere accords to devotion.

EDWARD HOWLAND.

MEDICAL ASPECTS OF THE NEGRO EXODUS.

THE migration of large numbers of negroes from Mississippi and adjacent states northward, especially to Kansas, this spring, has been discussed in the public press from a great variety of standpoints, and it can scarcely be questioned that the subject merits all the attention it has received. This somewhat extraordinary movement is a matter of importance, not only to the emigrants themselves, but to the people of the states from which they come and to which they go; for it cannot but markedly disturb the labor supply and demand, and, in turn, the manifold interests that are based thereon. However, I will limit what I have to say to one phase of the subject, viz.: the question of the fatality of northern climates to the negro race.

If the frequently repeated statement, that any other than a tropical, or at any rate a warm, equable climate is disastrous to the negro, is true, it is an unpardonable crime to encourage his migration northward; if his going from Mississippi to Kansas will, in all probability, induce disease and bring on death prematurely, it matters little how flattering the prospects may be that his political and social state will be ameliorated; there can be little or no excuse for encouraging the hazardous removal. Here is a matter that should be carefully considered alike by the statesman and the philanthropist.

It is certain that the negro population of the United States came originally from a warm climate, from tropical Africa; and indeed the race is native to equatorial regions of that continent. From

this it is but reasonable to suppose that the colored man should become acclimatised far more easily in the southern than in the northern states; because a change of longitude, however great it may be, does not involve a very considerable change of climate. But the method of life of the negro in the United States is wonderfully different from that of the negro in Africa; the one is comparatively civilized, the other is the reverse. Civilized man resorts to a variety of procedures, which are outgrowths of civilization, to place himself in harmony with his surroundings; while uncivilized man makes but little intelligent effort to this end. A savage will not remain long in a place where much is required of him to make his surroundings agreeable; if the climate is severe he will not attempt to bear it long, unless plenty of food can be very easily procured, so that there is little cause for exposure. It is, undoubtedly, because the Anglo-Saxon race, and others of the temperate and colder portions of the earth, have been in the habit of resorting to expedients to enable them to bear the vicissitudes of climate that they have come to be regarded as being possessed of a peculiar power of acclimatisation, which is denied to the races that are native to regions where the climate is warm and comparatively equable all the year round. Let a man intelligently regulate his clothing, food and habits, and he can live anywhere, from the equator to the poles; with the means of civilization at hand, any person of common sense, or, in other words, of average intelligence, can bear climatic changes, however great, without incurring disease or even experiencing much discomfort. There are probably very few well-informed persons who would now venture to deny that a civilized people may readily become naturalized, or in a manner acclimatised, almost anywhere. The position of those who regard the negative of this question as true, is put as follows, by Dr. Scoresby-Jackson, in his *Medical Climatology*, a carefully prepared treatise which was published in London in 1862: "If it be not yet a demonstrable fact, it is at least a high probability that all who leave their native soil to reside in foreign climates would ultimately die out were this not prevented by the return of their offspring to spend a portion of their lives in the mother country, or through the transfusion of new blood into the veins of their descendants by intermarriage with emigrants fresh from the parent stock." Now, if this statement were true, it might properly be denied that the Anglo-Saxon people of

Great Britain are acclimatized; for they are of foreign origin. But if this race has become thoroughly adapted to the climate and condition of things generally in England, which I venture to assert it has, why can it not become so as well in Pennsylvania, or Ohio, or Kansas? Of course if the statement is true, over seven-eighths of the white population, besides the whole colored, of the United States, must be in a state of degeneracy and hastening towards inevitable extinction. This surely must be somewhat startling to the native millions of the Union, and should be a warning to foreigners to stay at home! The noted Dr. Knox declared very emphatically, that Europeans would soon die out on this continent, and there are still some who are of that belief; but, like the celebrated Frenchman, Buffon, they might by careful consideration of the subject be forced to acknowledge their error. It would be out of place for me to dwell on this interesting and important subject here; but I would venture to assert that there is at least no cause for alarm or even the slightest anxiety about it. Within a few years the studies of scientific minds have shown that, guided by the light of reason, the power of adaptation of the human system to its surrounding medium is extremely great, and that a capacity for change or tendency to variation exists throughout the organic world. After considering the subject at length, Mr. Darwin, in his *Origin of Species*, says: "I am inclined to look at adaptation to any special climate as a quality readily grafted on an innate, wide flexibility of constitution which is common to most animals." In his *Principles of Biology*, Mr. Herbert Spencer writes as follows: "Change of every order is towards equilibrium, but we have also the truth which holds throughout the organic world, that life itself is the maintenance of a moving equilibrium between the inner and outer actions—the continuous adjustment of internal relations to external relations; or the maintenance of a correspondence between the forces to which an organism is subject and the forces which it evolves." Again, "Those changes which enable a species to live under altered conditions are towards equilibrium with the altered conditions." Were the human organism totally unyielding to external forces, the life history of every one in the United States would be very short; for the seasonal changes, the changes even from day to night, are such as to call for much elasticity in the life forces of the system.

This leads me to remark that, strictly speaking, there can be nothing like absolute acclimatisation, at least in the so-called temperate latitudes; for no man can pretend to exist, to live, and act the same, regardless of meteorological changes. Man is at best but more or less completely naturalized everywhere save in some tropical countries; that is, he is in a condition in which, guided by his intelligence, he can adapt himself for the time being to his surroundings.

It is well to note that it is in moving from a cold or a temperate climate to a very warm one, and not the reverse, that sickness or actual disease is particularly apt to occur, unless great discretion is exercised in regard to food, clothing and the mode of life in general. Doubtless, much of the suffering and disease experienced, say by the English soldiers in India, arises from their refusal to change the habits and customs of their native country. Such is the opinion of many who are well qualified to express an opinion about the matter. The power of a prudent people to bear diversity of climatic conditions is well illustrated in the Jews, who are found in a flourishing condition in all parts of the civilized world. The Indians, who are probably all of one race, are scattered throughout the American continent, which indicates well how far from impossible it is for man to adapt himself to any climate.

In the *Reports of the Census of the United States* for the year ending June 1st, 1870, we have statistical data enough to enable us to form a pretty definite opinion as to whether or not the negro may move northward without experiencing disastrous consequences from the climate. The statistics as to population and mortality in each of the states may be defective, but I think they may be taken in general as relatively accurate for each state and section of the country. Now, it appears that in the United States as a whole, the death-rate of negroes was one to every seventy-two and six tenths of the population; while that of the white population was one to every seventy-nine and one-tenth; from which, of course, it seems that the death-rate of the former is considerably higher than that of the latter. This is just what might be expected to be the case, for the average social position of the colored people is low, and the same is true of their intelligence, which should be taken into account in considering the death-rate of any people. In both the North and the South it holds good that as a rule the negro is born

to toil and exposure. Without going into a discussion of the question, I may assert that, altogether, there is no reason to hold that the death-rate among the negroes of the United States is any higher than is that of the lower grade of the white population.

The death-rate of the colored people of South Carolina was one to every eighty-four and two-tenths of the population; in Louisiana, one to every fifty-two and eight-tenths; in Connecticut, one to every eighty-six and three tenths; and in Kansas, one to every fifty-five. These figures seem to indicate that the climate of Louisiana is by no means as advantageous to the colored race as is that of Connecticut or of South Carolina, or even of Kansas. Certainly, there is nothing in them to show that the more southerly the state is the better is it as an abode for the negro. I am not inclined, however, to believe that they are expressive of climatic effects alone. That they are not becomes apparent when the death-rate in other states is considered. Thus, in New York it was one to every thirty-seven and nine-tenths of the population; in Georgia, one to every seventy-five and three-tenths; in Maryland, one to every seventy and three-tenths; and in Mississippi, one to every eighty-one and four-tenths. It is impossible to trace any direct connection between the death-rate and the temperature, which is the leading element of meteorology, in each of the states. A similar statement applies to the mortality of the white race. Thus the death-rate in South Carolina was one to every one hundred and eighteen of the population; in Louisiana, one to every forty-seven and six-tenths; in Connecticut, one to every seventy-nine; in Kansas, one to every eighty-two and four-tenths; in New York, one to every sixty-three and nine-tenths; in Georgia, one to every one hundred and three-tenths; in Maryland, one to every eighty-one and three-tenths; and in Mississippi, one to every one hundred and three and one-tenth. From these figures it is evident that other causes than those attendant on geographical position are at play in determining the death-rate of both races in the several states of the Union. It is unnecessary for my present purpose to attempt to discover what these other causes are; but, doubtless they are intimately connected with the physical geography and the social state. Here I may briefly advert to a very important matter, which is very often overlooked by statisticians, namely: the difference in character of the population, due to the length of

time the place has been settled. In a recently settled state the number of very old, very young and delicate people, is very small in comparison with the number in a long settled place, for the reason that such people, as a rule, stay at home. Of course, the proportion of these is augmented in places from which there is more or less emigration, which is true of most long settled parts of the United States. For these and other reasons, it is simply ridiculous to suppose that the death-rate, say of Chicago or of the state of Kansas, is expressive of the degree of healthfulness of either; it will take many years to determine that question. For similar reasons, it is somewhat irrational to compare the death-rate of the United States with that of a long settled country like England in order to show the relative healthfulness of their climates. If the relative mortality in one of our large cities is equal to what it is in London, it does not speak well for the salubrity of the former. In general it may be said, however, that the healthfulness of a new country tends to improve after it becomes settled. Thus, in Kansas it is safe to say that the number of deaths caused directly and indirectly by malarial poison, is far greater now than it will be half a century hence, in proportion to the population.

A comparison of the death-rate of the colored with that of the white population of a state is, in some respects, a better test of its healthfulness to the former than is the comparison of it with that of other states. From the figures given above, then, it appears that in South Carolina, Kansas, New York, Georgia, Maryland and Mississippi, the mortality of the black element is greater than that of the white, and the reverse in Louisiana and Connecticut. But this test of the healthfulness of a state to either race is fallacious to a serious degree, because of the difference in relative number and social position of the two races in different parts of the Union. With a large proportion of negroes of low social position, and a small proportion of white people nearly all comfortably situated in life, which is the case in many of the Southern states, it would be unreasonable to expect the rate of mortality of the former to be as low as that of the latter. I think it may well be questioned whether or not the death-rate of a similar number of either race with fair local conditions and of like occupation and habits differs much, if at all, anywhere throughout the Union. An analysis of the census returns of 1870 made by General Walker, in a paper

read before the American Public Health Association, in 1873, shows that, as compared with the white people, the colored people are more subject to malarial than to intestinal diseases in the northern and the southern states, and the reverse in the middle group of states, and that the death-rate of the latter from consumption of the lungs is higher in the north than in the south. There can be no doubt but that certain diseases, as for instance yellow fever, are under the same circumstances more liable to occur in the one race than in the other; but, in considering the mortality from all diseases, this fact is not, I believe, of much consequence in any of the states—a falling off from one is made up for by an excess from another.

The mortality in Mississippi and Kansas, the states which are principally concerned in the so-called negro exodus, deserves our particular attention. In the census year the mortality among the colored population in Mississippi was one to every eighty-one and four-tenths, and among the white, one to every one hundred and three and one-tenth; and in Kansas, it was one to every fifty-five among the former, and one to every eighty-two and four-tenths among the latter. In Mississippi, the proportion of the negro to the white population was one to every eight-tenths, and in Kansas one to twenty and two-tenths. Except in South Carolina, there was a greater proportion of negroes in Mississippi than in any other state of the Union, and the proportion of them in Kansas was much greater than in any other northern state. The figures given indicate that both races suffer severely in Kansas; but the relative mortality of the negroes appears from them to be less in Kansas than in Mississippi. Relatively, the negroes suffer more in New York, Pennsylvania and other states than they do in Kansas; which, with the statement just made, seems to indicate that the negro bears the climate of Kansas better than the white man. At the risk of repeating, I may say that the excessive mortality in Kansas is doubtless not entirely due to the climate, as that term is commonly understood. It may confidently be asserted that when this fertile state comes more thoroughly under cultivation, and consequently malarial poisoning is less prevalent, and when the population becomes more settled, the rate of mortality will come down very considerably. I know from personal experience that the climate of the state is

such that great care is necessary to guard against morbid effects from it; but the same is true of the climate of Missouri, of Iowa, of Illinois, and in fact of all the states. The following table gives the mean and range of temperature, in degrees Fahrenheit, for each month of the year, ending June 30th, 1877, in Kansas and Mississippi, according to the observations of the United States Signal Service officers made at Leavenworth and Vicksburg :—

	Leavenworth,		Vicksburg.	
	Mean	Range	Mean	Range
July,	78.9	41	82.6	26.5
August,	78.2	38	80.2	29.5
September,	66.0	55	74.0	42.5
October,	53.7	51	63.2	51.0
November,	37.6	62	52.3	47.5
December,	23.3	69	41.2	55.5
January,	24.6	70	45.6	57.0
February,	39.5	46	51.8	42.0
March,	38.4	71	57.2	50.0
April,	53.3	55	64.1	32.0
May,	63.8	44	72.9	49.0
June,	71.9	48	79.4	38.0

It will be noticed that the monthly mean of temperature is greater for every month of the year at Vicksburg than at Leavenworth, and that, except in March and October, the range is greater for every month at the latter than at the former. The winter months are much colder, and the summer months much warmer, at times, in Kansas than in Mississippi; but the evenings during the heat of summer are proportionately much cooler in Kansas than in Mississippi, which is an important consideration; for it is long continued high heat which tells most disastrously on the human system. Again, in winter the days, as a rule, in Kansas are very much warmer than the nights,—at any rate far more so than in Mississippi. These marked features of the climate of Kansas and of adjoining states are due to the fact that the humidity of the air is, very generally relatively low.

Now, as the effects of great heat and great cold are manifest everywhere in the number of deaths from diarrhoeal affections and pulmonary inflammations respectively, it follows that an inspection of the mortality returns in Kansas should indicate pretty definitely

the fatality to either race which results from such extremes there. According to the Census Report of 1870, the deaths in Kansas from diarrhœa were in the proportion of one to every two thousand and one hundred and fifty-one and four-tenths of the white population, and from pneumonia one to every six hundred and twenty-one and eight-tenths; and the deaths from diarrhœa among the colored population of the state were in the proportion of one to every nineteen hundred and nine-tenths, and from pneumonia one to every four hundred and fifty and two-tenths.

In Mississippi the deaths from diarrhœa were in the proportion of one to every two thousand five hundred and sixty-nine and seven-tenths of the white population, and from pneumonia, one to every nine hundred and sixteen; and the deaths from diarrhœa among the colored population were in the proportion of one to every two thousand five hundred and twenty-three and seven-tenths, and from pneumonia, one to every five hundred and ninety and six-tenths. These figures show that pneumonia and diarrhœa cause a greater proportion of deaths of colored than of white people in both states, and that both diseases are more destructive to both races in Kansas than in Mississippi. But they show that the difference between the death-rate from pneumonia of the whites and the death-rate from the same disease of the blacks, is far less in Kansas than in Mississippi; from which, of course, it may be inferred that the negro suffers less from the cold in Kansas than does the white man. Diarrhœa, also, being relatively less fatal to colored people in Kansas than in Mississippi, it may be inferred that they suffer less than the white people from the high heat of summer in the former state.

The death-rate from intermittent and remittent-fevers in Mississippi was one to every one thousand two hundred and twenty-three and six-tenths of the negro population, and one to every one thousand and four hundred and twenty-three and four-tenths of the white population; and in Kansas, one to every two thousand four hundred and forty-four of the negro and one to every one thousand three hundred and ninety-one of the white population. Here, too, it is evident that the negro has the advantage in Kansas as compared with Mississippi.

It is unnecessary to continue the study any further. Enough has been said to show that, all things being equal, the negroes have

just as good a chance for life in Kansas as have the white people. Both races suffer, but if the white man runs the risk in the hope of growing rich and independent, or at least in bettering his condition, there is no reason why the freedman should not do likewise. His growing intelligence will tend to assist him in taking care of his health and in improving his lot generally throughout the United States. And it should be remembered that if he elects to move from the comparatively equable and warm climate of the southern to the more variable climate of the northern states, he goes where, as shown by experience, man can best exist and flourish. History, as well as a survey of the state of the world to-day, demonstrates that only under the stimulating influence of a considerable range of heat, moisture and other climatic conditions can the species attain to the highest grade of prosperity and civilization. In that earliest of scientific books on hygiene, *Airs, Waters and Places*, by Hippocrates, it is well observed that, "a climate which is always the same induces indolence, but a changeable climate, laborious exertions both of body and mind."

T. S. SOZINSKEY, M.D., Ph.D.

OPERATION OF THE LEGAL TENDER LAWS DURING THE REVOLUTION.*

AMONG other expedients to preserve the value of Continental paper money was the enactment of laws by Congress and the states, making bills of credit a legal tender in discharge of all pecuniary obligations. As paper money had formerly been a legal tender in Pennsylvania, this measure was not an original one with the Continental Congress. Rhode Island was the first state to heed the recommendation of Congress, and in August, 1775, the Assembly declared the Continental bills to be a legal tender in payment of all debts, and threw over them the same protection from the arts of the counterfeiter as had been devised for the preservation of the state issues. The Assembly also resolved that any person who refused such money ought to be considered an enemy to the credit, reputation and happiness of the colonies, and wholly destitute of the regard and obligation which he owed his country;

* From a forthcoming "Financial History of the United States."

that he should be regarded as wanting in zeal to the cause of liberty, and be debarred from communication with all good citizens. Virginia followed next in enacting laws of a similar import; these examples were shortly afterwards imitated by New Hampshire and New Jersey, and ere long all the states had taken action thereon.

The laws of the states were not in every respect similar; for in some of them the bills were made a legal tender only for the interest of former debts, but not for the principal. In New Hampshire, on the other hand, if a creditor refused to receive the bills when offered, the whole debt was legally cancelled. Congress, desiring uniformity of action on the part of the states, passed the following resolution in January, 1777: "*Resolved*, That all bills of credit emitted by the authority of Congress ought to pass current in all payments, trade and dealings, in these states and be deemed in value equal to the same nominal sums in Spanish milled dollars; and that whoever shall offer, ask or receive more in the said bills for any gold or silver coins, bullion, or any other species of money whatsoever than the nominal sum or amount thereof in Spanish milled dollars, or more in the said bills for any lands, houses, goods, or commodities whatsoever, than the same could be purchased at of the same person or persons, in gold, silver, or any other species of money whatsoever; or shall offer to sell any goods or commodities for gold or silver coins, or any other species of money whatsoever; and refuse to sell the same for the said continental bills; every such a person ought to be deemed an enemy to the liberties of these United States, and to forfeit the value of the money so exchanged, or house, land or commodity so sold or offered to sale. And it is recommended to the legislatures of the respective states to enact laws inflicting such forfeitures and other penalties on offenders as aforesaid, as will prevent such pernicious practices." Congress further recommended the legislatures of the states to pass laws making the bills of credit issued by Congress a lawful tender in payment of public and private debts, and a refusal thereof an extinguishment of the same.

Thus, by action of the states and Congress, paper money was endowed with a legal tender attribute. The disastrous consequences of this legislation will now be related.

A historian who lived in those times has given a vivid description of the miseries which flowed from this truly iniquitous

measure. "The aged who had retired from the scenes of active business to enjoy the fruits of their industry, found their substance melting away to a mere pittance, insufficient for their support. The widow who lived comfortably on the bequests of a deceased husband, experienced a frustration of all his well-meant tenderness. The laws of the country interposed and compelled her to receive a shilling where a pound was her due. The blooming virgin who had grown up with an unquestionable title to her patrimony, was legally stripped of everything but her personal charms and virtues. The hapless orphan, instead of receiving from the hands of an executor a competency to set out in business, was obliged to give a final discharge on the payment of 6d. on the pound. In many instances, the earnings of a long life of care and diligence were, in the space of a few years, reduced to a trifling sum. A few persons escaped these affecting calamities, by secretly transferring their bonds, or by flying from the presence or neighborhood of their debtors."

The debtor, however, leaving out the wrecking of his conscience, was the gainer. "A hog or two would pay for a slave; a few cattle for a comfortable house; and a good house for an improved plantation. A small part of the productions of a farm would discharge the long outstanding account, due from its owner. The dreams of the golden age were realized to the poor man and the debtor, but unfortunately what these gained was just so much taken from others."

The candor of history requires the fact to be stated that paper money was, "at all times, the poor man's friend. While it was current, all kinds of labor very readily found their reward. In the first years of the war, none were idle from want of employment, and none were employed without having it in their power to obtain ready payment for their services. To that class of people, whose daily labor was their support, the depreciation was no disadvantage. Expending their money as fast as they received it, they always got its full value. The reverse was the case with the rich, or those who were disposed to hoarding. No agrarian law ever had a more extensive operation than continental money. That for which the Gracchi lost their lives in Rome was peaceably effected in the United States, by the legal tender of these depreciating bills."

“That the helpless part of the community were legislatively deprived of their property, was among the lesser evils which resulted from the legal tender of the depreciated bills of credit. The iniquity of the laws estranged the minds of many of the citizens from the habits and love of justice. The nature of obligations was so far changed that he was reckoned the honest man who from principle delayed to pay his debts. The mounds which government had erected, to secure the observance of honesty in the commercial intercourse of man with man were broken down. Truth, honor and justice were swept away by the overflowing deluge of legal iniquity, nor have they yet assumed their ancient and accustomed seats.” So wrote Ramsay, in 1789.

The newspapers of the period were filled with bitter complaints of the injustice of the measure, and of the losses to which persons were subjected in consequence of it. The following letter which appeared in the *Pennsylvania Packet* reflects very truthfully the sentiment of the time. It was addressed to Mr. Dunlap, the printer, and began thus :

“If something is not done to prevent trustees and guardians from taking advantage of the times, in defrauding helpless widows and orphans, great numbers who have lived in opulence before the death of their husbands or parents, and had what was thought a competency left them after their death, will be reduced to a state of indigence. I am an only daughter of an indulgent father, who died about six years ago, and left me a pretty fortune in ready cash, which he placed in the hands of a neighbor, whom he trusted would administer strict justice towards me. The interest arising from it has, till of late, enabled me to live in a genteel style of life, but in our country's present distress, only affords a scanty pittance ; but that is not the worst, sir ! I am just arrived at age, and my guardian insists on paying me the principal. Is not this cruel hard in the present state of our money ? I appeal to the guardians of our country, I appeal to the heart of every honest man, whether this be acting the faithful guardian, and whether laws ought not be enacted to prevent such undue advantages being taken of the widow and orphan. I am a female whig, Mr. Dunlap, and my hopes and wishes warm for my country's success ; but why am I to be thus the sufferer ? My guardian appropriated my fortune to his own use six years ago, for which he has now a real estate which would sell for ten times the price it cost ; but he says, it was your father's will that you should receive your fortune in money. Thus, you see, what advantages our laws give to bad men, who aggrandize themselves at the expense of the helpless orphan. I have

had a hint from a friend, that he would pay me half the amount in hard money, if I would give a receipt in full. How base such an offer! How deserving the contempt of a much injured, helpless woman! No, sir, all I desire is, to see laws enacted empowering widows and orphans, in such cases, to refuse receiving payments until our money is reinstated in its original value; which, I trust, it will ere long; thereby rendering those incapable of taking an advantage who have not honesty enough to do as they would be done by. For though there are laws in force making our money a legal tender in all payments, sure there might be exceptions in such cases as these, the justice of which, at the present time, must be obvious to every honest man, obliging all trustees and guardians, who were possessed of money on trust before certain dates, to be obliged to retain such moneys in their hands until the conclusion of the present glorious revolution; and so confident am I that such a measure must take place, that I shall absolutely refuse to take my fortune at present."

A writer in the *Connecticut Journal* affirmed that in consequence of the resolutions of Congress and of the states making the currency a tender in law, nine-tenths perhaps, at least, of the debts outstanding in 1775 were paid in continental bills. People took advantage of the times and almost universally settled accounts with creditors who would accept these bills in payment. All such debts were once as good as gold and silver. A very considerable part of them were originally in hard money lent out on interest. Great sums were debts of merchants contracted when goods sold at the lowest rates, some of which probably had been on book for years without interest. Other debts were fortunes, or lesser inheritances originally paid in hard money, or in obligations for it; or they were funds for the support of public schools and seminaries of learning. The losses accruing to nearly all creditors of this description were irreparable.

It is easy enough to see how the debtors were benefitted, but how could creditors be by the operation of a law, as one of them pithily put it, which declared "denominations and sounds to be equivalent for real substance?"

Had the legal tender regulations been framed with reference to future contracts, while deploring the measure as unwise, no one could have complained of their operating unjustly. But in endowing such legislation with a retroactive operation the grossest injustice was perpetrated. The fraudulent debtor took advantage of the

law to cheat his creditor, while the latter could not save himself except by privately transferring the written obligation, or by refusing payment, which, indeed was done at a risk of losing the debt. Nevertheless, creditors did sometimes refuse to accept payment, believing that at some future time justice would triumph and the iniquitous law be repealed. Husbandmen who lived remote from the scene of hostilities were able to preserve their property. Hawkers and monopolizers, "who crept from obscurity and assumed the name of merchants," waxed strong and rich during these distressing times. But those whose property was held in trust, or whose living depended on fixed salaries, or who could not descend to practice knavery, though established by law, experienced severe suffering.

These laws, notwithstanding their well-known operation, remained in force until 1780, when Congress urged the states to amend them in "such a manner as shall be judged most conducive to justice in the present state of the paper money." Then arose a new set of difficulties to confront debtors whose obligations had been incurred while paper money was passing swiftly through the era of depreciation. The several states acted upon the recommendation of Congress and repealed the legal tender laws; but in most cases the situation of both the debtor and creditor classes was viewed in the clear light of justice and such laws were enacted as displayed a fine perception of the rights and equities of all parties. Rhode Island was among the first states to act, and her legislation is worthy of extended consideration.

All contracts made previously to the first of January, 1777, for bills of credit, either of that state or of Congress, were deemed equal to the same nominal sum in gold or silver, while all contracts made after that date and previous to the act we are now describing, which was passed in November, 1780, expressed or understood to be liquidated in paper money were to be rated in Spanish milled dollars, or other money equivalent thereto, by a table of depreciation contained in the act itself extending over the years 1777-1779, and the first four months of 1780, in which the depreciation varied from 105 in January, 1777, to 4000 in April, 1780.

It was also enacted that all private contracts made before the first of May, 1777, "and all special contracts made for silver or gold after that time, between individuals, shall be paid in gold or

silver only," and that all other private contracts made after that date might be discharged by paying "the just value of the currency contracted for in silver or gold, or in bills of credit of the United States, at the current exchange at the time of payment."

Provision was next made for executors, administrators, guardians, agents, clerks of courts and other persons having trust funds in their possession. They were to be discharged of any demands of those for whom they had so acted without the allowance of any depreciation thereon. If, however, they had used the funds thus confided to them on their "own private account" they were required to "account therefor upon the principles of justice and equity, in the same manner as other persons."

While paper money was depreciating, as we have previously shown, a class of persons refused to receive it in payment of obligations due them; the legislature provided that in such cases, if the creditor brought an action to recover his debt, the court should refer the matter to indifferent persons to determine the same in the way appearing to them "just and equitable, taking into account all the circumstances thereof."

"As the widow, the infant and the orphan, at all times, ought, in a special manner, to receive the support of the laws, in the protection of their persons and property," it was enacted that the refusal of any executor, administrator, guardian or agent to receive paper money due them in their capacities as trustees should not operate to the prejudice of those for whom they were acting, but they should "be allowed the whole depreciation in such debt notwithstanding."

In respect to partial payments of notes, and other obligations, the act further provided that the sums thus paid should be allowed without any deduction on account of the depreciation of paper money, while adequate provision was also made for the just settlement of all accounts, including book debts, thus covering all claims of debtors and creditors who were likely to be affected in anyway by the repeal of the legal tender laws.

No one in that state, or any other, seems to have questioned the propriety, either of repealing the legal tender laws, or of adjusting the liability under contracts and obligations incurred during the three years and more during which paper money was depreciating prior to the repeal of the legal tender laws by the standard of justice.

The example of Rhode Island was imitated by all the states with more or less variation. Its essential feature, however, is found in the legislation of all the other states, namely, of adjusting contracts made while the legal tender law was in operation, so as to render to the creditor a fair equivalent for what in the beginning was received by the debtor. Besides, creditors were generally prevented from bringing actions for a year or two, or even a longer period, to recover their debts, and in cases where judgments had been rendered the courts were directed to suspend issuing executions. The purpose of these stay laws was to give the legislatures time to enact measures for determining the rights of all parties, which were devised in most cases within a year from the time Congress recommended a repeal of the tender laws.

Virginia did not take action upon repealing the legal tender law till June, 1781, and even then the legal tender function attached to it for a year longer, while it was continued without limit in respect to paying paper money for taxes. The law provided that all debts and contracts made in the current money of the state for the six years, inclusive, between the first of January, 1777, and 1782, or of the United States, "excepting at all times contracts entered into for gold and silver coin, tobacco or any other specific property," remaining due and unfulfilled, should be liquidated in accordance with a scale of depreciation established by the legislature; that is to say, by reducing the amount of all such debts and contracts to the true value in specie at the days or times the same were incurred or entered into; and upon payment of said value so found in specie or other money equivalent thereto, the debtors or contractors shall be forever discharged of, and from, the said debts or contracts, any law, custom or usage to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding. In all cases of part payment of any debt the debtor was allowed full credit for the nominal amount.

The action of Maryland is worthy of note from its striking difference to the other modes related. The old continental issues were declared to be no longer a legal tender except at the exchange of £166, 13s. 4d., current money for £100 sterling; but the new emissions were to be "current and a legal tender in payment discharge" of any obligation incurred thereafter; if, however, they did depreciate, the chancellor and judges of the general court were to ascertain the amount of their depreciation and the liquidation of debts was to be governed by the rule thus established.

Pennsylvania, alarmed at the novel situation, passed an act forbidding all persons bringing suits to recover debts for two years, because of the scarcity of specie. The first attempt in March, 1780, to suspend the operation of the legal tender laws, so far as they related to the continental currency, failed; but two months later a bill was passed depriving these paper issues of their legal tender quality. In June, the same year, the Assembly declared, "that from time to time all contracts should be made good according to the special nature of each." The question had not reached a final solution. The state issued more paper money, which at first every one was free to take at his own valuation; not long afterward, however, by a special act, this new issue was declared to possess a legal tender function. Legislation on the subject grew bitter, but finally in June, 1781, all the legal tender laws were repealed.

We have not space to trace minutely the action of every state dealing with the repeal of the legal tender laws in accordance with the recommendation of Congress. As soon as the voice of Congress was heard in South Carolina, Governor Rutledge issued a proclamation forbidding creditors suing for the recovery of their debts until the meeting of the legislature. In his message addressed to that body he remarked with reference to this subject, "You will now consider whether it may be proper to repeal those laws, and fix some equitable mode for the discharge of debts contracted whilst paper money was in circulation." This view prevailed throughout the states, and in a more or less perfect form was embodied in their legislation.

A somewhat singular effect of the repeal of the legal tender laws was experienced in collecting fines imposed under enactments passed at various times prior to the repeal of the legal tender legislation. As the specie standard was now restored, it was necessary to collect fines in specie, but it was manifestly unjust to collect a fine in specie for the written amount when the legislators at the time of imposing the fine supposed the collection of it would be made in paper at an enormous depreciation compared with gold and silver. Governor Rutledge wrestled with this vexatious question in a proclamation, while, doubtless, the judiciaries of other states were perplexed with the same question. Of course, it was easy enough to amend the statutes with reference to future fines,

but it was very difficult to deal with those which had been incurred before legislation could render any relief.

Congress, like the states, established a scale of depreciation of paper money, by which all contracts were settled made by the officials of the general government during the time legal tender laws were in operation. It was necessary to pass numerous special acts upon the subject, and the journal for a considerable period abounds with the records of the acts of Congress in a great variety of cases which it was quite impossible to cover by any general regulation.

Such were some of the chief consequences flowing from the enactment as well as the repeal of the legal tender laws. Their enactment proved a benefit to the debtor and the working classes, creditors of every description were injured or ruined, while the foundations of morality were sadly undermined. In repealing these regulations, the states sought to do justice to all who had incurred obligations while the currency was depreciated, and labored honestly and effectually to that end. In making paper money a legal tender, neither Congress nor the states designed to perpetuate the ill effects which followed. Until the year 1780, it was believed by Congress and the people generally, that the whole paper flood would improve in quality until it was worth as much in specie as it purported to be. "They were established," said the *Freeman's Journal* in 1782, in reviewing their history in Pennsylvania, "with the approbation of every one who wished to be considered as devoted to independence and liberty, and whatever may be said against the enforced tender of this sort of money, yet to these tender laws, under God, must the political salvation of the country in the years 1776, 1777 and 1778 be ascribed."

When the present constitution was framed, its authors, fresh with the recollection of the terrible losses and iniquities which had sprung from the legal tender laws, endeavored to guard as strongly as possible against the perpetration of so grave an injustice in the future; but within a hundred years the barriers set up in the constitution have been broken down and the deed sanctioned, not on the ground of a necessity greater than the preservation of the constitution itself—a defence which many would have regarded as justifiable,—but upon the ground forsooth that the act was indeed within the meaning of the organic law, while, if read in the light of history, especially the debate thereon at the time of its creation,

nothing can be clearer than that the framers of that marvellous instrument meant and said just the opposite to that which the Supreme Court of the United States affirm they said and intended.

A. S. BOLLES.

THE BOAT RACE ON THE SCHUYLKILL.

LAST summer we threw up our hats when the Columbia College crew won the boat race in the Thames. We can, therefore, with a good conscience rejoice in the victory won by our own college boys in defeating Columbia and Princeton in our own waters. Of course, nothing that happens this summer detracts in the least from Columbia's glories of a year ago. The crew is not the same, and the New York college retains the honor of having had perhaps the very ablest boat crew that any American college has ever produced.

The Pennsylvania crew won the race under every sort of discouragement. Public opinion was against their chances. Our newspapers kindly told them on the very morning of the race that they had none of the excellencies of a good crew, that they did their work mechanically and without life. The betting was heavily in favor of Columbia; and even Princeton, whose crew have to practice in an old canal, was thought to have as good a chance. The effect of this on the spirits of the Pennsylvania crew may be imagined. We have reason to believe that they went into the race in a desperate mood, with the stolid determination to do their poor best, and take what luck might come.

They had reason to fear the result. Not only had the Columbia crew been trained under the system which did such wonders last year, but they were older and heavier men. They had more work in them, and, as an experienced judge said, "they *ought* to have towed our boys down the river, but they *did* not."

From the word "go" to the winning-post, the Pennsylvania crew held the lead, by force of sheer skill and perfection of discipline. They rowed together, with the regularity of clock-work, as did neither of the opposing crews. Princeton fell hopelessly behind almost at the beginning. Dr. McCosh will have to buy and widen

that old canal before his boys have a fair chance in such races. Columbia's second was sometimes wide, sometimes close. Instead of good, steady rowing, they seemed to depend on irregular spurt-ing, which at times reduced their distance, but never gave them the lead. At the close they made a tremendous effort, but the Pennsylvania crew spurted at the same time and with equal effect, and were declared the winners.

Of course, no pains have been spared to discount the victory. The New Yorkers who had to borrow enough to take them home, after they had paid their bets on Columbia, have our sympathy. Betting is wrong and wicked, but if a man must stoop to such childish folly, we like to see him back his own side. But the far-seeing Philadelphians, who were above all local prejudices, who were sure nothing good could come out of our University of Pennsylvania, who offered heavy odds against Pennsylvania, were deservedly bitten. The Scotch have a blessing for all such people, —“ May the Deil dry their eyes wi a whin bush !”

We are now told that the Columbia lost the race because their boat was steered out of its course in a curve. This is true, but equally true of the rival crew. Both captains lost their heads a little near the end of the course, and their time would have been better if they had not. But it is impossible to say which of the two lost the more by it.

It is also said that if the race had been for an additional quarter of a mile the Columbia would have won. Possibly ! but it was not. They were challenged to a test of strength, skill and endurance for one mile and a half; nothing less, nothing more. They had the whole of that mile and a half to pass their rivals, and they did not do it. Had the race been for ten miles, or five, or even two, they certainly would have won. Men of their strength and age could not but have won. But in the actual test they failed.

It has even been insinuated that the Pennsylvania crew gave themselves to the betting men by making such a poor record in the races of the Schuylkill Regatta. It is true that they did do but poorly in that instance, but, as was well known at the time, it was through an accident. And anyone who cared to know their record, must have known that they had made much better time on other occasions than they made in this race. They are, one and all, men of such standing in every respect as forbids the thought of

their stooping to any such base collusion. These insinuations show how deeply somebody has been burnt.

Let us add that no contest has ever been lost and won with more uniform and unfailing courtesy on all hands among the competitors. The New York and New Jersey crews carry home the good wishes of all. And the course was free from all those collisions of temper and outbursts of ill-feeling which have characterized some other college regattas. It was a contest of gentlemen with gentlemen.

We do not wonder at the treatment the crew received from some of our city papers. Reporters are too apt, on such occasions, to make their opinions the reflection of those of what are called "the betting fraternity." Having no special means of knowledge, they very naturally have recourse to those who make the loudest pretensions to such knowledge, and who give the tangible evidence of the sincerity of their claim by risking their money. And then, having once committed themselves to the favorite side, they find it awkward to retreat without justifying their earlier utterances.

It is, however, true that the newspaper press of this city is not friendly to the University. Very few of our graduates become editors. We can mention three other colleges more largely represented in that field in this city, while, beyond all the colleges, the half-baked graduates of our City High School are speedily promoted to the editorial chair. Some of these make exceedingly good workmen after a while, but they are naturally indisposed to say anything good of the University. This fact comes out at Commencement time, when column upon column is given in our daily papers to Princeton, Lehigh and Lafayette, and only the most meagre report is made of the exercises and proceedings of the University of the city.

H. F. P.

JOAQUIN MILLER'S "SONGS OF ITALY."

MR. MILLER is of the subjective poets, and a very lurid one at that. His vocabulary blazes with revenge, despair, hate and hell. If these and similar words were taken out of his verses, we should be surprised to find how little sense would be left. There are conspicuous mannerisms and pet forms, like the constant and

sometimes inapt use of the adjective *populous* and the frequent employment of the phrase "edge of the world." But underneath all there is real merit and originality, and we should be mistaken in setting the whole thing down as tricks. Considering the violence of Mr. Miller's thoughts and rhymes and vocabulary, his versification is smooth and correct. It would be easy to select passages which, while very characteristic, cause him to be generally under-rated.

"Carry all through the populous day some drug that smells loud
As you pass on your way or make way through the crowd"

P. 104.

"What comfort to rest as you lie thrown at length
All night and alone with your fists full of strength."

P. 106.

Two passages in *Il Capucin* will show how he leaps from vulgar trifling into real earnestness—

"At last he will cough as if up from his cell,
Will strut with considerable pride about,
Will lead through his flowers of bone, and smell
Their odors; then talk as he points them out,
Of the virtues and deeds of the gents who wore
The respective bones but the year before."

* * * * *

"When the plague came down,
Christ! who was it cried to these men in brown
When other men fled? And what man was seen
Stand firm to the death but the Capucin?"

Pp. 77 and 78.

But his figures are not always extravagant or vulgar; for instance, what happier phrase for Venice than in these lines:

"But a day from this town
Of marble, that sits to its waist in the sea,
A moon-white mountain of snow looks down
On a thousand glories of old Italy."

P. 180.

And in the poem entitled *Alone*, on page 97, there is an exquisite description of the moon:

"I am alone as lost winds on the height;
Alone as yonder beaming moon at night,
That climbs like some such noiseless-footed nun
Far up against the steep and starry height,
As if on holy mission."

And finally, as a specimen of his best, this stanza from the poem entitled *After All*, p. 124 :

“ Sit down in the darkness with me
On the edge of the world. So, love lies dead !
And the earth and the sky and the sea
Seem shutting together as a book that is read.”

Many who are in the habit of making a butt of Mr. Miller, will have to retract when they have read this volume attentively. His dialogue is as full of abruptness and *non sequiturs* as Browning's, and he has quite as much grotesqueness, but he is not always violent, and, taken as a whole, none but a poet could have written these Songs of Italy. The first stanza of *Cavalier v. Cavalier*, p. 131, shows how he can fall into a vein like Browning's :

“ No, no whit jealous of him was I :
I had sat at his table, tasted his wine,
Broken his bread as he had mine—
And I would to heaven I had broken his head !
I had shot at him once and let him try
His hand meantime ten paces at me.
He missed his mark, while I you see
At the last years' carnival down at Rome,
Troubled his seconds to carry him home.”

We cannot read the productions of men who would play upon human passion as upon a pipe, without wondering just how far their utterances are personal. That they are largely so is probable, but just where to draw the line between the writer's own sentiments and experience and the flight of his imagination is very difficult to tell. Such an inquiry is not, however, immaterial. Merely descriptive poetry we may read with very little thought of the personality of the author, but not so wails of remorse, litanies, love songs and screams of vengeance. They interest us in him, and we wonder what must have been the special experiences which produced such a temper, and just how far his utterances are autobiographical. If Mr. Miller's are so to any large degree, he would not make a very agreeable or instructive acquaintance, nor be entitled to much respect. Taken literally, he has written himself down an unsatisfied man, big with thoughts about himself, and travelling over the world to find something he has not got, probably a woman : in the mean time twitting the past for being over, the present for not staying and the future for not having come. These unhealthy sentiments he

has the genius to express in very vigorous verse. But the temper is bad, and the increasing appetite for such sentiment greatly to be deplored; because, while only a few can attain honor and office as public railers, a great many actually do cultivate this peppery thought and language to the great detriment of their worldly calling and comfort.

NEW BOOKS.

A CENTURY OF AMERICAN LITERATURE. Edited by Henry A. Beers, Assistant Professor of English Literature in Yale College. Pp. xxviii. 407. 12mo. New York: Henry Holt & Co.

READING BOOK OF ENGLISH CLASSICS FOR YOUNG PUPILS. Selections from the standard literature of England and America. By C. W. Leffingwell, D. D. Pp. xvi. 403.

These two selections are each excellent in their way. The object of the first is to give American readers some notion of the literary work done in America during the first century of independence, by presenting good specimens of all those authors who are no longer living. We think this last an unhappy restriction, as not a single first-class author, except Irving, Poe, and the very greatest, Nathaniel Hawthorne, has "gone to the majority." Our best poets, novelists, and essayists are still living, and the exclusion of their works makes the exhibit of our century in literature much more meagre than the truth. An American literature with no Lowell, no Whittier, no Holmes, no Longfellow, no Henry James, no Whipple, no Emerson, is not the literature which represents our mental growth.

The selections seem to be all well made, and suitable for the purpose. Of course, they leave room for a difference of judgment. From Cooper, for instance, "An Indian Elopement" is taken, leaving out the masterly account of the escape of *The Spy*. William Wirt's description of the blind preacher, Waddell, is a classic passage in our literature, but nothing from his pen is given. Weems's biographies of Penn, Franklin, Marion and Washington, and his humorous pamphlets, exerted no ordinary influence on the minds of our people, and should have been illustrated by an extract. Whether or not they belong to that "literature of instruction," which Mr. Beers aims at excluding, his biographies are certainly part of that literature of fiction which he admits. Many of Franklin's amusing papers fall within the post-revolution era, but none are given. Our author might, however, claim that to do full justice to the field, he must have made a much larger book.

In the introduction, which sketches the colonial period, our author repeats the common mistake of speaking of the Familists as a sect which troubled New England. It is true that the opponents of Mrs. Hutchinson sought to fasten this most odious of sectarian names on her and her friends. But she was no more than a Calvinist who had pushed Calvinism to the verge of antinomianism. In mentioning Jonathan Edwards he might have referred to the high estimate formed of his writings by such English critics as F. D. Maurice, F. W. Robertson, and Leslie Stephens. The first describes the *Treatise on the Will* as the very greatest of American books.

Dr. Leffingwell's Reading Book is about the best selection for school reading that we have seen. The range from which the choice has been made is much larger than usual, and we believe that the book is well calculated to foster a taste for literature in the classes in which it is used. It is not, indeed, up to our ideal of an English reader. For that we need an English Wakernagel, with the learning needed to cover the whole field from King Alfred to Alfred Tennyson, and to exhibit the generic growth of our language in all the successive stages, not merely in the central literary dialect, but in those minor branches, such as the old Northumbrian and modern Scotch and Lancashire.

A few of the selections do not approve themselves to our taste and judgment. It is difficult to make selections from Dickens for such a work, and the description of the shipwreck in *David Copperfield*, or some similar passage, would have been better than the description of Mr. Squeers, or the *Cricket on the Hearth*. The grotesque in literature is not the form of it which is most intelligible to young people, nor is it that which exerts the best influence on their taste. We also think that the selections from American authors are out of proportion to the extent of the book.

DRESS. By Mrs. Oliphant. (Art at Home Series.) Pp. 103. Philadelphia, Porter & Coates.

Mrs. Margaret Oliphant has a large range of intellectual interest. She can write with equal fervor on St. Francis of Assisi, who reduced dress to a minimum and wedded himself to poverty, and on the habits of vesture which waste the money and the time of our civilized society. So religious a writer we might have expected to put on her title page, "Or why take ye thought for raiment? Consider the lilies." On the contrary, she honestly confesses to a profane interest in her subject and a liking for dress, just as though she had never heard of St. Francis.

We need not tell any reader of Mrs. Oliphant's that she manages to make a very readable and suggestive book out of her subject. She begins by noting the revolution which has swept

away the colors and forms of dress which were in vogue thirty years ago, and has clothed modern women in the neutral shades which artists desire for their pictures. Without at all condemning the change, she deprecates the excesses and affectations which have accompanied the movement. She does not believe in making art the dictator in this or any other sphere of common life, for she holds that artistic fitness is only one of the many considerations which should guide the judgment.

As to the philosophy of dress, she refers her readers to Sartor Resartus and the Book of Genesis. As a sound Presbyterian, though of broad church tendencies, she prefers the Mosaic account of the matter,—“a theory of our nature which is high as the heavens above any other. Our best fancies are poor by the side of it.” She proceeds to show how the poets have depicted dress, and finds the fullest information in Chaucer, Spenser and Herrick, while the “myriad-minded Shakspeare” is found to have hardly touched on this large side of human life. Following the proper history of dress, she shows, with ultra-feminine malice, that the chief fools have been of “the nobler sex.” She gloats over trunk hose and bag wigs, and pursues the tale down to our own times, where it closes with a swallow-tail coat and the chimney-pot hat. Having cleared the ground by this anticipation of masculine sneers, she turns to the lighter list of woman's vestmental offences,—horned head dresses, hooped skirts, and all the rest.

Her closing chapter discusses the great question: “What is to be done?” It is needless to say that a lady of such fine culture and good taste is neither a dress-reformer on the one hand, nor a defender of the follies of fashion on the other. She believes that the present style of dress, especially the shape known as the Princess, only needs to be reformed in some respects to be made exactly what is needed. It is altogether too tight as now worn; the poet had right in speaking of “two shy knees tied in a single trouser.” But by introducing an additional width, and abolishing the artistic ornamentation now made to run around its dimensions instead of lengthwise, and substituting conventional patterns in one color for naturalistic in several, a great reform might be effected. She hopes that art will also aid in getting honest material from the manufacturer. “Manufacture is always apt to degenerate when left to the famous modern maxim of buying (or making) at the cheapest and selling at the dearest possible rate. This is what turns broad-cloth into shoddy, makes cotton little more than a mass of starch, and silk a coagulated dye.” We fear that Mrs. Margaret Oliphant is not a sound Free Trader!

JUST ONE DAY. New York. Geo. R. Lockwood, 1879.

This clever little *jeu d'esprit* puts, in a capital way, the old question of, Which has the harder lot, the mother who stays at

home with an unceasing worry from the care of children and the household, or the father, who spends his working hours and much of his leisure away? The answer is given in no uncertain strain, and the contrast of the struggle on the part of the affectionate wife to bear her heavy burthen, and the cool assumption of the husband that he does his whole duty in providing the means of living, without any care as to how it is used, so that his comfort is secured,—is admirably put. The story is an instructive one, and it rises to a much higher plane than that of *Helen's Babies* and its numerous progeny, unless this be counted the last of that long line.

HEALTH PRIMERS: NO. 1. EXERCISE AND TRAINING. By C. H. Ralfe, M.D. (Pp. 96); NO. 2. ALCOHOL, ITS USE AND ABUSE. By W. S. Greenfield, M. D., (pp. 95); NO. 3, THE HOUSE AND ITS SURROUNDINGS (pp. 96); NO. 4, PREMATURE DEATH, ITS PROMOTION OR PREVENTION (pp. 94); NO. 5, PERSONAL APPEARANCES IN HEALTH AND DISEASE (pp. 96); NO. 6, BATHS AND BATHING (pp. 93). New York: D. Appleton & Co.

HEALTH, AND HOW TO PROMOTE IT. By Richard McSherry, M. D., of the University of Maryland. Pp. 196. 8vo. New York: D. Appleton & Co.

The happy days when a man needed not to know that he had any constitution, are gone forever. The era of introspection has extended its self-scrutiny to the stomach, the liver and the blood pump physiologists call the heart. The times of innocent ignorance, which Hygiene winked at, are no more, and nothing is left but to know all about one's self and the symptoms of every disorder that flesh is heir to. *Sanitas sanitatum, omnia sanitas* is the watchword of society. Sickness will soon take the place of reprobation left vacant by the scientific extinction of the conception of sin; and the vacant churches will be handed over to the doctors for the Hygienic enlightenment of mankind.

The little Health Primers republished by the Messrs. Appleton have been prepared by English physicians of high standing, so far as we can judge from the names of authors given. They are written clearly and succinctly, and with the calm of scientific judgment. That on Alcohol, for instance, will hardly please our temperance enthusiasts, although it coincides with the deliberate judgment of the English Faculty on the subject. Dr. Greenfield holds that its use is not necessary to any healthy person, and that most of those who use it would be better without it. But it produces effects which are often useful in disease and sometimes desirable in health. No one should consume more than one half an ounce of absolute alcohol a day, and therefore the lighter beverages should be used to the exclusion of those more heavily weighted with it. That on the House, is the embodiment of the Englishman's latest

horror, drains and sewers. As we read it we are inclined to sigh for the good old times when drainage was effected by a channel down the middle of the street. Most interesting and curious is that on *Premature Death*. It shows that in the British Islands, lung diseases cause more than a fourth of all the deaths. Next come infectious diseases and the diseases of the brain and nervous system. Of infectious diseases, scarlet fever and diphtheria lead the list in point of malignity, while vaccination has thrust small pox far down in the list. Scarlet fever has, in England as in America, acclimatized itself in certain localities, especially in the great cities. New York and Brooklyn have a sad pre-eminence in this respect with us.

Some of these manuals are too purely English in their character to be of direct use to American readers. That on *Baths*, for instance, catalogues all those places of resort which are accessible to the average Englishman, but, of course, says nothing of any in America. That on *Exercise and Training* is adapted to the moist climate of England, where the conditions are entirely different from those of the "Intemperate Zone" in which we live. In so simple a matter as walking out of doors, the example set by English men and women could only be followed by Americans at a great risk to health.

None of these objections apply to Dr. McSherry's book. He has looked upon his subject with American eyes. He writes in a plain, unconventional style. He reinforces his opinions at every step with the dicta of the best authorities. On *Alcohol*, for instance, he quotes freely from the "admirable essay" by Prof. Edes of Boston, which we published two years ago. He has made an interesting and a useful book, and has hit hard at many of the worst faults of our American life.

GEIER WALLY, a Tale of the Tyrol. By Wilhelmine von Hillern. Appleton's Handy Volume Series, No. 33. New York, 1870.

A ROGUE'S LIFE, from his Birth to his Marriage. By Wilkie Collins. Handy Volume Series, No. 32.

There could not well be a greater contrast than that between the German and the English novels, and these are capital types. *Geier Wally* is full of fire and passion, but unluckily the translation here given is far from being the best, as it is full of Germanisms and requires almost as good a knowledge of German as of English in the reader for its thorough mastery. "*A Rogue's Life*" is a sort of machine-made story, recalling, at a very great distance, the wonderful success of *De Foe* in picturing such an autobiography as *Collins* has here given, in humble and unsuccessful imitation of a school that has little excuse for still cumbering our book shelves.

THE GREAT FUR LAND; OR SKETCHES OF LIFE IN THE HUDSON'S BAY TERRITORY. By H. M. Robinson, with numerous illustrations, from designs by Charles Gasche. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1879. Pp. 348.

This somewhat pretentious volume is a curious rehash of articles published in various serials, evidently written to suit the wood cuts then on hand, and now made into a book with other pictures that have no merit whatever, either in design or execution. The author or compiler gives a sort of excuse, in a brief preface, for his liberal use of material from familiar books of travel, but still leaves the reader free to infer that he himself had seen much, if not all of the country described. The great charm and real merit of the volumes from which this one is conveyed, as the wise call it, lie in the freshness of actual personal observation, and Sir George Simpson's quaint, old-fashioned narrative gives a more vivid idea of life in the far north than all the long drawn and artfully spun stories here gathered together. Good or bad, well done or ill, the cause of literary honesty requires that the compilation of such a volume should be made fairly and frankly, with an exact statement of whence the material was drawn, and not, as in this case, with a half confession, leaving the reader free to doubt what share of actual observation the author has had in the scenes he describes. The absence of any personal adventures in the narrative is a curiously suspicious fact, for no man could have used such garrulous stories as those of Lord Milton and Dr. Cheadle, without a natural desire to draw the long bow on his own score, if he ever was in the region he describes.

THE PURITAN AND THE QUAKER. A Story of Colonial Times. Pp. 392. New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons.

Controversial novels are about the unfairest species of literature in the world, not even excepting the editorials in partisan newspapers. Sir Walter Scott's *Old Mortality* has done more mischief in the way of obscuring the history of his native country, and blackening its most heroic names, than could have been accomplished by a thousand history mongers after the model of Sharpe. It is a most tempting form of libel, especially to religious people. It enables one to dodge and evade all ugly issues, to look around unpleasant facts, and to set up men of straw instead of human beings as the object of his scorn. Perhaps the most flagrant specimens of this are found in some recent novels of "liberal" tendency, notably those of Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes.

This Friendly writer has ventured into a most enchanting field of study, the early history of the Quaker. But, unfortunately, his chief purpose has been controversial. He aims not so much at bringing a life-like picture of primitive Quakerism home to his

readers, as to exalt Quakerism at the expense of Puritanism. Now the mischief of controversy is that it always starts with the assumption that it is making its appeal to an adequate and competent tribunal. It assumes that "the intelligent reader" is quite fitted to sit in judgment upon the point at issue, and where that point is a complicated historical question, it tends to dress up the history to suit the current taste. Our author, for instance, sets himself to exhibit these Early Friends in such a light as will commend them to "the intelligent reader" of the fourth quarter of the nineteenth century. In so doing, he paves away their true lineaments, obliterates warts and wrinkles, until they become quite unrecognizable as Quakers of the sixteenth century, and have quite the air of having stepped out of a Massachusetts meeting-house of the present year. Although in no way connected with the society, we have found the Early Quaker literature especially delightful reading, and we have no hesitation in saying that the better the Early Friends are known the less they will be liked by the ordinary reader of current fiction, or even by Friends of the ordinary type. This is no disparagement to them; far from it. Most of us would need to be lifted up to a great height before we could see eye to eye with George Fox or William Bayley. It is not chiefly their faults, but their excellencies, their *abandon* to what they were convinced was guidance from above, that would prevent our admiration of them.

For instance, our author touches on the question of the attitude which Friends took towards music. He tells us that they objected to it only because its acquisition was a waste of time, and that those who had learnt it before their "convincement" were welcome to go on with its use. This is an ingenious excuse for them, but it is an excuse they would have repudiated. They repudiated all music which was not given by the inspiration of the inward Light. They sang hymns in prison, when the Light led them to sing, and in the Dutch edition of Sewell's *History*, the words and the notes of some of these inspired songs are given. But music in any other connection was a profane thing, and so deeply rooted was this conviction in the Society, that it is but recently that the Yearly Meeting (Orthodox) of this city ceased to disown those who persisted in having musical instruments in their homes.

So, again, of the attitude of the Early Friends towards the religious worship of others. Our author makes a Quaker speak with respect of this worship and rebuke disrespect of it in others. There is no precedent for such conduct. The Early Friends regarded no worship as genuine and spiritual except their own. They were as High Church in their assertions that the Society was *the* people of the Lord, and all other religious societies part of Babel, as any Roman Catholic or Puseyite could be.

In fine, our author has failed to produce in any degree the atmosphere of thought and feeling in which the Early Friends moved. The side which he might have been expected to understand, he has altogether misunderstood. And if this be true of that side, we can only say that his picture of the Puritans is an unmeant caricature, which can only inflame in their descendants the dislike of the Early Quakers, which it was his honest purpose to diminish.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

Geier-Wally; A Tale of the Tyrol. By Wilhelmine von Hillern. (Handy Volume Series). Sw'd. 16mo. Pp. 237. Price 30 cents. New York: D. Appleton & Co. [Porter & Coates.

Modern Chromatics, with Applications to Art and Industry. By Ogden N. Rood. (International Scientific Series). 12mo. Cloth. Pp. 329. New York: D. Appleton & Co. [Porter & Coates.

English Composition. By John Nichol. (Literature Primers.) Pp. 128. New York: D. Appleton & Co. [Porter & Coates.

The Yellow Mask. By Wilkie Collins. (Handy Volume Series). Price 25 cents. New York: D. Appleton & Co. [Porter & Coates.

The Last Essays of Elia. By Charles Lamb. (Handy Volume Series). Price 30 cents. New York: D. Appleton & Co. [Porter & Coates.

A Manual of International Law. By Edward M. Gallaudet. 12mo. Cloth. Pp. 321. Price \$1.50. New York: A. S. Barnes & Co. [A. P. Flint, Phila.

The Art of Reading. By Ernest Legouvé. Translated and illustrated with copious notes by Edward Roth. 12mo. Cloth. Pp. 372. Philadelphia: Claxton, Remsen & Haffelfinger.

The Story of the Bible from Genesis to Revelation, told in simple language for the young. 12mo. Cloth. Pp. 704. Price \$1.50. Philadelphia: Charles Foster.

Maid, Wife, or Widow. By Mrs. Alexander. (Leisure Hour Series). Price \$1.00. New York: Henry Holt & Co. [Claxton, Remsen & Haffelfinger.

Cousins. By L. B. Walford. (Leisure Hour Series). Price \$1.00. New York: Henry Holt & Co. [Claxton, Remsen & Haffelfinger.

The Lover's Tale. By Alfred Tennyson, Poet Laureate. Sw'd. 18mo. Pp. 32. Price 10 cents. Boston: Houghton, Osgood & Co. [Porter & Coates.

Songs of The University of Pennsylvania. Edited by H. A. Clarke. 16mo. Cloth. Pp. 90. Philadelphia: Published by the Glee Club.

Just One Day. Cloth. 16mo. Pp. 172. New York: George R. Lockwood.

Long Life, and How to Reach It. By Joseph G. Richardson, M. D. (American Health Primers). Cloth. 10mo. Pp. 160. Philadelphia: Lindsay & Blakiston.

Miss Margery's Roses. By Robert C. Meyers, Sw'd. 16mo. Pp. 256. Price 50 cents. Philadelphia: T. B. Peterson & Brothers.

Is Life Worth Living? By William Hurrell Mallock. 12mo. Cloth. Pp. 323. Price \$1.50. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

Travels with a Donkey in the Cevennes. By Robert Louis Stevenson. 16mo. Cloth. Pp. 235. Price \$1.00. Boston: Roberts Bros. [Porter & Coates.

The Colonel's Opera Cloak. (No Name Series). 16mo. Cloth. Pp. 228. Price \$1.00. Boston: Roberts Bros. [Porter & Coates.

THE
PENN MONTHLY.

AUGUST, 1879.

THE MONTH.

THE funeral of the poor young gentleman who called himself the Prince Imperial has proved an event of international importance. England has spared no pains to show honor to his memory, as of one who fell in her quarrel, and through the negligence of her servants. Even those who detested the Second Empire and rejoiced at its overthrow, have felt it was not their business to visit the sins of the fathers upon the children, and have joined in the genuine sorrow. Partisan feeling has been in abeyance, as it nearly always is in England in the presence of death, and the nation has been at one in its evidence of respect for the memory of the dead, and for the sorrows of his widowed and childless mother. This sorrow, indeed, has been out of all proportion to the importance of the Prince, and has stood in strange contrast to the comparative indifference with which the death of Sir John Lawrence was received later in the month. Lawrence saved the Indian Empire, in 1857. His conduct, as the ruler of the Northwest Provinces, had conferred upon him such a prestige, that European and native alike acquiesced when he assumed a virtual dictatorship in the hour of supreme danger, put an obscure officer in command of the forces within reach, enlisted the recently conquered Sikhs into the service, and sent the whole body to the conquest of Delhi, the pivotal point of the insurrection. He was

a ruler every inch, a man who never blundered, chose his subordinates by an unerring instinct, and believed in English rule. But his hostility to the Afghan war sealed his condemnation in the eyes of the present English authorities, and his death was received with not a thousandth part of the effusive grief which was lavished upon the young prince, whose chief distinction was his heritage of bad and un-English traditions.

In France the dominant party regard these English demonstrations with open dislike, and repay them with abuse. The generals of the Republic who had served under his father, were refused permission to attend the funeral, and no pains were spared to exhibit contempt for the whole Imperialist party and its idols. This furnishes us with one more illustration of the intensity of party feeling, which has existed in France ever since the Revolution. The parties have not, like the English, a common ground of common beliefs. They do not each assume that the other heartily desires the welfare of the country above all things. Either of them would rather see its antagonists overthrown by a foreign intervention, than see it remain in power. Indeed, they have no common country, for each desires a France which shall differ from that desired by the others in everything except the external and unchangeable peculiarities of land and sea, mountain and river. At such a time as this, the decencies which become the presence of death are left out of sight. As Imperialist and Royalist treated the memory of Thiers, the liberator of the soil of France, so the Republicans treat that of him who aspired to be the Fourth Napoleon. It is a bad sign for the future of France.

What will be the effect of this death upon the Imperialist party, it is hard to say. The succession, of course, properly devolves upon Prince Napoleon, sometimes known as Plon-plon, the pronounced enemy of Eugenie, and not even an Imperialist. As regards his policy, the most contradictory rumors are current. At one time he is said to be preparing to go into exile as the claimant to the throne; at others his continued adhesion to the Republic is announced. The truth seems to be that he is very wisely holding his tongue, and not allowing any parties to be formed either under or against his leadership, and MM. Rouher, de Cassagnac and their friends cannot force him to speak. The will of the dead Prince designated Prince Napoleon's eldest son as the successor to his

own claims, but the traditions of the royal caste of Europe do not recognize any rights of testament in such cases. If Prince Napoleon continues loyal to the Republic, then Imperialism is in abeyance so long as he lives.

THE English farmers have at length secured a Parliamentary Commission to investigate the condition of English agriculture, and the remedies therefor. A considerable body of them hope to see the restoration of Protection as the result of this, but they have but slight grounds for that hope. With the great majority of the working classes engaged in manufactures and commerce, a law to raise the price of food by excluding American grain and meat is altogether impossible. No Protectionist who has looked into the English situation would give his countenance to such a measure. A more moderate party look for redress in the better adjustment of local burdens between the landlords and the farmers. At the time the Corn laws were abolished, such changes were suggested, but were pooh-pooed on the ground that "things find their level,"—and therefore the proper distribution would be reached without legislation in the adjustment of the rent of land. But experience has shown that this great Free Trade maxim has a very limited application. Things have not found their level, for the farmers have to pay the expense of the road system and other parts of the county expenditures, while the assessment and outlay of the money is vested in a board composed almost entirely of landlords. Besides this, there are farmers' grievances connected with the game laws, the law of distress, and the purchase of land, which call for amendment.

The chief thing to be abolished, however, is the existing farmer class itself. If England is ever to have a genuine agricultural population, such as once was her pride and her strength, she must rid herself of the capitalist farmer and create a class of small holders in their stead. Her agriculture will flourish when the tillers of the soil are made to love it as the Belgian and Westphalian farmer loves his little patch—like a sweetheart. As that agriculture now is, its utter breakdown is far less of a calamity than it would be in any other country. It consists of three classes,—a small knot of great landowners, a larger body of capitalists who

run farms just as they might run factories, and a great multitude of half-starved, under-sized, sickly peasants, who have no ties to the land or to their country, are but little better off than slaves, and are sinking in the social scale with every year. To rescue this class, and to increase its numbers by recalling to the land the millions who have fled from its bondage into the manufacturing centres, would be the true restoration of English agriculture. Tariffs would not do that work, for they would only help to perpetuate the present state of things, and anything which forces a change must prove a benefit.

The commercial and manufacturing classes of England might very well have asked for a commission to ascertain what is the matter as regards their interests, and what can be done for them. As we predicted at the beginning of our present very moderate improvement in business, the English have not, as in other cases, shared in our renewal of prosperity. The number and the importance of their business failures are considerably greater than last year, while ours are as decidedly fewer in both respects. The amount of both their exports and imports continues to decrease, and their merchants complain that we are taking away their markets in nearly every colony. Their wheat crop, like that of France, promises to be a very bad one, which will necessitate their making large purchases of grain from us, and thus keeping the balance of trade decidedly in our favor. The end of England's troubles is not yet.

General Washington's famous cup-and-saucer illustration of the need of two chambers in a national legislature, is exemplified by the history of M. Jules Ferry's educational bill. It has passed the Chamber of Deputies with all its objectionable features, but the Senate is believed to be certain to strip it of its intolerant, anti-Jesuit clauses. All who believe, as Roger Williams, William Penn and Voltaire believed, in the wisdom of toleration, will applaud this truly liberal policy. Not that these clauses practically amounted to much. The teaching in the Jesuit colleges does not differ in the least from that given by the Sulpicians and the Christian Brothers. And even the proscribed order would have retained its pupils, by establishing its schools on the French frontier, in Jersey, Monaco and elsewhere. The practical effect of this legis-

lation, as a prohibitory measure, would have been less than nothing. But its indirect effects would have been very serious. It would have involved the adoption of the *principle* of religious intolerance, as a part of the policy of the French Republic, and would thus have formed a precedent for still more mischievous proceedings in the future. And the call for imitations of this bad precedent would have been found in the attitude of the French Church towards the Republic. After such a declaration of war on the greatest of the religious orders, the whole influence of the Church would have been thrown permanently on the side of one or other of the monarchical parties. It is true that clerical influence is now, for the most part, anti-republican, but there could be no greater practical mistake than to assume that this is to be the case permanently. No republic will outlive the Roman Catholic Church in France, and a policy of justice, conciliation and tolerance towards the priesthood might do much to disarm the most powerful of the enemies of the Republic. The Church has, indeed, too much reason for its attitude of distrust. The unbelief and immorality of the radical classes, and their hostility towards everything that savors of religious conviction, are displayed in every possible shape. There is a fanaticism of unbelief among them, which would stop at nothing. It is no longer the laugh of Voltaire, but the scowl of Marat; and, therefore, these anti-Jesuit clauses have a significance far beyond their superficial meaning. They are a declaration of war, rooted in hate, and certain to lead to internecine feuds.

It is a little curious to remember that Bismarck became a Protectionist last November, and that Germany has now a Protectionist tariff in consequence. But it must be remembered that equally sudden changes of front have been followed by results not less momentous. Sir Robert Peel's adhesion to the Free Trade programme was quite as sudden, and led to England's abandonment of the policy which she had followed for five hundred years. Peel, like Bismarck, was deserted by a large body of his former supporters, and had to make an alliance with his opponents. But nobody thought of charging that, therefore, England was under a mere personal government, and that her Parliament counted for

nothing. And Germany's new move is simply a recurrence to the earlier policy of her *Zollverein*, which was abandoned but recently. It is not, as her hostile critics represent, an experiment in untried waters.

Behind Bismarck's conversion and that of some of his followers, lies a great and general agitation of the question by the German Protectionists, which has been going on for years past. They have revived the memory of List and his aims in agitating for a *Zollverein*, and have pointed to the industrial status of Germany as giving emphasis to his teachings. As a consequence, the Parliament was ripe for the change before Bismarck was, and a majority had put themselves on record as favoring it before he uttered a word in its favor. His own adhesion to protection had, of course, no small influence on the result. Without him a majority of a hundred votes would have been impossible.

In Bismarck's own view, the change is chiefly a recurrence to the principle of indirect taxation. He has tried to frame that ideal code so often named in our political platforms, "a tariff for revenue, with incidental protection." He does not aim at any substantial check to the flood of importations; on the contrary, he counts on the increased duties from them as the most beneficial result from the change. We hope that this purpose will be frustrated, and that Germany will become once more a self-supplying country.

The Free Traders, after ignoring the agitation conducted by the Protectionists, now contemplate one of their own. They have the English Anti-Corn-Law League in their minds, and they expect to achieve something of the sort in Germany. Such hopes have been cherished at various times by the French and our own Free Traders. Professor Perry was to be our Cobden, and Professor Sumner our Bright, if we might trust to the confident predictions of some sanguine newspapers. But, for some reason, the thing cannot be done over again. It was done in England because a majority of the people had ceased to be producers of food, and because the price of their loaf was at stake. It cannot be done in Germany or France, where the great majority are better off when the loaf is dear. It cannot be done in the United States, as we import no articles of prime necessity. Such agitations "move on their bellies," as Napoleon said of armies.

THE Zulu war might have ended before the recent great victory at Ulundi, if England had really wished it to close under such circumstances. But we fear she did not. She may be ready for peace after striking this one great blow, but the disasters to her arms had been so marked and so humiliating, that no reasonable amount of concession to her claims could open the way to peace. But probably after this decisive victory she will come to terms with Cetywayo, who will promise her everything that is asked, and will keep as many of these promises as he sees fit.

A sketch of the situation in South Africa, from the pen of a well-informed writer, will be found in this number of our magazine. Mr. Talbot has followed English writers, of course, in his exposition, and on one point has not succeeded in eliciting from them the whole of the facts. The primary cause of the present war, for instance, is not to be sought in any local troubles on the Zulu frontiers; from the accession of Cetywayo, he has avoided every sort of offence to the English, and has followed the advice of Sir Theophilus Shepstone with marked attention. Sir Bartle Frere was sent to South Africa to effect a confederation of all the colonies, after the Canadian model,—an object on which the Colonial Office in London has long set its heart. He found the colonists at the Cape unwilling to accede to the plan, because they would thus become sharers in the responsibility of defending the Natal and Trans-Vaal frontiers, which they believed to be permanently threatened by the neighborhood of the military kingdom of the Zulus. In this light, Cetywayo was seen to be an obstacle to the confederation policy, and Sir Bartle Frere assumed an attitude of aggression and hostility toward him, which stands in decided contrast to the despatches of Sir Henry Bulwer, the Lieut. Governor of Natal. The latter has never committed himself to the belief that the war was either politic or necessary. The former delayed for some time to give his sanction to the decision of the Boundary Commission, awarding to the Zulus the lands claimed by the Trans-Vaal, and when he did he coupled with it the series of demands whose refusal led to the present war. He thus gave to the simple act of justice and honesty the form of a grant to the Zulus, and accompanied the grant by conditions to which he knew Cetywayo could not accede, and which were demanded by nothing in the immediate relations between Natal and the Zulus.

Mr. Talbot is quite right in seeking a parallel for the Zulu complications in those which characterize our relations to the Indians. More exactly, Sir Bartle Frere's conduct is precisely like the wicked aggressions by which Black Hawk and his Indians were robbed of their reservation in Northern Illinois, in 1848.

THE money lenders of Europe have been too much for the Khedive. They have succeeded in bringing such pressure to bear on the English and French governments that these have united in demanding from the Sultan his deposition, and have demanded it with success. Ibrahim is an exile in Naples, and his son rules in his stead. The most melancholy feature of this revolution is its illustration of the power wielded by the monetary ring in European politics. For no reason which concerns international policy, but simply in order that those who lent money at fourteen per cent. may be insured both the interest and the principal, one ruler is put down and another is set up. A few more such revolutions are all that would be needed to secure the advent of the Social Republic, and the destruction of monetary power by the abolition of private property. Any rule would be more tolerable to mankind than the rule of the Bourse.

The deposition has a further importance as modifying the relations of Turkey to Egypt. The irade which gave Egypt a sort of independence under the suzerainty of the Porte, contemplated no such exercise of power. It recognized the principle of hereditary succession to the Khedivate, a principle as much violated in setting up the son during his father's life, as in setting aside the son on his father's death. In fact, as the Porte had the acuteness to see, the demand for Ibrahim's deposition was a demand for the retraction of all that had been granted to Egypt, and the reconstruction the relations existing between Cairo and Constantinople according to the good pleasure of the latter. And on this understanding the Sultan has acted, much to the disgust of the very powers which blundered into sanctioning his action. He has re-defined the powers of the Khedive so as to cut him off from all intercourse with the Western Powers, and to reserve to the Porte all negotiations in regard to Egypt's relations to the outside world. By this step, Egypt is brought under the Turkish power once more, and

the losses undergone in Bulgaria are in some measure compensated on the Nile. Whether European diplomacy will stop here, and what steps will be taken to retrieve this Anglo-Frankish blunder, remains to be seen. England and France have united in a protest against the Sultan's action, but they have put themselves in a very ridiculous light by their own action. They have virtually told the Porte, "you are omnipotent in Egypt, when anything is to be done on our behalf. At other times your power is limited."

THE rock on which the Gladstone majority was shivered, has fascinated its rivals and successors. The Beaconsfield ministry are going to solve the problem of university education for Ireland.

It is the misfortune of that unhappy country that the lines of political division are for the most part those of religious antagonism also. A century ago the government was conducted in the interests of Protestant Ascendancy, and the national treasury subsidized schools for the conversion of Catholics to the established Church. Of late years, and especially under Whig administrations, this policy has been abandoned, and a national school-system has been introduced, which allows of such religious instruction being given as the patrons prefer, provided that children of other faiths have the right to withdraw at the time when secular is changed to religious instruction. Of this compromise the Catholics in the southwest and the Presbyterians in the North have very generally availed themselves, and popular education has passed into their hands. The Episcopal clergy resented the scheme—although for a time supported by Archbishop Whately—as an intrusion upon their rights as an established Church. But the rival schools which they established, being devoid of government aid, have come to nothing.

Less acceptable to the Catholics have been the three Queen's Colleges, established in Belfast, Cork and Galway, as the complement of the school system, and confined to purely secular instruction. Hence O'Connell's denunciation of them, as "Godless colleges." To these, as united into the Queen's University, and to Dublin University, consisting chiefly of Trinity College, the right of bestowing degrees is confined; and to all except the holders of degrees the gates of the liberal professions are closed. The best

that a strict Catholic can do is to pass certain periodical examinations in Trinity College, and to apply for the degree of Dublin University. He must study in an unendowed, poverty-stricken school, and seek the degree of an institution which is not his *Alma Mater*, and with which he has no sympathy. This the Catholics resent as an intolerable grievance, as they insist that those colleges which represent the majority of the people of the country should receive an equal share of the national endowment, and should have the power to confer degrees. These demands Mr. Gladstone endeavored to meet, but the Catholic hierarchy believed that they could gain more by his defeat than from his proposal, and therefore they precipitated his downfall.

The O'Connor Don quite recently brought in a bill which he believed would satisfy his fellow Catholics, but it seemed to give satisfaction to nobody. After allowing the House to debate it, the Ministry announced that they were about to bring in a bill of their own in the other House. The object of this move was clearly to influence the coming elections, by showing Irish Catholics that they had been put on an equality with the Protestants and indifferentists who support the "Godless colleges." All that the bill proposes is at the expense of those colleges, institutions of Whig origin and liberal tendencies. They are to be stripped of their present association as a university, and, consequently, of their power to confer degrees. In place of this, a new university, after the model of the London University, is to be created: *i. e.* an examining board, with no teaching functions, bound to examine any one who applies, and competent to confer any degree. But the bill offers no endowment to Maynooth, or to the Catholic University of Ireland. It leaves them in their poverty, to compete as best they may with their endowed rivals.

A better move, in the interest of the Liberals, the Ministry could not have made. The bill will irritate both parties and conciliate neither. It will turn the whole energy of the Queen's Colleges against the Tories, through its invasion of their vested rights, while it will show the Catholics that if Gladstone did little for them in this regard, his enemies will do less. The blunder is the more curious as the Tories last year passed a very sensible bill for the promotion of intermediate education in Ireland, extending national assistance to higher class schools, in proportion to the

work each is doing. If the same principle had been adopted as regards the Irish colleges, even though this examining board, called a university, had been constituted the judge of the work, the Catholics at least might have seen their way to accepting the measure. Their present opinion of the bill is briefly summed up by one Irish member of Parliament:—"Hang the degrees; it's money we need."

It is curious that in this Free Trade country no dependence can be placed upon individual initiative to meet the difficulty. The principle of national education at national expense is adopted in the United States much more fully than in the United Kingdom. But in America private persons endow and enrich our colleges with a liberality unknown in Europe, where everything of this sort is left to government initiative. The immense wealth possessed by English Roman Catholics, if it were on this side of the ocean, would soon be drawn upon for the foundation and endowment of institutions adequate for the Catholic youth of the two kingdoms.

M. Ferdinand de Lesseps, after cutting one costly and unprofitable canal through an Isthmus, is ambitious of making still another mark on the map of the world. He has been getting together a crowd of geographers, speculators and capitalists, called a congress, and proposes to cut a ship canal through some part of Central America to the Pacific Ocean, at a cost of \$90,000,000. This worthy body, after much deliberation, decided to adopt the most impracticable route possible, that through the Isthmus of Panama, where the sum named would not suffice to provide a channel through which a canoe might float from ocean to ocean. The only decently practicable route, that through Nicaragua, would itself demand a much larger sum than has been named.

There is not, and for fifty years hence there will not be, any such traffic as would justify such an outlay. The gross earnings of the Suez Canal last year were something over one per cent. on the capital invested, but Suez is on the line of a far greater traffic than any that enters the Pacific Ocean. Our own Pacific Railway, itself a huge blunder in a financial sense, furnishes us with almost all needed access to our Pacific states, and the amount of traffic which could be diverted from that to the new course would be very small.

The new canal would be difficult of construction, for it is no small undertaking to pierce "the stony Cordilleras." It would be costly in its demand for continual repairs, as it must run through a country of violent floods and tempests, as well as frequent earthquakes, to say nothing of social insecurity and the unwholesome climate.

Senator Burnside has desired the nation to take up the proposal as a defiance of the Monroe Doctrine. And the political importance attached to the control of the Suez Canal, as illustrated by England's secret and sudden purchase of the Khedive's shares, and by the jealousies shown by France and England in this connection, seem to warrant his proposal. The French papers, indeed, insist that it is a purely economical undertaking, with no political significance; but if the *grande nation* had territories on this continent, they would be the first to insist on its political significance and to make it the subject of political intrigue. Since the invasion of Mexico, Americans have not been inclined to consult France as to the meaning of the Monroe doctrine.

We do not, however, favor the Burnside proposal. We think it a wiser suggestion that our government should order the Engineer Corps to make a sufficient survey of each of the proposed routes and publish the results with a careful estimate of the first cost of each, and of the annual cost of necessary repairs. Were such a report to be placed before the capitalists of Europe, we should hear no more about the Panama Canal for half a century to come.

CONGRESS adjourned without glory. No session in its history presents a more unbroken record of mere partisanship,—of measures advocated for strictly partisan purposes, and with no real regard for the national interests and welfare. Exceptionally honest as was its personal make-up, and free from jobs as was its legislation, it is yet questionable whether a far more dishonest Congress, such as passed the Illinois Central Bill or took the bribes of the *Credit Mobilier*, would have done the country more harm, or would have neglected its interests more completely.

Such a Congress is a God-send to the minority who oppose its measures and obstruct its legislation. It elevates them to the dignity of representatives of the solid sense and public spirit of

the nation. And, beyond all question, Mr. Hayes and the Republican leaders are far stronger in public esteem than before this extra session began.

Of the partisan legislation contemplated, only a single point has been carried. Congress made no appropriation for the pay of the United States marshals. Public opinion would have sustained the President in refusing to yield even on this point, and in calling a further session to make the appropriations. But it more strongly approves his course in abstaining from this step, and leaving the responsibility with Congress. The Democratic majority have gained nothing by this refusal. As no Congressmen are chosen this year, the marshals have no election duties to discharge, no ballot-box stuffing and repeating to prevent. Their other duties, though required by the public service, they are left to discharge as best they may, without compensation. We have no doubt that the small sum needed for the salaries of these useful officials can be obtained from other quarters than the national Treasury, and that the next election of congressmen will see them more numerous and vigorous than ever before.

ONE of the last acts of Congress was to put quinine on the free list. Whether this legislation was wise or unwise, will be shown by the result. Certainly its wisdom was not brought into very clear light in Congress itself, for the measure was rushed through at the eleventh hour, without any notice given to the interest affected by it, and without much debate. It was supported by several newspapers usually regarded as supporting protection, notably *The Tribune*.

There is clearly room for those who sustain the protective policy in general, to give their approval to this repeal of the duty, provided it had been accompanied by a repeal of all duties on the raw material of the manufacture. The duty on quinine has been maintained for a period long enough to test our national capacity for the acclimatization of its manufacture among us. It is produced by only a few firms, and its production employs but a small number of workmen. It is still sold at a very high rate to the consumer—as the present writer knows from very recent experience—and, in the case of one firm, immense sums have been gained

by its manufacture. In view of these facts, and also in view of the likelihood that the lower Mississippi valley might be once more the scene of a yellow-fever visitation, Congress might fairly claim to be seeking the greatest good of the greatest number in repealing the duty. But Congress managed to do it in such a way as to place the American producer under peculiar disadvantages as regards his European rival. While the latter has every facility for the manufacture, while the supply of abundant, cheap and excellent bark to the English market is actually recognized as a branch of public policy, and is promoted by the use of the public money, the American manufacturer is left to pay a duty on the bark itself, as well as on the other ingredients which enter into its manufacture.

Thus far we have assumed that the price of quinine will be lowered by opening our markets to the foreign manufacturer. But of this we are very far from sure. Quinine is not, like iron, a substance which can be furnished us in any quantity we choose to take. It is an article whose supply is limited, and is capable of but slow increase. The capacity to manufacture it is, therefore, limited also; and anything which tends to check the activity of those establishments which are at work among us, and to increase the demand made upon the European manufacturer, will result in an advance of its price throughout the world. As Stephen Colwell said, the price of any English commodity is determined by the pressure of the demand for it; and it is to be feared that we are arranging for dear quinine, not cheap. It is almost certain that this will be the result if American firms now employed in the manufacture carry out their threat of retiring from the unfair competition now forced upon them by this one-sided legislation.

THE recurrence of the yellow-fever at Memphis disappoints all the hopes which had been formed as to the improved sanitary condition of the cities visited by it last year. The truth is, it was a grand mistake to have left the care of this matter to the people of Memphis. The city was impoverished and weakened in its energies by the misfortunes of last summer. A kind of fatalism was engendered by the very presence of the disease. Men think "the lightning never strikes twice in the same place." Those whose private resources were called upon to cleanse the foul places,

were straightened in their means by the losses of last year, and unable, as well as unwilling, to do their duty. And, above all, it is not in the grain of the Southern people to become fully awake to the reality of a distant danger. They have not the foresight, the energy, the practical sense needed in such circumstances.

What we needed—what any European government would have had—was a national commission, vested with dictatorial powers, and sent to cleanse the cities of that valley, as Gen. Butler cleaned one of them during the military occupation. Instead of this, what have we? A body of gentlemen sent to advise and assist the local authorities, with no power to say “must,” no right to lay a finger of their own on any public nuisance whatever. And even this was voted with difficulty, as an invasion of State Rights forsooth, justified only by stern necessity, and not to be regarded as a precedent. We rejoice that necessity has brought home even to Southerners the absurdity of the limitation of our national authority, while we mourn the calamities which are associated with it.

We hope that the sorrows of the South will find the hearts and purses of the Northern people as open as ever to their wants. But we do think that every gift that goes southward should be accompanied by some form of protest against the outrageous treatment which our fellow-citizens of colored skin have received at their hands. We have no right to give to those who are outraging the principles of liberty and humanity, unless our gifts are accompanied by the clearest protests against their conduct. Else, every gift must have the effect of encouraging them in ill-doing, by seem- to express not only our humanity, but our approval.

THE political campaign of this autumn bids fair to be one of the liveliest. All attention is turned to Ohio, as the state now vested with the *prærogativum*, since our own election was postponed till November. We do not think the result uncertain in either that state or our own. In both cases, the Republican selection of candidates has been a good one, and while the Democrats have done well in putting forward Mr. Barr in Pennsylvania, they have not in Ohio made a happy selection in Mr. Ewing. In New York, Governor Robinson's renomination is a foregone conclusion, but

his re-election is far from certain. The state went Republican heavily last time, and he has not conciliated public regard by his wholesale vetoes of good laws after the adjournment of the Legislature, and by his zeal in pardoning New York liquor-dealers for their offences against the Excise Laws.

The presidential prospects are still discussed with vigor. It looks pretty clear that Mr. Grant and Mr. Tilden can each obtain the nomination if they want it; also, that the former will decline and the latter will not. The Wall Street set have evidently set their hearts on electing Secretary Sherman, and are exhibiting him in various parts of the country, with a view to increasing his chances. The Secretary is not judicious in the little speeches he makes on these occasions. It was not wise to tell the people of Philadelphia that nobody wanted gold, now that everybody could get it, when everybody in his audience knew that *gold was at par before resumption in this city, but now commands a premium*. We do not look on Mr. Sherman as a very strong candidate, and we hope that when the Grant *furor* has received its quietus through the General's good sense, the attention of the party will be fixed upon Mr. Garfield or some equally good man.

THE examination into the railway system of New York, by a Committee of the State Assembly, has brought somewhat prominently before the general public a fact which has long been known to the commercial public, viz: that reason, justice and equity have but little, if any, influence in determining railroad charges for freight transportation. Glaring inconsistencies and absurdities have always occurred in these charges during the familiar railroad wars between the great east and west trunk lines, but usually without drawing out more than a sort of half-amused protest from the much enduring business public, because such things *must* happen in such wars. But when these absurdities and inconsistencies are found to occur in local freight charges within the boundaries of a state, and at any and all times independently of trunk line hostilities, and without the faintest semblance of a system to govern their occurrence, but depending only on the individual judgment or caprice or favoritism of "Freight Agents," who show on the witness stand a surprising but contented ignorance about the profit or loss

to their lines in the rates they themselves have fixed—then, indeed, it is not to be wondered at that the much enduring public protests no longer good-humoredly but indignantly, and that this growing public sentiment finds its expression in an examining committee appointed by the Legislative Assembly.

Almost the only principle acknowledged by these freight agents seems to be to get all they can, or, putting it in their own words, "to charge what the business will bear;" and this is applied indiscriminately, to local as well as through freights. Now this means in plain language that the railroad company assumes the function of deciding for every local shipper on its line the profit he shall make in his business. Truly, this is a remarkable rôle to be played by a "common carrier," and one not generally supposed to be included among the mysterious and shadowy "corporate franchises" granted by the Commonwealth. It is on this same principle of "get all you can," that strictly local points with but the one railway line of communication are always burdened by tariff rates far higher in proportion than those given to more favorably situated points having a choice of lines. There is no equity in this, and in the long run probably no gain to the railway. For example, the *wisdom* of charging twice as much from Pittsburg to Chicago as from New York to Chicago, is very questionable, inasmuch as this practice has resulted, at Pittsburg, in the building of another outlet connecting with a rival trunk line. But taking higher ground—the justice, the equity, the trade morality, and *therefore* also the *wisdom*, of applying this practice, even to places unable to defend themselves by building other outlets, is equally questionable.

The utterly illogical "special rates" which have been exposed before the New York committee are too insufferably unjust to last long. No objection can be made to a reduction of rates on large shipments, for this is a well established business principle. Railroad companies sell transportation, and every seller expects to allow discounts on large sales. But these discounts must be made systematically and to all alike. No doubt, Commissioner Fink's statement to the committee, that a local freight tariff is very difficult to make and never finished, is quite true if the tariff is based on "charging all the business will bear," for this basis is difficult to find and always changing; but if based on charging a fair

profit on the service performed, tariff-making would be, for capable officers, neither so difficult nor so endless a task. And to this equitable basis the railway companies should all be brought, giving them fair profits on work done, but rigidly excluding them from the commercial speculations in which in reality they now indulge so freely.

For such a committee of our own Pennsylvania legislature there are sundry inquiries that would be pertinent and timely,—as, for instance, why any railroad company existing by virtue of a charter granted by this commonwealth, to develop Pennsylvania's resources and prosperity, should be permitted to pay such enormous "draw-backs" on coal delivered *outside of our own state*, that New England manufacturers get fuel cheaper than do Philadelphia manufacturers—that Boston housekeepers pay less for coal than Philadelphia housekeepers—that it has been possible to take coal from the mines through Philadelphia to New York tide-water and *bring it back* by canal to Philadelphia at *less cost* than if it had stopped at Philadelphia in the first place—and that the Lehigh iron masters have discussed the question of abandoning their furnaces and building new ones on the New York tide-waters, because coal is delivered there at half the rates now charged to the Lehigh furnaces, though carried twice the distance. It must be confessed that Pennsylvania is not to be outdone by New York, or probably by any other place, in the matter of such absurdities and inconsistencies. And can our commonwealth apply no remedy to prevent its own charters being used so murderously against its own interests?

Our Pennsylvania Rail Road has long been acknowledged to be the best equipped and best managed line in our country. Its last report shows that its officers have thoroughly mastered all those complicated details of traffic and its cost, about which the New York officers seem to be so willingly ignorant. But it has lately gained another distinction, in that to its Vice President, Edmund Smith, belongs the high honor of having been the first prominent railway officer to publicly acknowledge (in his recent remarks at Long Branch before a Philadelphia commercial association) that equity and even-handed justice ought to, and eventually must, govern railway rates.

THE ART OF GEORGE ELIOT.

IN all George Eliot's works there is an element of permanence. The scenes which she paints remain with us just as they have come from her hands; the impression which they first make stands out from our memory as often as we revert to them. Her creations are above the lapse of time, and exhibit as changeless as if they had been painted on canvas or hewn out of marble. This permanence of outline separates George Eliot's works from the dreamy, insubstantial fabrics of modern fiction and raises them to a place among those genuine works of art which alone share the unalterable, independent existence of realities.

For George Eliot is, above all, an artist; her thoughts are embodied in characters, and we are no more conscious of her influence than of the painter's when we are brought face to face with his picture. She does not wear her heart on her sleeve; she knows that if we are ever to learn her meaning we must find it out for ourselves, and therefore she brings us directly into contact with her characters, never once coming between us and them,—in the conviction common to all artists, that our unaided insights will belong to us in a sense in which nothing she tells us could be ours. She leaves the action to explain itself, the actors to speak and act for themselves; they are not puppets which can be turned this way or that by pulling a string and be set right when they are going wrong. They are a creation, not a mechanism; and she is no *deus ex machina* who makes them go, and interferes whenever a catastrophe is imminent; she is only a spectator, as we are, who is powerless to interfere with a movement which is directed by the hand of fate.

This resolute neutrality, as self-contained as that of Shakespeare, has earned for George Eliot the reputation of satirist; her passionless attitude seems inconsistent with vivid sympathy. Yet it is an accusation which can be brought equally against every artist who simply "holds the mirror up to nature." He who would reproduce life as it is, not as it should be, must dress villainy out in the deceitfulness of success, must mask vice in virtue, and leave virtue naked to its enemies. But even in *Middlemarch* there is no bitter enjoyment of follies and failures which are after all the negative

side of the truth for which George Eliot works. She never looks down on the sea of life with Lucretius's comfortable enjoyment of the struggle beneath.

Suave mari magno, turbentibus æquora ventis,
E terra magnum alterius spectare laborem.

To her, the spectacle of the worldling's struggle is a tragedy which she watches, as we watch the shipwreck of friends, as Daniel Deronda watched the agony of Gwendolen,—passive because she cannot rescue.

This accusation of heartlessness refutes itself; for the accusation proves that we are stirred by the very method which we have condemned. For George Eliot does not write to the mind at all, but only to the heart, and he who would get at her meaning must not take her words literally, but must accept those emotions which are unconsciously awakened in him as the goal and outcome of her influence. It is not in the contact of the letter with the mind, but in the inner circle where nature meets nature, that the quality of influence is exerted, and the outer contact only represents that which is inner and spiritual. Macbeth accuses the witches of breaking their promise to his hope; for the witches spoke to Macbeth's heart, and they would have failed if they had not set hope and heart on fire. For they failed with Banquo and never appeared before him the second time, because they found in him no unconscious purpose to answer them and echo them back into his consciousness. In the same way, all Shakespeare's characters aim beneath the mental surface; in the keen fence of their dialogue no word is struck home which has not reached through this idle surface-play of thought to the passions beneath; and as the skilful fencer often makes a feint in one direction to insure the unimpeded passage of his blow another way, so often their words are feigned, and make for the opposite side from that toward which they seem to be directed.

Take, for instance, Mark Antony's speech over the body of Cæsar, a speech which exhibits the clearest consciousness of this antithetical power in words, and most artfully conveys an impression the very opposite of its literal sense:

“I come to bury Cæsar not to praise him. . . .
The noble Brutus hath told you Cæsar was ambitious.
I speak not to disprove what Brutus spoke,
For, sure, he is an honorable man.

But here I am to speak what I do know.
 O masters! if I were disposed to stir
 Your hearts and minds to mutiny and rage,
 I should do Brutus wrong, and Cassius wrong,
 Who, you all know are honorable men.
 I will not do them wrong, I rather choose
 To wrong the dead, to wrong myself, and you,
 Than I will wrong such honorable men."

Antony works upon the mob, which is thoroughly with Brutus, by iterations of his praise. He anticipates the turning of the tide, and his prophetic surety seems to take its place among the forces which bring about the reaction. He acts on the mob as the positive plate of a battery stirs the negative, and the intensity of their passion against Brutus was directly in proportion to the strength with which he spoke for him. By the same method which Shakespeare's Antony used upon the mob, Shakespeare acts on his audience. He has the skill which enables him to work with his characters, as the weaver with his threads, producing in each spectator the reverse side of the picture, which is weaving before the eye. *Richard II.* is the best example of this skill. The whole play is a sharp antithesis between Richard and Bolingbroke; every emphasis is laid on Henry, every honor and glory is stripped from the fallen monarch Richard, to adorn and dignify his successful rival. Richard is compelled,

"With his own hand to give away his crown,
 With his own tears to wash away his balm,
 With his own tongue his state to abdicate."

His friends abandon him, his very horse, roan Barbary, bore Bolingbroke to his coronation, and stepped as if it spurned the ground, so proud the creature seemed of him that had usurped its master's seat. Yet Richard, alone and imprisoned, seems every inch a king; the yearnings of loyalty go out to him; our homage is his, not Bolingbroke's; we echo the last words spoken over his dead body:

"So full of valor as of royal blood."

Perhaps the highest embodiment of this method is found in the dialogues of Plato. They are filled with a peculiar humor which is called the irony of Socrates. This very name, *εἰρωνεία*, indicates the quality; it was this power of saying one thing, of repeating and asserting it with the persistence of Mark Antony, till to the astute Greek mind this assertion and effort to prove admitted the need of proof, and was evidence on the other side. But Socrates was not

ironical in his dialogue merely; his *life* was a consummate exhibition of irony; he lived and acted, as well as thought and spoke, beneath its mask. He called himself a lover of sophists and sophistry, sat at the feet of Gorgias and sought by his questions to gain the secret of his master's wisdom. Those modest questions, asked in seeming good faith, never failed to silence the sophist with whom he had to deal. Socrates linked answers and admissions into an inescapable sequence which led to some absurd conclusion. The artifice was successful. The ready rhetorician was left behind, while the nimbler Socrates took up the discourse, and paid him back in his own coin, compelling him to sit like a passive bucket, till he was filled mercilessly full by an exhaustless logic. For Socrates hated the dialectic art which he affected to praise. He entered into the mysteries of sophistry and the dialectics as Samson entered the temple of the Philistines, willing to pull it down, like Samson, on himself, if only out of its ruin a higher ideal could be built up and realized. For him the ideal man was philosopher as well as king; and the dream of the sophist, the intellectual creature whose iron will and infinite mind were linked with no power or inclination to strike its being into bounds, was unreal and impotent beside that complete ideal which united body and soul, fastening its roots even deeper in mother earth, at the same time that it extended in flower and fruit toward heaven.

The irony of Socrates imparts an element of bitterness, as of the flavor of Hymettian thyme in Attic honey, to much that George Eliot has written, and has helped to strengthen the satirical side of her reputation and has given her works the effect of satire. Traces of the method are found in her earlier works, and become more pronounced with the development of her artistic power.

In *Adam Bede*, her first great novel, the character of Arthur Donnithorne is thus drawn. The injuriousness of a life which escapes from its own class to prey upon the humbler circle about it, is especially odious to George Eliot, because it desecrates those ties of love and duty which are sacred to her. Yet Donnithorne is drawn with all mercy and graciousness; his struggles against temptation are magnified, every pretext for apology is seized, he is defended and justified by the most elaborate special pleading. When at last the fair girl, betrayed by him, had been tried and condemned to die, Donnithorne stays the execution:

"A horseman is seen clearing the crowd at full gallop; the horse is hot and distressed, but answers to the desperate spurring; the rider's eyes are glazed as if by madness; he has something in his hand—he is holding it up as a signal. It is Arthur Donnithorne bringing the hard-won release from death." This man is not a hero to us; the sacrifice and suffering with which he would compensate his action, only make it seem heavier and more irrevocable. It is as if George Eliot's scorn of him were too deep for utterance; she cannot express it by degrading him, because he is already beneath her notice.

The injurious qualities which she hates, recur in the character of Tito Melema and are drawn with the same scorn and irony. Tito is the deeper villain, because he has freed himself from the remorse and fear which haunt Donnithorne. George Eliot follows him through the stages of his fall; step succeeds step, till that which had seemed a headlong descent is passed without effort or agony. There is no precipitate act, no sudden snapping of the cords, they seem to part strand by strand through some natural process of neglect, and leave Tito free and unfettered as a brute to take his license in the field of crime. He has ample vindication for his negligence; could he leave new-found friends in Florence in order to find his shipwrecked father, who might be captive to the Turks, but probably had not survived the disaster? And when, after long months, he had positive intelligence, was he to endure the contempt and disgrace which would overtake him if he broke his first silence, for the possibility of rescuing a sick man who might be already dead? After his father had reached Florence unaided, and came suddenly upon him in the streets to claim protection from the French soldiers who were hunting him like a dog, could Tito stoop from his proud position beside the French monarch, to raise and recognize the man who had long been dead to him? He turned away; he could not unravel in a moment the new ties that held him; and if his impulsive act compelled him to crush the man he had wronged, this cruelty was a necessity of self-defence, an instinct which nature prompted and justified. In this way he passed from broken faith to treachery; the ties of love and duty which bound him to his father, to Romola, to the Medici,—the ties which are the conscience of a man,—have been parted, and he can play the traitor with that unscrupulousness which we associate with political Florence in the time of Macchiavelli.

Like Iago, Tito becomes all things to all men; a student to the literati, a *bon-homme* to his social friends, an artful intriguer to the leaders of his party. He has perfect control of himself, because every passion is subordinate to his fierce delight in the game of life; he uses his powers as a fencer would use his weapon or a gamester his cards; he plays every mental quality,—his intelligence, his tact, his wit,—every physical power,—his personal beauty and grace,—every external advantage,—his office, his position, his friends,—card on card, in this reckless struggle for name and place. Like Iago, he wins; he is actually leaving Florence with his spoils, when some untimely chance thwarts him as Iago was thwarted, and tears the mask of success from his consummate villainy. It is only at the last, when the traitor lies dead at the feet of the father whom he had betrayed, that George Eliot forgets for a moment her irony, and speaks unmistakably in her own voice:—"Who shall lay his finger on the work of justice, and say it is there? Justice is not outside of us as a fact, but within us as a great yearning."

These Florentine lives seem to be enacted before us, so intense and dramatic is George Eliot's transcription of them. Her novel, like a play of Shakspeare, is acted history; the characters are real men whose power is measured by the tenacity with which they hold and are held by realities. They live and act, as well as think, and it is their complete nature, not their thought and mind which should impress us. For her, men and women are no more intellectual than they are spiritual or physical; they have bodies as well as minds, and he who cares only for the intellectual qualities of them, who dissects and understands rather than sees and feels, is in the same attitude towards them as the man whose knowledge of Shakspeare is limited to the written plays. Unless he has been dowered with an imagination which can carry the abstract into the concrete, unless he can represent these characters to himself, it is their minds, not the men, which arrest him. They inhabit an ideal world, and are separated from that peculiar surrounding in and through which they realized their individuality. Character loses its pith and vigor, if it be transplanted into this ideal region; it is sicklied by the cast of thought; it becomes unnatural and exotic, an insubstantial and twilight life. We must follow character into the forum, the mart; we must find in what the man accom-

plished the likeness of what he would have done ; we must behold the glory where he beheld it, entering with him into that minute circle upon which he narrowed his life and light. This Dantesque intensity and concentration belong to George Eliot's characters in *Romola* ; they are Florentines, not Romans ; we can no more separate them from Florence, than we can separate Dante's poem from the Florentine imagery which contains it. It pleases us to know that George Eliot lived in Florence in order that she might sketch the scenes which she was about to represent elaborately. For her novels are like an artist's portfolio ; beginning with the rural landscapes in *Adam Bede*, and ending with that beautiful picture of the sunset on the Thames in *Daniel Deronda*, they map accurately the scenes through which her life has passed. In *Romola*, we are never unconscious that Florence has been set before our eyes ; yet there is no dry-as-dust pedantry to choke and blind us. We see the narrow streets, each the exclusive property of that family whose name it bears ; the separate sections hold themselves in proud isolation, as if each were the fortress of a separate faction. The gloomy aspect of houses and monasteries is only slightly relieved by the works of art which fringe and adorn the more substantial structures, and the only meeting ground seems to be the square about the cathedral whose high dome bends over all, and whose frescoes and pictures and beautiful ornamentation fail to soften the stern words of Savonarola. The peculiar individuality of the people, which worked itself into the physiognomy of Florence, is expressed in clear-cut outlines. Its opposite phases are fastened in individuals, the overlapping of whose separate lives represent its completeness. Tito stands for the political element, whose avarice and ambition were hidden beneath a luxurious taste for the fine arts and literature. Romola, a daughter of the house which gave Dante his Beatrice, is at once the child of a scholar and the disciple of Savonarola, and thus unites the religious and artistic tendencies of the time. The marriage of these two, each embodying an opposite element in the Florentine character, the whole story represents with the clearness and simplicity of perfect art. For George Eliot has the constructive power which enables her to work characters together into a climax such as a painter could express on a canvass, or a dramatist in a denouement ; with but little transposition and elision, *Romola* could be enacted before an audi-

ence with all those aids of scene and association which fasten Shakespeare's characters in their own place and setting. This marriage of Tito and Romola is a dramatic picture of the struggle between opposite sides and parties, which mastered each other alternately, without ever uniting in a parallel development. The rigid morality of Dante and Savonarola, who made the conscience of Florence, would allow nothing impure within their holy city; they repressed the passionate Florentine nature till it broke forth in all the license of Medicean rule; when the populace had appeased every appetite, it was prepared again for a return to remorseful asceticism. In *Romola* this alternation and antithesis are everywhere visible; the design is never lost in the construction of the details. The marriage of Romola is a preliminary sketch from which the final catastrophe is elaborated. Every influence which opposes Savonarola is coiled about Tito; those which favor him absorb Romola; the tragic conclusion, which George Eliot reaches by a brief succession of pictures, is the meeting of the same hostile elements, when their collision takes place no longer in the seclusion of a single household, but in the arena of history. A new conspiracy of the Medici has been discovered through Tito's treachery, and Savonarola permits the leaders of his party to venture all by executing the conspirators. This relentless policy was fatal to Savonarola; it did not exterminate the Medici, it only inspired them with revenge and desperation. For the first time they combined with the Pope and the Compagnacci; men who bore the same names as those of the executed Medici seized the person of Savonarola; he was tried as a heretic and excommunicated, before the same spectators who had watched the execution of his enemies. In the very spot where they had suffered, he was put to death, a martyr to his political faith.

This growth and development of the story from climax to climax, this perception and reproduction of the critical moments in life, is not with George Eliot any imaginative or sensational power. Each is only used as a natural picture, which seizes and displays the tendencies that led to the tragedy of her story. These tendencies are not exhibited by any process of morbid anatomy and dissection, but by genuine power to dramatize. They are represented outside of the mind in which they take place by its parallel life and relationships. George Eliot places these minds before us like opened

books, in which every secret purpose, every unconscious motive, is revealed with terrible and prophetic insight. Purpose and motive are made to solidify and crystallize into real life about the threads of influence which knit each character to all the rest. George Eliot follows these threads into the bewildering labyrinth of mental life, and by means of them, makes every dark and intricate position plain and accessible. These threads of personal influence are a complete map of the man's mind, and point out the way which leads him from every dilemma and uncertainty into the open ground of action. That personal influence which is strongest and which is grasped most firmly—whether it be the golden tie of love and duty that holds us to Ariadne, or the baser bondage that leads by motives of interest or fear—shapes our aims and ends with the irresistible power of destiny. These are the threads which the Fates—and the dramatic poets who reproduce the work of the Fates—have woven into all the forms of human relationship, changing the whole color and aspect of lives when they gather up or cut loose a single strand.

The whole emphasis of George Eliot's method is laid upon these personal relationships. Through them she unravels in *Romola* the tangle of Florentine politics into a struggle of definite parties, each of which, through all its apparent contradictions, is held together and directed by unmistakable ties of blood or fellowship. The falsity which was only a manœuvring to overreach and surprise an armed foe, was not dishonorable, because there can be no treachery, where there is no trust and no deception; it is only Tito who does not shrink from deceiving the three parties who trusted him, because he was an alien, indifferent to the prejudices of the men among whom he moved, and independent of any tie stronger than advantage. George Eliot's insight is completely expressed by the words which she puts into the mouth of Ridelfi, "As head of my family, I shall be true to my old alliances; for I have never yet seen any chalk-mark in political matters to tell me what is true and what is false. My wishes are determined by long standing personal relations, but I have no objection to any one finding fine-spun motives and reasons for me so long as they do not interfere with my actions as head of a family, who has faith to keep with his connections." Perhaps the part which is taken by these personal relations in her method of portraiture is more con-

spicuous in the story and character of Romola, whose nature is especially clear and transparent. She seems to grow from within like a living thing, assimilating and uniting those relations, which are the substance and support of her life, to the garments and body we see her by.

We find her sitting at the feet of her blind father, and reading to him concerning the ancient world in which he had sheltered himself from the distress that had overtaken his real life. She is eyes to his blindness, ears to the bitterness and sorrow which struggle for utterance, the mind through which he reaches out for knowledge and comfort. There is an element of maternity in the devotion with which she wraps her life about him as a protection from the world's pity or scorn. The knowledge of his failings and failure only rouses her tenderness the more, and the activities to which she is urged, give to it permanence, the stability of a mother's love for her child. It does not fade or vanish when Tito enters her life as lover and husband. She associates him more with her father than with herself; he is the brilliant scholar who is to take the place of her lost brother in carrying out Bardo's intellectual plans. He is not master, but fellow-servant; her love for him is the natural growth of their work and comradeship; it is a pledge of their mutual service and has no reality apart from it. Marriage only unites her more closely to her father; she is held by a two-fold bond to him and to his memory; and when Tito stands in the way of this loyalty he is at the same time cutting her off from himself. The scene of their difference is in the library, about which were gathered all the memories of their courtship and wedded life. Tito tells her that he has sold the books and manuscripts which had been destined for a library to perpetuate the name of Bardo. This passionate longing to be remembered was the most intense and obvious of her father's qualities. Romola had inherited this purpose, for she had accepted him as he was, his weakness with his strength. Duty was duty to him, truth was truth to him. Tito, lying on his soft couch and justifying himself for escaping from the trust which had been laid upon him, was false and a traitor in spite of his sophistry. She found him wanting when measured by her test of personal loyalty, and was repelled from him with all the strength of her filial attachment to her father. She was escaping anywhere out of Florence, when she was

met and arrested by Savonarola. The earnestness and truth of his personality took possession of her nature, which had been opened already by her opposition to Tito. Her eyes were turned away from the cold and colorless classic world, and she followed Savonarola back to modern Florentine life. She gave herself up to him in utter self-surrender, she was willing to retrace every step of the hopeless way that led to a home which was a mockery. She followed him as Ruth followed Naomi. "Whither thou goest, I will go, where thou lodgest will I lodge, thy people shall be my people, and thy God my God." Under his influence the cold Greek goddess was transformed and humanized into a saint whom the Florentines called Madonna Romola, because she was beautiful as a picture by Angelico, and went about doing good. She was drawn with him into the whirl of political life, watched with vivid interest every movement of the Piagnoni party that had formed itself about him, and identified herself with it. The Piagnoni gained supremacy, and the Medicean conspirators are on trial for their life. Romola's godfather is among them, and her devotion to him holds her as strongly as her worship of Savonarola. To her there is no conflict between the two influences, and she cannot believe that Savonarola will allow the execution, because with her there is no calculation of party needs or interests. Her party represents the cause of religion, and to her religion is the bond of brotherhood which unites all men. It is the recognition of the personal claim which each man has for justice and mercy, and sets the individual forever above party and cause. The Christ who was king of Florence was not a Juggernaut whose triumphal car advanced over the bodies of men; her religion exacted no human sacrifice; her patriotism had none of those peculiarly honorable elements which would have urged her to stab her best friend. She stands aside from Savonarola, when she finds that his ruling motive is not loyalty to individual men but to abstract humanity, and remains a spectator in the catastrophe which follows her godfather's execution. It is only when Savonarola is falling and all men revile him, that her womanly tenderness is stirred, and she once more associates him with all the impulses and activities which he first awakened in her. Romola's life goes on in the calm that comes from self-conquest; she is free from all external desires for herself or for her ideals. She would not enforce them upon men, but accept life as it is and men as they

are. Her religion is no enthusiasm for humanity, but is thoroughly real and positive because it is careless of the type and careful of the single lives that are near and dear to her; it has come to the fulfilment of the special bonds of love and duty which unite each man with every man. Her life is thoroughly contained and embodied in these bonds; it loses itself in the lives of Tito's children, and of those characters in her immediate circle who are assisted and developed by her gracious recognition of them. Throughout Romola's story, there is no doubleness to make her seem other than she is, no effort to win men to herself or her cause. He who is a spectator of her life is brought face to face with her beautiful personality.

These outer and visible relations, through which Romola stands revealed, are used by George Eliot to interpret and represent all the aspects of modern life. That which Carlyle saw in history and called hero-worship, she has identified with the ties of love and duty which sum up individual experiences. The strong bonds by which the chaos of the French Revolution is set in order about a centre, are the foundation and framework of George Eliot's world. They are the spiritual element in her works,—the soul which at once holds them together and is their inspiration. Both the reality and romance—the order and the harmony—which we find in her pictures of modern life are evoked from them. For her novels do not falsify realities into fiction, they are no dream in which we can lie hid from the bitterness of daily life: they reproduce every discord till her works sound like satire; but it is for this very reason that the harmony which she has found beneath the surface is acceptable and true, because it is romance in reality. The scenes in *Middlemarch* have the look of real life; George Eliot is drawing what her eyes have seen and her heart has felt, and her work has the same emphasis which belongs to the picture of a landscape which is our home. Each life is clouded by a certain restlessness and dissatisfaction; the characters wander aimlessly under the guidance of instincts and appetites, rather than aspirations: they are turned away by the shifting currents, and drift helplessly back on themselves, till they are finally stranded far off from the haven for which they set out. Dorothea, the fair modern saint, desires to realize herself in a life of charity and helpfulness; but though she is wedded to a clergyman whose position seemed nearest her

ideal of life, the enthusiasm which possessed her lies hopelessly imprisoned behind him, because his cold intellectuality freezes every impulse toward activity. Even when she is free from him, she gives up her effort to find some complete man, some hero, in whom she could see herself and be satisfied, but is content with a husband who loves her, but who cannot inspire that reverence which is the source of all worship and religion. Lydgate, through whose energy Dorothea's longings would have found their best outlet, loses himself in the blind routine of professional and social life because he has lost her who first awakened him to the life that was about him, and whose love would have put meaning and purpose into his toil. It is a weary, hopeless picture, because it has none of the scornful satire which we can return with scorn, but touches our deeper consciousness with its inescapable truth. It makes us despair of our ideals, and long to give up, to be content beneath the yoke of duty which lay easily enough on Dorothea and Lydgate and Caleb Garth. This despair of modern life which *Middlemarch* evokes, is best allayed by *Daniel Deronda*. The books are inseparable as question and answer, disease and remedy; in *Middlemarch* it is the unconscious and inarticulate want of that which in *Daniel Deronda* is actual and apparent, which produces the vague misery. *Daniel Deronda* is the transfiguration of *Middlemarch*, and reveals that inner spirit, the consciousness of whose presence would have ennobled and dignified lives which were else merely physical: discontent vanishes in a clear and cloudless atmosphere of love and duty. Deronda's influence extends to the lives which are gathered about him, inspiring a reverence which brings with it permanent peace. To Gwendolen he is the external conscience which holds her firmly to galling ties of duty, and restores her, when fate has brought a release, to her right mind and position. To Mirah, his face, mildly serene in power that needs no guile, bears the signature of that goodness in which she had ceased to believe. To Mordecai—her long-lost brother—he was the hero who at once recognized and fulfilled his ideals.

There is something knight-like in his double relationship to Mordecai and Mirah. He has kept his faith, waiting through all his experiences and wayfaring till his true life should show itself; there is no uncertainty in his recognition of it, no hesitation in the strong purpose with which he makes it his own. The hero whom

he worships and the maiden whom he loves, accept his homage, and he gives himself up to them with perfect trust. His truth to Mirrah is strengthened by the marriage-bond, and with a beautiful self-repression dedicates their united lines to Mordecai's service. Like Tennyson's ideal knight,

" His glory was redressing human wrong,
He spake no slander, no, nor listened to it,
He loved one only, and he clave to her."

Deronda's character is stamped with that fidelity to personal relations which is the essential quality of Tennyson's knights. In his *Idylls of the King*, this is everywhere apparent as the architectural method by which the knights of the Round Table were gathered about Arthur. These knights were princes in their own lands, who had wandered from kingdom to kingdom, proving their strength in battle and tournament. At Arthur's court they found their hero and took places among the comrades and fellow-worshippers who sat at his table. Like Saint Christopher in the legend, they had sought out the strongest man, and submitted themselves utterly to his rule. Perhaps this fidelity is even better represented by the truth which bound each knight to the lady whom he loved. His name is linked to one other and only one; Lancelot is never separated from Guinever, Gawain from Enid, Tristram from Iseult. In Elaine particularly this grace in their character is shown. Lancelot has gone in disguise to the tourney at Camelot for the purpose of proving to Guinever that it is not his name but his power which conquers. He stops on the eve of the tourney at the home of Elaine, the maid of Astolet. She boldly asks that he wear her color in the fight, telling him that if he has never worn a lady's favor before, hers will complete his disguise. He enters the list with her scarlet sleeve fastened to his helmet. Arthur alone recognizes him, and his very kinsmen, jealous for the name of Lancelot, bear down upon the unknown knight. For a while it goes hard with him, but those who are on his side come to the rescue and assist him in carrying his opponents back to the barrier. The trumpet announces that the prize is his; but he, wounded and at death's door, hides himself in a hermit's cell, and is only won back to life by Elaine. Lancelot knows her secret, yet he departs without a farewell word or look, in the hope that he may free her from all memory of him. But

she loves him with the love that is her death. They bore her in solemn procession to the court, and Arthur, looking upon the fair lily of Astolet, wished that it had been otherwise with Lancelot and with her. But his love could only be bound where it had chosen; neither his tenderness to Elaine, nor his worship of Arthur could break that strong bond of knightly truth which held him to Guinever.

It is true that a cloud dims the constancy of the mediæval knight. The lady whose color he wore, and in whose name he conquered, was never the one united to him in the purity and singleness of the marriage-bond. His duty and service were given to his wife, but his worship belonged to another. This doubleness of vision led the knight to sunder two relations which are one and inseparable. It was left to the later poets—especially from Spenser to Tennyson—to identify the two. The wife is lady and mistress to Tennyson's fancy, and his powers are dedicated to her rescue from the yoke of familiarity, and the consecration of her home into a temple and shrine. For to him the marriage-bond is the substance, whose shadow and symbol was the knight's truth; through his insight the days of chivalry open out into modern times; we can pass back and forth from Maud and Locksley Hall to Lancelot and Guinever, unconscious of any break between ancient and modern world. For to Tennyson marriage—or, in George Eliot's phrase,—the tie of love and duty,—is the highest form of that constancy which is the idea of chivalry; it is the yoke and arch and broad-stone of honor which gives permanence in modern life to the idealities of knighthood.

These artists reproduce through their creations the methods and relations which in real life they desire to emphasize. Daniel Deronda and Lancelot, Mirah and Elaine, Guinever and Gwendolen are real persons; ours is a special attitude and relationship to them; our minds grow about them in the same way that our lives grow about our hero or lady. These characters take a permanent place before us, drawing out our ideas—as a magnet draws iron filings—into orderly and rounded groups. Any idea which is not held by some character or some experience leaves no mark upon our consciousness, *because* consciousness has only to do with that which is concrete. Just as our dreams are arrested and drawn into memory by the persons and pictures which we carry out from

them; we see and grasp our ideas through these pictured characters in which they are embodied. Art is to the student what action and experience are to men of the world; it reveals his mind outside of him, and he is enabled to enter into its possession and make use of it as constantly as the workman can use his material, combining the separate parts into an imitation of that work of art which is their best symmetry. In this way art threads our thoughts and actions into an extended whole; it is the refrain and recurrence which rises into our consciousness, claiming everything akin to it, and elaborating our lives into a continuous design. It builds out of our waste thoughts a permanent home for our ideas and aspirations; that which we have achieved is securely held till we are strong enough to carry it to completion. In this palace and home of art our minds are warmed and animated till they have grown to full consciousness and individuality.

George Eliot especially recognizes this natural growth of the mind by an apprenticeship and constancy to the work of some master in art. Her own works are brought before the public mind in a way which fosters this effectiveness. They are published in monthly parts, in order that the time may be prolonged, during which the reader's mind may dwell upon and build itself about them. This lingering production has nothing distasteful in it, because her novels excite no morbid or sensational craving. They cannot be read through by any other process than an absorption into her position; the overladen mind would be assimilated in place of assimilating, and the effect produced upon it would vanish as soon as it passed from the external pressure of her influence. There is a relief in the consciousness that time is given us to grasp each of the successive pictures as it is presented; our minds are not nervously alert; they have the easy and natural attitude which belongs to our every-day life. We are living in the presence of her mind and work; we see the methods by which the creation of her world proceeds and our insights are made distinct and manageable through the associations which fix them in our separate spheres. She analyzes character by displaying the combinations into which its different elements enter, by observing the tinge and color which are never separate from its presence. It is by these inherent attractions and affinities that she draws qualities out into life, mapping each of her characters by its relationship to all the rest. The inner nature is displayed in the outer

form; her analysis of characters and her synthesis of them into plot and story are identified in the operation of their elective affinities. The social world which she constructs follows and explains real life as accurately as the chemist explains nature; her creations act out their parts before us as if they were real persons. They are fixed points about which our minds gather, friends whom we know through fellowship and self-recognition, symbols and types which utter our experience, bearing the garment we see our minds by, just as mythology was to the Greeks the nomenclature and garment of religious thought. We can read her works with a growing mastery over the symbolical and hieroglyphic language of art.

George Eliot herself gives us the best example of this apprenticeship and mastery in the sets of chapter-headings which lend a noticeable charm and adornment to her later novels. These headings catch and reflect, with marvellous power of suggestion and illustration, some special quality in the characters which they describe. They correlate and associate the impression which George Eliot makes with that which is made by another artist; for the highest criticism is always a reproduction of the art on which it broods; it fastens and perpetuates some touch in the artist's work, through the sympathetic discovery of the same touch in works by a different hand. Criticism thus becomes the medium through which these separate expressions flash upon us simultaneously. Take, *e. g.*, the heading in *Daniel Deronda*, which identifies his attitude toward Gwendolen's appeal with the broad agony of Prometheus. "Moments of intense suffering which take the quality of action—like the cry of Prometheus, whose chained anguish seems a greater energy than the sea and sky he invokes and the deity he defies. Men, like planets, have both a visible and an invisible history. The astronomer threads the darkness with strict deduction, accounting so for every visible arc in the wanderer's orbit, and the narrator of human actions, if he did his work with the same completeness, would have to thread the hidden pathways of feeling and thought which lead up to every moment of action." The isolation of Gwendolen in the horror that came upon her after Grandcourt's death is compared with that of the *Ancient Mariner*:

"The pang, the curse with which they died
Had never passed away;
I could not draw my eyes from their's,
Nor lift them up to pray."

Mordecai's power over Deronda becomes more comprehensible through the heading which identifies his hope for the Jews with the imperial inspiration of Moses, who was an architect of men not of stone, whose temple, like that sublime structure in the Revelation, was eternal because living men were the columns and support thereof.

But these criticisms do not merely identify her work outside of her; they have a peculiar and potent individuality because they recreate it in themselves. They are an example of that highest criticism which not only fastens these separate qualities and characters through the correlation of them with real men or with the realities of art; but also unites and fuses them, with the artist's own intensity, into a vision of that clear and transparent truth which is the essence and secret of his work. For they are linked into a unity about the characters which are described by them through a recurrence of the same or like imagery. Gwendolen's life is constantly represented by the experience of the *Ancient Mariner*. Each hurrying current of desire changes her course; the sun rises at one time upon her left, and again on her right, while beneath all changes and surprises there is a spirit which moves like the ships in Homer, inevitably according to Gwendolen's wish. At the climax of her loneliness and despair, Deronda's influence enters her troubled life, and she follows him as the waters follow the moon.

Still as a slave before his lord,
The ocean hath no blast:
His great bright eye most silently
Toward the moon is cast.
If he may know which way to go;
For she guides him smooth or grim;
See, brother, see how graciously
She looketh down on him.

We can almost retrace the work of the mind which wrought its separate impressions into this golden chain of chapter-headings. They follow each other like the thoughts in Coleridge's *Table-talk*, which are the headings to a connected conversation. We can open one heading into another, just as we could open one thought into that which succeeds. Each heading is a point: from these points we can construct the circle which sweeps about the character at its centre: and from these circles we can obtain the common law and

logic which determine their nature and their development. For the critic's path, which is indicated by separate positions, sweeps in a complete circle, like that of an earth about its sun. For the art which holds his mind is an influence rather than a power; it does not force the mind into unnatural shapes, but rather awakens nature from its lethargy: it is the broad and kindly light which enables each separate life to choose from a common atmosphere the elements which are its own, and quickens in each the currents that move it to its special fruition. Art makes no attempt to enter within the solitariness of organic life: the artist brings to each man the influences and elements which he must take to himself and assimilate, working them, according to his own impulses and laws, into the fibre and texture of his nature. That last final process by which individuality asserts itself in growth is sacred to the artist, for it is the glory and the vocation of art to recognize individuality.

To the solid ground of nature
Trusts the mind that builds for aye.

The artist trusts his truths to nature; he gives them up to each teeming mind, certain that in each they will be carried up to new flower and fruition. This quality of the artist belongs to Deronda's character and influence: he does not thrust his goodness upon Gwendolen, he does not encourage her to escape from the evil by which she is oppressed: his self-contained goodness awakens echoes and vibrations within her, till she is roused into a struggle whose end is no change of place but change of nature. Deronda stands aloof from any interference with another's life, as if he were held by invisible bonds; his very sympathy completes itself in a reverence which keeps him from laying violent hands upon the character which he would influence. It is the old story of Prometheus, the son of the Gods; he who brought fire from heaven, and to whom we turn for deliverance, is bound powerless to the rock, while an eagle tears his heart. Reverence like this lifts the falling and the fallen up to self-reverence and self-respect; they are restored to their minds; their strength and their confidence will be asserted in self-mastery.

Daniel Deronda is the flower and crown of George Eliot's work: the creation in whom she is well pleased. All the tenderness of Romola, and the strength of Felix Holt are united in him: she takes delight in adorning him with every gift and grace. In him,

is incarnate that reverence which is the essence of George Eliot's art. For hers is a benignant influence, her words have none of that direct bitterness which speaks daggers to the wounded spirit and stings with the wisdom of a serpent; to her there is no door of communication between mind and mind save that which opens through the veiled utterances of art.

The art remains the one way possible
Of speaking truths to mouths like hers, at least
How look a brother in the face and say
"Thy right is wrong, eyes hast thou yet art blind,
Thine ears are stuffed and stopped, despite their length,
And, oh, the foolishness thou countest faith!"
Say this as silvery as tongue can troll—
The anger of the man may be endured,
The shrug, the disappointed eyes of him
Are not so bad to bear—but here's the plague,
That all this trouble comes of telling truth,
Which truth, by when it reaches him, looks false,
Seems to be just the thing it would supplant,
Not recognizable by whom it left—
While falsehood would have done the work of truth.
But art—wherein man nowise speaks to men,
Only to mankind—art may tell a truth
Obliquely, do the thing shall breed the thought,
Nor wrong the thought, missing the mediate word.
So may you paint your picture, twice show truth,
Beyond mere imagery on the wall,—
So, note by note, bring music from your mind,
Deeper than ever the Andante dived,—
So write a book shall mean beyond the facts,
Suffice the eye, and save the soul besides.

J. CARROLL SMYTH.

THE MODERN MUSEUM.*

THE sentiment which forms the text of the following remarks, is this: that of all the grand edifices which men are accustomed to erect for public uses, none is more necessary than the museum. I firmly believe that the spirit of the present age has made it that of great museums. This is the day of colossal ex-

*An address delivered by Professor E. D. Cope, at the opening of the Permanent Exhibition, in Philadelphia, May 10th, 1879.

hibits of the works of creation, as the middle ages were the ages for the building of immense temples, or cathedrals. These, it must be confessed, were too frequently erected to an unknown God. But with the field of nature exposed before us, as it has been by the labors of many men during the present century, we have now acquired, it is to be hoped, some knowledge of that God who had been previously unknown, so far as relates to those works which interest us most immediately.

Now, as regards the method of presenting the results of the great and all embracing process of creation, I will offer a kind of synopsis of the order in which it appears to our minds as we stand within our civilization, and thence cast our eyes over the past, gradually unfolding the history of the world from its commencement. Some of the statements which I shall make will doubtless be trite, for I chiefly hope to exhibit the connection between facts already recognized, upon which the classification of this great exposition may be securely based.

It is well known that man as an animal commenced his existence with but few appliances for protecting and supporting himself. There is still a state of savagery in which even the making of the vessels for holding food and liquid is unknown. Implements of all kinds, at an early day, and in a still existing state of savagery, were nothing but fragments of rocks, mostly of flint, and the use of metals was unknown, except as shining ornaments with which the savage was amused in leisure moments. The making of pottery and the use of the bow and arrow were advances of much more importance than we can now well conceive. The discovery and making of the bow and arrow, simple as we now consider the method to be, was only attained after the expiration of ages.

In the discovery of the art of weaving, man became at last independent of the wild animals and of their migrations, as a source of supply of clothing; and by domestication of animals, he was enabled to control them also for the purpose of furnishing him with food. In spite of all the changes of the seasons, he could then keep his flocks and herds and make his stuffs, and clothe himself and his families. He ceased to rely upon the chase, and became pastoral. Here we have the indication of one of the great stages in the progress of man. But, until agriculture was discovered, and manufacturing as a separate occupation was com-

menced, he was compelled to be nomadic; he was under the necessity of moving his tent from place to place, in order to find food for his flocks and herds. When agriculture came, civilization in its true sense began. When the soil of one locality was capable of yielding food year after year, so that there was a surplus, commerce had a serious beginning. One set of men could produce food enough for all, and another set of men could then have time to make clothing for all; and so food and clothing became interchangeable, according to the people's needs, and organized society, with its commerce, had its origin.

But in order to carry on agriculture and the chase, something more than stone hatchets and stone diggers were necessary. Hence, doubtless, the experiments in the effort to utilize more tenacious metals were innumerable. Then was discovered the working of soft metals occurring native, such as copper; an important advance. Later, success crowned the efforts of early man when the discovery of the art of working iron was made, and a wonderful impetus to his control over nature was given. We are all familiar with the results that followed. New weapons were made. The building of larger vessels to float upon the water, and the creation of new hand-machinery, necessarily became possible. When in modern times steam was harnessed, all processes were accelerated tenfold, and now electricity has bound the human race together so that the most rapid interchange can take place in answer to all demands; and supplies of food and clothing need no longer be wanting to any one of its widely scattered nations. One may say that such was the physical establishment of the human race upon this world. The great triumph over nature was accomplished by this process.

In accordance with this history of development, the present exhibition is to present the results of human industry from its earliest appearance, representing them in five departments, viz.:

The department of archaeology and ethnology.

The department of agriculture.

The department of architecture.

The department of model homes.

And finally, the department of machinery and manufactures.

We can readily see what interest attaches to the department of manufactures and machinery, if we are at all familiar with the pro-

gress of our species, with the history of his supplies of clothing and daily food, of how our ancestors lived, and how the first men were, as it were, turned loose upon the world to shift for themselves. We know that they lived and survived, and that we are standing, to-day, surrounded by all the conveniences of civilization. We anticipate that the department of machinery and manufactures will elucidate the subject in the extensive space which has been devoted to it within the building.

We now pass to the departments devoted to the supply of the necessities of his mind. It is evident that man in his first existence upon earth, began with sufficient rationality to enable him to support and protect himself against fearful odds; for as of all animals the least perfectly furnished with natural defences, he was compelled to rely upon his own skill and activities. He inherited what he had to start with; and doubtless found abundant necessity for using it in his combats with the lions, tigers, hyenas, wild oxen and bears which shared with him the field and forest. The brain, at some periods of its life, is, probably of all organs of the body, the most capable of growth-changes, as it is most susceptible to sense-impressions. Hence it is developed by exercise to a remarkable degree. The development of mind under use is familiar, though not sufficiently so, to us all. Its degeneracy in consequence of disuse is equally well known. As man's life has been from the start a struggle against the forces of nature, without weapons or protection, save those of his own making, so man's history is the history of the development of his mind. The progress of rationality is the progress of the most perfect of the animal creation, but it is not the only progress. The development of the sentiments has also advanced with the opportunity of exercising them. From our social relations, our affections have sprung; from the necessity of law imposed for mutual protection, our moral ideas have been derived. In these two fields, man appears as a higher being, apparently preparing for a still higher destiny. Further than this glimpse, I will not refer to the future. We have much to do in the present. *Si quæris [laborum] amicum circumspice.*

As representing purely intellectual objects, there are three departments represented within the walls of this Exhibition.

Firstly, the department of industrial training, to develop and stimulate mechanical knowledge and skill.

Secondly, the department of schools and libraries, in which is exhibited the apparatus used in the training of the mind while most plastic, in all that is necessary for its adult life.

And finally, the department of the fine arts, which are used to develop and keep alive the affections and sentiments, and remind us ever of the beautiful, the good and the true.

Of necessity, we first look at these subjects with the eye of physical utility. I hope that I have made it evident that the contemplation of man by himself has of all subjects the highest utility. In considering the laws of our being and the conditions which gave rise to our existence, let us return to the starting point of human progress, and endeavor to carry our view into that past where man's agency was unknown, and where life struggled toward the creation and birth of its latest offspring, mind. Here we have the history of the battles of life with its environment, with hunger and thirst, with flood and earthquake, ever defeated, yet ever rising indestructible. It has been taught by disaster, learning new defences and safeguards. To-day, after these æons of change, life is everywhere. The soil is full of it, the waters teem with it, the air is clouded with it. Wherever it can exist, there life comes. We eat it, we drink it; it abounds in the centres of human population, as in the wastes of the ocean and of the prairie. There are five hundred thousand species of animals and as many of plants, and there are few of these that are not represented by millions of individuals. If now we seek to express in one word the grand distinctive feature which this term implies, life may be described as the condition which can feel; not indeed the condition which *does* feel, for there are many functions of life which involve no feeling or consciousness; but these are exhibitions of mechanical or automatic force, originated in consciousness, which, when its work is done and its machinery is in working order, has the happy characteristic of passing on to other scenes where new necessities call for it.

The laws which have carried this life through ages of time, and also clothed it in so many wondrous forms, are also laws of our own life. What life has done in the past can be done again, if it be worth doing; so that we find utility as well as pleasure in contemplating its history. Here, as elsewhere, this Exhibition should be an educator, for

The department of Organic Material

will display the handiwork of life in the dwellings and machinery it has built for itself from the beginning of geological time.

As we approach non-living matter, or the inorganic world, we are led to speculate on the origin of life. This raw material, as we can call it, represented here by

The department of Inorganic Material, is the product of a laboratory whose processes are co-extensive with time, and whose boundaries are those of the universe. In its history we find material for ceaseless wonder, for perpetual admiration, and also for serious thought. Our minds necessarily become earnest in the presence of the vastness of the stellar masses, and we feel something akin to horror in observing the stupendous effects of force. We are compelled to pause and ask ourselves the meaning of the tremendous conflict of the forces which raged for aeons before the earth was fit for life. We see processes of world-making, with their successive storms of matter, substance after substance descending to their centres, either in gentle mists or in thundering avalanches, as the case might be, with the dissipation of heat or decrease of temperature. We see the atmospheres of planets gradually cleared, so as to admit the light of the great solar bodies, and the worlds become habitable.

But why or how the fire of life caught the material of life as it exists here, we cannot yet perceive. It did come, whether by communication from an outside source, or whether actually produced by processes in dead matter, we do not know. In its essence, as consciousness or sensibility, I do not believe it to be the offspring of anything, but to be additional to matter and force; the third fact of the universe, to which the two others are necessary. It spreads from place to place, whenever the conditions of matter and force are suitable for it. It is like a fire let loose, which now creeps through low cushions of moss and grass, now smoulders in old wood, then blazes high as heaven in fruitful meadows and towering forests,—it dies out in the earth, avoids bare rocks, and ceases abruptly as it strikes the edge of the water. But matter capable of displaying it there doubtless always has been, if not in one planet then in another; if not in one solar system then in another; and so it penetrates the universe, derived from the great reservoir of consciousness—wherever that may be—perhaps all around us. The labor and time consumed in making the living world of to-day,

is only realized by those who can read the history of creation. What ages have passed since life began the struggle whose outcome is mind! What millions of attempts, so to speak, were made before the best working machine, man, the triumph of mental organization, was turned out! What immeasurable waste, from one point of view, was necessary before this result was achieved. Mountains of limestone bespeak the ruin of countless myriads of animals; coal and oil and other similar substances are the quintessence of forests and other cohorts of living things. Even the solid flint has been laid down in incredible masses by the gentle showers of the shells of minute plants upon the floor of the ocean, and square leagues of rocks in all parts of the earth are filled with the remains of the inhabitants of land and water. Tribe after tribe, nation after nation has fallen, and we ask as we wonder,—How many pleasures and pains lie buried with these millions? How many songs have been hushed? How many discordant cries silenced, before the relentless advance of the law of progress that has allowed no laggards. Such is the explanation of the hecatombs of the past, such the lesson man finds set before him. In considering the time occupied in the creation of man, and the waste involved in the process, it is incumbent on us that the value of the result is not diminished through any fault of ours. In this view, the creation of exhibitions like the present one finds its best justification. There is no more certain way of teaching of the future than by the knowledge of the history of the past.

As before remarked, there is no doubt that the present time is the age of these great museums; it is becoming more and more evident that there can be no greater benefit to society than to have the evidence of the laws of progress *before its eyes*. It will then learn that the species cannot go backwards, and that if society goes backwards, the world will leave it behind; that progress is a pleasure, and that retrogression will sooner or later become a pain. That thousands and millions are nothing in opposition to the progress of nature, and that, as in the past so in the future, she can bury her dead no matter how many they be. That this building is the place for such an exhibition, as adapted to the means of this city, I think no one can for a moment doubt. It is the only building, to my knowledge, which is sufficiently large and extended to present in order the millions of objects which we ought to ex-

hibit. The space which is contained within these walls, well supported by iron columns, and bound together by iron girders as they are, can hold the contents of the British Museum and the South Kensington Museum combined; it would contain the contents of the *Louvre* and the *Jardin des Plantes* conveniently under one roof. Here the visitor or the citizen can pass from one department to the other, without having traversed the length and breadth of this great city, and without missing any part of them.

Shall this city, the second in population on the American continent, in the front rank of the cities of the world, neglect this opportunity? Shall it refuse material aid; shall it entomb its dollars and bury its talent, so to speak, in the earth, by erecting new and costly museum buildings in scattered localities? A distinguished author says that the work of science is generally in inverse ratio to elegance of buildings and appliances; and it certainly is unwise for men to put money into structures, and not leave enough to support the work to be carried on within their walls.

I sincerely hope that this important opportunity will not be lost, and that Philadelphia may fully avail itself of the facilities which are presented within the immense space which is covered by the roof above us.

E. D. COPE.

THE BRITISH POWER IN SOUTH AFRICA.

I.

IN order to clearly understand the condition of political affairs in South Africa at the present time, and to be able intelligently to criticize the policy which the British Government has pursued towards the colonists and the native tribes in that remote corner of the earth—and thus learn the causes leading to the existing troubles with the Zulus—it will be necessary to review the history of that section from its first settlement by the whites.

I. The Cape of Good Hope was first rounded in 1486 by the Portuguese, who were followed soon after by the English and Dutch. In 1652 it was taken possession of by the Dutch East India Company, which established a supply and trading station there. During the war between Holland and France, the Prince of Orange sought refuge in England, and in order to prevent the

Cape falling into the hands of the French, an English fleet was despatched in 1795 to take possession of it until peace should be declared. By the Treaty of Amiens in 1802, it was restored to the Dutch. Upon the breaking out of war between France and Great Britain a few years afterwards, the British Government, appreciating the importance of the Cape as a naval and military station, again despatched a force to take possession of it. A feeble resistance was made by the few Dutch troops to the landing of the expedition, but terms of surrender were signed January 19th, 1806, by which act the Cape of Good Hope was formally declared a British colony. "Every man in the colony was benefitted when the incubus of the Dutch East India Company was removed."

Cape Colony now began to grow rapidly in population, and to extend its limits far into the interior. As in all similar cases, however, the settlement and constant extension of the whites led to continual troubles with the surrounding natives, who generally regarded the whites as intruders upon their domain, and held that they were entirely justified in plundering the intruders and driving them out of the country, if possible. In order to put an end to these troubles, it was determined in 1809 to expel all the Kafirs from the country east of the Fish river, which had been declared the boundary line between them and the colonists since 1778. This movement led to the first serious war with the natives. After this, the government held out great inducements to encourage the growth of the old and the settlement of new sections, the British Parliament voting £50,000 to assist colonization. In a few years thousands of English, Irish and Scotch immigrants settled in the colony. In 1834 a King's Order in Council abolished slavery in all the South African colonies and granted equal rights to all persons, colored as well as white. At the same time the Governor of the Cape was instructed to cultivate friendly intercourse with all Kafir tribes and to station proper men among them to assist them in acquiring the customs of civilization. Treaties were also to be made to stop the depredations constantly occurring. While the government was thus endeavoring to carry out this peace policy, the Gaika tribes, to the number of twenty thousand men, fell upon the colony, but in retaliation Kafirland was invaded, and British sovereignty was declared over the territory of the hostile tribes as far as the Kei river—the present boundary of Cape Colony proper.

New treaties were now made with most of the tribes, based upon the views of a committee of the House of Commons and of a number of English philanthropists appointed to inquire into the subject. After four years experience, Governor Sir George Napier wrote: "As far as the colonial government and the colonists were concerned, never were treaties more strictly or pertinaciously adhered to; but not so with the Kafirs, for they commenced from the first to plunder the colonists, and notwithstanding every exertion, it was found impossible to prevent these depredations, which caused ruin and dissatisfaction among the farmers." In 1846 affairs again culminated in open war, this time extending over a period of two years. The treaty of peace finally concluded with the defeated chiefs acknowledged British sovereignty over their territory, thenceforth known as British Kaffrairia. Scarcely had the ravaged districts begun to recover from the effects of the last war before another one broke out. In 1850 a Kafir prophet excited his people by proclaiming that he had power to change the Englishmen's bullets into water, and by arming the natives with charmed sticks could give them power to destroy all the white people. The superstitious natives engaged in the crusade with fanatical zeal. A long and destructive campaign followed, ending in 1853 by the stereotyped submission of the chiefs and the absorption of their country as British territory, it forming the district now called Queen's Town.

In 1854 the British government voted £40,000 a year for the purpose of maintaining educational and benevolent institutions for the benefit of the natives, and for building roads and other public works upon which they were to be employed. Various reforms were at the same time inaugurated in the tribal government of the natives looking to their gradual civilization.

In 1857 another native prophet arose, who ordered the people to destroy all their cattle and other stock, and to refrain from tilling the soil, telling them that a superior breed of cattle and abundant crops would spring out of the ground, and that the whites would be swept from the face of the earth. The date appointed passed without the fulfilment of the prophecy, of course, and the deluded natives began to suffer from the famine which they brought upon themselves, many thousands of them dying of starvation. It is thought that the prophet was instigated by some

of the chiefs, who desired, by reducing their people to want and desperation, to lead them to plunder and make general war upon the settlers, which result naturally did follow. The government was prepared for the emergency and drove the Kafirs far beyond the limits of the colony. After this there was no serious war with the natives until the present.

II. Natal is the second in importance of the British colonies in South Africa. In 1833-4, the Dutch settlers, or *boers*, (peasants) of Cape Colony, who had long been dissatisfied with British rule, sought to escape from it by "trekking," or moving, northward across the border, intending to establish a government of their own elsewhere. In 1836, the emigrant *boers*, then numbering about ten thousand persons, issued a statement of the grievances which impelled them to undertake their pilgrimage into the wilderness. They complained that the government had failed to properly protect them from the constant incursions of the Kafirs; it had failed to pass laws to suppress native vagrancy; and the same government which had previously encouraged and profited by slavery, now arbitrarily emancipated their slaves and allowed only about one-third their value for them. Another grievance was the declaration of the equal rights of all classes in the colony,—a condition to which the *boers*, with their strong prejudices against the natives, could not submit. Their sentiments were concentrated in the words:—"We quit this colony under the full assurance that the English government has nothing more to require of us, and will allow us to govern ourselves without its interference in the future."

Crossing the Orange river, the emigrants "trekked" first northward, and then eastward across the Drakensberg mountains into what is now the colony of Natal. During their wanderings, they were the objects of constant attack by the natives, the scattered parties suffering the most serious losses in life and property. While crossing the Drakensberg, a party of men was sent ahead to visit Dingan, the Zulu king, to ask permission to settle in Natal, over which he claimed sovereignty. Dingan received the deputation with apparent friendship and promised to grant their request. As they were about to leave on their return, in February, 1838, he invited them to his *kraal* to witness a war-dance and sham-fight by his troops. In the midst of the sham-fight the Zulus made a rush upon the visitors and massacred the whole party, numbering about

one hundred souls. Dingan then sent out his forces against all the emigrants on the eastern side of the Drakensberg. These were attacked at night and without a moment's warning, the slaughter being indiscriminate. As soon as the emigrants on the western side heard of the fate which had befallen their comrades, they immediately organized a force of eight hundred men to punish the Zulus. By breaking up into small parties, and falling into ambushes, the *boers* suffered heavy loss and were finally compelled to retreat. Their sufferings after this were extreme, but although the government of Cape Colony sent word asking them to return, they heroically refused to do so. Later in the year another force of six hundred men was organized, and in December a battle was fought between the *boers*, corraled behind their wagons, and the Zulu army, numbering about ten thousand men. After some hours fighting, the former made a sudden charge from their enclosure and scattered the latter in all directions. In 1840, a final expedition was organized against Dingan, the farmers having Panda, the king's brother, with four thousand of his warriors, as an ally. Dingan's forces were soon routed, and he was shortly afterwards killed. The *boers* now recognized Panda as king of the Zulus, and at the same time issued a proclamation declaring all the territory between the Black Imfolosi and Umzimvubu rivers, and the Indian Ocean and the Drakensberg mountains, to belong to the emigrant farmers, who had established a government under the name of "The South African Society of Port Natal." In 1840 the name was changed by the *Volksraad*, or council, to the "Republic of Natal and Adjacent Countries," the laws of Holland, with such local changes as were necessary, being adopted. A memorial was addressed to the Queen, praying her to recognize the Republic as a free and independent state. To this the reply was returned that Her Majesty could not acknowledge a portion of her own subjects as an independent people, nor permit them to form independent states in South Africa.

Owing to the constant troubles between the *boers* and Kafirs, and the evils likely to result therefrom to the other colonies, the British took possession of Natal 1842, the *boers* making a show of armed resistance, in which some lives were lost on both sides. The Queen's proclamation, formally annexing Natal to the British dominions, was dated May 12th, 1843.

Soon after this the Zulus began pouring southward across the Tugela river, which formed the boundary between Natal and Zululand. They were seeking a refuge in British territory from the cruelty and oppression of their king and chiefs. Their overwhelming and increasing numbers caused a feeling of general insecurity among the whites, who were few in number and were widely scattered. This ever-threatening danger, with several other well-founded causes of complaint, induced the *boers* to make preparations for abandoning the colony and seeking another home elsewhere. The wanderings of these emigrants,—some of whom entered the Orange river country, and others the Trans-Vaal,—will be noticed hereafter.

III. About 1825 the Dutch farmers of the Cape, who were advancing farther northward every year, first crossed the Orange river into the fine country now known as the Orange Free State. The Griqua Hottentots who occupied the territory made no objection, as they found it convenient to barter with the colonists for arms, ammunition and other supplies. When the *boer* exodus took place from Cape Colony in 1833-4, a portion of the emigrants had settled in the Orange river territory. When British sovereignty was declared over Natal in 1842, many of the settlers "trekked" back over the Drakensberg, some of them into the Orange river country and some northward across the Vaal and into the country beyond. Strengthened by these accessions from Natal and others from Cape Colony, the Orange river settlers undertook to form a government for themselves. Their increasing power also enabled them to oppress the natives in various ways. The natural consequence was that troubles became frequent and serious. When the *boers* had a fight with any tribe, they reduced to slavery all whom they did not destroy or drive out of the country. They also bought native women and children as slaves. So overbearing and aggressive did they become in their conduct towards the natives, and so serious had the troubles with the surrounding tribes become, that the Governor of Cape Colony felt called upon to interfere. Upon his proposition all matters in dispute between the *boers* and natives were submitted to disinterested arbitrators for settlement, an arrangement which was happily carried out. The governor then stated that if four out of five of the colonists expressed a wish to be received as British subjects, he

would grant their request. It appearing that the majority so desired, the governor, as High Commissioner for South Africa, issued a proclamation on the 3d of February, 1848, declaring British sovereignty over all the country north of the Orange river to the Vaal river and east to the Drakensberg mountains. These limits included the territories of the Griquas, Basutos, Barolongs and several other tribes of natives, who also desired British sovereignty and protection to be extended over them. Many of the *boers*, headed by Andries Pretorius, their chief commandant, declared that four out of five did not ask for British rule, and drove out the British officials who had been placed over them. But they were defeated and dispersed by an expeditionary force. The majority of the *boers* then declared their entire submission.

In 1850 grave disturbances arose between the various tribes occupying the sovereignty in regard to their territorial rights. They all appealed to the government, which had acknowledged their rights and promised to protect them, so that it was accordingly drawn into their quarrel. When the news of the condition of affairs reached England, it was determined, in view of the constant annoyance of the subject, and the great expense which would be incurred in maintaining peace, to relinquish British sovereignty over the Orange river country, and at the same time the colonial officials were forbidden for the future to make any extension of the British dominions in South Africa. On the 8th of April, 1854, a Royal Order in Council proclaimed the legal abandonment by Her Majesty's Government of the Orange river sovereignty, the government of which was turned over to a deputation of *boers* appointed to receive it, with an acknowledgment of their independence.

Many questions of territorial and boundary rights soon rose and led to disputes and fights, not only between the *boers* and natives, but also between the different native tribes. Finally, in 1868, the Basutos, pressed on all sides and their power completely broken, appealed to the governor of Cape Colony, as they had done several times before, to take them under British protection. In order to save them from annihilation, he granted their request, and proclaimed Basuto-land British territory.

In 1871 the diamond districts were discovered in the territory lying on the western boundary of the Free State, and claimed by the *boers* and Griquas. The latter then, like the Basutos, appealed

to the governor of Cape Colony, and on the 27th of October, 1871, their country, including the diamond fields, was proclaimed British territory, under the name of the Province of Griqualand West.

The action of the British in regard to the Basutos and Griquas, as well as upon several other subjects, aroused bitter feelings in the minds of the *boers*, and led to much warm correspondence between the governments. In 1876 Earl Carnarvon, Secretary of State for the Colonies, invited President Brand of the Free State to visit England and confer with him personally upon the matters in dispute. The invitation was accepted, and the result was a satisfactory adjustment of all differences. The British Government paid £90,000 in full settlement of all claims, and in addition to that gave £15,000 to aid the State in constructing a railway to connect with the colonial railway system.

IV. The territory of the Trans-Vaal was first settled in 1838 by a number of *boers* who, after the attack upon them by the Zulus in Natal, returned over the Drakensberg and crossed the Vaal into the country beyond. Strengthened by many accessions, particularly from Natal in 1842-3, they established a government and declared their independence. The governor of Cape Colony then issued a proclamation claiming British sovereignty over all the territory up to 25° South Latitude, upon which the emigrants "trekked" still farther northward beyond the limit named.

Like every other colony, the Trans-Vaal soon began to have trouble with the natives, who were, however, comparatively few in number. "Commandos," which had been in vogue in all the Dutch colonies from the first settlement of the Cape, were organized—a commando being a levy in arms of all the able-bodied men under the leadership of the field-cornet of the district for the purpose of pursuing and punishing the natives. In these expeditions cattle were run off, villages burned, the natives scattered, and women, children, and many of the men, taken to work as laborers—or slaves—on the farms. Indeed, it may be said that the young *boers* were as bad in cattle stealing and general plundering as the natives were.

The farmers of the Trans-Vaal, or, as it was afterwards rechristened by its *Volksraad*, "The South African Republic," were honest and hospitable, but they were also ignorant and boorish, endowed with strong prejudices, with natural antipathies against

the restrictions of law, and with an almost fanatical hatred of the natives. The government they formed was ruder and less liberal than that of even the Free State. The general tone of their constitution and of their sentiments may be inferred from the clause—"The people will admit of no equality of persons of color with white inhabitants either in state or church." They adopted, as far as possible, a policy of isolation, having little intercourse with the other colonies, not excepting their fellow-countrymen of the Orange river.

The independence of the little republic was finally acknowledged by the Cape government in 1852, and articles of friendship and trade between the two countries were adopted. A few years after this, the Trans-Vaal was threatened with disruption by the party differences of three factions, which occupied distinct sections of the country. These differences were afterwards amicably compromised; but as that danger disappeared others arose. They became involved in boundary disputes on all sides—with the natives, with the Portuguese of Delagoa Bay, with the colonial government and with the Free State. In 1871 arbitrators were appointed to adjust the disputed questions, but their decisions being generally unfavorable to the Trans-Vaal, that government attempted to repudiate them. On the Zulu border, there was a strip of territory claimed by both, but which the Zulu king, Cetywayo, asked Natal to annex to that colony and thus make a barrier between him and the Trans-Vaal. Later still, troubles arose with the Basutos under Secocoeni, who refused to pay head-tax and claimed the district of Leydenburg and the adjacent country. In 1876 a large "commando" was despatched against him. His mountain fastness was attacked, but the "commando" was compelled to retreat sadly demoralized. Another expedition was then sent out, which was a little more successful. Peace was soon declared, the terms being that Secocoeni pay two thousand head of cattle and acknowledge the supremacy of the republic.

Meanwhile, affairs in the Trans-Vaal had become critical. All business was paralyzed, the public treasury was empty, many of the people refused to pay any more taxes, and the country was so distracted that it was impossible for the government to enforce its authority. Seeing the helplessness of the republic, the natives became more independent and aggressive, and began plundering

on all sides. The danger of a general native war, in which not only the Trans-Vaal but all the other South African colonies would become involved, was imminent. Such was the condition of affairs which greeted Sir Theophilus Shepstone, upon his arrival as her Majesty's special commissioner to inquire into the nature of the troubles between the whites and natives, and to propose measures for their settlement, with power to annex to the British dominions any territory which the peace and welfare of the different colonies might demand. Acting under this authority, the commissioner issued a proclamation on the 12th of April, 1877, setting forth the facts in the case and proclaiming that on and after the date named, the Trans-Vaal, or South African Republic, was British territory. The latest reports from South Africa state that the *boers* of the Trans-Vaal are now endeavoring to get back their independence, and with that object in view are offering a passive resistance to the British in the present war with the Zulus. Their chances of success, however, are exceedingly slight.

V. Zululand—the scene of the present hostilities.

Kafir or Caffre (from the Arabian *Kāfir*, an infidel), is not the name of a nationality, but is a generic term applied by the early *boers* to all the natives around them. Like our own Indians, all the native tribes have their own distinctive name and language. The Zulus, from an insignificant branch of an older tribe, have increased by conquest till they now give their name to numerous tributary tribes under the sway of the Zulu king. Chaka, the Napoleonic founder of the kingdom, was born in 1786. Having succeeded his father as chief, by supplanting his elder brother, he attacked the surrounding tribes one after another, and extended his conquests until he became master of nearly all of south-eastern Africa. The cruelties and excesses of which he was guilty are almost incredible. It is estimated that about one million human beings were destroyed in battle and by the king's command during the reign of this African Attila between 1812 and 1828. It was not unusual for a whole regiment to be put to death after a defeat. In order to carry out his plans of conquest, he organized a military system which is still maintained. Chaka's frightful excesses, and the oppressive exactions of his military system made bitter enemies among even his own people, and he was finally assassinated by his two brothers, who then settled their claim to the

kingship by a battle in which Dingan defeated his rival. Dingan was a worthy successor of Chaka in all that was cruel. It was he who so treacherously massacred the deputation of *boers* in Natal in 1838, and then sent his army to attack the immigrant camp. In 1840 a decisive battle was fought, in which Dingan was signally defeated, and was killed in his flight soon after. His brother Panda, whom the *boers* then made king, was a milder sovereign. The most notable occurrence of Panda's reign was the struggle for the sovereignty between the king's two sons, Cetywayo and Umbulazi. Cetywayo, with a considerable army, first defeated his brother, and was then himself defeated by his father. Upon the death of Panda, about eight years ago, the head men of the Zulu nation sent messengers to Natal to request that a British representative be present at the installation of Cetywayo and that he assist the young king in the establishment of a good government. Sir Theophilus Shepstone was appointed such representative, and he framed a code of general laws for the Zulu people, which were formally proclaimed on the day of installation. The substance of these laws was as follows :

That the indiscriminate shedding of blood should cease in the land ; that no Zulu should be condemned without open trial and the public examination of witnesses, for and against, and that he should have a right of appeal to the king ; that no Zulu's life should be taken without the previous knowledge and consent of the king after such trial had taken place, and the right of appeal had been allowed to be exercised ; that for minor crimes, the loss of property, all or a portion, should be substituted for the punishment of death.

When the boundary troubles which had continued for some years between Zululand and the Trans-Vaal finally culminated in the annexation of the latter to Natal, the boundary dispute was transferred to the British government. This dispute was settled last fall by a commission which restored to the Zulus their old boundary line of the Blood and Pangolo rivers. Accompanying this award was a circular from Sir Henry Ernest Bulwer, Lieutenant-Governor of Natal, setting forth the many causes of British complaint, and demanding certain reforms in the Zulu government deemed necessary for native as well as colonial interests. The complaints were that the promises made at Cetywayo's installation

in regard to the laws proclaimed, were not carried out; various acts of aggression had been committed on British territory; in one case an armed force had pursued two native women across the boundary and carrying them back to Zululand had stoned them to death; all the young and able-bodied men in the kingdom are compelled to serve in the army, and are not allowed to marry without the king's consent; they are not allowed to labor for themselves or to live in peace with their families; and the missionaries have been expelled. The Governor's demands were, that the Zulu king should disband his present army and adopt such a military system as might be decided upon by the Zulu Council and the British representative; that the men should be allowed to marry when they pleased; that the laws formerly adopted should be enforced; that the missionaries should be allowed to return; and that a British resident should be allowed in the Zulu capital to see that all these conditions were fulfilled.

To this ultimatum an answer was demanded by the 11th of January last. As no answer was received by the date named, the British troops and their native auxiliaries, being prepared for the contingency, crossed the Tugela river and began the invasion of Zululand. The history of the campaign since then—in which universal interest was aroused by the news of the awful disaster of January 22nd, when 20,000 Zulus attacked a British supply camp at Rorke's Drift and annihilated the entire command, consisting of 772 British and colonial troops and 851 native auxiliaries—is familiar to the general reader.

The Zulu military system, founded by Chaka, is the most oppressive one in the world. The army consists of two classes—the "men" and the "boys," the former married and the latter single,—comprising nearly the whole of the able-bodied male population. As soon as they attain the age of fourteen or fifteen, the boys are sent to a military *kraal* and incorporated into a corps or regiment. The Zulu army consists, at present, of thirty-three regiments, eighteen of married and fifteen of unmarried men. Every regiment is divided into two wings, which are sub-divided into companies of from fifty to two hundred men, with appropriate wing and company officers. The total effective force under sixty years of age is 40,400 men. European arms are used, but their natural weapon is the *assvagai*, which consists of a double-edged iron blade inserted in the thick

end of a tapering stick, the whole being about five feet long. It is used chiefly as a dart, but it is also used to stab at close quarters. They have no tactics worthy the name, their movements being of the simplest nature. Their commissariat consists of a few days' rations of maize or millet and cattle on the hoof, the transportation being supplied by boys, who carry the rations and men's blankets and drive the cattle. The men are not allowed to marry without the consent of the king, who does not generally permit it till he grants it to a whole regiment, when the men usually average forty years of age. As this leave is occasionally given to regiments which have distinguished themselves in battle, the incentive naturally makes them eager for war, and consequently increases the danger to be feared by their neighbors. The whole system tends to make the Zulus essentially a warlike and troublesome people, and the reader can, therefore, readily understand why the colonial government so strongly insists upon the disbandment of the army and the removal of the unnatural restriction to marriage. The Zulus are the finest, the bravest and the most intelligent of South African races, and in entering into a conflict with such a people, organized as they are and with every advantage of country and movement in their favor, the British troops have serious work before them, though the result of the campaign can be, of course, already foretold.

JAMES JOSEPH TALBOT.

TO CHLOE.

(Horace. Book I, Ode xxiii.)*

LIKE a young fawn through pathless mountains straying,
 Her timid mother's footsteps still delaying,
 Frightened by each trembling leaf that Spring unfolds,
 Alarmed by every breeze that blows across the wolds,
 Transfixed with terror if a lizard only glides
 From the green covert where at noon he hides,
 So, startled Chloe flies if but I chance to cross her path,
 As though a tiger followed, or Gaetolian lion in his wrath.
 Oh cease these vain and foolish tricks, fair maid,
 And learn, no more of men to be afraid,
 The time hath come to quit your watchful mother's side,
 In other eyes to live, in other arms to hide. T.

* Translations by members of the Chestnut Hill Horace Club.

A QUARRELSOME QUAKER.

ABOUT one century ago there resided in Richmond, Virginia, an English Quaker, named Joseph Elam, a man of substance and a merchant. Quaker as he was, he yet had a combative temperament, which led him frequently into conflicts, not only with the unsanctified worldlings, but with the brethren of his own pacific sect. Although travelling in America at that time was slow and difficult, he seems to have often visited Philadelphia and New York on purposes of business and pleasure, and in more than one of these trips he attended the religious meetings of the Society of Friends in Philadelphia, contriving on every occasion to pick a quarrel and create disorder. For persisting in this conduct, he was twice imprisoned in the city jail by the magistrates, and twice incarcerated in the Philadelphia Hospital as insane—managing to escape from the hospital both times, however, and to weary the Governors of Virginia and Pennsylvania with his complaints. At that period Benjamin Franklin was Governor of Pennsylvania, and Edmund Randolph was Governor of Virginia. Some correspondence ensued between these chief executives in relation to the case of Elam, and among the unpublished archives of the State Department of Virginia, there are preserved several of the papers bearing on the subject. There are, first, a letter from Franklin to Randolph; second, “A declaration against the conduct of Joseph Elam,” by the Philadelphia Friends; third, a letter and a petition from Elam to Franklin; and fourth, a letter from Elam to Randolph, criticising and commenting upon the letter of Franklin. There is no copy here of Governor Randolph’s letter to Governor Franklin, and to which the communication from the latter is a response. The papers as they are, however, present some interesting features, and I will here give them in the order in which I have named them above.

GOV. FRANKLIN TO GOV. RANDOLPH,

“Philadelphia, May 12th 1788.

“SIR:—I received the letter your Excellency did me the honour of writing to me the 15th of December last, relating to Mr. Elam, and I thereupon gave him a note directed to the managers of the Hospital, requiring them that, if he were again brought

to be confined as insane, they should acquaint me before they received him, that I might inquire into the case of which before I had never heard anything. Sometime after, several of the Heads of the Society of Quakers came to me with a complaint that he frequently disturbed their religious meetings, and informed me that his confinement in the Hospital was obtained for him as a favour by his Friends on account of his Insanity, he being at that time imprison'd in the common Gaol for Breach of the Peace, and for insulting the magistrate before whom he was brought by spitting in his Face; that his Friends were still of opinion the Confinement and Treatment of the Hospital for some time might be advantageous to him, but they had continu'd to bear with the Disturbances he occasioned after his escape from thence, and had not replace'd him there through Respect to your Letter, which had been communicated to them. Upon this I sent for him, acquainted him with the Complaint, and represented to him the Impropriety of his Conduct in disturbing any religious Society in their Meetings, which I told him the Government could not suffer, and advis'd him to behave more prudently. He did so, as I was inform'd, for some time, but renewing his Offences, which became intolerable, the Managers of the Hospital took him up as an escap'd Patient and again confined him. But he broke out and escap'd a second time and obtained a Protection from the Chief Justice. The Physicians of our Hospital, who are the principal of the City, have given it as their Opinion under their hands that he is really insane, and I have been shown several of his Letters which mark strongly that State of Mind; yet as often as I have seen him he discours'd rationally; so that I take it to be a temporary, occasional kind of madness, which in some Constitutions is produced by even a few Glasses of Wine. In these Fits, however, he has been very troublesome to the Quakers, as your Excellency will see by the enclos'd which they have given me to send to you. I also enclose a Letter just received from him, in which he mentions my having laid horrid Crimes to his Charge. I know not what this means, having only acquainted him in mild Terms with the Complaints of the Quakers as above; And the Petition of which he sends me a copy dated the 21st of October, said to be annexed to a Letter from Wm. Pollard, never came to my hands, neither the one nor the other. I have been thus particular as your Letter mentions a desire of obtaining

full information. Your Excellency may depend on my showing every Respect in my Power to any Interposition or Recommendation of yours in favour of any of your Citizens, but this Gentleman's eccentric Conduct has brought him into Difficulties which I could not prevent.

“ With great and sincere Esteem, I have the honour to be, Sir,

“ Your most obedient Servant,

[*signed*]

“ B. FRANKLIN.

“ His Excellency, the Governour of Virginia.”

Here follows a copy of the

QUAKERS' DECLARATION

against Elam, forwarded by Gov. Franklin:

“ A declaration against the conduct of Joseph Elam, adopted by the three Monthly Meetings of Friends in Philadelphia, 2d month, 1788 :

“ *Whereas*, Joseph Elam, a native of Yorkshire in Great Britain and lately from Virginia, has for several months past sojourned mostly in this City, and by the irregularity of his conduct hath brought great reproach on his character, by associating with such who are reputed dissolute persons; and being arraigned before Magistrates for his violation of the public peace, treated them in a contemptuous manner and with unbecoming language, for his misdemeanors wherein he was twice committed to prison; before which time, and since his enlargement, he has occasioned much uneasiness in our religious meetings, his behaviour in them having been unseemly and inconsistent with the solemnity of the occasions, which we have patiently borne with, and used endeavors to admonish and excite him to a more peaceable, orderly demeanor; but he hath rejected the same, and treated those who have so laboured to reclaim him with slight and contempt, and persists in his intrusions upon us, as also in his disorderly behaviour: And altho' he at times appears to be deranged in his understanding, yet we have grounds to believe that his agitations of mind are much increased by giving way to unruly passions, and intemperance in the use of strong drink.—Wherefore, as he is thought to be a member, and claims a right in our religious society, and the reputation thereof suffers by his means:—We think it our duty to declare our disunity with with his immoral, reproachful conduct & conversa-

tion, and that we cannot acknowledge him worthy of membership among us, until by repentance & reformation, he shall manifest godly sorrow for his transgressions, and take the shame thereof on himself, by a due acknowledgement and condemnation of his disgraceful course of life."

Upon the letter and petition of Elam to Governor Franklin, forwarded by the latter, are superscribed the words,

"MAD ELAM."

But the writing is smirched and blotted, as if, on second thoughts, the writer considered the endorsation too strong and drew the feather end of his quill across it. It will be noted that it is only in his petition that Elam accords the title of Governor to Franklin—calling him simply "President of the Supreme Council of Pennsylvania," in both the letter to Franklin and that to Randolph. The letter to Franklin is short :

"Philadelphia, 9th May, 1788.

"President of the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania :

"Below is Copy of my Petition to thee of 21st October last, annexed to a letter from William Pollard, Esqr., of 5th of same month, to which I have had no reply.

"After I waited on thee for an answer to Governor Randolph's letter, when I intended to write him, I concluded to go, when he told me he had not received one from thee. I now think to return to Virginia on Monday morning, but am not Determined. However, I hope thou will send one for me to Carry to him, or inform me who were my accusers as to the horrid crimes thou laid to my Charge and as being Publickly Notorious. I want not to be thought troublesome, or would have gladly waited on thee once more, being thy Real Friend.

(Signed) "JOSEPH ELAM."

Here follows the petition referred to :

"To Benjamin Franklin, Governor of Pennsylvania. The Humble Petition of Joseph Elam, of the City of Richmond in Virginia—Merchant—now confined in Philadelphia Hospital, sheweth that thy Petitioner has had no allowance of provisions since a scanty dinner yesterday, and is Threatened to have none but on terms which he thinks unsafe to accept. I therefore Beseech thee

by the mercies of God that, every other Consideration notwithstanding, thou will be pleased to Grant me a Safe Conduct (if in chains) to thy presence without delay, and as in Honour bound I will pray for thee.

[signed] "JOSEPH ELAM."

"*Philadelphia Hospital, 21st Octor, 1787.*"

"Please to excuse my writing on paper that has been used, it being the best I have. [signed] J. E."

In the letter from Elam to Randolph, Governor Franklin and the Quakers of Philadelphia are handled without gloves. The touch given in "What pity he did not try it on mine," with reference to what Franklin had said as to the effect of a few glasses of wine on some constitutions, is really exquisite :

ELAM TO RANDOLPH.

"I believe that nothing less than a Regard for Truth would induce me to make Remarks on the President of the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania's letter to the Governor of Virginia in answer to the one thou was pleased to give me to him on account of my Complaint for being confined in their Hospital, which thou was so kind as to read to me. And I confess that when I delivered him thine he showed every mark of Respect to it as well as to my Request that he would not answer it, or pay Regard to Complaints of any Persons, however dignified in Church or State, without having us face to face. That on which account, tho I suffered such abuse and insult as would exceed the bounds of a Letter to relate, I never complained to him till he sent me a note to see him the 15th Feby., when I waited on him at the hour appointed, and when contrary to the terms that he had acknowledged right he refused to tell me who were my Accusers, but, as he observes, in mild terms told me the Complaints—which I told him were false, but that to answer anonymous authors I looked upon as beating the air. However, I briefly related the matter in dispute, which he seemed patiently to hear and be satisfied with, and, as if to put the affair out of the power of misapprehension he said: So then what you want is to have the matter settled according to the Rules of their own Society? I told him yes. How then could I suppose that he would betray me so soon as the 7th March, when I was

seized after having been to New York, and agreed to go on condition of being allowed to call on him, expecting Protection, otherwise I believe I could have been rescued,—when he came to the door and coolly told me there was great complaints; and when I asked him who from, he said they were publickly notorious and that he co'd do nothing for me. He mentions several of the Heads of the Society of Quakers came to him. The Quakers' writings abundantly show that they acknowledge no more than one Head, and of course those he mentions must at least be Two-headed monsters, which if he wo'd name I doubt not but I should be enabled to take off. That my Confinement in the Hospital was obtained as a favour by my Friends—another name for the Tyrants—suffice it to say that the cause of both was unjust, except thou wo'd chuse to hear particulars, which will require great part of a Volume. I hope, however, thou will remember that the Tender Mercies of the Wicked are cruel—more so than Death; that their pretended Friendship for me and my Family is of that Stamp, because, if I be guilty of a Breach of the Peace, and suffer according to Law, I reckon I am not injured, nor my Family, in comparison to what they now are, Insanity being accounted Hereditary.

“If the Physicians of the Hospital have given it under their hands that I am really Insane, I think it will appear that they have been fooled by an Impudent Air Baloon and Quaker Quack Doctor, for I do think they never spoke to me or me to them.

“If the President had mentioned the Descriptions of my Letters which mark Strongly my Insanity I would have showed the Copy, but I apprehend he has been Imposed upon on that schore also. I remember when a School Boy that my Fellows wo'd say, tho the Quakers will not swear, they will Lie, which I took to be a Reflection on the Society; but I have experienced the Philadelphia Quakers to be Impudent Liars indeed, and tho the President is pleased to say he knows not what I mean by the term, I yet think that disturbing any Religious Society, with which he accused me, is Horrid.

“By the help of a Dictionary I found out the meaning of Ex-centric Conduct, with which he accuses me, but do not think he had any cause to disregard thy Letter on that account, except my behaviour being founded on Truth and that of my Pretended Friends on Falsehood. The President is pleased to say—yet as

often as I have seen him he discoursed rationally—and then mentions the effect of a few glasses of wine on some Constitutions. *What pity he did not try it on mine* rather than judge me contrary to his own knowledge! I will allow that it wo'd show Insanity had I supposed he got my Petition to him of 21st Octor. last; but had he, when I sent him the Copy, apply'd to the Managers of the Hospital and me to enquire into the matter, what Cruel Tortures it might have prevented me would exceed the bounds of a Letter to relate.

I Beseech thee to take such measures as will Secure me from being taken to their Hospital as an Escaped Patient, and for my Protection in every Lawful means I may use for obtaining a just Settlement of the Dispute, as those may think right—which I think will contribute to thy own Peace—and am, with great Deference, thy Peaceable Friend & Subject,

[*signed*] “ JOSEPH ELAM,

“ Richmond, 12th Sepr, 1788.

“ Governor of Virginia.”

I have not been able to gather any further information in regard to this feud between Joseph Elam and the Friends of Philadelphia, but it is quite likely that there are old records either in Philadelphia or at Harrisburg that might serve to complete this somewhat curious picture of the olden time.

W. C. ELAM.

TYLER'S AMERICAN LITERATURE.*

A formal treatise on American literature is a novelty. We naturally think ourselves not sufficiently matured to criticise our efforts in that department. Yet here are before us two good sized volumes, which treat of our literature only up to the Revolution; so that the greater part of the work is yet to come.

It may, no doubt, surprise some people, to be told, that in that period there was any literature at all that is worth considering. The truth of the matter is, that the literature of those days is of

* A History of American Literature. By Moses Coit Tyler, Professor of English Literature in the University of Michigan. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1878.

little or no value as pure literature; its chief interest and importance being historical. We can see in it with considerable distinctness the manners and customs of the colonists, and the circumstances with which they struggled. But art and beauty of form have little or no share in it.

It is this point, which, we think, Mr. Tyler has missed in treating of the early part of the period in question. He approaches that early literature as if he were in duty bound to find something beautiful in it. He seems unwilling to look, with unprejudiced gaze, at things as they really are. He has a good stock of adjectives, and constantly sees "pathos and simple beauty," as well as "sprightly and masterful descriptions" in some very dull old Virginian and New England writers. He should have drawn a lesson from some of the great critics, and studied, impartially, the philosophy which lay beneath those writings, and which, brought to light, would have made all things clear. He should never have allowed his sympathies to run away with him. For example, one of the passages he admires so much is the following:

"About noon there arose a south wind which increased more and more, so that it seemed to us that are landsmen, a sore and terrible storm; for the wind blew mightily, the rain fell vehemently, the sea roared, and the waves tossed us horribly; besides, it was fearful dark and the mariner's mate was afraid, and noise on the other side, with their running here and there, loud crying one to another to pull at this and that rope. The waves poured themselves over the ship, that the two boats were filled with water. But this lasted not many hours, after which it became a calmish day."

This, in Mr. Tyler's mind, may be a "forcible description of a storm;" and, there may also be, to him, much "pathos and simple beauty," in the words, "this day we had all a clear and comfortable sight of America." But he can claim no literary merit for these quotations; and if he is considering the feelings and characteristics of the colonists, he should have considered that by itself, and not have jumbled it with the literary value of their writings, which is something very different. Mr. Tyler is troubled with too much good nature, which is constantly leading him into extravagant and absurd praise.

It is, perhaps, a curious fact, that the first American colonists,

therefore the first American writers, were men of the renowned Elizabethan era. We say advisedly a "curious fact," because we think it is nothing more. But Mr. Tyler seems to see great significance in it. He says in one place, "the birth-epoch of American literature was a fortunate one; it was amid the full magnificence of the Elizabethan period;" and again he speaks of the Virginian colonists laying the "foundation of the new English Literature."

Now, the only way in which those colonists founded American literature, was by planting here an English colony. Their writings have had no effect whatever on American Literature. American literature was founded when English literature was founded—whenever that was. The Elizabethan period has influenced American literature only because it has influenced English literature, not because our first colonists were men of that era. If they had been men of any other English era it would have been all the same. If there really was any particular time in American history when American literature was founded, it was when Wolf took Quebec, and it was decided that the Anglo-Saxons should possess this country, and not the French. If the French had obtained it the literature would have been Franco-American. As it is, it is Anglo-American.

American literature has always looked to England for its model. It has at present, no doubt, some characteristics of its own, produced by its peculiar surroundings and vicissitudes. But in all considerations of it we should bear in mind that both it and we came from England. We are, of course, now a nation, and rank among the great ones of the earth; but it is only a comparatively short time ago that we were an English colony. English blood is in our veins, our laws are English, our customs are English, our civilization is English, England has all along been our authority. Our literature has not had a separate and individual growth. It branched off from English literature, and has at the same time grown up along with it, influenced and directed by it. There, doubtless, will come a time—perhaps it has come already—when American literature will begin to look to its own history for models, and take characteristics peculiar to itself. But it cannot be said of the literature prior to the Revolution, and especially of the beginning of that literature, that it in any sense founded American literature. The men who first came to this continent,

and fought and struggled through those early days, did, we admit, found American literature, in that they planted an English colony; but except in that sense their writings have had no influence whatever.

This idea, which we have tried to make clear, Mr. Tyler has entirely failed to bring forward. Yet its truth, we think, will be readily admitted, and is made still more apparent by a closer examination of the subject.

Nearly all the early writers, especially those of the Virginian colony, were as much English authors as American. They left their native country in the maturity of life, spent a few years in America—in some cases only a few months—and then returned. During their sojourn in the colony they composed books, descriptive of the strange phenomena of nature that met their view, of the plants, the animals, and the Indians; of the politics and controversies of the colonists; and often books were written to confute false opinions of the colonies, which had been circulated in England. Those books were usually published in England, and were intended for circulation there. In fact, it is only by courtesy that the writings of the Virginia colony, and some of those of the New England colonies, can be called American literature at all. When an Englishman visits this country and writes a book on what he sees, the book usually belongs to English literature. It was just so with those colonial writers. They were nothing more than English travellers, yet it is their writings that Mr. Tyler says laid the foundation of our present literature.

But that the relations between English and American literature may be clear, let us get some idea of what American literature really is.

The literature before the Revolution naturally divides itself into two portions,—the literature of Virginia, which was the first colony, and the literature of New England. The first writer in Virginia, and therefore the man who lays claim to being the first American author is the renowned Captain John Smith. Even if he did not found our literature, so valiant a hero should never be passed by in silence.

“There is but one entrance by sea into this country, and that is at the mouth of a very goodly bay, eighteen or twenty miles broad. . . . Within is a country that may have the prerogative over the most pleasant places known, for large and pleasant navi-

gable rivers. . . . Here are mountains, hills, plains, valleys, rivers and brooks, all running most pleasantly into a fair bay, compassed, but for the mouth, with fruitful and delightsome land. In the bay and rivers are many isles, both great and small. . . . These waters wash from the rocks such glistening tinctures that the ground in some places seemeth as gilded; where both rocks and the earth are so splendent to behold that better judgments than ours might have been persuaded they contain more than probabilities."

The only other Virginian author we can afford space to quote, is John Pory. He was a thorough man of the world and an adventurer. But he wrote well—better, indeed, than anybody else in that colony; except, perhaps, George Sandys, whom, because part of his translation of Ovid was written while he sojourned in the colony, Mr. Tyler claims as an American author. The following specimen of Pory's writing is taken from a letter he wrote to Sir Dudley Carleton. The style of the seventeenth century is easily recognized.

"Now that your lordship may know that we are not the veriest beggars in the world, our cow-keeper here of James city, on Sundays goes accoutred all in fresh flaming silk; and a wife of one that in England had professed the black art, not of a scholar, but of a collier of Croydon, wears her rough beaver hat, with a fair pearl hat-band and a silken suit thereto correspondent. . . . At my first coming hither, the solitary uncouthness of this place, compared with those parts of Christendom, or Turkey, where I had been, and likewise my being sequestered from all occurrences and passages which are so ripe there, did not a little vex me. And yet in these five months of my continuance here, there have come, at one time or another, eleven sail of ships into this river; but freighted more with ignorance than with any other merchandise. . . . Besides, among these crystal rivers and oderiferous woods I do escape much expense, envy, contempt, vanity and vexation of mind."

But what little literature there was in Virginia soon ran out. The soil was so fertile, the climate so mild that men were not obliged to congregate in cities. The plantation life gradually grew up; and with it, education became difficult; families were isolated; there was no competition; little chance for the interchange of

ideas; none of the brightness, polish and energy, which come from the struggle and rush of city life.

The same has been true of the whole south ever since the enervating influences of the climate, combined with other natural causes controlling the mode of life, have prevented any growth in literature. It will, moreover, continue so, unless, as is hoped, great commercial interests grow up, and, being freed from the curse of slavery, the south possess a large and prosperous middle-class.

But let us turn to New England—the land of snow and pines; whose soil, as its own inhabitants admit, will bear little but rocks and school-houses. It is there that American literature has grown up, and where we have always looked for its greatest developments.

We do not always fairly consider what an important part New England has played in the growth of our nation. It has been estimated that every third native American can claim descent from the Puritans; who, according to all accounts, held the same opinion as the psalmist about children—"Blessed is the man who hath his quiver full of them." But, besides furnishing the population, New England has been the centre of our civilization, the source of our best ideas, supplying most of the spirit of our greatest national enterprises, as well as the blood and treasure of our wars.

The New England colonies were very differently constituted from the Virginian. City life, trade and commerce became necessities. Numerous small towns sprung up; life and thought were stirring and intense. Even to this day, the New England farmer is more than half trader. The Puritans believed thoroughly in education; and the New England school-house has become a proverb.

New England is not often thought of now as a great seat of commerce. But before such cities as New York, Philadelphia and Baltimore grew up it was New England that did all the trading. The whaling fleets of Nantucket and Martha's Vineyard and the Boston merchants are familiar enough. But, besides these, the spirit of maritime adventure penetrated to the small towns, and even to the homesteads. Read Cooper's tales, or any book descriptive of those early times, and see what a zest there was for what were called "ventures." Or better still, perhaps, visit the shores of the sound and the inlets, and hear the old people tell how their fathers built schooners to carry the produce of their

neighbors to the West Indies. Or, pass a summer on the coast of Maine and hear still stranger tales of voyages in home-made barks to England, France and the Mediterranean.

In New England, then, as the most active, enterprising and intelligent community, literature has shown the greatest development. But in this respect a change has been taking place. New England, which has, in great measure, built the west, has thereby been drained of its strength, and other parts of the country are rising into astonishing vigor. To-day, the most promising young men leave their native towns and seek their fortunes and homes in the west. The farms are also being forsaken; and there is actually now a project being set on foot in Connecticut, to buy up at \$16 an acre the deserted farm lands and turn them into sheep-walks. Hereafter, New England will not be so exclusively the home of American literature. The distribution of wealth, prosperity and culture in Cincinnati, Chicago and San Francisco is already reported as astonishing; and ere long we may expect to hear some great development from that—"fair and fervent west, where mind and minstrel art are fresh and young." This very book we are considering is perhaps a proof of it; Mr. Tyler being professor of English literature in a western university of over one thousand students.

But let us return more directly to our subject. The Puritans had no love of literature for its own sake. They wrote to accomplish a purpose, and expressed themselves in the strongest language they could find. Religion was their chief motive power; and the early history of New England literature and Puritanism are one. There was no end to their writings; tracts, pamphlets and books were numerous enough. But the crown of all, what served most to educate the people, was the Puritan sermon. Lecture, essay, pamphlet, editorial article, novel, play—everything of the sort that we now give a separate existence to was here combined. Mr. Tyler's remarks on this subject are well worth quoting in full.

"In his theme, in his audience, in the appointments of each sacred occasion, the preacher had every thing to stimulate him to put into his sermons his utmost intellectual force. The entire community were present, constituting a congregation hardly to be equalled now for its high average of critical intelligence: trained to acute and rugged thinking by their habit of grappling day by

day with the most difficult problems in theology; fond of subtle metaphysical distinctions; fond of system, minuteness and completeness of treatment; not bringing to church any moods of listlessness or flippancy. . . . Then, too, there was time enough for the preacher to move upon his subject carefully, and to turn himself about in it, and to develop the resources of it amply, to his mind's content, hour by hour, in perfect assurance that his congregation would not desert him either by going out or by going to sleep. Moreover, if a single discourse, even on the vast scale of a Puritan pulpit-performance, were not enough to enable him to give full statement to his topic, he was at liberty, according to a favorite usage in those days, to resume and continue the topic week by week and month by month, in orderly sequence. . . . It was customary for nearly every one to bring his note book to church. . . . These writings are monuments of vast learning and of a stupendous intellectual energy, both in the men who produced them and in the men who listened to them. . . . They were conceived by noble minds; they are themselves noble. They are superior to our jests. We may deride them if we will; but they are not derided."

To mention the name Puritan is almost to step into the lists of controversy. Much has been written on both sides, which it does not improve one's opinion of human nature to read. Books have been printed with the intention of defending the church of God, but which seemed rather to show the meanness and weakness of man. The truth is, one side can throw about as much mud as the other; and the result of the spattering is unseemly to both. Mrs. Heman's praise is untrue:—

"They have left unstain'd what there they found—
Freedom to worship God."

The Puritans stained religious liberty as much as any other party; and persecuted as much as they themselves had been persecuted. On the other hand, the charges of wilful sin, hypocrisy, crime, ignorance and stupidity, brought against them by their enemies are even more absurd. There is only one way of studying the Puritans, as there is only one proper way of studying any subject, and that is impartially and scientifically,—neither to praise nor to blame, but to tell the truth. We are glad to say that Mr. Tyler has found this method. All that he says about the Puritans

is admirable. His forte lies in descriptions; and he succeeds best in descriptions of men and characters. So long as he leaves theories alone, his perfect fairness and sarcastic humor are all that can be desired.

It is strange to think of poetry among the Puritans, yet even the Puritan could not drive the poetry from his nature. As Mr. Tyler says, it was "planted there too deep even for his theological grub hooks to root it out." As to the prevalence of the "poetic vice" he says, "It is an extraordinary fact about those grave and substantial men in New England, especially during our earliest literary age, that they all had a lurking propensity to write what they sincerely believed to be poetry,—and this in unconscious defiance of the edicts of nature, and of a predetermining providence. Lady Mary Montagu said that in England, in her time, verse-making had become as common as snuff-taking; in New England, in the age before that, it had become much more common than taking snuff—since there were some who did not take snuff. It is impressive to note as we inspect our first period that neither advanced age, nor high office, nor mental unfitness, nor previous condition of respectability, was sufficient to protect any one from the poetic vice."

We will give two specimens of early American poetry—the worst and the best. The worst is from the "Bay Psalm Book," which was probably the first, as well as the worst, book ever printed in America. It was the concoction of some of the "eminent divines" of the country, who performed the "sacred job," as Mr. Tyler calls it, "according to conscience."

"The wicked are estranged from
the womb, they goe astray
as soon as ever they are borne;
uttering lyes are they.
Their poyson's like serpent's poyson:
they like deafe Asp, her eare
that stops. Though charmer wisely charm;
His voice she will not heare.
Within their mouths doe thou their teeth
brake out, O God most strong,
doe thou Jehovah, the great teeth
break of the lions young."

But there was a gifted Puritan woman in New England, named Anne Bradstreet, who, about the year 1650, wrote rather differently.

* * * * *

" Silent, alone, where none or saw or heard,
 In pathless paths I led my wandering feet
 My humble eyes to lofty skies I reared.
 To sing some song my mazed muse thought meet.

* * * * *

" While musing thus with contemplation fed,
 And thousand fancies buzzing in my brain,
 The sweet-tongued Philomel perched o'er my head,
 And chanted forth a most melodious strain,
 Which rapt me so in wonder and delight
 I judged my hearing better than my sight,
 And wished me wings with her awhile to take my flight."

Anne Bradstreet, however, was born and educated in England; and it is not until about 1670 that we can claim any really native American authors. When they do appear, they are in every way creditable to us. No stronger proof can be had of the high esteem in which the Puritans held education and scholarship, than the fact that such men as John Wise, Jonathan Edwards, the Mathers, and Benjamin Franklin, grew up on the soil of New England. These were the greatest, but not the only eminent men. There was an astonishing diffusion of learning throughout the whole community. The prominent New Englanders were well received and honorably mentioned across the ocean. It is true they were bound down by a narrow creed and produced but little of permanent value as literature; yet the sturdiness and vigor of their reasoning power and expression, as well as their zeal and energy, must always claim our admiration and respect.

The second volume of Mr. Tyler's history deals with the latter part of the colonial period, the years between 1677 and 1765. There is nothing in it which we can well afford space to quote, though the whole is worth reading, for the light it throws on the development and growth of the colonies. We may be justly proud of the intelligent and firm opinions that our ancestors held on questions of liberty and law. Nor need we be surprised, that, when it came to the crisis of the revolution, these men, who had been trained to calm and honest thinking, should know exactly what they were about, and be ready to stand by every word they uttered to the last drop of their blood.

When we speak of the lack of literary value in the writings of the colonial period, we must except the style of John Wise and

Jonathan Edwards, which was remarkably clear, pointed and vigorous; and, the most complete exception of all, the writings of Benjamin Franklin, who was the first American writer that attained cosmopolitan fame, and whose style deserves to be a model for every American who takes a pen in his hand. Franklin can really lay claim to have begun our literature proper,—the literature which we preserve and are proud of, and which is read by ourselves and by other nations of the world as well.

We are curious to see how Mr. Tyler will treat this literature, when he comes to it in the other volumes of his work. Even if he makes no improvement on his present system and manner, all he says will be of great value, for the facts and information that will be afforded. By this we do not at all mean to say that Mr. Tyler's system and manner are bad. Enough has already been quoted to show that his general style is very good, and his remarks and observations usually sensible and true. But there are some things to which exception must be taken. He is often undignified, and uses very exaggerated words and expressions. In one place he talks of the separation of Maryland from the Virginian colony, sending a "jealous and reluctant pang" through the community; in another, of "casual fits of murder" occurring in a certain colony; and again of Roger Williams being a "clubable" sort of man. But his worst faults are the occasional contradicting of himself, carelessness in assigning causes, too great willingness to praise, and a general want of critical insight. Still, the two volumes of his work which have thus far appeared, must be pronounced worthy of great praise. There is scarcely a dull or uninteresting page to be found in them, although his subjects are often in themselves dry enough. He will, we think, succeed in arousing some much needed interest and discussion in American history; and for this he deserves our sincerest thanks, as, by directing our contemplation to a by no means inglorious past, he may lead us to add to it a still more glorious future.

NEW BOOKS.

SOME NEWSPAPER TENDENCIES. An Address delivered before the Editorial Associations of New York and Ohio, by Whitelaw Reid. New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1879. Pp. 76.

Whitelaw Reid has taken a foremost place in the profession of journalism, and the fact that he was asked to speak on the subject

to his colleagues, sets the seal on his leadership. His preparation was made far away from the great capital, but now that he sits secure on his throne there, he wisely draws his lessons, not from his provincial experience, but from the history of the great newspaper over which he rules. He gives the facts and figures showing the rise and growth of the development of the *Tribune*, the changes that have marked its long and honorable history, and the future that seems to him to be in store for it. He aims to elevate and advance the newspaper by putting forward the largest claim to popular support and respect and confidence, asserting roundly that the papers of the country are better written, better edited, better suited to their readers, more powerful for good, richer in ability and resources, and much more careful in using their power and influence on the side of the right, than ever before. He points out, from the books of the *Tribune*, that the money outlay needed to keep abreast of the times, is greater than the return, that the *Tribune* which cost \$130,000 in 1859, cost \$377,000 in 1879, and that the two cents a copy of the earlier year paid a profit of 17 per cent. on the capital of \$500,000, while the four cents a copy of '79 made only 13 per cent. on the capital of \$750,000. More striking, however, than facts, figures and names, interesting and important as these are in the history of journalism, is the novelty of thus opening to the world the newspaper arcana, which have hitherto been so carefully hidden and concealed. Mr. Reid is above and beyond all that sort of mystery which used to be considered the secret at the bottom of all success, and he wisely takes the public into his confidence, for, although speaking to his colleagues of New York and Ohio, he was really addressing the world of newspaper readers. Then, too, instead of ignoring the mercantile side of the newspaper, he goes into a careful analysis of the receipts and expenditures, the income and the outlay incidental to journalism to-day, shows where savings may be made and where fresh demands will have to be met, and gives in brief a better history of the press than can be found in many pages of many pretentious volumes on the subject. His sanguine hope of bringing the best talent into the newspaper of the future—Green's and Froude's are not happily mated, but still such names best serve his purpose, of showing how the brains of the day will be at its service,—and his urgent appeal to all newspapers to work for local reforms, charitable reforms, social reforms, and his sound advice as to making the newspaper the exemplar as well as the preacher, may well be read, pondered on, and applied far and near. The whole lecture is pithy and full of matter for thought and study.

SONGS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA. Edited by H. A. Clarke, Professor of Music in the University, Leader of the Glee Club. Philadelphia: Published by the Glee Club, 1879. Pp. 90.

This attractive little volume does great credit to the University, and to all of its members whose names and whose works appear within its pages. Poets, musicians and singers have all been found within the walls of the University, and the Class Songs from '69 to '81 show that these have now become part and parcel of the college traditions. Among those who have gone forth into the world and are winning their places in the race of life, there are not a few whose contributions to the Songs of the University are here preserved, and Ward and Carson, Welsh and Castle, Henry and Junkin, Rowland and Saunders, Rodman and Newton, are names that do honor to the University in this and other productions, while the Neilsons, Hopkinson and McCollin furnish music that goes trippingly to the words with which its measure is married.

Schelling and Jayne have composed both words and music for their "Serenades," and Professor Clarke has written admirable music for the songs of his pupils, whose success does him so much credit, while his task as editor has enabled him to give publicity to the music of Fairlamb and other professional musicians, whose works have been pressed into service for the benefit of the University. Professor Clarke has done his work with characteristic thoroughness and modesty, giving the preference as far as possible to his pupils and co-laborers, and doing his best to make this last contribution to the University useful and popular. The University owes him a very great debt of gratitude for the success with which he has labored to make music at home within its walls, and the Glee Club has secured for him, at the hands of the students, a degree of affection and confidence that no amount of learning and study in his professional work can overshadow. The Glee Club has a history of its own that is well represented in the pages of this collection of its songs and music, for, starting almost unaided, and perhaps with just that amount of dislike on the part of the college authorities that made it almost a duty for the students of the day to encourage its growth by vigorous efforts, it has come to be recognized as a very valuable adjunct of college life and works, while far beyond the walls of the University it carries its name and something of its best influence out among all of those who care for music. In the sweet name and cause of charity, the Glee Club has gone out into the world and lent its aid towards the relief of misery in many quarters, and thus the undergraduates of the University have been united in good works. Now that this little volume of songs brings them again before the public, we are sure that the appreciation of its contents will be hearty and gene-

ral, and that all the more because the tone of the songs included within its pages is thoroughly sound and wholesome. From the grave and serious verse of Newton, to the quips and jollities of the funniest of the lot, there is not a word to give pause to the heartiest praise of the songs of the University.

International Scientific Series. MODERN CHROMATICS, with applications to Art and Industry. By Ogden N. Rood, Professor of Physics in Columbia College. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 12m. Pp. 328.

Modern progress in the sciences has not only brought into view new, and before unthought of, facts, but it has given new interpretations to facts and principles that have long been a part of the stock of human knowledge. Conditions supposed to be exceptional have been brought within rule, whilst others long considered perfectly regular have been discovered to be exceptional. If any one lesson is particularly taught by scientific research, it is that certainty is attained only after very careful study, and that even intelligent persons may, listlessly or from original mistake, accept and act upon, for a long period, theories or principles that are fundamentally erroneous.

Perhaps, in no department of modern scientific progress has a more complete change of doctrine taken place than in that of the physiology of the special senses, and of the physics of the forces that are concerned in the operation of those senses. Taken as a whole, the progress of physiology is not flattering. The chemical actions and reactions that go on in the different viscera are not at all understood, but in the limited field of the functions of the eye and ear most gratifying advances have lately been made. It is true, we are as far as ever from knowledge of the specific method by which these sensations are converted into perceptions. The Greeks probably knew as well as we, *how* we see and hear, but of late days we have learned much as to what we see and hear, and in addition, we have learned that in nature many sights and sounds exist of which we ordinarily know nothing. We have also become aware of a variety of organic infirmities in the organs of special sense, of frequent but not invariable occurrence. The discoveries in spectroscopy and telephony have enlarged the means of inquiry and enabled us to remove from our investigations the often misleading influences of our sensations.

Professor Rood's book is a contribution to physical optics, and embodies in excellent form the result of the labors of all the great masters in this field, and, in addition, the author has included the main features of some investigations made by himself, the details and methods of which are to be hereafter published by the usual channels. We have in this work a succinct and systematic account of matters that are scattered through many publications and in

various languages, to collect and peruse which would require much time and labor. The first chapters of the book are, as might be expected, devoted to a brief and elementary exposition of the general theory of light and color. Then follow discussions of the subjects of interference, polarization and, perhaps too briefly, phosphorescence and fluorescence. Very full and interesting details of the facts of color blindness are presented. A large number of easy experiments in contrast and combination of color are given, and all the topics are illustrated by handsome cuts. The few colored plates are very well done, but the author has adopted the plan of simply indicating the color in most of the cuts, which is better than filling the pages with fancy colored spots, some of which will smear, others fade and others again not give correct effects. The general execution and arrangement of the book is very good, and it can be recommended as a manual of chromatics bearing evidences of care and skill in its preparation.

STUDIES OF PARIS. By Edmond de Amicis, author of "Constantinople." Translated from the Italian by W. W. C. New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1879. 8vo., pp. 276.

Of books of this kind there is no end. And it is no wonder, for as long as readers can be found, and translators too, the empty minds of people who like such light stuff, can always find room for more and more of the same sort. Why there should be any fancy for an Italian's account of the Paris Exhibition is passing strange, —unless, indeed, to make us wonder at the crudities of author and translator in talking about the watches from California, the battle-axes from Boston, the magnetic shoes from Spain, and other such impossibilities. The original is thin stuff, but it is beaten out thinner yet in the hot haste of book making, with an odd medley of mistranslations, leaving many words in the original to save the trouble of looking them up in a dictionary, mis-spelling others, and blundering over whole phrases. There is a foolish account of an interview with Victor Hugo, which does little credit either to the poet or his somewhat tempestuous admirer, and there is a very careful analysis of the construction of *L'Assommoir* and of Zola's method of composition. If he is the moral writer he and his biographer agree in saying that he aims to be, then it might be well to know that he is at work on a novel describing French military life and Sedan as its culmination, another on the death of an intemperate man by spontaneous combustion, a third on the big shops of Paris, a fourth describing his own career, and so on until we have the pith and purpose of eight more such woeful pictures of sin and suffering, but at least it is some compensation to be told that his own life is pure and happy in the society of his mother, his wife and his children,—then why write such books as his, and why write so much about his books?

LONG LIFE AND HOW TO REACH IT. By J. G. Richardson, M. D. Philadelphia: Lindsay & Blackiston. 12mo., pp. 160.

This, the second volume of the Health Primer Series, is a dissertation upon the modern method of obtaining the "elixir of life." A variety of topics, included within the wide field of public hygiene, are discussed, although in many cases with such brevity as to be unsatisfactory. The matter is well arranged and the text shows careful preparation. The views advanced by the author are sound and sensible. Of course, in this comparatively new field, a number of conclusions are found which have been hastily drawn from a few observations, and hence some of Dr. Richardson's doctrine might not stand the scrutiny of a close reasoner. It is, perhaps, a pity that the attempt has been made to cover such a wide scope. The remainder of the series of Health Primers will in part cover the ground here gone over and we will have either useless repetition or contradiction. The question of house building cannot be disposed of in seven pages; and on the subject of "water," the convenient and valuable permanganate test is omitted, and likewise the spongy iron filter. More attention should have been given to the subject of river water.

THE YELLOW MASK. By Wilkie Collins. New Handy Volume Series. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1879.

In this tale Wilkie Collins develops some of his wildest fancies, which in his earlier works, as in the *Moonstone*, were artistic, but which in his later books are most repulsive. In this story the object is to keep the hero from a second marriage, and to accomplish this end, a woman is employed to follow him at a ball in a manner that arouses his fears: Compelling her to unmask, he sees in the Yellow Mask the face of his dead wife, which, after many disastrous consequences, he finds was a plaster cast taken from a marble bust. To this great feature of the story, jealousy and priestcraft are subordinated, and those who have been led to browse in fairer pastures will turn from it with disgust.

LIGHT IN DARK PLACES; or, How the Camps lived in their poverty. By Henry S. Drayton. Philadelphia: Claxton, Remsen & Haffelfinger. Price \$1.25.

This story is written to point many morals by the conversational lectures of the heroine, a widow who, somewhat after the manner of Mrs. Blimber, wanders into chemistry, phrenology and vegetarianism, and who marries an old friend of her husband, that the great world may be made better and purer by their joint attacks on its evil and mistaken ways. A dull woman would be a gift of the gods in comparison with one of this shallow, ignorant and presuming type, harmful even as a creation of fancy, since the good she evolves is to the good and true, like the dead flies in the ointment of the apothecary.

MISS MARGERY'S ROSES. By Robert C. Meyers. T. B. Peterson & Brother, Philadelphia, 1879.

A Rosiad is a new creation in the book world, and this one has many pretty conceits. Every form of grief, pleasure and character is typified to Miss Margery in the Rose: in a word, "all things are roses by other names," all men, birds and beasts akin to the perfect flower. There are strange inelegancies of expression that here and there greatly mar the book; as where Miss Margery is "worried some," and a hero is made to "welter through page after page." The story is of two sisters, cultivated women, living in the isolation of country life, till the hero comes and marries the wrong sister, who dies to make place for the right one, Margery, the philosopher of rose-life, and all ends with the two quiet and happy and the air heavy with the scent of the leaves of the dead roses which have blossomed on every page of the book.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

- The Human Species. By A. de Quatrefages. (International Scientific Series). Cloth. 12mo. Pp. 498. New York: D. Appleton & Co. [Porter & Coates.
- Life of His Royal Highness the Prince Consort, Vol. IV. By Theodore Martin. Cloth. 12mo. Pp. 424. New York: D. Appleton & Co. [Porter & Coates.
- Milton. By John Stopford Brooke. 16mo. Cloth. Pp. 168. Price 60 cents. New York: D. Appleton & Co. [Porter & Coates.
- Money, a Tale. By Jules Tardieu. (Handy Volume Series). Price 25 cents. New York: D. Appleton & Co. [Porter & Coates.
- Epiphanies of the Risen Lord. By George Dana Boardman. 12mo. Cloth. Pp. 289. New York: D. Appleton & Co. [Porter & Coates.
- A-Saddle in the Wild West. By William H. Rideing. (Handy Volume Series). Pp. 165. Price 25 cents. New York: D. Appleton & Co. [Porter & Coates.
- Delicia. By Beatrice May Butt. (Leisure Hour Series). Price \$1.00. New York: Henry Holt & Co. [Claxton, Remsen & Haefelfinger. J. B. Lippincott & Co.
- Some Newspaper Tendencies. By Whitelaw Reid. 16mo. Sw'd. Pp. 76. New York: Henry Holt & Co. [Claxton, Remsen & Haefelfinger.
- Roman Catholicism in the United States. Cloth. 12mo. Pp. 190. Price \$1.25. New York: Author's Publishing Co. [J. B. Lippincott & Co.
- Bi-Metallism. By the Hon. Hugh McCulloch. 12mo. Sw'd. Pp. 33. Price 25 cents. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. [Claxton, Remsen & Haefelfinger.
- Studies of Paris. By Edmondo de Amicis. Translated from the Italian by W. W. C. Cloth. 12mo. Pp. 296. Price \$1.25. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. [Claxton, Remsen & Haefelfinger.
- The Breton Mills. A Romance by Charles J. Bellamy. Cloth. 12mo. Pp. 455. Price \$1.00. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. [Claxton, Remsen & Haefelfinger.
- Moondyne; A Story from the Under-World. By John Boyle O'Reilly. Cloth. 12mo. Pp. 327. Boston: Pilot Publishing Co. [A. Williams & Co., Boston.
- Organon of Science. By John Harrison Stinson. 16mo. Sw'd. Pp. 158. Eureka, California: Wm. Ayres.
- Music—from G. D. Newhall & Co., Cincinnati.
- Thou Dost Not Know. Ballad. By J. Remington Fairlamb. Price 40 cents.
- Sweet Messenger of Love. A Reverie. By H. Lessing. Price 60 cents.
- Farewell, but not Forever. By Will S. Hays.
- Dream of Love. Valse for the voice. By G. Operti. Price 75 cents.

THE
PENN MONTHLY.

SEPTEMBER, 1879.

THE MONTH.

THE victory at Ulundi has not ended the war with the Zulus. The English have not forced their way one-third of the distance into the country. As well might we speak of their capture of Washington as a conquest of the United States. And while local chiefs in the vicinity of the sea show themselves ready to accept any new king whom the British authorities may set up, they are not willing each to be set up for himself. The tradition of united Zulu action is too strong for that, and the victors must expect to continue to deal with this people as a unit. Nor does the majority of the nation seem to waver in its allegiance to Cetywayo. He holds the great bulk of the country under his authority, and his vast regiments, although shaken by their defeat, are neither disbanded nor demoralized. Intelligent observers predict that the war is far from ended, and that a prolonged sacrifice of lives, reputations and money is all that need be looked for in that quarter. The despatches about sending home troops, and seeing the end of the war, are believed to have been sent under instructions from Downing street, and to be meant for political effect. The colonial feeling is decidedly adverse to any reduction of the force in the field, and equally adverse to paying any part of the expense.

The policy of arraying savages against savages is one which civilized nations now repudiate as barbarous, except in cases where

white officers and the presence of a superior force of white soldiery furnish a guarantee against barbarous modes of warfare. But the English authorities in Southern Africa are stirring up all the surrounding tribes of natives against the Zulus, and have set a price of five thousand cattle on King Cetywayo's head. This conduct cannot but excite reprobation in all civilized countries, and will form one more count in the indictment against the present ministry. But it would be hard to mention any creditable maxim of English policy which this ministry have not set at naught. The famous circular in regard to the return of escaped slaves by English ships, was their first exploit. In Cyprus they have established forced labor, abolished the liberty of the press, forbidden Greeks to own land; and slavery continues in the island, under the British flag.

PARLIAMENT, before its prorogation, passed the Irish University Bill with some modifications, but no correction of its worst faults. A sort of pledge was given for the creation of scholarships and prizes for deserving students, but no provision was made for the proper endowment of Catholic professorships of any sort. The greater number of the Irish members seemed quite satisfied with this, which shows how little far-sighted they are. The amendment amounts simply to a bribe to the Irish father, to be content with ill-paid and incompetent professors of his own faith, or to smother his scruples and send his child to a secular or Protestant college, in consideration of a handsome sum to be paid his boy if he turn out something extraordinary. The general acceptance of such an offer cannot but be lowering to the moral tone of the Irish Catholic people, and they need not complain if they are interpreted as not really caring for the efficiency of their colleges, but only for a grab at the money of the disestablished Church.

Besides their wise legislation for the promotion of intermediate education in Ireland, the Tories deserve some credit for their efforts to improve the condition of the national or public schools of Ireland. The Presbyterians, who alone have heartily accepted this plan of united secular and separate religious instruction, have for years past been urging that something be done for the national school-teachers, who are badly paid while in service, and left without provision when no longer fitted to teach. The measure now proposed was distinctly suggested in a report adopted at the last

meeting of their General Assembly, in which it was pleaded that before any of the funds accruing from disestablishment be used for any denominational purpose, provision be made for this common object. The new law makes a substantial addition to the amount appropriated to pay salaries, and appropriates over a million sterling to establish a system of pensions for superannuated teachers.

THE English Liberals evidently anticipate an early dissolution of Parliament, but some good authorities predict that it will not be dissolved until its legal existence expires, a year hence. The impending election will not be as barren of issues as was the last, when Mr. Gladstone went before the public with nothing to propose except the abolition of the income-tax, the only direct tax imposed in a country whose economists agree in denouncing every other sort of taxation as unjust to the poor. This year they will have not only the issues which grow out of the foreign policy of the Tories, but others which are suggested by the domestic needs of the country. The greatest of these is land-reform, or, as Mr. Bright somewhat grandiloquently phrases it, the emancipation of English land. The Marquis of Hartington, though representing the old Whigs, has committed both himself and the party he leads to moving in this direction. The laws of settlement, of distress, of entail, the game laws, and the conveyancing laws are all to be overhauled if the Liberals come into power, and the farmer is to be made as free as possible to buy his farm, or, if he cannot, to make a fair profit out of its tillage. But there is yet another measure upon which most of the Liberals have set their hearts, and that is household suffrage in the county constituencies. In the English and Scottish cities every head of a family has a vote; in the counties, as also in Ireland, a property qualification is required. Hence, the election of Knights of the Shire is in the hands of the landlords and the farmers, the laboring class being entirely disfranchised. To avoid this common danger of the extension of the suffrage to their helots, the landowners and the farmers have hitherto acted together, the farmers conceding everything that their superiors have demanded. They are now beginning to realize the weakness of their position, especially under the pressure of American competition. They cannot get their rents lowered, and they begin to ask why they should give their support to the party that

stands for landlord interests. The next election will find them in a dilemma, between the Liberal offer of what they want for themselves and the Tory offer to save them from what their laborers want. In some county constituencies it is possible the Liberals will gain members through this; in others, Tory farmers will be selected, and will form a sort of third party. In most they will cling, with British tenacity, to their party gods, and vote for staunch supporters of the present ministry.

The question of army discipline is another which will come before the voting public, and will cost Lord Beaconsfield many votes among the residuum in the cities. The horrible cat-o'-nine-tails has been in vigorous use in the British army, and, although the new Army Discipline Act retains it only as a substitute for the death penalty in extreme cases, a few vigorous Liberals have succeeded in forcing Lord Hartington to make even this limited use of it a party issue. The "cat" has always been an object of horror to the common people, and its retention in the army has done much to make the service unpopular. It has been the offset to the blandishments of the recruiting sergeant, deterring from enlistment except in the extremity of need. Every one who has a relative in the ranks knows that it has been used freely on slight occasions, and the Liberals will gain volunteer canvassers in every borough through their making this a party issue.

Another point which will be made against the Tories is their loose method of financiering. There are fixed traditions in this department of the public service, through which the Tories have broken, in order to make the position of affairs look better than it is. The surplus on hand when they entered office has been swallowed up; the expenses of one year have been carried over to the budget of the next; the floating debt has been greatly increased; and the concern to please the taxpayers has exceeded that shown to make both ends meet. The Liberals can make a point here very strongly. Their own record, while in office, was most excellent, for Mr. Gladstone is one of the greatest financiers of our times, and will not be slack in exposing the weaknesses and incoherences of Sir Stafford Northcote. It is true that the latter has had a much more difficult time of it; Tory rule has coincided with prolonged hard times and expensive wars. But such mitigating circumstances do not weigh with voters; in hard times they vote

with the opposition. It is this consideration, if any, which will induce the Tories to avoid a dissolution. Their foreign affairs are in better trim than for years past. But, with English agriculture and the cotton trade going from bad to worse, and even the iron trade sharing but slightly in the general revival of that business, and a hundred other interests greatly depressed, it would be impossible for the government to rally even its bucolic supporters with anything like unanimity, much less to make aggressions on the ranks of the Liberals.

THE key of the position lies with agriculture; until the farmers have more money to spend for iron and cotton, no great improvements need be expected. For the first time in many years' reading of English papers, we find them remarking how great the importance of their home, as compared with their foreign, trade. That home trade, we believe, is destined to increase in relative importance, as fast as English merchants lose the control of some markets and cease to monopolize others.

The English farmers, sixty years ago, had a toast which they used to offer at their own gatherings, "A bloody war and a wet harvest." They have been favored with both, but, under the altered condition of the English corn trade, they have not prospered by either. During the last spring and summer as much rain has fallen as during three ordinary years, and while the grain crops will not turn out as badly as was feared, there will be a considerable deficit in England, as well as in nearly all the countries of Eastern Europe. Mr. Alexander Delmar, who is an excellent authority on this point, estimates the total deficit at 225,000,000 bushels of wheat, of which two-thirds will be furnished by America, while Russia will furnish a third as much. In this situation of affairs, it will not be possible for the balance of trade to turn against America during the coming year, and a further expansion of the volume of our domestic trade may be expected.

MR. BRIGHT has excited no little commotion in England by his onslaught upon the Indian Empire. Many of the points he makes are not capable of support, as might be expected from his position as a Manchester politician and a Friend. He has no sympathy

with the instinct which carries English Lawrences to the task of civilizing lower races. But he does hit the weak points of the English rule with all his usual force. That India is burdened with a taxation such as no civilized country would bear, that the precision and thoroughness of English administration have made this burden heavier than it was under native princes, that the money thus collected is expended chiefly in support of an army, whose very magnitude is the confession of the weakness of the English hold on native affection, that the rest is spent in paying salaries to a costly bureaucracy who, like the officers of the Indian army, save their incomes to spend in Europe, that the Indian Treasury is almost bankrupt, and yet can neither reduce its expenses nor find new sources of revenue, and that a very large part of the ryots have become virtual slaves under forms of English law, are facts to which even the English themselves can no longer remain blind. Mr. Bright cuts the gordian knot in a way which explains why he has never taken rank among English statesmen. He would give up the country to its native population and be done with it. Even if that be his private opinion, he gained nothing either for himself or for India by avowing it.

The administration, on the other hand, deserve credit for the substantial approach they have made toward a solution of two of India's worst difficulties. They have, indeed, added to her burdens the cost of the Afghan war, which was undertaken mainly as an offset to Russia's achievements in Europe. And even for this there is some excuse. If a certain class of Indian statesmen were allowed to suppose that they could extend the Indian frontier at the expense of the English treasury, they would incessantly be involving the English authority in conflicts with their neighbors. The empty treasury at Calcutta is a potent argument for peace.

One great Indian grievance is the exclusion of natives from the civil service. This is not, as it might seem, a private grievance, borne by the limited class who might aspire to such positions. A salary paid to a native would be expended upon the natives; as under native rule, the money would be scattered where it was gathered. A salary paid to an Englishman is hoarded to spend in England, and the country is drained of so much of its wealth in the export of the instrument of exchange and association. Some thirty years ago there was a pretence of correcting this grievance,

but native entrance into the service was burdened with nearly impossible conditions, and, as a consequence, the number of those who made application has been exceedingly small. The present ministry has removed these conditions, and without committing itself as to the proportion of native officials it will employ, has really opened the service to them.

The enslavement of the ryots by the money-lenders is another immense grievance. We described the process some months ago, and suggested the remedy in a bankrupt-law for India, and the requirement that contracts be executed in the presence of an official. At the suggestion of Sir Richard Temple, the ablest of living Anglo-Indians, these two remedies are to be introduced in the Deccan as an experiment. A swarm of native judges is to be created, with the power to sanction loans and mortgages executed in their presence. They are also authorized to sequester, for the creditor's benefit, the whole income of a property, except what is absolutely necessary for the owner's support. But at the end of twenty years it reverts without incumbrance to its proper owner. This imitation of the Hebrew Year of Jubilee is admirably adapted to redress wrongs and inequalities arising among patient and primitive peoples, like those of Palestine and Hindostan.

THE tide is turning in favor of the restoration of silver to its place in the coinage of the world. Since Germany abandoned the Free Trade policy of England, and dismissed Herr Delbrück from power, she has begun to suspect that her temporary adhesion to English monometallism was an equally unwise step. The imperial treasury has certainly lost immensely by that measure. Just after the war with France, she bought up her silver currency, and replaced it with the gold exacted of France in payment of the losses of the war. But every attempt to dispose of this mass of silver has pulled down the market price to such a point as discouraged its sale. She could not sell silver because her own treatment of it had brought it into such discredit that the Latin Union had closed their mints on it, and no one would buy. To escape from this quandary, the economists whom a change of policy has brought into power are at least willing to discuss the propriety of remonetizing silver. They believe that they were misinformed as to the facts when they took the false step in 1871. Herr Kardorf, the

leader of the Conservatives who defend Bismarck's protectionist policy, told Hon. Wm. D. Kelley that "the extremely exaggerated statement of Dr. Linderman, Director of the American Mint, of the amount of silver he had seen while inspecting the mines of Nevada, had done much to mislead German opinion on the money question." We are convinced that Dr. Linderman was altogether unworthy of the confidence which many placed in his judgment. He was an ardent monometallist in theory, and his judgment was violently biased by his theoretic preferences.

It is not impossible that England, as well as Germany, will be represented at the next international conference on the remonetization of silver. Lord Beaconsfield is evidently in agreement with Mr. Ernst Seyd, who holds that the reduction of the volume of the world's metallic currency is the chief cause of the present business depression. And even *The Times* suggests that our next minister to England should be selected with reference to his ability to state and argue this question with English economists. We, of course, do not believe that any such consideration should have weight when the selection is made; but the suggestion is very significant. It shows a new drift of public opinion in England.

SOME months ago, those who pointed out that the funding operations of the Treasury were so conducted as to produce an abnormally easy money-market, and that certain banks were, in point of fact, using large sums of government money for speculative purposes, were treated as alarmists, and were told that the four per cents. were not bought because the market had been manipulated, but because that had become a natural rate of interest in this country. The events of the past month furnish a full confirmation of their charges. The time has come when the Treasury must put an end to the complaisant treatment which the banks of the syndicate have received. It is no longer worth while to stretch the letter of the law to keep the market easy and investors eager to procure four per cents. The day of settling has arrived, and outstanding transactions are now to be terminated. Unfortunately for the banks, this coincides with the time when the demand for currency is greatest, when the west makes its drain upon the east. It also comes after a moderate but genuine revival of the business interests of the country, especially the iron-trade, and a consequent increase of the channels for legitimate investment.

The consequence is that money has gone up, and four per cents. have gone down. The premium at which they were held has nearly vanished, in spite of the desperate effort of the speculators to extort a profit out of the national banks and the savings banks, and it is predicted by good judges that at no distant day they will sell considerably below par.

This settles two disputed points. It shows, first of all, that the Treasury's policy did make the money-market easy and foster speculative transactions. "Speculation has been rampant since the opening of the year," we are now told by those who have hitherto treated the recent activities in the money-market as legitimate. And New York banks have been beseeching the Treasury for an extension of the time in which they are to pay in government moneys now in their hands, on the ground that immediate payment would tighten the market, and cause a depreciation of the four per cents. This plea touched a chord in the Secretary's heart which is always responsive. He actually agreed to let them have \$33,000,000 of government money to carry on their business, provided they pay in everything by the first of October, instead of the 21st of July, as was specified in their contract with the government, and provided he may draw on them as fast as money is needed for the redemption of the six per cents. Not a word is said even of any payment of interest on this immense loan. They are to have it for nothing, or rather to keep up the price of the four per cents. held by themselves and their colleagues, at the expense of trustees, savings banks and other purchasers! Yet this monstrous transaction is altogether of a piece with the rest of the treatment which the Treasury has extended to these banks. The surprising thing is to see such papers as *The New York Times*, *The World* and our own *Ledger* expressing disapproval of it. After making the Treasury an appendage to the syndicate banks from the start, it would be gross inconsistency to take any action independently of their desires now. It is to be hoped that when some other banks come to Mr. Sherman and suggest that the Treasury has money it does not need, and that it would be putting it where it would do most good to lend it to them without interest, our Secretary will show himself as impartial in his kindness.

It shows, secondly, that the demand four per cent. bonds, as

privileged investments, is not great enough to float at par the mass of these bonds which the Treasury has cast on the market. It was calculated that the demand created by savings banks, national banks and the holders of trust-funds, together with the demand of those who desire a specially safe investment, would suffice for this purpose, and that money could be permanently obtained at this low rate in this country. Political economists predicted a permanent equalization of the rate throughout the world, consequent upon the closer relations of foreign and native markets, and the resumption of a gold coinage of international value. It was another form of the old fallacy, "Everything finds its level." But all experience is to the contrary. Money is in its movements the most suspicious of commodities, and the great English reservoir of it is not any the more open to the demands of the world, because of England's recent experiences in foreign investment. An exceptionally high rate of interest—like the thirteen per cent. offered by the Khedive—suffices at times to extract a supply, but if the choice must be between a low rate at home and a rate somewhat higher abroad, the European investor will very naturally take that which is under his eye. Money lends at one per cent. in London, while it commands seven per cent. in New York, and yet nothing but an insignificant dribble flows from London to New York.

By consequence, the United States will soon have a great bulk of "dishonored" securities in the market. After making great sacrifices to bring up to par the paper money of the nation, we will have replaced it by a still larger volume of depreciated bonds, set afloat by financial jugglery, and incapable of restoration to their nominal value until a distant date. What Mr. Sherman did with one hand, he has undone with the other.

The Ten Dollar Certificate scheme, by which our hopes of getting a national Post Office Savings Bank were frustrated by Mr. Sherman, has turned out a complete failure. Nearly all these certificates have been presented for conversion into four per cents., having been purchased for that purpose at the instance of speculators. The loss to the government in the expense of this operation is a small matter compared with the loss to the people of a real opportunity to invest their small savings in the national debt. As Mr. Sherman's funding operations have shut the government out of the money market as a borrower until 1897, there is now no

inducement to establish a Post Office Savings Bank. It would not be worth its while to collect money for which it had no use, and until its bonds become redeemable it cannot find any such use, without creating that delusive excuse for mismanagement and extravagance, a sinking fund.

THE Presidential campaign still goes forward on the same lines. Mr. Grant is less talked of, but still controls the preferences of the most active element in the Republican party,—the element which gets up conventions and bestows nominations. Our hope for the Republican party is in his good sense, which will prevent his acceptance. We believe he has had enough of the Presidency, that his travels will rather increase than diminish his distaste for official life, and that he prefers to end his days in quiet, as Washington did at Mount Vernon and Jackson at the Hermitage. His receptions in China and Japan have been markedly cordial, and even enthusiastic, and the Chinese premier has asked him to mediate between the two countries in regard to the question of the Loo Choo Islands. But the English representatives in the two countries have kept out of his way with great ostentation. We do not wonder at this. England is playing a most contemptible part toward those two countries, and they are beginning to look to America as their nearest friend. They ask us to protect them against the insolent bullying which seems to characterize every English official in the eastern seas, with the honorable exception of Mr. Pope Henessy at Hong Kong. For the English to have treated General Grant in China and Japan as they did in England and India, would have confirmed a prestige which it is their policy to diminish in every way. Hence we see English ambassadors and consuls general sailing off with their fleet as soon as Mr. Grant is expected at any capital or port, and the English conspicuous by their absence at the most honorable receptions ever tendered by either government to any foreigner.

The General, we think, fully appreciates the situation. At Nagasaki, he said, "America has much to gain in the east. No nation has greater interests at stake. But America has nothing to gain except what comes from the cheerful acquiescence of the eastern people, and insures them as much benefit as it does us. I should

be ashamed of my country, if its relations with other countries, and especially with these ancient and most interesting empires in the east, were based upon any other idea."

After Mr. Grant, Mr. Blaine and Mr. Sherman are spoken of as the Republican candidates, and it is generally admitted that personal preferences are heavily in favor of the former. But the necessity of securing Ohio, and the favor of the moneyed circles, are counted in Mr. Sherman's favor. It is far from true that the Secretary is unanimously supported by the business community. Many of those who regard his financial policy with unqualified approval, do not hesitate to characterize him as "a slippery politician," and declare that they have no confidence in his political integrity. As a matter of course, Mr. Conkling is regarded by himself and his set as "the man for Galway." It is a great pity that this gentleman did not, in early life, attend some school in which the rudiments of manners were taught. It is, we hope, altogether impossible to secure even a nomination for a man whose chief qualification for the office is his command of machine-politics, and whose gross rudeness towards every one from whom he differs makes it impossible to speak of him as a gentleman.

Of the three Mr. Blaine has our preference. But he has great faults. He is too much the man of to-day, looking on political questions in the light of the short-lived tendencies of the hour. And his Republicanism is too stalwart; he has never repented the sins of the party, in which he had a large share, and which now make its future so uncertain. He will not command the undivided support of the liberal wing of the party. We regard Mr. Garfield as a much better and safer candidate,—a man at once of fine courtesy, high principle and a good record.

In the Democratic camp, Mr. Tilden has still the field. There is, indeed, a considerable opposition to him in the south. The local politicians bear him a grudge since the last presidential election. As the cipher despatches show, in the three doubtful states it was a race as to whether the Democratic national candidate should sell out the state government to the local Republicans in return for the electoral vote, or the Democratic state leaders should deliver the electoral vote to the Republicans in consideration of their being left the control of state politics. Whichever way the dicker ended, it awakened no affection for Mr. Tilden, so that South Carolina and

Louisiana seem heartily hostile to his renomination. So, of course, is the Tammany wing of the party in New York, which declares it will support neither him nor his candidate for the governorship, Mr. Robinson the present incumbent.

The political situation in New York city is not such as to encourage the formation of political combinations for the reform of local politics. Mr. Cooper, the present Mayor, is a particular friend of Mr. Tilden, but was elected by a union of the Republicans with the anti-Tammany Democrats, for the purpose of keeping Tammany out of power and effecting a reform of the city government. Yet, from the moment of his inauguration, Mr. Cooper has been as thorough-going a partisan as any man could have been. His whole policy has been directed to securing the triumph of his own wing of the Democrats in that city, and the removal of all the safeguards by which an impartial election might be secured. The power to remove officials found guilty of malfeasance in office, which the new charter very properly vests in the Mayor, has been exercised upon Tammany Democrats and Republicans alike, without according them a hearing by counsel or making any public investigation of charges. The places vacated have been filled from Mr. Cooper's personal following, by men of no social or political status, and only known by the promptness with which they have hitherto done his bidding. And every step taken seems to look to the control of all patronage in the interests of Mr. Tilden and his friends.

In this condition of affairs, the courts have done well to interfere and to assert that Mr. Cooper cannot exercise his legal authority in this irregular and irresponsible way. But public opinion should have interfered long ago, to remind Mr. Cooper that he was chosen to his responsible position for other purposes than to play the hench-man to Mr. Tilden.

MR. JOHN WELSH returns from the English mission with such a cordial unanimity of good wishes on the part of the English people as has not been accorded to any other of our ambassadors to the Court of St. James. But it is nothing more than any of his Philadelphia friends would have predicted for him at the time of his appointment. Mr. Welsh had filled a much more difficult position in the

Centennial Board of Finance, and with such success as made the less difficult waters of international diplomacy seem altogether plain sailing for him. It is true that his mission coincided with the peaceful period which has followed the Washington treaty, and that he had no problem of especial difficulty to solve. But, even under these circumstances, no ordinary minister would have evoked such an acclamation of sorrow at his withdrawal and of sympathy for himself in the family bereavements which have necessitated this step.

As his successor, several gentlemen of this city and state have been suggested, but none of them are likely to receive the appointment. We hope there is truth in the rumor that Mr. Evarts will take the place himself. It would be pleasant to see so thorough a Yankee, as regards both the inner and the outer man, and a member of our counsel at Geneva, representing us in London, while his acceptance would give Pennsylvania a seat in the Cabinet, which we greatly need for Hon. D. J. Morrell. Mr. Evarts is not the happiest of Secretaries of State. His concessions in the fisheries controversy, his failure to come to the help of Japan, his disposition to alter our financial system by negotiating treaties of commerce, have all been unhappy. And not less so is his attempt, by his collection of consular reports, to argue questions of political economy, and show the workingman how unreasonable he is in asking higher wages, and how mischievous strikes are. The rulers of the United States should be as free from manifestations of class sympathies as from any other form of demagoguery; and when the State Department undertakes to argue the complicated issue of Capital *vs.* Labor, it will only do mischief throughout the land.

MR. EVARTS has done well to turn his attention to the quality of the emigration with which Europe is favoring us. The attempts made by our sister republic of Switzerland, to transfer to us her incapable and thriftless paupers are but one incident of a long story. An investigation of our almshouses and our dependent classes would reveal many others. It is not an uncommon practice in many European communities to quietly assist any undesirable person to emigrate to America or Australia. Where these are merely scapegraces, not convicted of crime and fully competent to earn their own living, it is impossible to prevent it. But when

persons pronounced to be either criminals or paupers are thus assisted or enabled to emigrate, the bounds of international comity are certainly transgressed.

Equally proper, but hardly effective for any good purpose, was Mr. Evarts' circular in regard to the Mormon emigration. We are receiving every year, from Europe a large mass of stolid and fanatical ignorance, which is used to build up on our soil a despotic community, thoroughly unrepubli- can in its tendencies, and characterized by an open defiance of our national laws and our national standard of morals. It would be difficult for European governments to inquire into the religious views or social purposes of those who intend to emigrate to America, but it would not be impossible to effect an international convention, by which all Mormon emissaries should be arrested and sent back to America before they had done their work. Or, we might very properly require every immigrant to bring with him a passport, from the American Consul of the European port from which he sailed, and might require the consul to refuse passports to persons who held views on the subject of marriage and of property which conflict with our national standard. In this way, Communists, as well as Mormons, might be kept from emigrating.

In Mormondom itself, the conviction and punishment of a prominent polygamist has had the effect of making a clear issue between national authority and local defiance of it. This conviction was reached by ordinary and proper legal methods, not by those over-hasty proceedings against which we protested some years ago, and which the U. S. Supreme Court very properly quashed. The situation, therefore, would have been just what we desired, had it not been complicated by the atrocious murder of a Mormon apostle by a Georgian mob. Our Southern brethren have got so much into the habit of proceeding "with vigor and rigor" against those whom they dislike, that their action has astonished nobody. But it has had the effect of weakening very greatly the severest blow struck at the Saintly conspiracy by the national authorities. It is reported with every sort of exaggeration, of course, throughout Utah, and is held up as a specimen of "Gentile" feeling towards "the Church," and the ignorant are made to believe that the same spirit prompts the legal proceedings of the general government. We regret to see that many of our newspapers are co-operating with

this policy, by expressing themselves not unwilling to have the Saints rebel and have it out with the army. A war of religious fanaticism is something which we have been spared so far, and we hope nothing will happen to turn "the State of Deseret" into a second Cevennes. Mormonism has flourished on persecution thus far; every attempt to crush it has been like treading on camomile, which grows the more luxuriantly for hard usage. It might be extinguished by persecution, but the persecution would have to be thorough. If we could make up our minds—it is to be hoped we could not—to deal with the sect as the Albigenses were dealt with, or as the Protestants of Spain were dealt with, there would be an end of Mormonism. That sort of persecution pays, and for that our Georgian friends seem to be ready. But these half-way measures of modern persecution are simply a God-send to the sect or party they are aimed at. They intensify its zeal, increase its numbers, and furnish it with a fulcrum to work on the outside masses.

If Mormonism is to be crushed it is by the calm, steady unyielding enforcement of national law throughout the whole territory, and on every resident of it. It is by ignoring everything in the system but offences against the law, and by making those so sure of punishment that nobody will dare to commit them. It is by dealing with individuals for their offences, and ignoring their complicity with others. If this policy be persevered in—and it has been the policy of all wise Republicans—in the course of a few generations the sect will either go to pieces, or change its character, as other sects—the Anabaptists, the Quakers, the Moravians—have changed theirs. A sect made up of converts never becomes a sect made up of "birth-right" members without undergoing great transformations. Its zeal cools, its sharp corners are blunted, and it settles into a sort of conformity with the social order to which it was formerly antagonistic.

A PROPOS of this Mormon trouble and some lesser vexations, it is proposed that the General Government be invested with the power to pass a general marriage-law for the whole nation. At present, each state has its own body of legislation, and they differ very widely. Some states, New Hampshire and Kentucky, forbid the marriage of persons as closely related as first cousins. Others,

like New York, will even allow of a marriage with a step-daughter. As to the form required, they differ still more decidedly, each state having a tradition inherited from the religious body which was strongest in its early history. Thus Pennsylvania, following Quaker tradition, lays no stress upon the officiating person; it may be "magistrate, minister or any other person" who performs the marriage. But great stress is laid on publicity and registration, and on the parties being of full age, otherwise, the "celebrant" must ascertain that they have the consent of their parents. It was the annoyance following a conviction under this law which brought Rev. William Barnes, the eloquent and eccentric Methodist preacher, to his death; he fell dead in the street after leaving the court-room. But East and West of us, in New Jersey and in Ohio, a Presbyterian tradition prevails. In the latter, only a magistrate or an ordained minister can marry, and the latter must have entered the certificate of his ordination with the clerk of the county court. In New York, it is enough if the husband have introduced his wife as such in society; and a recent decision in our own courts seems to accept this as sufficient.

In these circumstances, the inter-state relations of the subject are governed by the principles of international law. The capacity of the parties to enter into a marriage contract is determined by the law of the state in which they have their residence, (*lex domicilii*), while the validity of the form employed depends on the law of the place in which the marriage is performed. Thus, if two first cousins, living in Kentucky, desire to marry, it is not enough for them to cross over into Ohio or Indiana to have the knot tied. They must go and live in a state which permits their marriage, long enough to acquire the right of domicile. Hence, Mr. James Parton could not validate his marriage with his step-daughter by having the ceremony performed in New York, since it was their intention to continue to reside in Massachusetts, which forbids such marriages.

The superiority of a general marriage law for the whole country seems to be undeniable, and yet there are as many good reasons for placing the whole law of contracts under national control. The matter of the force and interpretation of business contracts is differently defined in different states, and the principles of international law have to be appealed to in the same manner. Nor

would it be easy to draft a law which would give a reasonable satisfaction to every one. The great difficulty is to decide whether to make its requirements very strict as in England, or very loose as in Scotland. Either method is open to very great abuses. The former opens the door to much rascality, since in England marriages regular in every point except one, and that one purely technical, have been deliberately contracted by scoundrels, who meant to avail themselves of the technicality. Thus a marriage contracted five minutes later than the stroke of noon, is invalid in England, the purpose being to make sure that both parties are sober. The Scotch law accepts of a simple contract between the parties contracting in language in the present tense, without witnesses or celebrant of any sort. And the consequence is, that simple-minded people are entrapped into hasty marriages, and it is not always easy to say whether the knot has been tied or not. A further objection against the attempt to impose a general law is found in the prevalence of well defined local usages, understood by everybody. These would not be known to every one to have been abolished, and the first consequence would be a time of confusion and disorder.

It is proposed that the new legislation shall cover the matter of divorces, and this would multiply the difficulties. The community are not by any means agreed as to what are the proper grounds for divorce. Roman Catholics, regarding marriage as a sacrament, recognize no divorce of living persons *a vinculis matrimonii*, but only separation *a mensa et thoro* for adultery, with no right of re-marriage on either side. In something of the same spirit, South Carolina, before the war, never authorized divorces, and none was ever granted. In all our states, there is a large body of devout people who hold, with unscriptural severity, that marriage is terminable only on the death or the unfaithfulness of one party to it; while at the other extreme are those who hold that marriage is a civil contract like any other, and may be terminated at the pleasure of the parties, provided that due provision be made for the support of the children, if any. Between the rigorism of the one party and the laxity of the other, we should soon be involved in a fierce and unedifying controversy, such as that which has raged for many years in England, regarding marriage with a deceased wife's sister.

After all, we are content to see our present unsystematic arrangements continue till that day—not far distant, we hope—when all important points in our legislation will be matters of national control.

AHAB “went softly” after that interview with Elijah, touching the matter of Naboth’s vineyard. It seemed for a time as if the southern people were going to follow his example, after the sudden glare of light let in upon their “bull-dozing” exploits, and the negro exodus to Kansas. There were many indications of such a purpose in the southern papers. They confessed that things had been done which must not be repeated, and pleaded the hard necessities of the case in their justification. It now seems that the state in which the “bull-dozing” was the most effective in disordering the labor-market, and in driving thousands of negroes from her boundaries, has learnt the least by these experiences. The last case stands out more glaring before the American people, because the victim was not, like Judge Chisholm, a Republican, but a southerner, a planter, a Democrat, and even a leader in the political violence which disgraced the year 1875, in Mississippi. Colonel Dixon, of Yazoo, was at that time presented with a valuable piece of plate by his fellow Democrats, in avowed recognition of his services in putting down the Republican majority by acts of terrorism and violence. But he had the audacity to run for a local office on an Independent ticket, and with the general support of the negroes of his district, as well as of white Democrats who, like himself, were somewhat tired of the pure Bourbon rule in the county. And, in punishment for this offence, he was first mobbed into withdrawing his acceptance of the nomination, and then shot down on the street by a candidate on the other ticket, on his retracting his withdrawal, and lastly buried under a mountain of filthy slander by his fellow townsmen, when he was no longer able to speak in defence of his character. This is the Mississippi Plan in politics. This is what is “done in the green tree;” we may judge how the negroes, the carpet-bag Republicans, and the white Republicans of southern birth have been treated in the same state, and by what methods Mr. Chalmers was elected to Congress from a district overwhelmingly Republican.

If anything were needed to vindicate the line of action pursued by the President during the extra session, this outrage would have furnished that vindication most amply. It shows to the whole world that there are portions of the United States in which the whole power of the government is less than sufficient to secure the free expression of political opinion, and that the removal or paralysis of any agency for the protection of minorities, would be no less than a crime. It makes the issue very clearly between the shotgun and the national will that every man be free to "speak the thing he will."

But no such vindication was needed. The murder of Judge Chisholm and his children, left for years unpunished, discloses the political temper of a large part of the south too clearly for any denials. Had such a thing occurred in any northern state, every county within its bounds would have united in calling for condign punishment of the guilty. Had the state been silent, its sister states would have made the demand. But Mississippi, and the south generally, have borne the outrage with the greatest equanimity; they have pleaded, in justification of the offence, that they have a very bad opinion of Judge Chisholm's character. But had this man been Judas Iscariot, his death under such circumstances, to say nothing of the base slaughter of his innocent children, should have given no right-minded man any rest until it was punished by the law. Yet it is now at last that the steps toward punishment are taken by a single state official, at the imminent risk of his own life, and the widow of the murdered man takes her life in her hand to go southward to testify against his murderer. We say this deliberately; there is not a man or woman north or south of the Ohio river who would willingly run the risk undergone by these two persons in the discharge of a simple duty.

THE yellow fever in Memphis, as the whole country rejoices to see, is far from being as virulent as last year. The number of deaths in proportion to the cases is far less, as is even the number of cases in a population quite as large as then. There is not, therefore, the same need of personal and monetary assistance, nor is there the same national interest in the sufferings of the afflicted city. The rest of the valley is wonderfully free from the disease,

New Orleans in particular enjoying a marked immunity, which is doubtless due to her efforts to cleanse herself and to destroy whatever might perpetuate the pestilence. But it is still a long way to the advent of frost, and therefore impossible to say how violently the disease may rage in Memphis, or how far it may spread in other directions. It is very violent in the West Indies,—far worse in Havana than last year.

It is very fortunate that the demand for quinine will not be so great as last year, for the transfer of the drug to the free list has thus far had no other effect than to raise the price, by putting a stop to its manufacture by several large firms. Europe has had full time to step into the market thus opened to her, but she has made no offer to do so, and every ounce of quinine sent to plague-smitten Memphis, or the malarious banks of our great rivers, is the dearer for the congressional legislation by which it was to be cheapened. Some may blame the American manufacturers for putting a stop to this industry, but they have their excuse in the fact that the materials of the manufacture are heavily taxed, while the foreign article, made of untaxed materials, is admitted duty free.

THE Liberals or Free Thinkers who agree with Col. Robert Ingersoll, have raised an issue which may help to set a good many people a-thinking. The free expression of any and every sort of thought or idea or fact, which is not in itself libellous, has been generally accepted, without much reflection, as the right of every citizen. An American may disseminate principles which assail religion, subvert the foundation of morality, attack property, and dispute the very foundations of government and social order, and the state will not interfere. It will not, indeed, allow him to leave his money expressly for such purposes, as it holds that they are against public policy; and there are a good many unrepealed laws under which infidels might be indicted for blasphemy, but nobody thinks of enforcing them. We are now asked, "Why not give to indecency the same freedom of publicity? What right has the state to interfere with the dissemination of books and pamphlets in which 'the sacredness of secrets known to all' is ignored, and delicate topics are handled either under the cover of a scientific purpose, or without any such pretence?" This business is become a very

extensive one in America. There are depots for such abominations in this city of ours, and they advertise their wares in unscrupulous newspapers all over the continent. We once cut such an advertisement out of a St. Paul daily, and forwarded it to the mayor.

A Mr. Bennett has been sent to prison for using the mails for the dissemination of a pamphlet, which our courts pronounce obscene, as an English court had previously done with the same production. Mr. Bennett is an infidel, and large numbers of that party have rallied to his rescue. They ask Mr. Hayes for his pardon, and since he has refused it, they threaten to go over in a body to the support of the Democrats. The great body of the Republicans would rejoice to see them go, and the great body of the Democrats would give them scant welcome. The American people are not intolerant of dissent from the religious convictions they hold, but when "Free Thought" becomes the champion of indecency, the limits of toleration are easily reached.

Mr. Morley, in his life of Diderot, admits and deplors that the leading opponents of Christianity in the eighteenth century were impure in thought and utterance. He sees no necessity for this, and yet the tendency is undeniable. Can it be, as Mr. Mallock maintains, that we owe to Christianity the sense of modesty and the reserve in speech which characterize modern civilization?

THE infallibility of newspaper reports was well illustrated by an incident of the recent violent storm. A sloop, laden with fire-wood, was driven on the sand-bar off Atlantic City, in the sight of thousands of spectators, and next day the newspapers told us that her crew had been saved by the crew of the government life-saving boat. Every one who read the despatch with any attention scored one more point for the energy and efficiency of the life-saving service. Here was what actually happened. The vessel was driven aground late in the afternoon. The government crew soon put in their appearance and took possession of the situation. They did nothing, however, and they would suffer no one else to do anything. They would not move until the tide went out. Several persons who were on the shore, fishermen and others accustomed to the water, begged permission to use a single rope, and were refused. Their application was seconded by a gentleman on the

beach, who offered fifty dollars for the permission asked and was refused. After waiting for hours, the irregulars put their heads together and made up their minds to use the apparatus without asking leave. The captain of the crew had gone off, saying he would be back in a short time; hours elapsed before his return. The next in command threatened to shoot the first man who laid a hand on a rope. He was simply ignored, and he had the discretion not to carry out his threat. The apparatus was laid hold of and put by these brave volunteers to its proper use. The first boat they went out in was stove on the bar, and they had to swim in. They went out a second time, reaching the ship about half past one at night, and brought in her whole crew. The poor men had already given up all hopes of being rescued. They saw the multitude watching them while day-light lasted; they recognized the signals. But when no help came, they concluded that none could reach them. And that morning the officers in charge of the signal-station at Atlantic City sent the despatch that they owed their lives to the life-saving crew.

THAT terrible bugbear of the New England college-professor, the tramps, seems to have disappeared from our midst this summer. To what is it owing that we hear only of sporadic cases of their offences, and no longer meet them by shoals on our roads or see them basking in the sun in quiet places? Not to the success of that social war of extermination, which we were exhorted to wage on them, for the good sense and humanity of the people forbade such a proceeding. Not to the effect of learned rhetoric and clerical objurgation, for not the smallest fragment of it ever reached the tramp's ears. It was the innocent who were tormented and provoked by it. Not to the effect of the stringent laws passed in haste by many of our states, for others of the states were too sound in sense, or else too inert, to pass such laws; and these are as free from tramps as the rest. Meanwhile those laws remain on the statute-book, the instrument prepared for the hand of malice or stupidity, against honest people.

The truth is that the revival in business, and especially of the iron trade, though not so exuberant as the newspapers would have us think, has been sufficient to reabsorb this class into the ranks of

the laborious, from which they were very unwillingly driven by the pressure of hard times. As all experience showed, even in the worst times of this plague, they were ready to work if any one would pay them living wages, and having at last got it, they are no longer tramps.

THE notice given by the Park Commissioners, that the building now occupied by the Permanent Exhibition must be removed within two years, has excited a good deal of public feeling, if we may judge from the utterances in the papers of our city and of our state. It is not improbable that the Commissioners will come to the conclusion that they have acted prematurely, and will withdraw the notice, to renew it at some future day. We have no hope that this enterprise will be in reality as in name, a Permanent Exhibition. It is too far from the great centres of population to secure a very large patronage, and the line of action pursued by its managers has been such as to alienate a very large body of the public from its support. The style of entertainment to which resort has been had of late years, has been incongruous with the past history of the building and the memories with which it is associated, and the feeling has grown and is growing, that if it cannot be maintained without having recourse to balls and hops, the public dignity will be consulted by its discontinuance. We cannot regard the acts of the Commissioners as more than premature; the result may be postponed, but it cannot be prevented.

THE NEIGHBORHOOD AS A STARTING-POINT IN EDUCATION.*

MY subject is one which has been suggested by my own experience; first as a student, and then as a teacher. It is "The Neighborhood as a Starting-Point in Education." I know it may be claimed, with some show of truth, that neighborhood and education have little to do with each other, and that the teacher's work is chiefly antagonistic to the narrowing influence of locality. It will be said that he has to lift his scholars to a larger and wider horizon in life, above the contractedness and the prejudices of town

* The substance of an Address delivered before the National Educational Association, in the Academy of Music, July 31st, 1879.

or village—or, as some would say, even of the nation itself—into the intellectual breadth and atmosphere of humanity. And it might be alleged that the very meaning, the chief purpose, of this National Association is to emphasize the fact that education should be freed from all local trammels and invested with the dignity of a national concern.

With the feeling represented by such an objection, I am very heartily in sympathy; and yet I think the objection a mistaken one. We will all agree, I suppose, that the local influences of their own neighborhood exercise a great power over the rising generation, and take up a very large part of their time and their intellectual energy. At times, indeed, these become so engrossing as to interfere decidedly with their studies; and throughout the round year they are a power of distraction and dissipation, more or less sensibly felt. We would fain have it otherwise, and at times we have set ourselves to make it otherwise, and to insulate the school from the life that ebbs and flows around it, but rarely—I am bold to say—with marked success. The world of study, of thought, of books, into which you are trying to lead the boy's mind is a very wonderful world. An acquaintance with it will be very profitable to him. But the world of actual life and experience, however narrow in itself and narrowing in its influence, is an older and a more fascinating world, and you cannot wean his mind from it. He is more widely awake to the thing his eyes can see, though it be but a squirrel-hunt or a fight on the streets, than to the things which other people have seen for him, and have written down for his reading. Nor is he altogether wrong. The divine order of life in which he is placed, is an order of neighborhood and of local interests, first of all. It has bound us up in close and special relations with a *few* things. It has decreed that our life shall centre its affections around one spot of earth, and call it home. It has also decreed that in all the earlier years of our intellectual growth, before our abstract powers of thought and sustained contemplation have been developed, the things at hand to touch, sight and feeling, shall possess a reality and a vividness, with which neither the written word nor the pictured page can compare. And the question for us, as teachers, is somewhat this:—Can we bring these two worlds, the world of books and study, and the world of life and experience, into any real and wholesome contact? Can we so manage that

this exuberant and often troublesome interest in all things local and visible, shall make our scholars more earnest in their work, more devoted to their studies?

Every class has its own temptations, and one of those which beset the teaching class is to think of the child's education as little more than the result of school-work and book-work, and to ascribe to these a sort of omnipotence in the development of mind and the formation of character. But there is an unrecognized and equally important part of his education, which goes on out of school, and deals with other books than the printed page, but is not less potent in moulding his future. Those of you who have read Jean Paul Richter's paradoxical but suggestive book, *Levana, or the Doctrine of Education*, will remember the amusing discourse in which he shows the *powerlessness* of education, since the teacher can put in but one word out of the thousands which reach and fill the child's ear, and since mere *words* are so feeble of influence in comparison with the living force of *action*. And all of us who have been able to watch the growth of our own minds since childhood, and have formed any estimate of the forces which inclined us this way or that in life, must have felt how great are these unrecognized forces in giving shape to life and destiny. It was the swinging of a church lamp that made Galileo a physicist. John Ruskin ascribes his own passionate love of natural beauty to the daily influence of a certain line of horizon, upon which his eye rested in childhood. Human beings, children especially, are not cased in rhinoceros hide. They absorb subtle influences at every pore. The shape and outline of the trees we saw first and oftenest, have become a part of ourselves, inseparable from our nature. I can still recall the new aspect given to life by the removal of a branch of a tree which grew in front of my childhood's home. It made all things seem more spacious, lightful and harder in outline. It was like a transition from the romantic to the classic in art.

Here, then, is a great and peculiar activity of mind already going forward in the child, and calling for wise and wholesome direction to keep it from becoming morbid or barren of good result. I venture to say that it is the teacher's duty to bring reflective intelligence to bear upon the child's intellectual life, and to throw new and clearer light upon those every day objects, around which his thoughts are gathering. He should teach him to ask "Why?"

where he only asks "What?" and to gather up the confusing variety of experience into the unity of truth and principle. The school aims at making conscious thought clearer and more exact, by various disciplines. Is there any reason why these disciplines should concern themselves with the remote in space and time, rather than with the near and the familiar? Should they not blend themselves with the boy's out-door thinking, rather than keep themselves aloof from it?

Do not understand me as bringing any wholesale charges against the existing schools, in this regard. I can only speak from my own experience of Schools,—public and private, civic and rural,—on both sides of the Atlantic, and from the indications given by text-books in use elsewhere. There may be multitudes of schools—whole regions of them—which are all that could be desired in this regard, and through whose open windows no bright and thoughtful boy ever looks with an oppressive sense of the great gulf between the world God has made for him out of doors, and the world man has made for him in-doors,—schools in which the cherished surroundings of the child's life are associated with his duties as a student. God grant that there may be many such. But, speaking from my own limited experience, I am moved to plead the case of the boy not so highly favored. What is he taught at school, to make him keep his eyes more open on his way to and from the school-house? or to disclose to him the open secrets of nature which lie on every side around him? or to turn his attention from the vulgar, frivolous, gossipy side of the social life of his neighborhood? His boyish interest in bird and beast is an interest altogether uncared for, or regarded as a nuisance when it leads him to turn the garret or the barn into a museum of dead or living objects,—“lumbering the house with trash,” as mother or house-wife briefly describes it, until some day the trash is swept beyond his reach. His yearning to copy natural forms on paper runs its course without sympathy or direction. Fra Lippo Lippi describes this boyish fever:

I drew men's faces on my copy books,
Scrawled them within the Antiphonary's marge,
Joined legs and arms to the tall music notes,
Found nose and eyes and chin for A's and B's
And made a string of pictures of the world
Betwixt the ins and outs of verbs and nouns,
On the wall, the bench, the door. The monks looked black.

But no "worthy prior" bids young America "daub away." His activity is simply the torment of his teacher, until it dies of neglect and scorn.

And the inner necessities of the school's course of instruction, **as** well as the necessities of the boy's nature, call for a change in the direction I have indicated. The demand first uttered by the great poet and schoolmaster, John Milton, that boys be taught *things* rather *words*, is one to which this age is very heartily responsive. For good or for evil, the educational drift of our times sets in that direction, and there is every reason to expect that those physical sciences, in which our material world is described, will form an ever larger part of the studies of our schools. Now it is beyond question that these sciences present a valuable and important means of culture to the actual investigator. To follow up data of nature from their seeming diversity to their unity in natural law, to trace the order which underlies the universe, to come into unceasing contact with those great and deep thoughts of God which we call facts,—this is a work which cannot but call forth grand qualities of mind and heart in the true man of science. It imparts lessons of caution, humility and patience,—of reverence for fact and love of the truth for its own sake,—as well as keen observation and correct reasoning. If we could extend the discipline which moulded Faraday and Agassiz, to all classes of students, the results would be of priceless value. But are we likely to reach such a result through the study of scientific text-books? Such a book is a sort of intellectual funnel through which you may pour a mass of "scientific information" into the student, without ever bringing him into living contact with a single fact. Much less will it teach him anything of the *method* of true scientific work, or impart to him anything of the mental *discipline* acquired in pursuing that method. What was in other men true and substantial knowledge, becomes in him a mere phantasm of knowledge,—a heap of definitions and statements about facts, with which he has no practical acquaintance. Out of the best text-books—as experience has shown—a student may so learn chemistry as neither to know what sulphur is, nor to recognize it when shown to him.

The most widely used of these scientific text-books is the school geography, as it is also that which has had the longest tenure of place. It may be said to date from the interest awakened by the

great geographical discoveries. When we look at the long series of these books which passes through the hands of each scholar—Primary, Secondary, Intermediate, School and Physical—and when we recollect how much of the time in school is given to this study, we are surely justified in asking that results of an extraordinary value shall be forthcoming in return for such an outlay of time, money and attention. And there is, no doubt, a certain amount of mental discipline to be obtained from this study. It is worth while to know that the earth holds in the universe a place very different from that which our sense-perceptions seem to assign to it. It is worth while to have some acquaintance with the great outlines of the earth's formation, and its climatic conditions. And so much most of our students do learn from this study. But by far the greater part of what is memorized out of such works is a mere dead burden of facts, with little or no claim to the child's attention. As Mrs. Browning's *Aurora Leigh* describes the process,

. . . . I learnt the royal genealogies
Of Oviedo, the internal laws
Of the Burmese Empire, . . . by how many feet
Mount Chimborazo outsoars Teneriffe,
What navigable river joins itself
To Lara, and what census of the year Five
Was taken at Klagenfurt,—because she liked
A general insight into useful facts.

The facts are all right, and beyond dispute, but their study is not disciplinary. They are no better than a huge mountain of words, retained by feats of verbal memory; I have a lively recollection of the mnemonic tricks by which I got my own hold upon the contents of *Mitchell's School Geography*. And the student,—I am still speaking from experience—generally needs from three to five years to have them well washed out of his brain, to make room for something else. A gentleman offered to give one of our school boys a "quarter" if he would tell him all the capitals in Europe. It was earned—promptly. "Now tell me whether they are animals or vegetables and I will give you another quarter." "Vegetables" was the reply.

I plead for neighborhood-knowledge as a substitute for much of this useless, because unreal, world-knowledge. In political economy we make a distinction between the *extensive* agriculture which spreads a small capital over a large surface, and the *intensive* agri-

culture which concentrates a large capital on a small surface ; and, under ordinary conditions, we hold that intensive agriculture is better and more profitable. I plead for the intensive tillage of this field of knowledge ; let us take a small area and do it well. Take the neighborhood, and teach the children about what of the earth's surface they see and walk on. Start from the spot where the school-house stands, and run the lines of intellectual interest outward from that centre as far as you please.

No spot on the earth's surface is so devoid of interest as not to furnish a proper starting-point. Any man, whose eyes are open to scientific facts, will find anywhere the materials of suggestion and instruction. He will show you that your surroundings contain inexhaustible treasures of illustration.

Begin, for instance, with the *geological* history of your neighborhood. Show your boys the reason for the trend of the river or the dip of the rocks, and lead them back into that old-world story of submergence and emergence, collision and erosion, which was once transacted where they stand. That heap of stones which lies above the court-house, was carried hither by a glacier from the Canadian hills. That change from clay to sand, in Squire Brown's eight-acre lot, is the turning of a new page in nature, which you should help them to read.

But a still finer opening for this neighborhood-teaching is presented by the *natural history* of your neighborhood,—its flora and its fauna. In this respect there can be no question of your resources. Your district cannot be more insignificant or unpromising than are many of those places which have been so lighted up by human intelligence that we are led into the mistake of supposing them exceptionally rich in natural treasures. That bleak stretch of Cromarty shore, which Hugh Miller has made so familiar to us by his studies, and that country-side around Truro, which his friend Thomas Dick made a centre of interest to naturalists and geologists, are no more important in themselves than thousands of places on the Scottish coast. That English parish which White has immortalized in *The Natural History of Selborne*, is not a whit richer in bird, beast and insect than are thousands of English parishes. It was the presence of what Carlyle calls "a credible person with eyes," that made all the difference.

This study will bring you into the midst of the boy's dumb

companions, who are at times the victims of his misdirected interest and energy. Books will not do for him the work of direct study. No genuine naturalist was ever book-made. He was awakened to his calling by the actual sight of the living things. And these you must study, before you can lead him. Show him that around him lie the results of a great and world-wide process—the diffusion of plant and animal over the earth's surface, and the adornment of that surface in gay colors through the preferences and selections exercised by bird and bee. We owe it to Mr. Darwin and his school that these studies are no longer a matter of specimen gathering, and sticking beetles on pins, and that a new breath of life has been given them through the discovery of age-long transformations going on in parallel lines in nature. Study nature in her new and broader unities of effect, and lead young hearts to love her as a mother. In no other field will the art of seeing and of learning be acquired so well; for here you must look, not for what you would like to be true, but for what God has made to be true. It is a discipline in mental veracity and sincerity, of the greatest worth.

Along with this study of natural objects, should go the study of drawing. There are minds to which nature, when approached in the analytical method of botany and the kindred sciences has few or no attractions. They tell you they do not care to pull things to pieces, blister them with Greek names, and cork them up in bottles. Their mental processes are synthetical rather than analytical, and their entrance into sympathy with nature must be by "the Gate called Beautiful." To reproduce a natural object in the simplest and most unpretentious way, is to them a process of keen delight. But it is not for their sakes chiefly that this art of drawing should be taught in all our schools. We all need such training, in order that correct principles of taste may be universally diffused, and artistic culture be made as democratic as the spelling-book. It is of no use to train the few who have special aptitudes to produce beautiful things, unless you also train the whole community to enjoy and to demand such things, and to hate ugliness when offered in any shape.

As a student of social science, I should rejoice to see the study of natural history become universal among us, and that for two reasons. The first is its wholesome and calming influence upon

the minds engaged in it. We are living in such haste, in these latter days, that the preservation of social sanity seems to grow more difficult with every year. Societary circulation goes on with increasing rapidity, and the power to resist and to overcome its restless and morbid tendencies seems to be on the decline. Nobody except a few quakers, a few poets, and a few naturalists, "studies to have a quiet mind." Of the forces to which we might look for help in this matter, the chief is religion; but even religion is becoming a matter of high pressures, heated atmospheres, controversial bitterness and restless impatience. The rise of a hearty and general interest in the patient and peaceful processes of nature—of a sympathy with her quiet moods of calm and sunshine, might help to cool our social fever, and to diffuse a scientific sabbath through the thought of the community. The actual increase of insanity in American society shows that we cannot go on as we have been going, unless we are prepared to reconstruct society inside the walls of the insane hospital.

My second reason is the elevation of the farming class through the retention of the best and brightest boys on the farm. At present, by a most unnatural selection, that class is drained of many of its most promising elements by a sort of emigration to other industries. The hard times have checked this, but it is, in America, the dominant tendency, and every census shows a larger ratio of city to country residents. Now the schools, as I believe, are rather helping than hindering this drain. They awaken in the farmer's boy tastes and ambitions which he sees nothing on the farm to satisfy. Agriculture comes to mean to him distasteful and unintelligent toil, and all his aspirations go out toward city life. And the very men who should be the life of this class, and the story of whose achievements should be the story of its advances, are drafted into our counting-houses, and into the overcrowded ranks of our professions. A partial remedy, at least, for this state of things might be found in awakening among our farmers' sons the taste for natural history. All the wonders which are connected with the lad's every-day life,—all the open secrets of the farm-yard, the road-side and the field,—the geology of the neighborhood in its relation to the kinds and qualities of the soils,—its native flora and fauna, and their places in the zoölogy and botany of his country,—the history of the domestic animals and plants, the meteorology

of the district in relation to its agriculture, and whatever else may help him to feel that all around him lie objects worthy of study and observation, should be taught him sooner or later. He would then begin to think of his home, rather than of the city, as associated with the escape from a narrow and sordid horizon which education offers. He would find the life of the farm become first tolerable and then interesting. He would look forward with delight to years spent in contact with objects, each of which had become a gate that opened at his touch, and led him into wide fields of intellectual effort and pleasure. The country would again become the darling of her brightest children, when they would not only see the outer, work-a-day garments she wears, but catch a glimpse into her mother-heart of forethought and wisdom.

Lastly, this neighborhood teaching should include instruction in the elements of *Social Science*. The *political* life of the nation and of the state touches the land at every point, and at every point their children should understand and welcome the touch. The American school that is to command the approval of our public opinion, must awaken in its pupils the love of that righteousness, which is, as Plato says, of the essence of the state. It must develop in them the free consent to law, order and authority, and the attachment to their native land, beyond all party ties or allegiance. And this great work could not be better begun than with the explanation of what goes on in every county-town of the land. The court, with its grand and petit juries, the election day and the solemn responsibilities of the voter, the town-meeting with its democratic modes of procedure, present a large portion of the machinery of government to the very sight of the children. And in the school, if anywhere, those lessons must be taught which shall save the coming generations from the slavery of party and its half-truths, and secure their allegiance to their country and to the truth.

The school cannot afford to omit this teaching. If it does so, others will take up the task. Hon. Ebenezer Batherskite has gathered his class in the town-square, and is giving lessons free to all who will come. The sum and substance of his teaching is, that the great contention which has divided the American people since the very first period of their united action, is simply a struggle between the pure patriots who have rallied to the support of

Blatherskite, and the knaves and rogues who dare to differ from him. In the lessons given by such men, this great war of principle, between national authority and local initiative, is reduced to a paltry squabble between the "ins" and the "outs".

The first lessons of *economic* science form an equally needful branch of neighborhood education. I do not mean that the teacher is to clear up our ideas on hard and soft money, or on the comparative merits of treasury notes and bank notes. But, whichever side of the recent controversy any of my hearers may have taken, he must have been struck with the ignorance of first principles which characterized *those who took the other side*. Their ideas, you observed, were never clear on the great primary question which lay behind the currency controversy; and this shows that there is a field for teaching, quite independent of the points on which we differ.

It is more than a century since there came to Philadelphia an Irish refugee, who became a prominent publisher in this city, and wrote on this subject of Social Science, as well as on others. As he used to walk the streets in those days, holding his little son by the hand, he would point out to him the lessons of Social Science which were to be seen on our streets. That little boy is now in his eighty-sixth year, and he is the most widely known of all our citizens. His books speak to the people of Europe in eight languages; his doctrines are taught in European universities, and his authority is alleged in the debates of European parliaments and legislative bodies. Henry C. Carey's studies in Social Science began on the streets about his home; and in the streets or farms around every American school-house lie all the materials needed for the study of economical science. I speak from experience as a disciple of Mr. Carey, and a teacher of his branch of science, when I say that the dullest minds will be awakened to an interest in this subject, when they are shown that its principles are illustrated on every street and wharf of the city.

It may be objected that special advantages for such a study are presented by such a city as this,—after London, the second manufacturing city of the world, and favored with a variety of interests and an interchange of services such as is to be seen nowhere else on this continent. But the objection is mistaken. The Philadelphia of that day, to which I have referred, was a straggling town of less than fifty thousand people, along the bank of the Delaware. It

had few manufactures, and little European commerce, while it enjoyed a considerable trade with the West Indies. Yet, on its streets this subject was studied with a success which has no parallel. And any other locality will serve the purpose as well. The story of the settlement of your neighborhood, the transition from the lands first occupied to those which were afterwards taken up, the local variations in prices and wages, the growth in variety of occupation, the starting the first bank and its effects on business, the effects of a manufacture begun in the vicinity, the growing rapidity of interchanges and the increased division of labor,—these are the elements out of which the whole science is built up, and these elements are present everywhere.

The children of our schools need these lessons in economic science. The industrial life of the community is continually presented to them on its selfish side, as the story of individual gains and losses. The very “sums” in your school arithmetics keep that aspect before their minds, until they come to think of business as a huge scramble for money and money’s worth. Economic science, when it is of the right sort, turns their minds from the thought of *gain* to the thoughts of *use*. It presents our industrial life more truthfully as an interchange of services,—as a gain all round, through the friendly coöperation of each and all. Now, if ever the greedy and selfish spirit is to be banished out of our business life, it must be through the thoughts of men turning from *gains* to *uses*. “The Kingdom of Heaven is a Kingdom of Uses,” Emanuel Swedenborg tells us. Although no disciple of that remarkable man, I feel every day the truth of that saying. The Kingdom of Heaven will have come indeed, when every man toils in his place gladly and unselfishly, rejoicing in the uses which his work subserves, and doing it for the sake of those uses.

I claim, therefore, for the American school yet another lofty function. It is to combat the greedy, selfish, devouring spirit which threatens to take possession of the business life of America. It is to call men up to the level of thoughts at once truer and loftier, and to infuse a new motive into the industrial activities of the modern world.

Here we come upon the great social obstacle to sound and thorough scholarship, an obstacle encountered in this country more than in any other. The spirit of greed, of mammon, of money-worship is utterly antagonistic to the Spirit which awakens in men

the love of the truth, the search after truth for its own sake. Either the schools must kill that spirit, by coöperating with religion and all the other wholesome influences, or it will kill the schools. It has made its first attack upon them. It has demanded that they be, one and all, turned into workshops, where boys are to learn a trade. To-day it asks that the studies which fit men for their duties as men and as citizens, shall give half the room to the training which fits them to become carpenters and bricklayers. To-morrow it will show itself to be the cuckoo in the thrush's nest, and will claim the whole curriculum as its own. You are face to face with your chief enemy, Ladies and Gentlemen, and I hope that the united strength of your Association will be employed to resist the general introduction of such a system. It has its proper place in houses of refuge and reform schools, not in the public schools of the land.

It is our higher institutions which have heretofore suffered the most from this money-worshipping spirit. They cannot raise the standard of age required for admission, because Young America must be making money by the time when Young Germany, though far poorer in this world's goods, is leaving the gymnasium to proceed to the university. For this reason, we have, as President Eliot of Harvard told us a few years ago, no true universities in America, for our best are but half-way between a gymnasium and a university. The Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore, we hail as the omen of a brighter and more scholarly future for our whole country.

As I look back upon what I have written, Ladies and Gentlemen, I fear that many of my statements and criticisms must seem to you unduly sweeping and dogmatic, and even impertinent in the censure of long established methods of instruction. I look to-night upon the faces of men who were in the harness before I was out of school, and who have given to this great work the energy of devoted and well-spent lives. Let me submit all that I have said to your more experienced judgments, while I assure you that I have not laid before you anything which has not been the outcome of prolonged thought and earnest feeling on the subject. I have confidence that you will welcome any well meant effort to contribute to the perfection of that Public School system of which you are the foremost representatives, and of which all Americans are justly proud.

ROBERT ELLIS THOMPSON.

WHEN DID THE HUMAN RACE BEGIN?

IN Devonshire, overhanging the little harbor of Brixham, where the Prince of Orange first stepped upon British soil, a limestone hill lifts its head a hundred feet above the level of the sea. From the earliest historic times, it has thus been standing alone in the midst of fertile valleys, and not a single vague tradition has floated down to us from forgotten centuries to tell of any essential change in the features of the landscape. But in 1858 the hand of some accident broke through the crust of one of its steep cliffs near its summit and laid bare what afterward proved a suite of long narrow caverns. Their contents, before they were disturbed by unskilled fingers, were systematically explored by a committee of geologists appointed by the Royal Society, and every detail of their wonderful revelations carefully noted. After clearing away the loose *debris* that choked the passages, they came first upon a firm flooring of stalagmite, then a deposit of reddish loam, and last a bed of clear gravel. Pebbles of hematite with worn surfaces were scattered through the gravel, with their long axes in every instance parallel with the sides of the caverns, and on a line with north and south outlets, discovered as the work progressed. The loam abounded in bones of mammoth, rhinoceri, cave bears, hyenas, lions, reindeer and other extinct mammalia, occupying positions similar to the oblong pebbles beneath them. Here and there in the same deposit, generally more deeply embedded than the bones, nearly a score of flint knives were found lying. One of these almost touched the hind leg of a cave-bear. The stalagmite above held the humerus of a bear and the entire antler of a reindeer, without a bone of the latter wanting or misplaced. Across the valleys, hematite and limestone were found in quarry. The elements had decomposed the surfaces of the lime into the same kind of reddish loam that had been deposited in the hollows of the hill.

These subteranean passages, now ninety feet above the sea, and over sixty above adjacent plains, the nature of whose contents has been placed by the precautions of science beyond the reach of controversy, we may safely affirm, were once the bed of a powerful and turbid river, whose waters, checked in their flow by their tortuous windings among the clefts in the rock, were forced to throw down the plunder with which they had laden themselves in their

marauding course through the country. The rounded condition of the north and south entrances, the worn sides of the pebbles, and the direction in which they and the bones were alike lying, together with the fact that stalagmite crusted the bone-earth of none but those galleries that were, in a measure, removed from the main channel, and not subject to inundation except in times of freshet, are, every one of them, unmistakable foot-prints of running water. That the animals and the men whose bones and whose flint knives were indiscriminately distributed through the caves, must have been contemporaries, that these, their remains, were not the heterogeneous washings of sundry deposits of widely differing dates, the leg of the bear and the antler of the reindeer, it is claimed, furnish convincing proof.

During the last hundred years, five boats, one of them containing marine shells, have been dug out of the estuarine silt below the soil on which Glasgow stands, and within its very precincts. They were evidently shipwrecked at a time when the site of the city was part of the bed of the sea. Under the streets of London, whose authentic history dates back full nineteen centuries, there lies a deposit of gravel of broken flints, through which have been found, widely distributed, the bones of elephants and of hippopotami, together with the rude stone implements of men. Geologists are satisfied that this is a river drift; yet the valley washed by the Thames to-day sinks full forty feet below. Two miles from Bedford, flint tools, elephant teeth, and fresh water shells were found resting on solid beds of oölitic limestone, covered by thirteen feet of undisturbed stratified gravel and sand.

The continent has also yielded to the industrious researches of science a plentiful harvest of human relics of great antiquity. The Danish peat-mosses rest on northern drift and vary from ten to thirty feet in thickness. Trunks of Scotch fir lie prostrate in its lowest stratum; above them are specimens of the sessile variety of oak; higher still the pedunculated; over all, the common beech, a tree which has been through the entire historic period, and is to-day, the prevailing forest growth of these regions. There is no record of the fir ever having been indigenous, and when introduced, it invariably languishes. As it was once king of the woods, radical changes must have taken place in the climate to have thus secured its permanent banishment. Since then, at least two other

classes of forests have successfully skirted the borders of the bogs, and in their turn vacated the soil for a more powerful rival. Flint tools were buried far down in the peat under the firs, swords and shields of bronze lay among the oaks, while implements of iron rarely reached below embedded trunks of the modern beech. Fresh and salt water shells and the bones of mammalia were met with at all depths. None were of extinct species.

The Meuse and its tributaries are bordered by high bluffs of mountain limestone. The mouths of caverns here and there open on their almost perpendicular faces, often two hundred feet above the water level. Over forty of the chambers to which they lead have been entered by men of science, their hard crusts of stalagmite broken through, and the contents of the breccia, or cemented masses beneath, thoroughly examined. The University of Liege has among the curiosities of its museum, a human skull taken from one of them. It was embedded five feet deep, in the same mass with the tooth of a rhinoceros, the bones of a reindeer, and of other mammalia. Near the tooth of a mammoth, almost within touching distance, the skull of a child was also found, but it proved too fragile to be removed. In another cave, in the same matrix with the remains of a rhinoceros, was a polished needle of bone with an eye pierced through it at the base. In still another, two feet below the stalagmite, three pieces of a human skull and two perfect lower jaws with teeth were intermingled with bones of bears, elephants, mammoths and rhinoceri. Stone knives were also frequently met with in like positions. These explorations extended through many years, and brought to light a multitude of facts of similar bearing. Human and brute remains were so indiscriminately mingled in the same cemented masses under the floors of stalagmite, that we can but reasonably conclude that they were introduced into the caves by the same agency and at substantially the same time. That the different classes of bones do not widely vary in their age is indicated, some claim, by their bearing no marks about them of having been previously enveloped in any dissimilar matrix, and also by their close resemblance to each other in color and chemical condition. A most striking correspondence has been traced between many of the openings on opposite banks, rendering it highly probable that the old river channels of which these caverns once formed a part, ran at right angles to the modern

Meuse and its feeders, and have by them been sundered one by one, as through the centuries the waters cut their courses deeper in the rock. Similarly engulfed rivers still exist. In this very basin St. Hadalin and Vestre sink suddenly from sight, to reappear a mile away, while the torrent near Magnee never again emerges, but gropes its way down to some sunless sea. The valley of the Somme, between Amiens and Abbeville, is a mile wide, and sinks nearly three hundred feet into an extensive table land of white chalk. It is covered with a growth of peat ten to thirty feet thick. Under the peat is a thin layer of clay; under the clay, gravel; under the gravel, chalk. The bones embedded in the peat are all of living species, and the shells principally of fresh water origin. The peat reaches to the coast, indeed passes under the sand dunes and below the sea level. Frequently the waves of the English Channel, when lashed by the storm, will throw up compact masses of it, enclosing trunks of trees, showing an extensive sinking of the land since the coming of the peat. Ninety feet, more or less, above the surface of the Somme are gravel terraces. As these contain fluviatile shells and abruptly end in isolated patches, they must have been a part of the old river bed, and have covered the entire face of the valley before it had sunk to its present level. These terraces, on examination, proved to be repositories of hatchets and bones similar to those in the Brixham and other caves, and so placed as to corroborate their report, putting to rest objections urged to the latter, that they were simply deserted dens of wild beasts, used by savages as places of refuge or burial, perhaps thousands of years after they had been abandoned. These relics lay together under twenty feet of gravel, in which there was not a single vertical rent, while the overlying strata of sand and loam were equally undisturbed. Near the bottom of one of the pits, there was discovered the leg of a rhinoceros, with every bone in place. An elephant's tooth and a flint tool lay within a foot of each other, the tool under the tooth. Tusks of hippopotami were in the same aged gravel with knives and hatchets. Remnants of mammoth and reindeer were also widely distributed. Along the valley of the Seine, in the suburbs of Paris, there have been like explorations, accompanied with like results.

In the Aurignac grotto, at the base of the Pyrenees, there were seventeen human skeletons, more or less complete, heaped together

on a flooring of made earth, associated with bones of entire limbs of cave-lions, wild boars, bears and rhinoceri, together with occasional works of ornament and use. A slab of rock closed the entrance. Outside, immediately in front, spread over quite an area, were eight inches of ashes and cinders, mixed with gnawed bones of nineteen extinct and recent species of mammalia, fragments of heat colored sandstone and a large variety of flint knives, hatchets and projectiles. Many of the bones, those of the rhinoceros among the number, had been split open, evidently by men to secure their marrow for food. There was the bone of a cave-bear picked up, on which the marks of fire were of such a character as to clearly indicate that the bone still possessed its animal matter when thrown upon the coals on the hearth. Loose *debris* from the mountain had completely hidden the relics. It is conjectured, and seemingly with reason, that this place had been chosen as a burial vault by some primitive people who were accustomed to inter mentos of the chase with the bodies of their dead and to conclude their obsequies with a feast. After they had gone, hyenas probably came and gnawed the refuse bones scattered in the ashes.

In 1819, at a place called Sodertelje, a little south of Stockholm, the frame of a rude hut was found under sixty feet of marine deposit. At the time of its discovery it stood above the sea level. A quantity of charcoal still lay upon a ring of hearthstones on the floor. Dwarf varieties of brackish water shells, common to the Bothnian Gulf, were interspersed through the overlying strata.

The Delta of the Tinicre, laid bare by an extensive railroad cutting, was found to be composed in part of three layers of vegetable soil, the surface of each of which must, at different periods, have constituted the surface of the land. In the first, five inches thick and lying four feet below the present level, were found Roman relics; in the second, six inches thick and ten feet below, unvarnished pottery and tools of bronze; in the third, seven inches thick and nineteen feet below, rude pottery, charcoal and human bones. The regularity of this river accumulation is especially noteworthy, evincing a uniform action of forces. The Danish shell mounds show us that since men fished in the Baltic the sea water has been so freshened by the upheaval of the floor of the ocean as to dwarf oysters and other mollusks to half their former size.

Ninety-five shafts have been sunk in the mud of the Nile, from

which at all depths have been taken out works of human skill. Yet the entire lack of stratification and the prevailing custom of the inhabitants to surround their structures by high embankments supported by wooden walls which in time fall away through neglect, have together rendered it unsafe to base upon the discoveries there made any theories of human antiquity. It has been reported that in Mississippi and California bones of men have been found in company with those of the mastodon; that in New Orleans they lay beneath four buried cypress forests, and in Florida were deeply embedded in reefs of coral; yet these reports stand in too great need of scientific confirmation to entitle them to anything more than a passing notice.

Hundreds of earth works, however, have been discovered lining the banks of the Ohio and its tributaries, which, their size, shape and contents tell us, were, some of them, temples; some, barricades; some, places of sepulchre. Many have been partially undermined by rivers whose present channels lie a full mile distant. None are found on the lower terraces. The first historic European settlers found these mounds, which when built undoubtedly occupied a clear country, covered with full-grown forests of that wide variety of trees peculiar to American soil and to have been used as hunting grounds from times immemorial by wild tribes of Indians, among whom not a single tradition existed of this ancient civilized people, who, in some forgotten era, sowed fields, worked in metals, held commercial intercourse with foreign nations, built walled cities and stately assembled in houses of worship. On some of these mounds trees have been cut down whose trunks displayed eight hundred rings of annual growth.

These facts, every one of which has received the endorsement of writers of acknowledged authority in scientific circles, comprise the leading geological data on which rest the more considerate theories of to-day respecting the antiquity of our race. It is true, there exist wide differences of opinion on this subject, but they are principally the outgrowths of differences in interpretation.

On the question of time-relative, it hardly seems possible for more than one sentiment to prevail. Since man was first introduced upon the planet, radical changes have been effected in the configuration of continents, the system of natural drainage, the nature of climate and the character of brute tribes. Rivers that

were main arteries of life to extensive districts, have disappeared with the herds of mammoth that browsed on their banks. Reindeer and musk-buffaloes have since then been forced out of the temperate zone into higher latitudes, while the only living near relations of the lions, hyenas, elephants and rhinoceri that men once hunted in European forests have, as far back as there is any record, made their beds in the tangled jungles of the tropics. The present site of Glasgow, understrewn with the boats of shipwrecked fishermen, has been lifted out of the arms of the sea. The Thames has shifted and deeply sunk its channel; hippopotami have perished out of the land, and over their old wallowing places for many a century have stood Westminster Abbey and the Cathedral of St. Paul. The forces of hidden fires have thrown up near the harbor of Brixham, what were once parts of subterraneous river channels, transforming them into the crests of isolated hills. Powerful streams on the continent have become dry, and their old courses cut in sunder by the more modern Meuse and its tributaries, which, even in their day, have worn their way down one and two hundred feet into mountain limestone. Since that rude hut near Stockholm sheltered its human inhabitants from storms and from the rigors of winter, it has been sunk and the sea suffered to flow over it a length of time sufficient for sixty feet of sediment to settle on its roof, and has then again been lifted above the water's level. All these and many other changes equally marked have occurred within the human period, yet in a past so remote that even tradition is silent concerning them. Nineteen centuries ago, Denmark attracted the attention of Julius Cæsar by the magnificence of her beech forests. In this same source of wealth she stands peerless to-day. Through such a lengthened lapse of time, neither the character of her trees, nor their tropical luxuriance have noticeably changed, yet we possess convincing proofs that oaks preceded the beeches, and were once as exclusive monopolists of the soil as they. How long they lasted, or what influences at first introduced, or what at last banished them, are matters about which we may conjecture but can never know. Still farther back in the past than even the dynasty of the oaks, forests of firs rooted in the same soil and drank in the sunlight of perhaps as many centuries. And when we have reached the pine woods, we have come only upon the close of the Stone Age in Europe, for not a single bone of those extinct species of

mammalia, that were the contemporaries of man, has been found among the buried trunks of this remote vegetation. These relics, in fact, carry us no farther back than the thirty feet of peat on the Valley of the Somme; yet, long before that, and still within the age of man, this river of France had gathered, with its current, a deposit of twenty feet of gravel, and afterwards had cut its way down ninety feet into a bed of chalk.

When we attempt, however, to solve the problem of time-absolute, we encounter seemingly insuperable obstacles on the very threshold of the inquiry. It would be exceedingly hazardous for us, in constructing our chronological tables, to assume that any of these mentioned changes has been effected through some slow and uniform method, or that the different processes have been separated by long intervals of quiet. The intensity with which natural forces have worked in the past, has evidently widely varied. Even if in some localities peat can be shown to have been a gradual accumulation of decayed grasses and leaves, there are also authentic instances of swamp bogs suddenly bursting and inundating large tracts of land with their black contents. On our western coast, mud volcanoes are seen to-day in full activity. But aside from all this, not only in different countries, but in different ages in the same country, there may have existed decided differences, if not actual contrasts, in the humidity of the atmosphere, the length of the growing season, and the character of plant life. Yet without these data, which it seems quite impossible to obtain, our time-estimates can be little better than loose conjectures. So, too, the known period the beeches have occupied Danish soil, really furnishes no reliable unit with which to measure the age of the oak and fir forests that preceded them; for the conditions of growth may have materially altered since then, and each burial, for aught we know, may have been the brief work of a single hour. We have the testimony of President Harrison, that the great variety displayed in the trees growing above the Ohio mounds, is a sure sign of great antiquity, but of how great, even he, with his extensive experience as a backwoodsman, thought it unwise to venture an opinion.

Again, rivers have not always been the tame currents we see them to-day. But should we so judge, and on their present wearing power estimate the centuries consumed by them in shifting

their channels over such remarkable distances and sinking them, as they have, hundreds of feet into solid rock, two or three scores would scarce suffice, and they are but late successors to those other streams, broken fragments of whose abandoned beds we have seen to honeycomb isolated hill-tops, or to open far up on the faces of perpendicular cliffs. The "boulder clay," geologists unanimously agree, is absolutely free of every relic, brute or human. In no deposit under the clay has the latter ever been found, yet both are abundant down to its very surface. If this fact has any significance, it teaches us that the glaciers had just left the valleys of Europe when man came upon the scene. Melted fields of ice must have recently been turned into turbid torrents sweeping to the sea with a resistless energy, for none less powerful ever could have left behind them beds and deltas of such character as the explorations of science have brought to light; and a change of climate radical enough to unloose the frost-fetters with which a continent had been bound through an unbroken winter of centuries, must necessarily have ushered in a scene to which the comparative quiet and order familiar to us were entire strangers. River washings can, in consequence, furnish no certain clue to the mystery that shrouds the birthtime of our race. Professor Guyot claims that he has ascertained, from astronomical data, that the last drift occurred nine or ten thousand years ago, but his figures yet wait proof.

Some have sought solution in those vast changes of level effected within the human period, changes that terminated the reign of ice, drove the firs and the oaks from Denmark, stunted the growth of shell-fish in the Baltic, converted ocean beds into eligible city sites, gave a new water-shed to Europe, and utterly exterminated many of her animal species. But the same difficulties still meet us, for it would be idle to affirm that the thin crust formed over a restless central-sea of fire, has been lifted and sunk through all past periods with a motion measured as the swinging beats of a pendulum, notwithstanding we are assured that the coasts of Scotland have, since the Roman conquest, risen twenty-seven feet, with a steady slowness well nigh imperceptible, or that at this very hour the coasts of Nova Scotia are sinking just as gently into the arms of the sea. Earthquake and volcano stand grim witnesses against the soundness of any such conclusion.

Some have hoped for an answer in the fact that since the

Stone Age an entire group of quadrupeds have become extinct: Etchings on ivory, found in river silt, of a hairy mammoth, the fur-coated carcasses of elephants and rhinoceri washed out of the frozen mud of Siberia within the last hundred years, and the presence of reindeer and musk-buffalo bones in the caves of Brixham and Liege and in the gravel terraces of the Somme, suggest that these strange species were of an arctic nature and melted away with the glaciers and icebergs of the drift. But further definiteness it is folly to attempt. In New York in 1845 a mastodon's skeleton was found possessing a remarkably fresh appearance. Within it was a quantity of half-chewed twigs in a state of perfect preservation, the animal having evidently mired in the bog on which he was last feeding. Three feet of peat lay above him, a work of but three or four thousand years on the largest estimate. Jefferson, in his *Notes on Virginia*, informs us that traditions of the mastodon still existed among North American Indians. When, in connection with these facts, we bear in mind that all of these extinct species, whose bones are scattered through the caves and outer river-drifts of Europe, were post-pliocene and comprised but about a tenth of the entire number, we feel that we have here left us a very large liberty of belief. It is possible we may be looking into the sepulchre of a hundred centuries; it is also possible these relics carry us no farther back than fifty.

Lastly, if it could be as satisfactorily proved as it is confidently asserted in certain quarters, that human implements were first fashioned from stone, that bronze succeeded the stone and iron the bronze, and that each advance in the arts was taken at substantially the same time the world over, it would then perhaps be within the reach of present geological knowledge to count at least the millenniums that the earth has been the home of the human family. But even in this day of needle-guns and Henry rifles, the Australian lives on game killed with stone weapons strangely resembling those dug from the gravel-pits at Amiens and Abbeville; and a hundred years have scarcely passed away since powder and ball usurped the place of the Indian's flint hatchet and arrow-head. In the early ages, as wide contrasts as these may have marked the condition of people separated simply by a lake, a wood, or a mountain range; for frequent and familiar intercourse among nations, a thing unthought of then, is the principal and almost only equalizer in the world's life.

We turn to archæology. The records of its discoveries are full of the marvellous. They startle and fascinate like the bold creations of Oriental romance. A rapid review of a few of its leading facts must, however, at present suffice.

A stranger travelling in the South of England would imagine, as he casts his eye over Salisbury Plain, that he saw a flock of sheep quietly feeding in a distant meadow; but, on nearer approach, those "gray wethers," as they have been called, turn into monstrous blocks of stone, one hundred and forty in number, weighing from twelve to seventy tons, and arranged in two widely sweeping circles. It is claimed that they were lying there, thus scattered and storm-beaten, nineteen centuries ago, when Julius Cæsar landed his legions on the coast, as much of a mystery then as now. On some of them, sharp angles, mortices and tenons can still be traced. It is generally conceded that these are relics of a vast temple. At Abury, are still older ruins of a far more imposing edifice. Indeed, twenty eight acres are believed to have been covered by it when in its completed state. Diligent search has been made, and made in vain, for the lost quarries which those primeval builders selected with a wisdom and worked with a skill that not only challenge our admiration but excite our wonder. How those immense rocks were blasted from their beds, dressed into shape, transported over the country and finally lifted into their places on the wall, baffles conjecture. There are evidences that the roof of the temple was conical and rested on central supports, its architecture widely differing from anything Greek or Roman. Similar stone circles have been traced across the entire continent, even into the very heart of India. In the secluded regions of Abyssinia, this style continues in use at the present day. It is held that the Temple of Dagon, at Gaza, against whose middle pillars blind Samson leaned in his last feat of strength, over eleven hundred years before the Christian era, was constructed mainly on the principle of a Gothic chapter house.

There have also been discovered in the near neighborhood of these Druidic circles, very mysterious stone sepulchres, consisting of four rough slabs, three vertical, the fourth horizontal and resting upon them. The skeletons within were uniformly in a kneeling posture, a custom unknown to any of the monotheistic races. No regard seems to have been paid to the points of the compass. The

graves of Jews, we know, are directed toward Jerusalem, of the Mohammedans toward Mecca, and of the Christians toward the sun-rising. The mounds of earth that originally covered them, frosts and storms have long since torn away. This people, in so securely and reverently burying their dead, have, in most touching terms, told us of their firm faith in the other life. These "cromlechs" can also be traced, as can the stone circles, back to the very banks of the Euphrates.

In the presence of such facts, the question forces itself upon us, was the time, twenty-three and a half centuries, usually estimated to have elapsed between the flood and the Roman invasion, long enough for a single family to have so multiplied as to have compelled the East, burdened with its teeming millions, to drive out swarm after swarm until far-off Britain throbs with its life; then this new life to grow up into so compact a people, and to develop such civilized social wants and sources of wealth as to turn Britain's best quarries of stone into temples of worship; then, after all that, to waste away into such complete extinction in a past so remote that even at Caesar's coming not a living soul, not a vague tradition afloat among the barbarous Celts, not even a single name, nothing but a few weather-beaten blocks of stone, is left to tell the story of their stay?

We have already alluded to a race of mound-builders that overspread the central portions of North America in some unknown era. They occupied the region lying between the Alleghanies, the Rocky Mountains, the Great Lakes and the Gulf. The ruins of their works exist in immense number. Twelve thousand have been counted in Ohio alone. Some of them form walls of defence four times as high as a man and miles in length. They are strengthened and rendered serviceable by every manner of military device. Others constitute extensive enclosures of various and most exact geometric figures, containing earth-images of birds and beasts of prey, or vast truncated pyramids designed for purposes of sacrifice or of burial. From one of the latter, near Newark, Ohio, fifteen hundred wagon-loads of stones have been taken. The styles of the mounds vary in different localities. In the region of Ohio, squares and circles prevail; of Wisconsin, animal forms; and of Tennessee, parallelograms. In the states about the Gulf, terraced pyramids, artificial lakes and imposing avenues meet the eye.

In Missouri and Arkansas, their nature and position clearly indicate the abandoned sites of towns and cities. These mounds, by their great number, their wide distribution, their magnitude, their peculiar character and the highly wrought relics of ornament and use they have been found to contain, unmistakably point to dense masses of people, extensive agricultural enterprises, settled forms of government, and a most remarkable advance in the arts and sciences. As we have previously stated, the fact that forests are growing above them, possessing such a variety of trees and trees of such great age that unless closely scrutinized they would be pronounced primeval; the fact, too, that the skeletons they contain dissolve at once into dust at the touch, while some found in Europe, sepulchred in earth far less dry and compact, have proved sound even after a burial known to have exceeded two thousand years; and the further fact that, without exception, they avoid the present lower river terraces, and in many instances have been undermined by streams whose beds now lie a mile away, impress us with the belief that many thousands of years must have elapsed since this immense tidal-wave of human life swept over the American continent. But these earth-works, scattered so extensively, constitute but a small part of the ruins found here of former civilizations. Ancient mining shafts have been uncovered in the Lake Superior country. A half ton mass of pure copper, disengaged from the rock by fire and mounted on skids, has been found under fifteen feet of soil on which stands a forest whose trees show the growth-marks of centuries. The Pueblos of New Mexico and vicinity, whose walls of brightly colored pebbles, sandwiched between slabs of gray sandstone, appear from a distance like brilliant mosaic, are immense three and four-story structures, under some single one of whose extensive roofs the inhabitants of an entire village could find convenient shelter. In the caves and fissures that open far up the faces of the cañons of Arizona and Colorado modern governmental surveys have also brought to light ruined fortresses whose solid masonry once formed the bulwarks of an empire of cliff-dwellers that flourished in some forgotten era. These ruins occupy deserted districts. Some assert that their history is wholly lost; others, that they mark the site of that Aztlán of the North mysteriously alluded to as an ancient fatherland in the traditions of the Aztecs. The more cautious, and

undoubtedly more correct, maintain that they were built by the ancestors of those strange, half-civilized Indians still occupying that territory. Whence or when they came none know.

Cortez did well to dismantle his ships and burn them behind him at the opening of his famed campaign, for his followers were soon to see sights suited to cause the bravest of them to draw back with terror. He had not been long upon the march, when suddenly across his path rose up six miles of solid masonry, twenty feet thick and nine feet high, flanked by mountains and broken only by a narrow gateway guarded by fierce Tlascalans. But by valor and intrigue they passed the wall and pushed their way to the capital. The glowing accounts they afterward carried back to Europe of the civilization which their mad greed for gold had terminated in blood, though little credited at the time, have since been abundantly confirmed by archæologists. The fields were well tilled. The inhabitants were clad in cloth. Water was carried in aqueducts of hewn stone that spanned chasms and wound about the bases of the hills. The Mexican metropolis, reached only by artificial causeways, seemed afloat in the lake, upheld by some spell of enchantment. Its streets were lined with canals, and the canals were alive with barges. Pyramidal god-houses appeared with strange frequency among its stone business-blocks and private residences, their terraced sides, ornamented by skilled sculptors, with hieroglyphics and bas-reliefs, and their towering summits crowned with altar fires that flared like meteors through the night down its empty avenues. Forty thousand pyramids are estimated to have been standing at this time within the bounds of the Empire, twelve thousand within the precincts of the capital. Of these, the one with the most attractive surroundings, was perhaps the Temple of Mexitli, a structure of vast proportions, standing in a square paved with polished stone and enclosed by a wall covered with sculptured serpents. About it clustered forty smaller temples, interspersed with gardens, fountains, ponds, and priest-houses, with room remaining for ten thousand people to assemble inside the gates at times of religious festival. That of Cholula is perhaps the largest still standing. It boasts a much broader base than any in Egypt, and reaches a height of two hundred feet. Its crest, now dismantled, once supported an altar and an idol. The idol, an image of the Air, held a shield elaborately engraved, and

a sceptre set with diamonds. It wore upon its head a plumed mitre, and about its neck and from its ears ornaments of gold and of tortoise shell. That of Papautla, in the vicinity of Vera Cruz, bears closest resemblance to the pyramids of Egypt. It is built of massive blocks laid in mortar. It has a square base, and as it rises it presents an outline of rare symmetry. A dense forest has grown up about it since it was abandoned, so that its existence was a secret, known only to the Indians until two centuries since, when some hunters strayed where it was and told the world of it. Greatly as these pyramids astonish us and set us questioning, the aqueducts, the calendar stone, and the bound volumes of "picture writing" equally excite our wonder. A word on each. The aqueduct of Chapultepec rested on nearly a thousand arches; that of Cempoalla crossed on a bridge half a mile long and over one hundred feet high. The calendar stone was cut from a single block, weighing thirty-three tons in its finished state, and found lying full thirty miles from its native quarry, having in some unknown way been transported over a rough country intersected in many places by natural and artificial water courses. On its face were displayed in hieroglyphics accurate measurements of time, the signs of the zodiac, the motions of the planets, and a true explanation of the cause of eclipses. The bound manuscripts were of cotton cloth, agave paper, or stag skins sewed into continuous strips, in some instances seventy feet long and from two to three feet wide, folded together in squares and attached at their ends to thin boards that served as protecting covers. The three styles of hieroglyphics found on Egyptian tombs and temples were all employed on their pages, the representative, the symbolic and the phonetic, although the first, which is the lowest, was preferred. The last is but a step removed from the alphabet. There were great quantities of these manuscripts at the time of the Spanish invasion, but the conquerors, in their catholic zeal to extirpate superstition, seized and burnt them wherever found, mistaking them for books of magic. A few escaped. From these and from floating traditions we learn that the Aztecs were comparatively modern occupants of the valley, the Toltecs, a people of far higher culture and wider knowledge of the arts, having preceded them. Of these, a few spare communities still remained, and it was here the Aztecs acquired what they knew of gardening, the smelting of metals, architecture, astronomy,

and picture writing, although proving but indifferent learners, as appears from the fact that the more imposing of the public works and, judging from what were saved, the more valuable of the public archives found by the Spaniards were of Toltec origin. It is still a puzzle with the antiquaries how so much stone-cutting was accomplished with bronze tools, or how such ponderous masses were mined and moved without gunpowder, machinery or beasts of burden. Before the Toltecs came the Colhuas, the bearded white men of tradition. Their more southern empire centred about Yucatan. Humboldt seemed inclined to the opinion that they were originally from the East, their ships dropping anchor in the harbors of the New World, in a past ante-dating even the rise of the Chinese or the Hindoo races of ancient Asia. The stately ruins of over half a hundred of their cities have been found in the heart of the forests. Their history had already passed into tradition and well nigh passed out of it, before Cortez landed his forces on the Mexican coast.

Walk down their deserted streets, and far above you, on either side, you will see finely finished palaces and temples resting upon the tops of immense truncated pyramids, their massive walls in places still standing ninety feet above their high foundations, their *façades* stretching out two and three hundred, elaborately carved with hieroglyphics, whose meanings are yet sealed secrets. Climb the staircases that lead up the sides of the pyramids, enter the open doorways of those veritable castles in the air, and you will find yourselves within one of the most unique art galleries in the world. Here, rich mouldings and arabesques, wrought into many a quaint device with consummate skill, will meet your eye; there, pictures twenty-five feet wide and from ten to fifteen high, cut into the polished faces of the accurately fitted stones, will introduce you to the battle fields, the gardens and the domestic hearth of some mysterious Long Ago. Through Copan and neighboring cities, you will also encounter colossal monoliths twenty and even thirty feet high, scattered in great profusion, having long since fallen from their pedestals in the areas, on their stairs and about the open courts of the palaces.

W. W. KINSLEY.

(To be concluded in October number.)

THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH: ITS SOCIOLOGICAL SIGNIFICANCE.

THE worst defended institutions often display the most wonderful tenacity of life. Aristocracy, for instance, for ages seemed to have nothing to say for itself, except the insolent utterance of contempt for other classes of society. It put forward no claim to existence which was not a negation of the claims of the many. But sociologists of our times have re-stated its case in a way most unexpected and convincing. The change began with Carlyle's doctrine of hero-worship, of the rule of the most competent and the strongest in every better sense. Then Guizot showed how the development of manners and the amenities of civilization had depended upon those little isolated groups, into which the feudal aristocracy were divided. And last of all, the doctrine of hereditary influence, of the transmission of hereditary qualities by descent, has brought the whole scientific tendency of the time to bear in the direction just the opposite of that which it had previously taken. A quarter of a century ago, Alexander von Humboldt's utterly contemptible *Letters to Varnhagen von Ense*, showed the political drift of scientific thought in their democratic abuse of the kings and nobles with whom their shabby author had lived in intimacy half his life. To-day there is hardly a prominent scientific man in Europe, and not one of the Darwinian school, who is a liberal in politics—who has more faith in the people than in the royal and noble castes who rule them. This change of opinion and of base is necessitated by the scientific view of human nature which has become current. So long as the merely natural element in man is exalted above that which is spiritual, by the denial of his liberty in action, so long will the traditional and transmitted elements of strength in society seem the greater and the more trustworthy. Faith in self-government, and in the power of popular education in the school and by means of free institutions, to fit men for such rule, has to-day no more threatening obstacle to encounter than the naturalistic drift of scientific thought.

It has often occurred to us that some day the Christian Church and what we call "Christianity" or the "Christian religion," might be equally fortunate in having their grounds and reasons for existence put before the world more broadly and truly than they have

been thus far. We believe that this will be done when once our sociological students turn their attention in that direction. At present they fight shy of this field of study. They have looked at the Church through an atmosphere of dislike and distrust. They have thought of Christianity as a form of opinion rather than a form of social life. They have been too busy with the first beginnings of society to pay attention to its most developed forms. But the time will come when they will be obliged to study this historical fact as a phenomenon to be accounted for, and to give a reason for its wonderful vitality and energies throughout the centuries of its existence.

The Church is the only one of the three great types of society which has originated in historical times, and under the eyes of men. While her history connects itself with earlier social forms, it is none the less distinct from them. The society formed at Pentecost was "a new thing under the sun," an institution not without its foreshadowings and its prophecies in what went before it, and yet new. Men had been groping after some such fellowship in the past. They had stretched out into the darkness. It had been the aspiration of many of the noblest of the race; the same aspiration furnishes the excuse for the acts of many of the vilest.

The growth of society in historic times* is now generally conceded to have gone forward on the lines delineated in the Old Testament narrative. Out of the Family came the Tribe; out of the Tribe, the Nation. Modern investigation has discredited all later theories of the origin of society, and especially all those which represent it as the result of a reflective act. Men are born into

* With the prehistoric times of modern anthropologists we do not meddle here. They profess to have discovered a still lower status than the family life—a state of promiscuous concubinage, in which the ideals of modern Free Lovers were realized. They vindicate this view by evidence of the present and past conditions of various savage tribes. The assumption which underlies this anthropology, is that all the human phenomena found on the earth are *normal*. Each represents a step in the ascent of man; and the lowest status of humanity which we can discover, is simply the nearest to the starting-point of the whole race. They admit no such thing as the *degradation* of some races below that starting-point. To those who believe in the moral freedom of man, the discovery of such cases of degradation is a thing to be expected. And when a branch of the Aryan race, descended from the proud "nigger"-hating tribes who composed the Vedas and conquered Northern India, is found to be the most degraded of all the races of Ceylon, the assumption that every status represents a step in the ladder by which all have ascended becomes more than doubtful.

society, and out of each smaller and less public form, the larger is developed through the operation of the political instinct.

Society began with the family. The house-father is the oldest authority in the world, and family worship is the oldest religious rite. The sense of a divine basis underlying all family life was widely diffused, at least throughout the superior races. The Hebrew said, "He setteth the solitary in families;" the Roman worshipped his household gods as the oldest of his divinities, and the great Roman epic depicts *Aeneas* as carrying them with him westward as the nucleus of the great city yet to be. But this life, while it remained alone, was devoid of large interest and vigorous movement. Within the family circle all went on with a monotony which modern man would find utterly intolerable. We may look back with envy upon their peaceful patriarchal life, such as Isaac led on the plains of Mamre; but we could not endure it for a week. Much that is best and worthiest in our human nature would rebel against such vegetation,—a life without literary, artistic, political, or social interest. Even primitive man rebelled against it. He set himself to put an end to the severance of household from household, and drew together the descendants of the same forefather into the tribe. By this step life gained in color and flavor. Association with man's fellows was enlarged. Collision for evil and contact for good were alike facilitated. Sociologists have laid great stress on the sense of danger as a propelling force to carry men from the family to the tribal stage. It was but one of a multitude of forces, and not the greatest. The master force was the impulse in man to actualize himself, to do justice to his social nature.

The tribe was a transitional step; man could not properly rest in it. In the family man attained to the institute of the affections; in the State he was to attain the institute of rights. In the tribe affections and rights are blended and confounded. The chieftain is neither father nor magistrate, but both in one. The right of property which characterizes the State comes into collision with the common use which characterizes the family, and the result is an oppressive and mischievous communism. And so this tribal condition stands confessed as a temporary status, in which men look for something better, but have not yet attained it.

To Israel the something better came at Sinai, in the shape of a national life under just laws. The Hebrews were not the first of

the Oriental races to attain political life ; they were one of the very last. Abraham himself seems to have gone out of such a life to become a wandering house-father, with no large social ties after Lot left him. But those earlier forms of political life were oppressive tyrannies, the creations of the Oriental Nimrods, who ruled by brute force. A state confessing that righteousness was its end and aim, and basing itself on the law of righteousness, was not to be found among them. He went out in search of such an order of society. His children went on searching for it till they found it at Sinai. And that law of righteousness, upon which the State must rest, is embodied in the Ten Words given at Sinai. That marvellous code is not an ecclesiastical document. It is a national code ; a declaration of the essential principles of all good government. This is no more true of the second half, in which human rights are defined, than of the first, in which the nation's relation to Jehovah is described. There is no such thing as an atheistic state, and the starting point in national life is the confession of God. Upon the sort of God will depend the sort of political and social life. When there is no faith in God left, then society will go to pieces. And so this law of righteousness begins by the command to worship the God of their fathers, the God who liberated the oppressed, the God of righteousness. And it sets Him forth as an object of their love, rather than of their fear. It says that He is to be loved with all the nation's heart, and the neighbor is to be loved as we love ourselves.

The Sabbath law in this code has been the most perverted from its true sense. Men have assumed that it is a church law, enacted for ends of religious edification. The plain reading of the law tells the contrary. A nation is told to rest one day in seven. It is not told to worship on that day, or to employ it for religious assembly. No such weekly assemblages existed in Israel until quite a late date, when the Synagogue was set up. The great bulk of the people lived at a distance from the Temple, and had no set times of worship, except the great annual feast. But the command says, "Keep the rest-day separate." Their fathers had kept none. There was rest enough in the shepherds' life they had led ; a separate rest-day could only be observed in a purely pastoral community at the expense of their flocks. But Israel was now to become an agricultural people, with a more rapid societary

movement, and they needed the balance of a rest-day for the preservation of their social sanity. The day was needed to keep them from becoming the slaves of their work, instead of its masters. It was made for man, for the health of their manhood. If they forgot that, they might come to believe that man was made for it.

The rest of the Ten Words are all of the same tenor. They recognize the great essential human rights, by whose realization man may live a truly human life. They enjoin that recognition upon the nation. The legislation into which the Ten Words are expanded contain much that is local and temporary. It is now very widely maintained that this legislation is not all of Mosaic origin. Many even of those who maintain the Mosaic origin of the earlier books of the Pentateuch, ascribe a later origin to the book of Deuteronomy. They think that they find in it evidence of a more humane and genial spirit than characterizes the earlier books of Moses. They have ascribed it to a writer of the prophetic era in Jewish literature.

It is proper to note here that the Mosaic legislation recognizes no Church as existing separate or even distinguishable from the State. The priestly order—the tribe of Levi and the house of Aaron—are indeed a clerisy,* but there is no Church. They are a branch of the national government simply. Any interference with their proper duties is an offence against the national Order; but the Jewish Kings interfere to correct and chastise their corruptions, just as they might any other branch of the government. The congregation from which the idolatrous or blasphemous Hebrew is excluded is “the congregation of Israel;” the feasts in which the House of Aaron leads the worship of the people are purely national. In this respect, Israel was on just the footing of other ancient communities, which possessed an hereditary priesthood, such as the Hindoos, the Persians, the Celts, and the Egyptians. The

* Coleridge's word,—not to be confounded with *clergy*. “A permanent, national learned order, a national clerisy, . . . is an essential element of a rightly constituted nation, without which it wants the best security alike for its permanence and its progression; and for which neither tract-societies nor conventicles, nor [public] schools, nor mechanics' institutes, nor lecture-bazaars under the absurd name of universities, nor all these collectively can be a substitute. For they are all marked with the same asterisk of spuriousness, show the same distemper-spot on the front, that they are empirical specifics for morbid symptoms that help to feed and continue the disease.” *Works*, vi, 66. (American Edition.)

classic races, like the Chinese and Japanese, went a step further, in that Greek and Roman religion was a branch of the civil service, and every office-holder was also a priest.

Israel had no Church. In saying so we are contradicting a great many great authorities. Dean Stanley has given us three volumes on the *History of the Jewish Church*, an institution which never existed. In Stolberg's voluminous *History of the Christian Religion and Church*, the first eight or ten volumes are taken up with Jewish history. Yet we stand by our position, that, in the true and essential sense of the word, no such thing as a Church existed on this earth till the Day of Pentecost.

There are indeed foreshadowings of a Church in the Old Testament. One such is in the promise to Israel, that through him all nations of the earth should be blessed. Another is found in the existence of a priestly tribe and its exclusive rights. But these are less clear indications than are to be found in the writings of the great prophetic order, whose sayings and doings fill up so much of the later literature of the nation. Baader says somewhere that the Prophets do not belong to the old dispensation, and should not be printed as part of the Old Testament, but as books intermediate between the Old and the New. And modern criticism generally recognizes them as occupying a different standpoint from the official Judaism of the law and the priesthood. They lay greater stress on the inward feeling of the heart, and less on the outward act of worship. They insist more upon the moral and less upon the positive duties of life. They look beyond the Holy Land and discern the movements of a kingdom of God in the nations which lie round about. They see in these not only the instruments of providential judgments, but the objects of divine care and forethought. Jonah's mission is to bring the Ninevites to repentance. Ezekiel has warnings for Egypt and Tyre and Moab, as well as for his own land. Isaiah yearns for the time when all nations shall flow in pilgrimage to "the mountain of the Lord's house." Their very sense of the evils in their own people brought them into sympathy with other peoples, and showed them that the sin of both was in turning away from God. They had penetrated too deeply in their study of the moral calamities of the world, to be able to isolate themselves as Hebrews from the sins and sufferings of other peoples. "They to their heart with large embrace had taken the universal sorrow of mankind."

And just on this point, the religious sympathy, which is broader than national, the prophets became witnesses to the need of a Church. They took no step to form such an organization. It was in their aspirations, not in their acts. The "schools of the prophets" were strictly Hebrew and, as their name implies, had a purpose more limited than that of a Church. But the Synagogue which seems to have arisen during the prophetic period, while not less Jewish than the Temple, was itself a confession of the same need on another side. The Church's function of local and frequent worship, and of public teaching, was here anticipated, and the foundation furnished upon which the Church itself established its local organizations.

One function of the prophetic order was to denounce the unrighteous empires, which in the East were trampling down all national distinctions, and were subverting the divine order of the world. The rapacity and cruelty of these later Nimrods is told as amply in the records of conquest which Nineveh is now yielding to modern scholarship, as in the denunciations of Ezekiel and Isaiah. And yet rapacity and cruelty are not the only elements of this Imperial impulse. There are in it a dissatisfaction with national lines, a yearning for the unity of the human race, a sense of the fitness of a larger organization of mankind than any mere national unity presents. This especially appears in the last and the most successful of these attempts at universal empire, that of Rome. To place the whole *orbis terrarum* under one majestic rule, to unite the human race in one body politic, to set up an empire which should endure forever, was the Imperial ideal of her days of vigor and aggression. Rome rendered vast services to mankind. She diffused through all the lands that border the Mediterranean a conception of political order and legislative method far loftier than their own. And the rule was, as modern scholars are agreed, the most popular ever known. It brought the people of that old civic world out of the isolation of civic life and the tedious misery of local warfare. It gave them a sense of relation to the mass of mankind, and gratified, in some degree, the aspirations for human unity. It organized the provinces with a thoroughness which puts to shame all modern attempts at the effacement of local peculiarities. But it would not last. It never more than imperfectly realized its own ideal. The wiser emperors saw themselves forced to set boundaries to their ambition, to accept

the Tigris, the Danube and the Rhine as limits beyond which they might not pass. But an empire which accepts boundaries loses its truly imperial character, and abandons its own idea. It leaves enemies still unsubdued. Across these boundaries came the hordes of Teutons, Slavs and Turanians, who assisted at the ruin of this stupendous system. But the real sources of her ruin were internal. Luxury, celibacy and immorality had co-operated with famine and pestilence in destroying her population, until the empire was but an empty egg-shell. "Rome fell for want of men," and the dream of effecting the unity of mankind in the sphere of government and politics was ended.

Similar aspirations after a unity of mankind, broader than that of the civic order, are seen in the philosophical schools of that age. The Stoics, especially, in their efforts to isolate the wise man from temporary influences, may be said to have founded a sect, a half-way approach to a church, in which the extremes of society were blended,—the Emperor Marcus Aurelius with the slave Epictetus. But this body consisted necessarily of a very limited portion of mankind, however widely separated in place or in social position some of its members might be. None could be admitted but those who had achieved indifference to the ills of life by philosophic reflection. There was no place for the mother whose children lacked bread; none for the slave who panted after freedom. To live "according to nature," to be calm in the midst of life's confusion, to sit at golden tables and write essays on the blessings of poverty, was the stoic line of action. And yet stoicism had its own nobleness, and helped many men to better things. So did Platonism. In Plato's *Republic* we see the yearning after a higher order of society than the actual state presented, but unaccompanied by any yearning for the unity of mankind in this new fellowship. And when we look more closely at his ideal state, we see that that contempt for Athenian liberty, that unpatriotic admiration of Sparta, which infected all the disciples of Socrates, has warped the mind of his greatest disciple, and has led him to set up a glorified Sparta as the ideal society. But with all its shortcomings the *Republic* is a great work, and one which points onward with prophetic significance. It "is not an inquiry respecting the conditions of a particular state. Phrases may occur in it again and again which seem to define this as its object. But others far more pregnant in their

meaning, and oftentimes uttered unconsciously, show that another and grander aim was present to the mind of the writer, and was haunting him when he could not realize it. He felt that there should be some body which expresses, not the law of a confined, definite, national life, but the law of society itself, the principle of its unity. He felt that such a body as this is implied in the existence of every national community, but yet transcends it, and is not subject to its limitation. . . . Here we see at once the ignorance and knowledge of Plato. How such a universal society as this could grow out of a national community, a family, and could preserve uninjured, in harmony with itself, both those holy institutions which had been its cradle, this he did not know. . . . But he was allowed to feel the necessity of a universal community to the life of man; he was permitted to feel that it was a great and living truth implied in the existence of society though yet undeveloped." *

In the sixteenth year of the reign of the Emperor Tiberius and on the second day of June, a company of unlearned and unphilosophic Jews were united in the formation of a new sort of society, which has lasted throughout all subsequent centuries. It started from the smallest beginnings and has subsidized more of the wealth, the political power, the artistic and intellectual greatness of the human race, than any other society that ever existed. Were this all its claim on our attention, we might well dismiss it from our notice. But it is equally true that within this society have been developed types of character hitherto unknown; that it has called forth a measure of self-sacrifice, of social charity, of sweetness and light, of purity in heart, speech and behavior, of mildness and sweet reasonableness, without example in the religious history of the world. And while it has been in places and at times obscured in its light, has fallen from its ideal, and has taken up maxims and methods the very opposite of those set forth by its founders, it has also shown a wonderful capacity for self-regeneration, and has again and again cast off the false accretions with which time has clouded it, and has stepped forth before the world's gaze in the brightness of a new day. Its very enemies unite in praising the spiritual and intellectual worth of the men it has moulded—of Paul of Tarsus and John of Ephesus, of Irenaeus of Lyons and Cyprian of Carthage, of Athanasius of Alexandria and Augustine of Hippo,

* F. D. Maurice's *History of Moral and Metaphysical Philosophy*, I. 166-7.

of Erigena and Chrysostom, of Anselm and Bernard, of Francis of Assisi and Thomas of Celano, of Albert of Halberstadt and Thomas of Aquino, of Thomas a Kempis and John Gerson, of Luther and Calvin, of Contarini and Pole, of George Herbert and Robert Leighton, and thousands of others not less illustrious in the spiritual history of mankind.

It might be worth while to ask this nascent society, what was its own theory of its own existence. Fortunately, we are not in the dark on this point; we possess a considerable literature, in which they have set forth first of all the teachings of their founder, and then their own understanding of their relation to him. And their theory of the matter is sufficiently notable. They declare that they had made the discovery, or rather had had the discovery made to them, that humanity had been created not as a mass of fragmentary individuals and locally isolated groups, but as an organic unity under a personal Head; and that in the fulness of time this Head had been disclosed to call men out of their wrongful state of local isolation and mutual antagonism, into that true fellowship of mankind, in which all are brethren in him. He had been at work, indeed, through all the past ages of the world, breaking down men's selfishness, uniting them in the bonds of family, social and political life, and quickening in them the affections which bind citizen to citizen, husband to wife, parent to child, brother to sister. But all this was, while an end in itself, yet also a means to a still broader unity, that of mankind under himself, the Head of every man. Those limited and local fellowships would come at times into collision with the new unity, until their mutual relations had been adjusted. It would seem as if he had come to set one against another, husband against wife, parent against child, and to bring not peace but a sword. In every such case of temporary collision, it was their duty to hold by the larger truth, for in that case all that they had given up would be given back to them tenfold, in political life loftier and more vigorous, in family affections more tender and pure.

The relation of this new society to the lesser ones out of which it grew was one of illumination and of contrast. Of *illumination*, in that it brought into clear view the nature of all society. It showed, what old rites had vaguely indicated, that the bond of all society is in self-sacrifice, the giving up of our base desires which

tend to bring us into a mere animal isolation. The mere "animal man" in us, the baser self, tends to sunder us from our fellows. The family life and the political life (it was now declared) are a continual victory over it; and the manner and measure of the victory is disclosed, first, in the sacrifice of himself by which this Head laid down his life for his people, and then in the self-renunciation by which each new member of this new fellowship gives himself up to the Head. "He died for all, that they which live should not live unto themselves, but unto him that died for them."

It is a relation of *contrast* also. The family, the state, are bodies limited by their very nature. Their limitation is of the essence of the morality which characterizes each of them. The true husband loves his own wife with a jealous, exclusive love, and his children before all other children. The true patriot loves his own country before all others. He did not set aside these bounds. He quoted the harsh terms in which the nature of patriotic attachment had been described "by them of old time, Thou shalt love thy neighbor and hate thine enemy," *i. e.* the foreigner. He does not say—as he is often misunderstood to say—that there is no truth in this saying, but he enjoins as along-side it, and as the law of his kingdom, that we should love the whole race of man. The first peculiarity of this kingdom, then, is that it is like those wicked and riotous empires, of which we have spoken, in accepting no boundaries. He came to break down every middle wall of partition between Jew and Gentile, bond and free, and to bring all into one fellowship. He came to gather under one head all things which are in heaven and all that are upon the earth. For he further declared that this kingdom—unlike those of this world,—is not in the least confined to the present world, and we have not done with it when we are done with this world. The dead are in its fellowship, as well as the living.

As a consequence of this, the condition of active membership and citizenship in this kingdom are the simplest possible. Inwardly, it is the confession that He is the Head and the renunciation of all iniquity, especially the renunciation of that selfish nature which may keep us from giving up ourselves to Him and to our brethren. It is to "name the name of Christ and depart from all iniquity." Outwardly it is submission to the simplest and most universal rite of purification, and participation in the sim-

plest and most universal rite of commemoration, in which his sacrifice of himself is represented. Whatsoever exceeds these, not only lacks his sanction, but interferes with the very idea of his Church, by tending to exclude some from his fellowship. His requirements are possible to all men, but when anything is added to them it is always found impossible to some, either through their mental idiosyncrasy, their lack of advantages, or some other circumstance. And every such addition destroys the Church, turning it into a sect, *i. e.* a body which is either content to embrace a part of mankind or incompetent to embrace all.

The relation is one of *contrast* still further, as regards the methods of its procedure. Unlike the nations, it abjures all appeal to force and fraud. At the beginning of his teaching, we are told, he had a vision of "all the kingdoms of this world and the glory of them," and was tempted to compass their acquisition by the base means which were in common use; but the temptation he utterly rejected, not then only, but at various times in the following years when the people misunderstood him, and would have made him a king of the same order as Herod or Tiberius. And, as every one knows, the same temptation has continually recurred in the history of his Church. Whenever churchmen have given way to it, the kingdom has lost ground; whenever they have resisted it, the kingdom has gained a new hold upon men's hearts and affections. As he himself said: "The meek shall inherit the earth." The straight road of self-assertion and deception has always led from the end aimed at, while the victory has been won by surrender.

Such then is the theory of its own nature and calling which the Church of the first days set forth. No one will deny to the institution the character of novelty; nothing like it had ever been seen. The most debatable point is the truth of the theory. They undoubtedly believed it. Had they really had these strange facts discovered to them, or were they mere notions, which would not wear? If the case had been laid before our polite friend, the younger Pliny, he would have predicted, as Gamaliel did, that the event would show the Church to possess no basis more solid than a group of notions and opinions. And he would have said that its success depended upon the prevalence in ancient society of vague expectations to which these corresponded; but as soon as those

expectations passed away, the whole edifice would totter to its fall. And, beyond doubt, his prediction would have seemed altogether reasonable. But it has not been fulfilled. The ancient world did pass away, and that of the middle ages took its place, and the Church grew more powerful than before. The middle ages passed away and the modern industrial world came, and the Church displayed a renewed vigor. Ages of faith were followed by ages of doubt and "victorious analysis," in which the Church was explained away; but she outlived them, and saw winter turn to spring. This nineteenth century sees itself involved in a great multitude of activities,—scientific, artistic, literary, political and economical—but the Church employs more human time and energy than they all. It subsidizes more intelligence and business capacity than they all, the state perhaps excepted. It commands a greater revenue for its own purposes than they all, the state again excepted. It is served by multitudes with a devotion, which, in other pursuits, characterizes only a rare few. This wide-awake, progressive country of ours is generally regarded as representing the leading tendencies of the modern world; and in this country, the Church membership increased eight times as fast as did the population during the past hundred years. If this Church is based on notions, they have worn wonderfully like facts.

It is not uninstrucive to compare the Church with some of the systems of religious life which originated later than itself and were not uninfluenced by it. The first of these was Neoplatonism, that wonderful compound of lofty philosophy and base superstition which originated at the beginning of the third century. It was an attempt to recast paganism into such a shape as would enable it to rival the Church, by furnishing a satisfaction to some of those deeply planted instincts, to which the Church appealed. It offered intercourse with the spiritual world through philosophic contemplation; and when men's hearts yearned after something more definite and positive than bare notions of the mind, it descended to magic, theosophy, medium-ship, materialization, and all the humbug which we have seen revived in "spiritualism." But when it approached the question of the unity and fraternity of mankind, it shrank with horror from the democratic vulgarity of Christianity. It declared the great mass of mankind to be by their very nature incapable of spiritual life and thought, and no more to be blamed

for this than a tree is blameworthy for not being an ox, or an ox for not becoming a man. The most philosophical paganism could not form a church.

Islam has many points in common with Judaism, and especially the absence of any distinction between church and state, and the consequent treatment of religious duty as a thing purely within the sphere of civil government. But Islam had, in common with the Church, precisely that element which the Neo-platonists could not appreciate. It aimed at universal dominion,—at embracing all races and conditions of men within the pale of its organization. The combination of this Jewish with this Christian feature made Islam an empire, waging war upon all national distinctions, and seeking to bring the whole family of man under one sceptre as well as to the confession of one faith. The facts of the world's political order proved too much for it. As the flood of religious zeal abated, the old national boundaries re-emerged to men's sight, and independent kingdoms were re-established in the old territories. This state of things is a confessed failure to realize the Mohammedan idea. It has wrecked itself by collision with one of those invincible forces, which continually reassert themselves in the face of the strongest opposition.

A third form of rivalry is presented by the modern Order of Freemasons. I call this order "modern" to distinguish it from the guild of operative masons to which it owes its origin, as the investigations of Flügel, Steinbrenner and Fort have amply shown. The present form of the organization dates from the eighteenth century, and bears the marks of that century in every feature. That century was the cosmopolitan age, when great men gloried in the sense that there was not a chord in their hearts which resounded to a patriotic emotion. But it was also an unchurchly century; the great drifts of public opinion were thoroughly hostile to that institution, with a hostility which was in most cases thoroughly deserved by the sins and crimes of churchmen. It was a century whose tendencies culminated in the phantasmagoria of reckless crime and cosmopolitan idealism, which we call the French Revolution.

Rejecting the Church, yet having learnt from her to aspire to a society of mankind, some leaders of European thought imagined that they found in the Masonic order an institution to suit their purposes.

At first they were disposed to organize an international society of their own. Weishaupt's Illuminati had that purpose, but it went to pieces, partly for want of at least a seeming foothold in history. Cagliostro and other humbugs did their share toward bringing the Masonic Order into prominence, and investing it with a glamour which attracted the multitude. But greater men than Cagliostro hailed it as the harbinger of a new age of human development and cosmopolitan harmony. The great German poet and critic Lessing, in his *Ernst and Falk; Dialogues for Freemasons*, (Wolfenbüttel, 1778), showed the necessity of such a fellowship among men, from the existing diversity and antagonism of nationalities, and the failure of civil society to unite men except by separating them into limited communities, and breaking up these communities into classes. But he does not look to see all mankind become Masons; that, as he knew, would have involved an absurdity. He only hoped to see the wisest and best of each nationality thus associating themselves, in order to diminish the frictions and collisions growing out of the existing separations between nations and classes.

Free Masonry, therefore, does not and never can take any such place as does the Christian Church in its relation to society. In its highest ideal, it is a priesthood or aristocracy of wisdom, acting on behalf of the great masses of mankind; and to attain that ideal it must somehow solve the problem of keeping out the fools and getting the wise men in. Assuming that to be accomplished, it still must maintain toward society the attitude of partial and selfish activity. Its secrecy, though vindicated by Lessing, on the plea that all wise men are acquainted with truths which they think it best not to utter, marks it as unsocial, and its exclusion of more than one half the human race, in the female sex, declares that it has no mission "to gather under one Head all things which are upon the earth." Its claim to have something special to say on the great problems of human life, is of course incapable of verification to an outsider; but neither is it sustained by anything we can observe in the lives and the characters of its members.

A fourth rival is presented in Positivism, which stands in closer relation to Christianity than any of the others. Auguste Comte was powerfully influenced by that form of Christianity which he saw in his own country. When the need of a religious side to his system dawned upon him, it was from the Catholic Church that he

borrowed most of the features of his new religion, the religion of agnosticism, which confesses that the divine existence and the future of the soul are to its view hopeless blanks. Positivism plainly apprehends the need of a cosmopolitan organization of mankind on a religious basis, but denying the central assumption of Christianity, the actual existence of a Head and Lord of every man, it is obliged to replace that conception with an idea,—the idea of humanity. It is based confessedly on a *notion*, while the Church claims that she is based on a *fact*. The central principle of Positivism is its altruism, and this is no more than a modernization of the Christian idea of self-sacrifice as the basis of society. Comte's favorite manual of devotion was Corneille's versified translation of Thomas a Kempis's *Imitation of Christ*; when Sir William Molesworth visited him, he pointed it out among the few books on his shelf, said he read a portion of it daily, and recommended his visitor to do the same. And Comte's greatest disciple, George Eliot, in *The Mill on the Floss*, shows that she has profited by his advice in this regard. In this Christian book, then, our altruists find the text book of altruism, by eliminating the Head of every man, in whom the old monk believed, and substituting the idol called Humanity.* If Thomas a Kempis be in the right, a union of mankind in one body is possible, or indeed in a sense already actual. If his Positivist readers are right, that union must remain an ideal beyond the reach of actuality.

Returning from this contrast of the Church with these rival systems of social life, I meet with some possible objections to my statement of what the Church is and what it aims at.

It may be objected that too little is made in this account of the ministry, the clergy, the hierarchy of the Christian system, although these hold so prominent a place that the very name of Church is often applied to them, in distinction to those whom they call "the laity." It will be remembered, however, that the intention was to state the hypothesis of its own existence, which the Apostolic Church entertained; and I find no train of thought in the New Testament which would justify any confusion

* It is undeniable that the Positivists have just grounds of complaint against some popular presentations of Christianity, because of their selfish and unsocial character. But the great Christian thinkers, who have best understood and best interpreted the Christian doctrine, are agreed in repudiating this selfishness.

of the ministry with the Church. Indeed, this class, while highly valued by the early Church, is nowhere spoken of as indispensable to the existence of the Church. No warrant is given us for expecting to see a clergy or clerical order in the world to come, while the church is assumed to exist there as well as here. "I am the Vine, ye are the branches," is as true of that life as of this. "Who then is Paul and who is Apollos, but ministers [servants, slaves], by whom ye believed?" They are the instruments through whom his people are gathered to the Head, and if all were so gathered, the ministry might be abolished without the Church being a whit less complete. They have no authority over the people, for the relation of each believer to the Head is direct; "My sheep hear my voice." Nothing could be more alien to the New Testament conception of the Church, than to bind its existence to that of any order of men, except the order of believers.

It may be further objected that in reducing the requirements of the Church to their simplest elements, the theology which has been evolved during the Church's history is done away with, and all distinction between orthodoxy and heterodoxy obliterated. There are many true Christians who would be glad if it were so; I do not agree with them. While I do not regard doctrinal theology as of the importance sometimes ascribed to it, I do not see how the Church could help being theological, and that—if the Christian hypothesis be true,—in right directions. Starting from the simple elements of Christian faith which have been laid down, her more thoughtful members could not but go on to search into the mysteries there brought within their ken. They must ask, "Who is this Head? What is His nature? What is His relation to God and to man?" It was not necessary to their being Christians that they should ask these questions, and no answer to them which did not weaken the sense of His reality and His authority, would interfere with their position as members of the Church. So long as they went on naming the Name and departing from iniquity, they were his. But, in the long run, that particular answer which fitted best to the facts of the Christian life would prevail over the others, and out of the Christian life of the Church would grow a theology which explained it. What Schleiermacher calls "the Christian consciousness of the Christian congregation" would act as a regulative force, controlling the intellectual energies

of the speculative part of its members, and giving its sanction to those results which were most truly Christian.* When a new question was raised, several answers would be presented, but in course of their conflict for existence, the fittest would survive, and the others would be stamped as "heresies."

Nothing in the history of Christianity has been more remarkable than the amount of intellectual energy which has been expended in theological discussion, and the way in which the intelligence of the common people has been brought to bear on the most difficult questions, and often as a controlling force in the ultimate decision. The very disorders which characterized the primitive councils grew out of the inadequate representation of "the laity," through clerical predominance. The people, being unrepresented, had to represent themselves, and at times they were more than enough for the clergy. In the Athanasian, the Nestorian and the Iconoclastic controversies, the weight of clerical and imperial opinion long stood on the side which was ultimately defeated by the weight of popular preference.

But, on the other hand, we must draw a sharp line of distinction between theological science and the essentials of Christian faith. A man may be none the less a true Christian, though unable to accept the dogmatic conclusions reached at Nicea or Chalcedon. And whatever may be required of the clergy and other teachers in the Church, nothing can lawfully be exacted of her members, except those simple elements of faith which have been already designated.† To require of them assent to the truest dogma in addition, is to give up the Churchly character for that of a sect.

*Over against Schleiermacher stand Hegel and his school, who maintain that the process of theological development was controlled rather by an inward law of dialectic development, than by the reactions of its environment in "the congregation." The two views—which remind us of the opposite theories of Darwin and Mivart as regards natural development—have been blended in Kliefoth's *Einleitung in die Dogmengeschichte*. Prof. Ritschl, of Göttingen, pronounces this work "a counterpart of equal greatness to Straus's *Leben Jesu*," which another critic, (Rev. A. M. Fairbairn) shows to be the blending of the *negative* portions of Schleiermacher's and Hegel's doctrines.

†Prof. Patton of Chicago, usually regarded as an exceedingly conservative Calvinist, in his sermon as retiring moderator before the last Presbyterian General Assembly, took a position which very closely approaches the above, but is not to be confounded with it. He would exclude no one who held the doctrine of the Incarnation, however "unsound" they might be as regards original sin, eternal punishment, or the Trinity. But the acceptance of a doctrine,—whatever it be—is a purely intellectual act, which gives no right of membership in the Church; and the absence of what cannot admit, cannot rightly exclude. A loyal adhesion to the Head is a different matter.

From the other side, comes the objection that the Church is an historical failure, and that for two reasons: (1) There is no Church, in the sense of the definition given, but only a mass of Christian sects. (2) The Church, even if her sectarian divisions be ignored, has not succeeded in establishing a union of mankind, since she has reached so small a part of the human race with her message.

The existing divisions of Christendom, and their strife with each other, present one of the most painful spectacles to the thoughtful mind, whether Christian or not. That a Kingdom so grandly planned for the union and reconciliation of mankind with each other and with God, should have been made the occasion of so many and such bitter enmities between men, cannot but produce a painful impression on any mind which is truly alive to the best interests of the race. Nor can we find any satisfaction in the subtleties behind which men have sought to escape the pain of this spectacle. The plea put forward by some, "Ours is the true Church; all others are wilful schismatics and have denied the truth," will not hold. The substantial agreement on all great questions forbids any one of these bodies to refuse the name of Christian to the rest. There is, indeed, truth in the statement, and it is, that human sinfulness underlies all such divisions, but none can say of another, "It was you that sinned, and not we." For even where the original division may have occurred through the faults on one side, the harsh, unchristian tempers which subsequently have been cherished on both sides, have made all partakers in the schismatical spirit.

Just a little comfort, because just as little truth, is contained in the plea that the true Church is an invisible body, against whose real unity no amount of external division can militate. Now it is true that the Head is present and accessible to the faith of his people inside of any one of these divided churches. But it is equally true that his manifest purpose was to form in the world a great, visible communion, living in harmony with each other, and thus manifesting the peaceable fruits of the Spirit. Upon their visible unity and harmony he counted as an agency for the conversion of the rest of mankind. An invisible Church is no church; as well might we speak of an invisible family, or an invisible nation.

"I believe in the Catholic Church," and I believe in no other. And by Catholic is not meant universal in the sense of world-

widely diffused. No church was ever so. But it means that she excludes no human being from her fellowships by any sectarian test, and proscribes no type of Christian life or emotion by the rigidity of her traditions. Is there such a church in existence? Yea and nay. There are many approximations to it, and that they coming nearer to that ideal there is good reason to hope. Our duty in this regard is to labor just where we each of us find ourselves, to bring all into the peace of the common fellowship.

That the Church has failed to possess the earth is a fact which stands in close relation to the other painful fact of her divisions. "The meek shall inherit the earth," she was told in her very charter. The spirit of division and dis-union is not the spirit of meekness, and the world has failed to recognize in the Church the message of one who came to gather all under one Head, since almost her first and commonly her most emphatic words have been words of strife and dissension.

And yet, on the other hand, the Church has fully tested, though under very difficult conditions, the fitness of her message for every race and condition of mankind. She has brought it home to the Bechuanas, a race so devoid of spiritual conceptions that they were often described as atheists, and Robert Moffat declares that for a long time every effort to instruct them was like trying to lift a mirror by trying to take hold of its face. She has turned whole communities of the South Sea Islanders from cannibal idolatry to the Gospel. She has tamed the fierceness and eradicated the vanity of multitudes of our own Red Men. She has effected a lodgment among the learned class of the oldest creeds, — Brahman, Buddhist, and Moslem ; but she has preached with most power to the simplest, unlettered people. This year sixty thousand converts have been received in India alone. And, I say, all this has been done under difficult circumstances. Her missionaries have been men whom she trained in elaborate theological systems, and sent forth to reproduce in other lands the forms of thought and of social order, which have been evolved by thousands of years of European history. The young missionary who said he would "begin at the beginning" in teaching the Hindoos, "with justification by faith, that is," illustrated what is meant by this charge. In each of these countries Christianity must take a local shape and color, as different from those of Europe as are the fundamental differ-

ences between the characters of the people. And upon this stage the missionary churches have not entered; all the missionary influence is employed to hold them back.

Measured by the conceptions of Christ, the Church of Christ is a great failure. But it is the most hopeful of all the existing institutions upon the earth; it is the one which has the greatest future before it. Round the outer walls of the great mosque at Damascus—once a Christian Church—runs the inscription in Greek characters, “Thy Kingdom, O Christ, is an everlasting kingdom, and thy throne abideth forever.” “Alexander and myself,” said Napoleon, “founded empires upon force, but all such empires must perish. Jesus Christ founded his upon the principle of love, and it will endure forever. I know men, and tell you that He was no mere man.”

JOHN DYER.

THE MENDELSSOHN FAMILY.*

THIS last contribution to personal history is admirable in every respect. Something of its merit is no doubt due to the fact that, after being first printed for private circulation only, it has been published to the world after enough of the lapse of time to rub off anything like mere contemporaneous gossip. Then again, like all people whose minds were full of serious subjects, their letters, too, even on the gravest topics, have a bright, cheery tone, and are largely impersonal, or have become so in the judicious editorial care shown in these volumes. Where names are given, it is almost always with a kindly mention, and the report of what others said, or what was said about third persons, is markedly free from that spite and malevolence which so largely distinguish some recent notable autobiographies, such as the Greville journals especially abound in. The successive generations of the Mendelssohns, whose lives are stretched out in these volumes, show many hereditary likenesses and many variations in modes of thought, such as would naturally result from the dissimilar training and surroundings that changes of fortune, of religion and of time brought with

* *Die Familie Mendelssohn, 1729–1847, Nach Briefen und Tagebüchern.* [The Mendelssohn Family, from Letters and Journals.] By S. Hensel, Berlin, 1879. 3 vols. Pp. 427, 283, 260, with seven portraits after the drawings of Wm. Hensel.

them, but from first to last there is common to all of them, a clearness and strength and force of intellect that were sure to make their mark in one way or another on their contemporaries.

The philosophic and liberal turn of mind of the first of the family to make the name famous, was the common inheritance of all his descendants. Himself a man without a country, as he himself described the condition of his race at the time of his birth, he was full of hope for the future of his own people, and of tenderness for the proscribed of all nationalities. His immediate descendants were apt scholars, and their letters are full of liberal and kindly thoughts and deeds. One of his daughters was the governess of that poor lady whose dreadful death, as Duchess de Praslin, shocked the world, and her descriptions of life in France under the Restoration are striking and original. In return for her years of enforced absence from her German home, the fame of her nephew the future musician, and his achievements at eleven years of age, and the delightful intercourse his musical genius secured him with Goethe, were great enjoyments. Then again, the ship's journey, and the visit to Paris in 1825,—when the fact that it was lit with gas was recorded as a striking novelty,—all gave rise to letters that are fresh and bright even now. The episode of the love making and the long courtship of Fanny Mendelssohn, the musician's favorite sister, and Hensel, the artist, is old fashioned and very touching,—the mother's earnest appeal to him to wait, as he did for years, in the hope of better fortune, and her frank confession that she herself had married with very small regard for the immediate means of livelihood, and that her whole married life had been full of happiness that no wealth could have secured,—all this shows that the simple, cheery, unconstrained, unconventional way of living, thinking, and talking, of the Mendelssohn circle was in itself the secret of their contentment.

It is a striking fact, however, that Felix shrank from having his sister Fanny assert her right to musical reputation, by publishing over her own name her own compositions, although many of the *Songs without Words* and others of the works published by him were hers, and in his letters to her he faithfully reported the praises and compliments paid to her works when they were performed by him. It was not until late in life, when her musical reputation was thoroughly established by the long series of Sunday concerts

given in her house in Berlin, that she shrinkingly yielded to the general desire for the publication of some of her best known compositions. The young people of the family had a club called "The Wheel," in which the best part of Berlin society was found, and their serious side was shown in diligent attendance on Humboldt's scientific lectures, and in the performance of Bach's Passion Music; indeed, Bach was almost rediscovered and quite rehabilitated by Mendelssohn. On the other hand, the sharp wit of Heine and the bitter sarcasm of Börne were never liked in this genial circle, and the two men were never made welcome. Hensel was not only a brother-in-law, and therefore at home, but he was so ready at portraiture and so indefatigable that his collection of likenesses included all the members of the family, their friends and visitors, and whatever else of celebrities visited Berlin or were to be seen in the course of his journeys elsewhere.

The half-dozen portraits of the Mendelssohns and their connections, given in these volumes from his hand, are very interesting additions to the text, and give a good idea of his artistic ability in this humbler sphere of work, while his greater works on canvass are described at length. There is no sadder tribute to the happiness of their married life and the desolation that befel him on the death of his wife, Fanny Mendelssohn, than the son's description of the utter change in his whole life afterwards,—he abandoned his studio, where before he had spent all his days, he frequented clubs and read infinite newspapers, although before he despised them, and while letter writing had been his greatest distaste, it became his chiefest occupation, and death only gave him relief from the unrest into which his wife's death had thrown him. The letter from Felix to his bereaved brother-in-law is full of pathos, and his truest consolation was shown in the fact that he came at once to share his grief and his solitude, and during the brief remainder of his own short life, was full of care for the widowed father. The father of the great musician and the son of the great philosopher, as he was fond of describing himself, shows in his letters a genial kindly man, fully appreciating the genius of his children, and giving them wise training and sound counsel,—his descriptions of his son's triumphs are full of affectionate admiration, and the mother maintained her sway over the children to a venerable old age, and was mourned by them with a deep and reverent sorrow that marked their earnest love for her.

The fact that Berlin and Prussia in 1836 were reactionary to the last degree, accounted in great part for the frequent journeys of the family, and the letters written from Switzerland, where the parents went with all the children, in an almost patriarchal way, are but the precursors of those written by Hensel and Fanny and by the other children, in successive journeys throughout southern Europe.

In Rome they were intimate at the French Academy and Vernet and Ingres and Gounod were the closest friends they had. In Naples, they met the Kembles, and were not specially drawn to the daughter Fanny, who was evidently not of the type that was most to their liking. Louis Napoleon, too, in 1840, "*abscheulich und verrückt*," horrible and crazy, while all their sympathy went out towards Gonfalonieri, the companion of Silvio Pellico in his long imprisonment. Although there is necessarily much repetition in the descriptions of the same places by the successive writers, yet there is enough of difference in their point of view to make it always interesting. Fanny looked through Hensel's eyes of a painter, while Rebecca shared her husband's, Dirichlet's, interest in mathematics, and Felix, of course, was always, and above all things, the musician. His zeal to do the best and be right was shown in his straight-forward action that cost him the showy honors of being Musical Director at Berlin and kept him at Dusseldorf and Leipsic or flying back and forth to the English festivals and to those on the Rhine and elsewhere, leaving him little of the leisure that he would have appreciated and used so well, while Berlin lost the opportunity of having him as the head of a school of music that might have done honor to the intellectual capital of Germany. His own family life seems to have been of the happiest and most modest kind, and while his sister Fanny was attracting all that was notable to her Sunday concerts, he gave all his spare time to the works that were still unfinished when death overtook him. Many of his letters have been translated and have found readers in their English dress, and, therefore, what he did and thought in musical matters is well known, but the correspondence of the family, published in these volumes, shows how largely the brothers and sisters influenced each other for good, and how much was due to hereditary genius and paternal culture. It is hardly likely that these three stout volumes will find a translator

or a publisher, or a sufficient reading public to compensate for the outlay of time and money necessary to put them in an English dress, but an abstract of the most interesting letters might find favor with the all devouring readers of the day, although any abbreviation would take away something of the gradual development of the individual characters of the Mendelssohn family. Little is said of those whose only business in life was to make money, but even of such of them as figure in the letters, notably Paul, the Berlin banker, it is always in kindly terms. The book is an interesting contribution to the inner and intimate history of a family of marked genius, and it is fortunate that, from being limited to private circulation only, it is now published freely for all.

NEW BOOKS.

IS LIFE WORTH LIVING? By William Hurrell Mallock, author of *The New Republic*. Pp. xxii, 323. 8vo. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

Mr. Mallock is a young graduate of Oxford University, who has made his mark in the current controversy between the champions and the assailants of Christianity. He won attention by an article of the same title as this book, and then by his brilliant fiction, *The New Republic*, which, like his still more personal and offensive work, *The New Paul and Virginia*, won a *succès de scandale*. The present book represents the most serious outcome of his thought. It is free from offensive personality, and as earnest in tone as such a book can be made to seem, after one knows the earlier works of the same author.

The book falls naturally into two parts. The first, and by far the ablest, is that in which he directly attacks the Positivist assailants of Christianity, and shows that when once they have got rid of its awful sanctions, there will be nothing left to impart to life that infinitude of worth and meaning which makes it worth the having. He here assails them on ground chosen by themselves. Both the purely scientific positivists, like Huxley, Tyndall and Clifford, and the Comtists, like George Eliot, have put forward their own views of the universe, as imparting a larger and deeper sanctity to social and personal existence. He extracts from their writings the outlines of their own ideal, and shows, we think with much force, that these ideals are forever incapable of realization when once they shall have accomplished that negative and destructive work to which they are giving their best powers at present.

If this was worth proving, Mr. Mallock has proved it as well as

any one could, and his work may have its uses, but not the very highest uses. Mere polemic and flat contradiction have been too much relied upon by the champions of religion; the limitations to their efficiency are easily reached. *Non tali auxilio*. Especially is such work of little worth, when it is not the fruit of earnest and solid conviction, but rather an intellectual gymnastic. Mr. Mallock, this new champion of faith, is a sceptic and nothing more. He has no Christian convictions to defend, much less to impart to others.

The second part of the work is devoted to showing that, of the various forms in which Christianity presents itself, Roman Catholicism is the only one which has vitality and permanence, and offers the true refuge to those who fly from the confusions of scepticism. Here he is writing on a theme which he has not mastered, and his failure in this regard vitiates the whole of his arguments. Roman Catholics must enjoy reading this part of his work, but they will hardly care to commit themselves to his statement of their case. The reason for this failure is not far to seek. The question between the Roman Catholic and the Protestant Churches is a far more complicated question than that between the theologians and their opponents. It requires for its scientific discussion a propædeutic of the most elaborate sort, and especially a knowledge of the philosophy of history and of church history, such as few theologians possess. The works of F. C. Baur, Karl Hase and Albrecht Ritschl show the lines upon which that discussion runs in the scientific theology of Germany, but we know of no English controversialists except Archdeacon Hare and Cardinal Newman, whom we could place alongside them. Mr. Mallock's lines of study have never even brought him into these fields, and his discussions remind us of the scientific sections of some popular books on the relations of science and religion.

AT A HIGH PRICE. From the German of E. Werner. Boston: Estes & Lauriat.

The high price at which the hero of this book wins fame and power in a small German state is the contempt and hatred of the Liberal party, in whose ranks he entered life. Innocent of treachery to them, but held guilty through unhappy circumstances, he throws away his early faiths, and, an unwilling renegade, devotes his talents and life to the cause of the government. In the end, he falls hated by both parties, and, like the dying man in *Extremes*, haunted by the "ghost of his ideal." Love alone is faithful, but even that fails his memory, as Gabrielle, his betrothed, marries another. The characters are well and carefully drawn in this record of one of the saddest class of misfortunes, in which there is neither heroism nor glory in the failure and ruin of a great man.

A-SADDLE IN THE WILD WEST. By William H. Rideing. New Handy Volume Series, New York: D. Appleton & Co.

Mr. Rideing has given us an attractive story of his western ride, in which he has made the mules members of the party by a nice appreciation and recording of their various merits and peculiarities. It does not surprise the lovers of coincidences that Bismarck should have had a strong liking for his neighbor's goods, nor that he led his too confiding brother mules into much mischief. The author is observant, noting the little things that make the charm of traveller's tales, as where he describes issue day at an agency in New Mexico, where the Indians, mounted on ponies, came for their rations, all carrying leafy branches to protect themselves from the sun; but the good bits of description would be too many to quote, and no one will regret the hour given to read of the wonderful coloring and tone of the western table-lands, of our strange fellow-citizens of New Mexico, and of Mr. Rideing's wanderings in his own graphic description.

Knickerbocker Novels. A MAN'S A MAN FOR A' THAT. New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1879.

There is such a flourish of good breeding in this book that it is not surprising to find it entirely wanting even in its chief apostle, an American, who attends a reception at her banker's, in Florence, and does not once address the lady of the house, not deeming her *de notre monde*. Nothing is set down that is honest in the description of American life, though the writer evidently aimed at a novel embodying the theories and laws of our social order and has failed in it. There is undoubtedly a great deal of nonsense in drawing the lines between different businesses when the whole circle may be put down roughly as in trade, but we doubt if poor lawyers of rare cultivation, even without family claims, often walk so thorny a path as is marked out for Edel Schuyler's society life. The social Topsy belongs to every circle of the world, old and new, and among the many short-comings of American society, it is a rare thing to find beauty of person, character and brains united, thrust outside the charmed ring that opens its ranks less readily to dollars and ignorance than is often believed by those who do not take notes and careful ones. The tone of the book is extravagant, and the hero, in his conception of duty, at times recalls the worthy Captain of the Mantelpiece.

SOMEBODY'S NED. By Mrs. A. M. Freeman. Chicago, S. C. Griggs & Co. 1879.

A book written with the end of exciting interest for the neglected classes is apt to repel the reader, not for want of sympathy

in its aim, but often because of the intemperance and bad writing of the advocates. We have had but one Dickens, and no one walks in his steps. In spite of its ill-chosen title, *Somebody's Ned* is less faulty than most of its class; there are too many stirring events for probability, but no gross violations of taste or truth to lessen its force as an appeal for the prison inmates, who are too truly dead in law, and for the street Arabs, who should be more to us who pass by. The vision of the two heaps of human happiness and misery, and of our lives as making a ceaseless transfer from one to the other, cannot be too strongly impressed, and that Mrs. Freeman has done acceptably.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

Young Maugars. From the French of André Theuriet. (Collection of Foreign Authors, No. XVII). 12mo. Sw'd. Pp. 267. Price 60 cents. New York: D. Appleton & Co. [Porter & Coates.

The Apostolic Fathers and the Apologists of the Second Century. By Rev. George A. Jackson. (Early Christian Literature Primer). New York: D. Appleton & Co. [Porter & Coates.

Peg Woffington. By Charles Reade. (Handy Volume Series.) Pp. 244. Price 30 cents. New York: D. Appleton & Co. [Porter & Coates.

"My Queen." (Handy Volume Series). Pp. 166. New York: D. Appleton & Co. [Porter & Coates.

Common Mind-Troubles. By J. Mortimer Granville. 12mo. Cloth. Pp. 102. Price 50 cents. Salem: S. E. Cassmo.

Somebody's Ned. By Mrs. A. M. Freeman. 12mo. Cloth. Pp. 209. Price \$1.00. Chicago: S. C. Griggs & Co. [J. B. Lippincott & Co.

The Creator's Manual. By George L. Raymond. Cloth. 12mo. Pp. 342. Price \$1.50. Chicago: S. C. Griggs & Co. [J. B. Lippincott & Co.

Summer-Savory, Gleaned from Rural Nooks in Pleasant Weather. By Benjamin F. Taylor. Cloth. 12mo. Pp. 212. Price \$1.00. Chicago: S. C. Griggs & Co. [Claxton, Remsen & Haffelfinger.

The Summer and Its Diseases. By James C. Wilson, M. D. (American Health Primers.) Cloth. Pp. 120. Price 50 cents. Philadelphia: Lindsay & Blakiston.

The Great Speeches and Orations of Daniel Webster, With an Essay on Daniel Webster as a Master of English Style. By Edwin P. Whipple. 8vo. Cloth. Pp. 707. Price \$3.00. Boston: Little, Brown & Co.

"A Man's a Man for a' That." 16mo. Sw'd. Pp. 390. Price 60 cents. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. [Claxton, Remsen & Haffelfinger.

Wayside Leaves. By J. Luella Dowd. Cloth. 16mo. Pp. 200. Price \$1.25. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. [Claxton, Remsen & Haffelfinger.

Ethics or Science of Duty. By John Bascom. 12mo. Cloth. Pp. 383. Price \$1.75. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. [Claxton, Remsen & Haffelfinger.

The Silk Goods of America; a brief account of the recent improvements and advances of Silk Manufacture in the United States. By Wm. C. Wyckoff. Cloth. 8vo. Pp. 120. New York: D. Van Nostrand.

Descriptive Catalogue of Pompeian Museum, Fairmount Park. 16mo. Sw'd. Price 10 cents. Philadelphia: Edward Stern & Co.

THE
PENN MONTHLY.

OCTOBER, 1879.

THE MONTH.

THE Tory ministry have had one stroke of luck in the capture of King Cetywayo. The brave savage is a prisoner at Capetown, awaiting the Queen's pleasure, the English having declined to shoot him on the spot as he desired.

In old Rome he would have been carried at once to the capital and exhibited in the religious procession called a triumph, before being starved to death in a dungeon for his insolent resistance to imperial aims. That was how they dealt with these relics of murdered nationalities; and it was altogether a logical way. If Cetywayo has been guilty of anything, *i. e.*, if the recent war was not an utterly unjust and aggressive one, he deserved instant death. But Christian Imperialism is less logical; it only breaks its victim's hearts by exile, and the slow tortures of unhappy memories and an uncongenial environment.

After all the success of the English arms, the real purpose of the war has been abandoned. Sir Bartle Frere, the pious proconsul who rules Southern Africa, provoked this struggle with two ends in view. The first was to secure the union of the South African colonies into a confederation like that of Canada, a plan to which Cape Colony would not accede so long as the military kingdom of the Zulus was left intact upon the northern frontier of the proposed confederation. The second was to bring all Southern Africa,

up to the Portuguese possessions, under British control, and ultimately British rule. Both ends have been missed. Cape Colony, through the events of the war, is more than ever determined not to assume the military responsibility involved in confederation, and has so declared herself in the recent elections. After beating the Kaffirs away from her own frontiers by a prolonged struggle, she is not ready to make them, once more her next-door neighbors by uniting her fortunes with those of Natal and the (former) Trans-Vaal Republic. The still broader purpose of further aggression, unfortunately for its author, came to light during the bad quarter of an hour which followed the defeat at Islandana. It excited such horror that the Ministry hastened to repudiate it, and gave assurances that they would not even annex Zululand in case the war proved favorable to British arms. By this pledge they are still bound, and the utmost they are at liberty to do is to establish British residents in the country, to keep watch over its native rulers and offer them advice.

There are many signs, also, that the Zulus are not ready to divide into a cluster of independent tribes under hostile chiefs, as the English are trying to induce them to do. The habit of united national action, when once acquired, is ineradicable; and any chief who should accept the British proposal would be regarded as would a Frenchman who, in 1815, had seconded the proposal then made to sunder France into a group of independent states. Sooner or later, as in Abyssinia, all Zululand will gather under one head again, and the military traditions of the Empire founded sixty years ago by King Chaka, the South African Napoleon, will resume their sway.

FORTUNE does not smile on the Tories in Afghanistan. Indeed, that fanatical people, with the bad English weather to help them, have added nearly another year to the duration of the present Parliament.

The feelings with which fanatical Moslems, like the Afghans, regard a virtual conquest of their country by a non-Moslem power, is hard for us to realize. It is not merely an insult to their national honor; it is a tremendous religious penalty. Such a misfortune changes their land from "the house of faith" into "the house of confusion," and any true believer who finds himself in the latter

has only the choice between "the war of zeal" and flight. Stay in it he may not, at his soul's peril. A wicked Indian Moslem, their preachers say, once started to fly from India, and fell dead as he crossed the Afghan frontier. A good and an evil angel disputed for his soul, and the dispute turned not on the deeds of his past life, but as to whether, as he lay across the frontier, he was properly within "the house of confusion" or outside it. Such is the Moslem doctrine, which is a part of the Shariat or holy law, and as rigid as the laws of the Medes and Persians. Easy going Moslems in India dodge the evident conclusions from it by various kinds of sophistry, and by reliance upon the ambiguous decisions of the heads of the orthodox sects at Mecca. But not so the more sincere and zealous believers on both sides of the border; the great revival of the Mohammedan zeal which began in Central Arabia and has spread from Constantinople to Calcutta, is preached to them in every wayside mosque, and more or less heartily accepted. The Afghans, especially, have shared in this revival, and although defeated through bad generalship on their side, and the force of superior equipment in their enemies, they are as little prepared to submit as in 1841, when they destroyed the pretender whom British arms had set up, and the force sent to maintain him.

The recent murder of the British envoy at Cabul, and the massacre of his retinue, is of a piece with the whole history of the country; and the proclamation of the "war of zeal" which followed it, shows that the English will have other forces than mere military power to contend with, in maintaining their position in Afghanistan. Nor is this fanaticism the only incalculable and unexpected obstacle to the conquest of Afghanistan. The character of the country is such, that of itself it destroys invading armies. The troops recently employed returned in such a condition of exhaustion, that they fell by hundreds a prey to the cholera, which had broken out in the North-west Provinces. And the supply of camels, an animal indispensable to an advancing column, is all but destroyed by the severity of the climate and the roughness of the roads.

There was but one way in which the English ministry might have retrieved the blow to their prestige, and that was by a swift and decisive march on Cabul. As matters stand, such an expedition is altogether impossible.

MISFORTUNES never come singly. A British war with Burmah, although cleverly avoided for a year past, seems now inevitable, unless the English are prepared to see a country under their protection seized by a vile and insolent young sovran, and thus a blow given to their prestige throughout the East. So long as King Theebau confined himself to murdering all his relatives and half his courtiers, and oppressing his own people, the English could afford to be passive. But the independence of the Karens was guaranteed in 1875, and an attack on them should bring a British fleet up the Irrawady to Mandalay and add another province to the Indian Empire.

We think it to be regretted that the new complications in Afghanistan do not leave the British free to fight Burmah. Such a war would have very different grounds from that waged on the Zulus and the Afghans. It would accomplish the deliverance of a peaceable people from one of the most disgusting and brutal tyrannies in the world, while it would save from virtual destruction a most interesting race, the Karens. The name of this people is familiar to thousands of Americans, who have hardly heard of the Afghans. The wonderful success of the American Baptist missionaries has made them in the main a Christian people, a change for which they were fitted by much in their moral character and their native religion. If, indeed, the missionaries were not deceived in their attempts to collect the native traditions of the country, they must have been superficially christianized at some remote period, possibly by the Nestorian missionaries, and have relapsed into paganism after the withdrawal of the mission.

To the conquest of Burmah, there is one strong objection, which the *Spectator* urges,—it would bring the British Empire into contact with that of China. The quality of Chinese soldiery is not of the first order, but the Empire has such hordes at her command that she is more than a match for any other Asiatic power. She can throw away a hundred thousand lives in overwhelming a city, and her people die with a more than Asiatic indifference to death. The fierceness of Moslem fanaticism has proved no match for these resources. After putting down a dangerous Mohammedan revolt in a frontier province of China proper, by a process of ex-

termination, she has recently marched her armies across the arid deserts of Central Asia, overthrown the Kingdom of Yakob Beg, and reduced to their obedience the line of mountain provinces which line Eastern Turkestan. Their revolt was an uprising of Moslems against the yoke of the unbeliever, but she has quenched it in blood. Russia, which has good reason to know what the enmity and the friendship of China are worth, has retroceded to her peacefully one of these provinces, of which Russia took possession soon after the revolt. The Czar's territory touches that of China along a vast frontier, and his advisers evidently think it worth their while to keep John in good humor.

As yet the Indian Empire does not touch that of China at any point where intercourse or invasion is practicable, although China lays claim to some protected districts in the Himalayas, which might be approached through Thibet. But, although little is known either of the extent of the Burmese Kingdom or of its northern frontier, it is feared that its addition to the Indian Empire would furnish the Celestials with an avenue through which to pour their forces upon India.

THE harvests in western Europe have been so very bad this year, that even the Russian and American surplus will not suffice to supply the entire deficiency, and our own producers may expect not only a ready market, but even relatively good prices for their grain. England of course must suffer the most, and pay the most heavily, and her newspapers congratulate the country that only a minority of the people are engaged in agriculture, and therefore interested in the source of the national supply of bread-stuffs. This reasoning we think very shallow, and quite unworthy of a country which proposes to teach the world political economy. Great as is the dependence of England upon foreign consumers of her manufactures, the agricultural class at home are at least as important in this respect as in any single foreign market, or perhaps any two of them. And the reason why the English manufacturers are not sharing in our general revival of industry, is that their agricultural class are worse off than ever, while ours are decidedly more prosperous than they have been for years past. For the same reason, the Tory speakers are mistaken in predicting a speedy revival of English business. There will be no such revi-

val till the country has another good harvest and her farmers have money to spend.

The cable despatches from London have been unblushingly partisan, in favor of the English ministry, but the report of Lord Beaconsfield's speech on the present and future of English and American agriculture, really suggests that somebody has been at the pains to caricature that eminent statesman. According to this great authority, it is to Canada that we are to look for the great achievements of the future; it is she who possesses unlimited resources, and whose rich lands are being rapidly taken up by the disappointed land-owners, who are all selling out in our Western States. Poor Canada, with her business interests prostrated, her reciprocity-forcing tariff a failure, and her population steadily drifting Southward across her border, may well wonder who has been cramming his Lordships with stories worthy of a Münchhausen.

While English landlords are making temporary reductions in rents to meet the pressure of hard times on the farmers, attention is very properly called to the fact that in every other country of Europe, including Scotland, such reductions are a matter of right and not of grace. Contracts and leases are construed as implying that whenever the yield of the land is exceptionally low, the rent is either proportionally abated, or in extreme cases remitted entirely. The difference arises from the acceptance elsewhere of those maxims of Civil Law, which England has so jealously excluded from her jurisprudence. The Roman landlord was required to make such reductions, and the tradition has passed from Rome to the rest of Europe.

THE call issued by the highest authorities in certain religious bodies to observe a day of fasting and humiliation, in order that the judgments inflicted on the British Islands by the bad weather may be removed, has awakened the old discussion as to the religious interpretation of such social disasters. We think that the matter might be very greatly simplified by a stricter attention to words. So long, however, as people will insist on using the word *judgment* in every sense but the right one, there is no possibility of coming to any understanding.

We think that even an atheist will admit that there come upon

every community times of special severity and strain, when the quality of its moral and its economic policy is sorely tested. And, even without asserting that there is "an intelligence at the heart of things," it is possible to speak of these times as *days of judgment*, using that word in its own, proper sense, and not confounding it with *condemnation*, or *punishment*. To the theist, however, such times must have a special significance, as designed to bring to light the nation's weak places, to show the people their sins against social law, and to give them the opportunity of national amendment. Such a judgment of a nation is furnished by a time of continued tempest, but it stands in strict relation to the sort of suffering which results. If the community has followed a policy which produces deep poverty alongside great wealth, so that large masses of the people suffer through having nothing to fall back upon, then manifestly the judgment has resulted in condemnation. Nor is the punishment confined to the direct sufferers; it extends to the whole nation, through the growth of dangerous classes, the spread of dissatisfaction, the decrease in security for life and property, and ultimately the dissolution of society itself. And as the blunders in economic or any other policy which lead to such disasters, are traceable, in the last result, to some moral obliquity of vision, some short-sighted selfishness, this system is essentially a moral government exercised upon human society. But in the vague notion that any social sin may be requited by any kind of punishment, there is nothing religious or worthy of consideration.

It is not so difficult to see just what sort of judgment is exercised upon England by the present period of bad harvests. The greater part of the shock felt is due to the wrong and unnatural constitution of her whole economic structure, the disproportionate distribution of her wealth, and the neglected condition of her poor. A similar disaster in France or Belgium would be felt much less severely by the masses of the people, because their economic policy has been adjusted in the interests of the many; and the poorest class there would live for a long time "on their own fat."

The individual use of such adversities may be quite independent of the social effects. Human happiness is clearly not contemplated as the only end in the order of the world. The formation of human character, even through suffering and distress, is still more a

final end of things. And the national calamity has been foreseen and intended as a part of the discipline of each separate human life. Nor must we think of an infinite mind as looking upon the matter as a finite legislator would, and deciding on that course which is best for the greatest number of cases. On the contrary, the needs of each individual case must have been clearly foreseen, and the decision made with reference to what is absolutely best for it.

THE international politics of central Europe seem to have become somewhat entangled during the summer. The three great Emperors, whose good understanding was so manifest during the negotiation of the Berlin Treaty, are by no means so cordial in their relations; and all sorts of rumors as to the cause and the extent of the disagreement are afloat. It seems most clear that Russia and Germany are far from friendly, especially as the semi-official papers of both countries are anything but amiable in their exchange of political courtesies. Exactly how Austria is concerned is not clear, but it looks as if she was bound closely to Germany's lead. Count Andrassy, who represented, if anything, the German friendship, has resigned, but he declares that this does not in the least indicate any change of policy or of opinion on the part of the Emperor. But as one man carries the politics of each country under his hat, there can be a good deal of disagreement, and even a full blown quarrel, before the public at large learns anything of the fact and its reasons.

Andrassy's resignation, it seems, was due to the efforts of the Hungarian politicians to make his life a burden, in revenge for his annexation of Bosnia, and the consequent increase of the Slavonic element in the empire. The Slavs are already a majority of the Emperor's subjects, and if the Germans are wise they will some day raise them to the rank of a third division in the now double-yolked state. A nominal annexation of the purely Slavic countries to Bohemia, and the equation of the Estates of that ancient Kingdom with those of Austria and Hungary, would put a stop to the frequent dead locks which arise under the present arrangement, by turning a vote of one to one into a vote of two to one, the one being Hungary. The result would be a gain to the cause of civilization; for whatever romantic interest may still cluster around

the Magyars, all their history shows them to be a race politically, socially and industrially inferior to either Teuton or Slav.

THE predictions we made that the elections this fall would be favorable to the Republicans, are already in part fulfilled. Few Republicans were inclined to count with confidence on California this year. The peculiar character of her politics, the four-cornered fight in which the rise of two new parties had involved the struggle, imparted a great uncertainty to the situation on the Pacific coast. It was, therefore, with some genuine surprise that we heard of the Republicans electing the Executive officers, a majority of the Legislature, and most, if not all, of the Congressmen. The Working-men's party carried San Francisco, though by a vote considerably less than a majority, electing the Rev. Mr. Kalloch Mayor, as might have been expected after the base attempt at his assassination, which for a few days lashed the city into fury. The fourth party, the Anti-monopolist or Honorable Bilks, seems to have been wiped out; and the politics of the state are in so far simplified.

The lesson of the California election is that the party which sees the farthest and is least carried away by the sudden drifts of public opinion, is the one which has in the long run the best chance of success. The Democrats, for years past, have been trying to get their mill turned by all sorts of political freshets, which have generally lasted for a night and then left the wheels dry. Every workingman's movement, greenback movement, and the like, has been coquetted with, and the support of the sober part of the community has been alienated in an equal degree. If they have any chance of success in this country it is in fighting their enemies on the two issues which furnish the very reason for their existence as a party—Local Self-government or State Rights, and Free Trade. At present they hardly dare to touch either, and certainly both are anything but popular.

THE Maine election shows what they may expect from alliances in the Greenback quarter. The Republicans have carried the state by almost a majority, and the Democrats have scored a bad third. It equally shows that the strength of the Greenback movement is

by no means broken. So far from losing ground in Maine, they have actually gained, and polled a larger vote than last year. It is the Democratic loss which has enabled the Republicans to gain. There is every reason to believe that the new party will perpetuate its existence and will form an important element in the political complications of the future. And if, as there are some indications, they come to adopt a more sober and practical platform, giving up all Fiat money vagaries, they may even succeed in modifying the fiscal policy of the nation. Indeed, they have had some influence already, for we owe it to them that the resumption of specie payments was not accompanied by the withdrawal and destruction of our national paper money. And if they would narrow down their contention to the single issue, whether our paper money should be the creation of the nation or of corporations, we should neither fear nor be surprised at their success. The plainest intellect can be brought to see that a circulating note is a debt due from the issuer to the public, on which he pays no interest. And we have never yet found any one attempt fairly to face the question, why should not such issues be made for the sole and direct benefit of the whole community rather than of private corporations. Our strongest resumptionist papers, *The Tribune* unhappily excepted, rebuked Secretary Sherman when he loaned the nation's money to New York banks and asked no interest. But the same mischief is involved in allowing any corporation to issue bank-notes. It is allowing them to borrow from the public, without paying interest.

THE politics of New York state are in such a muddle that each party would despair of success, were it not that the embarrassments of the other suggest hope.

In the Republican party, Mr. Conkling has carried the nomination for Governor of Mr. A. B. Cornell, a man utterly distasteful to the less stalwart members of the party, and not at all likely to bring out the full Republican vote. For this false step, the administration is first of all to blame. It removed Mr. Cornell from the Collectorship of New York, not because he was a bad officer,—he was confessedly a good one,—but because he belonged to the wing of the party which had no sympathy with the specialities of Cabinet opinion, and because he ignored the absurd order which

half-disfranchises those American citizens who hold office under the General Government. This proscription naturally excited indignation, made Mr. Cornell a martyr in the eyes of Senator Conkling's friends, and gave him special claims on the party for the next place or nomination in its gift. And if his nomination leads to the defeat of the party, Messrs. Evarts, Schurz and Sherman will be entitled to the final credit of it.

It is possible that Mr. Cornell's nomination would not have been urged so strongly, if the Republicans had not believed they could elect anybody this year. Partly, they based this confidence on the drift of public opinion, which sets more strongly in their favor than even last year, when they elected almost the whole legislature. Partly also, they were confident of a split in the Democratic ranks. This hope has been realized; Mr. Kelley and his Tammany friends have bolted the renomination of Mr. Tilden's friend, Governor Robinson, and are doing their utmost to carry off enough Democratic votes to defeat him at the polls.

But the strength of Mr. Kelley's following by election day is altogether an unknown quantity, and there is nothing in either his history or that of his Democratic unfriends to assure us that he will not be bought off before the day arrives. Democratic party discipline is too efficient to make such bolts effective. The average voters, while ready enough to follow Mr. Kelley so long as Mr. Kelley marches with the party, will be very apt to fall out of his ranks when they find they are voting aid and comfort to the Republicans. The result of the election in New York is altogether uncertain.

THE Mormon prosecutions, aided by a vigorous clerical movement in the locality, have rid the country of another and a still more unsavory form of society, the Oneida Community. This curious organization was first formed at Putney, in Vermont, over forty years ago, by John H. Noyes, a revivalist preacher, who had shared in the excitement which pervaded much of New York and New England at that time. Like many others, he was led to believe that sinless perfection was attainable by an act of faith, and that all selfishness must be excluded from perfect character. By a curious but not unexampled line of thought, he reached the conclusion that monogamic marriage was one outgrowth of selfishness,

and reduced his theory to practice in a community life in which all the women were married to all the men. The organization was expelled from Putney by a popular uprising, and removed to Oneida, where it has maintained itself by various industrial pursuits, and has conciliated the good will of most of its neighbors.

But its members have all this time been living in violation of the laws of the State of New York, and it only needed a little agitation of the question to make sure that the penalty of those laws would be inflicted. Their general relations have been so repugnant to the moral sense and ethical traditions of the community, that any one who had the courage to fix popular attention on an unsavory subject, could soon put a period to their career as a community practising "complex marriage." It is to the Rev. Professor Mears of Hamilton College, formerly of this city, that the credit of initiating the campaign is due, but he was sustained by the great body of the clergy and laity of all denominations, not excepting Bishop Doane of Albany.

The Community have had the good sense to abandon the immoral features of their organization, and to conform their manner of life, in this regard, to the requirements of American morality. They do not express any regret for their previous course, and they candidly admit that the local agitation of the question, and the results of the Mormon prosecutions, have furnished the reasons which moved them to this new step. In fine, they still regard monogamy as a form of selfishness, and complex marriage as a religious ideal. But, as the laws forbid them to do what they think right, they submit.

Whatever the Community life has done for them, it has not developed in them the stuff martyrs are made of.

MR. SHERMAN still hankers after the destruction of our Treasury notes. He is even willing to put our ninety-cent dollars into circulation, if that will but help to drive the greenbacks into retirement. Nay, he will unlock the Treasury and pay out gold, not in New York only, but at every other sub-treasury in the country, if so be that he can destroy the Treasury notes. The poor greenback is Mordecai that sits in the gate and vexes the soul of the National Banking Haman, because he will not bow to him.

But the law stands in the way. Neither Treasury nor sub-Treasury may make any discrimination against the Treasury notes in paying out money. They must pay out what they take in, and in something like the same proportions. And even when the Treasury notes are received in payment more abundantly than they are paid out, they cannot be retired or destroyed; they remain in the vaults as part of the money of the nation. In a word, Congress was too far-seeing in its legislation to authorize the destruction of the national paper currency, and no amount of ingenuity will enable the Treasurer to touch it.

The Treasurer's new movement, therefore, will merely replace by a certain amount of gold and silver an equal amount of Treasury notes, while he must hold the latter in reserve. His only hope is in the Supreme Court, that they will decide the issue soon to be brought before them, by declaring unconstitutional the reissue of greenbacks after the resumption of specie payments.

The extension of resumption to other cities will be a boon for which all but New York may be thankful. We have had from Mr. Sherman's eulogists so many reasons for confining it to New York, that we are curious to see how they will defend the change of policy. Equally compulsory of a right-about-face on their part is the movement to put the silver dollars into circulation. It was the height of wisdom to keep them locked up in the Treasury; can it be equally the height of wisdom to send them afloat? And, lastly, the reduction of the accumulations of gold in the sub-Treasury, by putting it into circulation, calls for some explanation, since two months ago every coin added to it, was another claim on Mr. Sherman's part to our national gratitude.

Much to be pitied are the newspapers who have to find wisdom in the conduct of a statesman whose policy is from hand to mouth, with no substantial basis of sound principle to give it unity and consistency,

OUR Metric System people, after getting so many repulses from the solid conservatism and good sense of the American people, have been trying to extract comfort from the substitution of the "cental" for the bushel in the transactions of our Corn Exchanges. The "cental," however, is not a unit of the Metric System, but merely the old hundred-weight, stripped of the twelve pounds

which had been tacked on to it by the absurdly complex methods of British trade, and called by a new name. The real meaning of the change is that, in the future, grain will be sold directly by weight, instead of by the bushel or the quarter as formerly. So far from taking a step towards a Metric System, our Corn Exchanges have simply redressed one of the anomalies of the present system, by one of these reforms which postpone or prevent revolutions.

The Metric System would be an excellent one for a people possessed of ten or even five eyes, and therefore able to divide things into tenths with the ease with which we divide them into halves. And if its advantages be so great, it is possible that a race possessed of this equipment of eyes may turn up in the infinite variations of nature, and, by a survival of the fittest, supersede the present two-eyed race. But until that event, mankind will continue their preference for numerical measures which are capable of repeated division by halves. The establishment of the new system by law in France and other European countries, has simply had the effect of making a break between actual and legal usage, as regards the majority of their people. The French provincials still cling to their traditional systems of weights and measures. If the Metrical System could be elevated into that "new religion" which Cavour and President Eliot have sighed for, something might be done, especially by a vigorous persecution of dissenters.

A KEMPER county jury has proclaimed that political murderers in the State of Mississippi need have no fear of the law. The murderer of Judge Chisholm's daughter has been on trial for his life. The evidence was clear and unquestionable, and the charge of the Judge pointed the same way. But the jury took just time enough to write down and sign the verdict "Not Guilty," and set the murderer at liberty again. Where public opinion sanctions murder, there will not be wanting perjurers to protect the murderer.

The trial was a farce from the first, for the simple reason that it must be held in the State of Mississippi. When once our shambling, loose-jointed nationality assumes its proper shape, there will be a change of venue in such cases from the scene of violence to some more civilized community. But it is impossible for us to

hold up our heads among the nations, so long as our national authority is not competent to secure the protection of its own citizens from political violence and brutal murder.

SOMETHING must have been frightening our local politicians into amending their ways, if we may judge from the two local tickets put in nomination by the local parties. The selections made are such as any citizen can support with a good conscience, and there are more good names on either of them, than could be selected often from them both.

The truth is that the Republican party in this city has enjoyed a tenure of power too long for its own good and the good of the city. With the one interruption of Mayor Fox's mayoralty, we have had Republican rule without interruption almost since the party was formed. And the Democracy, instead of forming a genuine and honest opposition, has been in too many respects a mere appendage to the Republicans. Prominent Democratic leaders are constantly in Republican pay. The representatives of the Democratic party at many polling places are on exactly the same footing. And the very nominations of the Democrats in some wards are effected by a convention in which the Republican Ring is as largely represented as is the Democratic party.

But this year both parties seem to be taking pains to put honest men in nomination, and the Republicans have reduced the tax rate to two dollars. Remembering the proverb about "When the Devil was sick," our citizens have been looking around in search for the reasons of this change of front. Perhaps the Republican politicians fear the effect of the scandalous exposure of their Harrisburg delegation in the matter of the Pittsburg Riot Bill; or perhaps they are experiencing a revival of religion in Summer time. If our Methodist brethren have reached them by their big camp meeting, they deserve the thanks of the whole community.

WHEN DID THE HUMAN RACE BEGIN?

II.

PERU as the Spaniards saw it four centuries ago, with its extensive aqueducts, its paved post-roads fifteen hundred miles long, its beautiful hanging gardens that reached far up the terraced slopes of the mountains to the frost-line, the Oriental magnificence of its royal palaces and temples of worship, the pages of Prescott have made familiar to every English reader. Pizarro found the whole valley firmly cemented under one of the most complete despotisms known to history. The Incas were the reigning family. Their real origin they studiously concealed from the people, proudly claiming to be children of the sun, to have come from the South, and to have founded Cuzco by direction of the gods, made known through the miraculous sinking of a golden wedge. Some authors assert that there is evidence that they accurately measured the solar year, knew how to write, and made paper from banana leaves, eighteen hundred years before the Christian era. Others place the commencement of their dynasty at a much later date. Their consummate skill in the art of embalming and their scrupulous care thus to preserve the bodies of their dead, the peculiar inclination they uniformly gave the lintels of their doors, many of the ceremonies of their worship and the customs of their social life, strongly suggest that possibly Egypt may have been their school master in some of the forgotten centuries. At the southern extremity of Peru, on the shores of Lake Titicaca, there may be seen to-day an artificial mound one hundred feet high, surrounded by gigantic angular pillars; temples six to twelve hundred feet long, fronting the east with great exactness; vast porticoes with pillars cut from single stones, covered with carved symbols; basaltic statues adorned with half Egyptian bas-reliefs; and palaces built of hewn blocks measuring twenty-one feet by twelve and six feet in thickness. The ruins throughout are of gigantic proportions, and surpass both in grandeur and finish any of the works of the Incas or even the imposing structures hid among the forests of Yucatan. All knowledge of the origin of the city had so completely perished out of the memories of the natives, and the ruins were held by them in such superstitious reverence because of their extreme antiquity that the politic Incas saw it both possible and profitable to

connect themselves with them by what to us is a wholly improbable myth. The opinion now generally prevails that the city was abandoned before the first stone had been laid in the foundations of Palenque, Qiriqua, Uxmas or Copan.

From these and other kindred facts, which we have not space to detail, it appears that in some long-gone era the entire Western world was densely peopled by civilized races. The many striking resemblances which the colossal ruins of their earth and stone works bear to those found on the sands of Egypt and among the mountains of Hindostan, have led Humboldt and many writers since seriously to question whether they were not all fashioned from a common model, the American builders carrying with them to their new home the architectural conceptions and standards of taste that at the time held sway in the old. Against this conclusion it has been urged that the mounds on the Mississippi, the teocallis in Mexico and the temple-crowned pyramids of Yucatan, merely mark a particular stage in religious development; that they are each spontaneous products of the human mind; that nations wholly ignorant of each other's existence and living in widely different eras, would, if similarly advanced in religious life, resort to similar architectural expressions of their ideas and aspirations. Mountains, it is claimed, have ever been favorite places of worship and when they are not easy of access, the inspiration of their presence has become so deeply missed Art has promptly stepped in with her imitations. The Hindoo pantheon was on the sacred Mount Meru, many studied transcripts of which were scattered throughout India and called its peaks; the Persian was on Albordj; the Greek on Olympus; the Scandinavian on Asgard; while Ararat, Horeb, Sinai, Zion and Olivet, are intimately associated with the Christian's faith. This objection has strength and perhaps would prove fatal were not the resemblance alluded to but one of many, among which may be mentioned that of sun-worship, with orphic and phallic accompaniments, serpent devices, hieroglyphics, extensive astronomical knowledge, the practice of embalming, styles of dress and of weapons, the offering of hecatombs of human life in honor of distinguished dead, the mode of writing history by ingeniously knotting and braiding about a rope as a base threads of diverse dyes, and also sundry social customs of the people. Humboldt's surmise is fur-

ther sustained by some quite remarkable traditions. In the Panathenæa, one of the very oldest of the Greek festivals, there is celebrated among other things an Athenian victory over the inhabitants of Atlantis, an island in the Atlantic counted so vast and so powerful as to be looked upon as the crowned queen of the sea. Solon heard a mythical story concerning this same land from the Egyptians while visiting them over twenty-four centuries ago. All connection with it by them, and indeed by the entire East had, even at that early day, so long since ceased that not only had the fact of its former existence become traditional, but it was thought the waves were then rolling over the place where it had once stood. Plato, who wrote in the fifth century before Christ, also describes Atlantis, and in doing so has, as De Bourbourg tells us, recorded many peculiar features of the country and the government that are strikingly analogous to those of the empire of Xibalba, to whose stately ruins in Yucatan we have briefly referred. It can hardly be counted a coincidence that Atlantis is spoken of as divided into ten kingdoms, ruled by five couples of twin brothers, who together formed a national tribunal presided over by the eldest two, and that Xibalba was in fact as has been found, governed by ten kings who reigned in couples under Hun Came and Vukub Came, and who at times also met in grand council. Both were exceedingly fertile, both rich in precious ores, both visited by some widespread calamity, both possessed in common the name of Atlas.

The full significance of these ancient American civilizations will more clearly appear when seen in the light of other facts.

Five miles from Bombay harbor two rock-hills lift their heads out of the waves. The valley between them is heavily wooded, with here and there a rice field, a meadow, and an Indian hut to tell of human life. Many years ago, when English sailors first visited the island, there was a black stone statue of an elephant, thirteen feet long, standing on the southern shore, and from this circumstance it received the name of Elephanta, by which it is known to us to-day. Clambering half-way up the side of one of the hills, we stand at the entrance of a vast temple cut in the solid rock. Its door-way is sixty feet wide and eighteen high, supported by two massive pillars and two pilasters. Looking within, long lines of columns stretch away into the darkness before us. The audience room on measurement proved to be one hundred and twenty-three

feet broad, by one hundred and thirty long. Many chambers open from its sides, their walls covered with sculptured mythological symbols. At its farther end is a bust, each of whose three well-shaped heads is sixty feet long. The hand of one of the figures clasps the deadly *Cobra de Capello*. Various works of the chisel are scattered through the apartment. Similar excavations are met with on other sides of the same hill. We are wonder-struck at the magnitude of the enterprise and the architectural skill of the builders, when we are told that the hill is of clay porphyry, so hard that ordinary steel makes little or no impression on it. These ancient fanes are now all deserted. Who cut them out, or at what time their congregations last broke up, dwellers on the shore are as ignorant as we. The most celebrated of these mysterious caverns are, however, at Ellora, a decayed town in Central India. Here some twenty-two of them are cut into the inner slope of a horse-shoe-shaped hill. They are ranged in a circuit a mile and a quarter in length. The largest, called Kailasa, or Paradise, is thought to have represented the court of the god Siva. Inside its door a covered colonnade, adorned with strange statuary, conducts to a chapel supported by two mammoth elephants and by two obelisks sixty feet high. Beyond the chapel a pagoda rises at the centre of the room ninety-five feet from its foundations, guarded on every side by the couchant forms of the fierce beasts of prey that infest the jungles of Hindostan. Farther still, lesser temples, similarly adorned, are scattered through the ample space. Forty-two colossal idols, each the centre of a group, stand within the central building, forming the Grand Pantheon of India.

It is believed, and with much reason, that these remarkable excavations were made in an age so remote that since their day the Sanskrit language has entered the country and developed into vast proportions, supplanted the old Dravidic tongue in the sanctuary, on the street and at the home-circle, and finally has died out of the mouths of the common people, to live only in the pages of their literature; that since then Brahmanism has overthrown Siva-worship, has itself been overthrown, after centuries of caste-cruelties, by Buddhism, a form of religious protest that also in its turn, after reigning upwards of a thousand years, has been forced to give way before the so-called modern Brahmanism, which, compounded of the three religions that preceded it, has for a period quite as long been the ruling faith of over three hundred million people.

These caverns have been used by different sects at different times, principally the Buddhists, who have cut inscriptions and reliefs on the walls and set up their own idols within them. This circumstance has misled many as to their origin and age. We cannot enter now into the proofs of their extreme antiquity, but there is evidence on record that immediately after the death of Sakhya-Muni, one of the founders of Buddhism, the one who first gave it system and state-standing, his disciples used them as assembling places, and there compiled the sacred writings of their sect, showing that they existed at the time of, or prior to, the establishment of that form of faith. There is evidence that they were most numerous in India far away from the banks of the Ganges, where Buddhism had its rise; that they existed in districts where the people were black and savage, and Buddhism was unknown; that, with but few exceptions, they were consecrated to Siva-worship, the most ancient system of religion in India, from which Hindoo Saivism was born; and they must have been built, being works of such stupendous magnitude, before Buddhism became the state religion of Magadha and monopolized governmental resources. Lieutenant-Colonel Sykes, the best authority on the subject, says: "There is not anywhere a rock-temple excavation dedicated to Brahma or Vishnu." Siva was not a Vedic god, is not mentioned in the Rig-Veda, the oldest of the Brahminical compilations, and belonged undoubtedly to the ante-Sanskrit people of the country. The Indo-Aryans simply incorporated him afterward into their worship because they could thereby strengthen themselves. It was to this Siva that these wonderful monuments of human industry and skill were originally dedicated. Similar constructions Rameses the Great of Egypt found in Nubia thirty-three centuries ago. Their origin was a mystery then. He covered their walls with the records of his conquests.

We see sun and serpent worship in the images of Siva clasping in their hands the *Cobra de Capello*, in the many symbols cut on the walls of the temples, and in the Cyclopean fanes and stone circles scattered in every province.

There is not a country in the East that does not abound in ruins of kindred character, but we must pass them by with only a glance at one or two of the more noticeable features of those in Egypt.

Although scores of authors have by their detailed descriptions long since stripped these ruins of almost every vestige of novelty, yet their colossal magnitude, their wonderful displays of power, the vast lapse of time they cover, the bold, grand thoughts and boundless resources of their builders, still gift them with a resistless fascination.

Who of us in his fancies does not frequently look into the tranquil face of that mysterious Sphinx, and dream of those far-off times when in that sand-hidden temple, between its spreading paws, sacrifices were offered by its many willing worshippers? Who does not climb the stair-cases of the pyramids, and as his eye falls on that lonely plain, whose empty desolation is relieved only by a few shapeless heaps of stone that mark the long-lost site of Memphis, call back the city's brilliant reign of thirty centuries before Alexandria plucked off its crown, and, in fulfilment of Bible prophecy, left it without inhabitant? Who does not go down with his lighted torch into the hearts of the honey-combed hills, into those wonderful picture palaces cut in the rock, in whose grand saloons, enriched with fresco and relief, depicting scenes in the lives of the sleepers, the embalmed bodies of the dead have been so long waiting in their sarcophagi of alabaster for the souls that went out from them to come again after the cycles of their transmigration are ended? Who does not enter the open portal of the temple of Karnac, revel in the architectural glories of its porticos with their shafts and roofs of stone, wander through the avenue of brute and human-headed sphinxes, that leads to Luxor, a mile and a half away, pass by the red granite obelisks, the gigantic statues, the pyramidal towers, the sculptured gateway, the lofty colonnade, till the southern limit of the vast area is reached and Art's vast thought realized?

The naked mountain ranges that follow the course of the Nile, furnished the ancient Egyptians, in lieu of timber, exhaustless quarries of granite, sandstone and syenite, in the working of which they very soon acquired a remarkable skill; the equally exhaustless fertility of the valley securing them at once abundant leisure and a fabulous wealth to lavish in this direction. While their architecture presented symmetry well nigh without fault, permanency and magnitude were undoubtedly the chief ends aimed at. Their brains brought forth Titans, and these they sought to clothe

in the enduring garments of rock. The stupendous structures, which they scattered through the valley in such profusion, they literally covered with hieroglyphical records of their religious and political history; and firmly believing that their bodies would live again, they made palaces of their tombs, and adorned their walls with scenic and written reminiscences of their private life. The lines on these strange record-books are still distinct, except where they have been defaced by war or modern vandalism, for the hand of Time rests lightly in regions that never know rain nor feel frost. And now, ages after this people are dead, and the language of their literature has passed from men's memories, there occurs the romance of the Rosetta Stone. The secrets of the monuments are unsealed. A sudden light flashes in among the shadows of fifty centuries. The several princes of Egypt are found to have been united into one monarchy, under Menes, as far back at least as twenty-seven hundred years before the Christian era. Bunsen places his reign in the thirty-seventh, and Lepsius in the thirty-ninth before, and they are the most eminent German Egyptologists; while native and Greek authorities carry it still farther into the past. The more moderate figures of Mr. Poole, of the British Museum, are perhaps the safer, as he has with much painstaking reconciled the different fragmentary and full lists of dynasties given on the tablets found at Thebes and Abydos, with those in the works of Manetho. He has also discovered the luni-solar circle on the ceiling of the Memnonium, used in connection with the reign of the second king of the twelfth dynasty, and that of the last of the twenty-sixth, thus making it possible, by astronomical calculation, to fix these reigns with comparative accuracy at the beginning of the twentieth and of the fifth century before Christ. A panegyric year, or year of festivals, and other ancient Egyptian divisions of time, he has also ferreted out and brought into use in his estimates. He has furthermore satisfactorily shown that many of the dynasties were contemporaneous, thus materially shortening the time. But even with his calculations we find Egypt a consolidated monarchy, capable of building the vast city of Memphis, founding Thebes, and, with consummate engineering skill, turning with a dyke the course of the Nile, seven hundred years prior to Abraham's visit. And since Menes, three hundred years had scarcely passed before the pyramids appeared on the plain, placed and fashioned with such

precision that scientific computations can be safely based on their lines of shadow, and of such massive and firm masonry that they have stood intact till now, and seem destined so to stand till the world burns. The very oldest of the temple-tombs known, those of Beni Hassan on the Lower Nile, are models of mathematical exactness, architectural symmetry and fine finish. They are evidently the work of master artists. Indeed, as far back as archæologists have been able to penetrate, they have found dense masses of people, organized labor, a settled government, a profound knowledge of the mechanic and fine arts, an acquaintance with letters, even advanced notions of science. Beyond Menes, clouds of myth and fable have settled about the centuries. All that there is left us of value is a single tradition that the first emigrants poured into the Nile valley from the east. Their nationality and the date of their coming are matters about which men still widely differ. We are, however, safe in saying that many hundreds of years must have elapsed between this handful of adventurers and the afterward million-peopled monarchy of Menes.

We had designed to consider our theme from three other stand-points,—man's primal condition, the development of race, and the growth of language; but this we must at present defer. A word or two in conclusion on some of the new views taken of Bible chronology.

Although geological time-estimates are, as we have remarked, necessarily indefinite, yet the impression is daily gaining ground in scientific circles that the changes effected in the earth's crust since man came, require very many more centuries than the sixty supposed to be given in the Bible narrative; while the twenty-three and a half between the Flood and Christ are, by ruins still extant of past civilizations, most positively proved to be by far too few. Those of Egypt, for example, we know, call for at least thirty, and Egypt is supposed to be younger than India, and both but colonial offspring of some still older people. The extensive study given to development of language and of race has also profoundly impressed scholars with the necessity of a very much longer period to adequately account for phenomena thus brought to light. This seeming conflict between science and Revelation has been variously accounted for. None of the theories advanced are fully free from fault, yet none are without suggestions of value.

It is found that the Septuagint version dates the flood eight hundred years farther back than the Hebrew, the one we use; that its different statements harmonize with themselves, while ours do not; that it was used by Paul in his Epistles, and it may be a translation of a much older manuscript. But the discovery of so great an error in one or the other naturally leads us to distrust the chronological accuracy of both. Some maintain that the whole trouble arises from false interpretations; that Moses did not design to give family genealogies; that names, which seem to be those of individuals, are doubtless in many instances names of tribes; and that from these occasional breaks in the chain it has become impossible to compute the time from Adam to Abraham. In this connection, the suggestion has been thrown out that the events have occurred in the order recorded, but as Moses was aiming solely at portraying God's providences, he selected only typical men and times, designedly dropping out of his narrative whatever was not especially fitted to advance his purpose. And in this same connection a hope has been expressed that the translation of the Bible into Arabic may result in unravelling the mystery that still shrouds Oriental methods of writing history.

A third theory is, that the first chapter of Genesis refers in general terms to the creation of Pre-Adamites, and that an indefinite period intervenes between that and the chapter following. It is thought that had not the world been thus peopled Cain would never have expressed fear that men would kill him should he be banished from home. It is thought, too, that otherwise it would have been impossible for him to have found either mechanics to build his cities or families to inhabit them, or for him to have married, except one of his own sisters. It is also surmised that this interpretation throws light on that difficult passage in which "daughters of men" are spoken of as marrying the "sons of God," "sons of God" being rendered "servants of gods," idolators, the Pre-Adamites.

A still further theory is, that allegory and history are so intimately interwoven that it is utterly useless to attempt to separate them. Another, and the last we will mention, is that our difficulties come from confused notions of interpretation and revelation; that so long as we hold to plenary inspiration, this question of time will be but one of the many problems that will hopelessly

perplex the thought and try the faith of believers; that Bible writers were all of them divinely inspired men, but were something more than mere passive amanuenses; that they retained the free use of every faculty, introducing into their books their individual peculiarities of literary style and of mental temperament; that revelation extended only to the moral and religious aspects of their themes, they being left to their own imperfections, their own limited human learning when matters of simple history or science entered in. This class of thinkers contend that the moment we lose sight of these two distinctions, our footing becomes insecure. Still it would be difficult for them to explain what some one has called "Moses' inspiration of reticence," his complete avoidance of that species of extravagance into which every other cosmogonist has fatally fallen. It is certainly not a little remarkable, that at every new advance in scientific investigation new meanings have been ingeniously wrung out of those first chapters, suited to each new exigency.

While these many widely differing notions witness to the confusion in which this whole subject is yet involved, they also show some reconciliation possible and encourage Christians to still hold firm their confidence and with patience wait.

WM. W. KINSLEY.

INDUSTRIAL ART EDUCATION.

SO little has the subject of industrial art education been understood, and its importance appreciated, in this country in the past, that even so recently as ten years ago it might have been truly said that we had done absolutely nothing in the matter, as far as any systematic course of instruction was concerned. Americans, as a class, regarded the subject as an innocent "hobby" of a few well-meaning but unpractical enthusiasts who desired to convert us into a nation of artists. We are now a little more advanced in sentiment and in the adoption of the means to the desired end: we have made a beginning by the opening of a few industrial art schools, and however inadequate are the facilities which these schools afford, and however unsystematic are the courses of instruc-

tion which they provide, they are at least a foundation to build and enlarge upon. Even at the present day, however, so vaguely is the subject understood by the great majority of our people that when the question is discussed the general inquiry is—"What practical good is art education going to do our industrial classes; how will it make them better workmen; and will not the fact that they are artists, as it is proposed to make them, be apt to inspire them with notions which will raise them in sentiment so far above their social condition that they will not be satisfied afterward to engage in any industrial occupations at all?" Such an inquiry arises naturally in the mind of one who has given but superficial attention to the subject, and as it embodies the substance of the questions asked by those who are either doubtful or ignorant of the utility of the education proposed, it will be the object of this article to answer the inquiry and at the same time to endeavor to show the incalculable benefits which the country would receive from the adoption of the scheme.

It would be interesting, did space permit, to detail the measures adopted by all the leading nations of Europe, in their commercial rivalry with one another, to establish national systems of industrial art education which would qualify their working classes to equal, if they could not excel, their foreign competitors in the artistic qualities, and consequent marketable values, of their productions. It must suffice here to say that for the past twenty-five years the subject has excited the deepest practical interest throughout Europe, where popular art education is no longer a question of sentiment but is a common matter of fact. To show how great a revolution has taken place abroad in this respect, a single extract may be quoted from *Papers on Drawing* by Professor Ware, published by the State Board of Massachusetts in 1870:

"At the Universal Exhibition of 1851, England found herself, by general consent, almost at the bottom of the list, among all the countries of the world, in respect of her art-manufactures. Only the United States of the great nations stood below her. The first result of this discovery was the establishment of schools of art in every large town. At the Paris Exposition of 1867, England stood among the foremost, and in some branches of manufacture distanced the most artistic nations. It was the schools of art and the great collection of works of industrial art at the South Kensington Museum that accomplished this result. The United States still held her place at the foot of the column."

Without particularizing, it need only be said that all the other European nations have also advanced rapidly in the same direction. They have all learned the imperative necessity of popular art education in order to enable them to compete with their neighbors in their industrial productions; and as the first means to that common end, they have made drawing a compulsory study in all the common schools, with special art schools for the more advanced pupils and for the working classes.

What experience has proven to be at first so wise and now so necessary on the other side of the Atlantic, reason will prove to be equally wise and necessary on this side. If we are to compete with the products of European countries in the markets of the world, we must at least equal them in the artistic quality of our manufactures, and this we can do only through the adoption of some systematic course of popular art education, such as they have found so successful in Europe.

The question may be asked: "Admitting its desirability, how is this popular art education to be attained?" The answer is, through the medium of the public schools, the only medium through which the education of the masses of the people can be effected. "But," it may be objected, "our public school children are already overburdened with studies; and besides, it is not the duty of the state to teach accomplishments to its scholars." It is, unhappily, too true that our public school children are overburdened with studies, many of which, however valuable they may be in certain cases, will be of no practical use to the great majority of such children in after life. As for the second part of the objection, that may be accepted as a truism, but it can be shown that industrial art education is not an accomplishment, in the ordinary sense of the word.

This point may be decided by the answer to a single question: What are the proper aim and scope of public school education? To this it may be replied: Its proper aim is to qualify the children of the present for the duties and responsibilities of the future; to enable them to gain their living in some useful occupation; and to make them good members of society and of the state. Its proper scope is to include in its course such studies as tend to accomplish the objects named, excluding every one that overburdens the pupil without giving some direct, practical benefit in return. Such be-

ing the case, drawing, which is the basis of industrial art education—which latter, as is shown in the experience of Europe, is now essential to success in all industrial pursuits,—is as important a part of public education as is writing. Persons who contend that an education limited to the three “Rs” is all that the state is called upon to provide, do not give sufficient thought to the subject to know that the education which answered one hundred years ago will not answer in this age of steam, electricity and general enlightenment. To successfully fulfil its mission, every system of education must consider and provide for the probable wants, surroundings and responsibilities of its pupils. Our present system of public school education does not do this, and in so far it is a costly failure, and it would be much wiser for us to frankly acknowledge it and change the system accordingly. The course of instruction is admirably adapted to qualify the scholars for entering college or for accepting ordinary mercantile situations, but the great majority of public school children are destined to engage in industrial occupations, and for them no special training whatever is afforded. This majority certainly have a right not only to ask but to demand that they shall be treated with at least as much consideration as the minority—that they shall be given an education which will qualify them, also, for their future.

Such being the fact, public school education ought to be systematized accordingly. The results are not doubtful, and the proper course is not a matter of experiment. Europe has solved both problems for us. After exhaustive study of the subject, and after experience with the practical workings of the system, the principal European countries have established the fact that the first step in the attainment of the desired end is to make drawing a compulsory study in all the common schools. As the French Commission reported in 1863: “Among all the branches of instruction which, in different degrees, from the highest to the lowest grade, can contribute to the technical education of either sex, drawing, in all its forms and applications, has been unanimously regarded as the one it is most important to make common.” It may be well to explain here that by “drawing” is not meant the copying of landscape and other subjects from prints, as is popularly supposed, which supposition has given rise to the erroneous idea that the study is merely a fancy one without any practical results, as is the

case in the worse than useless plan still so generally adopted in private schools. The system now proposed for adoption, which has been productive of such beneficial results abroad, is based upon the principles of geometry and upon the suppression of the fancy prints formerly in use. As geometry is the basis in designing every article of manufacture and every work of construction, it must necessarily be the basis of any system of drawing which will qualify the working classes for engaging in manufacturing and constructive pursuits. A knowledge of the study is now more or less essential to success in four-fifths of the various trades and professions.

“ Almost everything that is well made now is made from a drawing. In the construction of buildings, ships, machinery, bridges, fortifications, nothing is done without drawings. It is not enough that there be draughtsmen to make the drawings: the workmen who are to construct the objects required should be able, without help, to interpret the drawings given for their guidance. This they cannot do without instruction that acquaints them with the principles on which the drawings are made and so trains the imagination as to enable it to form from the given lines a vivid mental picture of the object required. The workman who lacks this knowledge and this ability, as it is probable that nineteen-twentieths of American artisans now do, must work under the constant supervision of another, doing less and inferior work and receiving inferior wages. But it is also essential that the workman himself be able to make at least a rude working-drawing whenever, as frequently happens, an emergency requires it.”*

It will thus be seen that the object aimed at is to make *artisans*, not *artists*, of our workmen; to educate their hands and eyes and all the nobler faculties of their minds to a knowledge and appreciation of the principles of art, whereby they may be enabled to design or to execute their work intelligently, artistically and with greater pleasure and profit to themselves—not to teach them how to draw pretty pictures, not less meaningless than useless to them.

The fear that the introduction of industrial drawing would involve a radical change in the present system of public instruction, or that it would entail any considerable additional expense, is wholly unfounded. The only change in the present course of instruction would be to give such drawing lessons of thirty to sixty minutes each two or three times a week, instead of one or two of

* *Technical Education*, by Charles B. Stetson. Boston: J. R. Osgood & Co.

the higher studies which are now given and which are of no practical value to workingmen, as the majority of public school children are destined to be. The only additional expense incurred would be the insignificant one of providing the necessary geometrical objects and diagrams for the beginners, and the casts and plates for the advanced scholars. Special instructors would not be required. It is true that the public school teachers are not at present capable of teaching drawing, but they could soon be taught enough in normal classes to qualify them for the duty. Mr. Walter Smith, State Director of Art Education for Massachusetts, the highest authority upon the subject in this country, has said: "There can be no separate teachers of drawing as a separate subject any more than of writing or arithmetic as separate subjects; but the general teachers themselves must learn and teach elementary drawing to the children in the same way that they learn and teach other subjects. That is how the difficulty has been met in other countries, and it is the only way possible of meeting it here." And this is what has been done in all the public schools of Massachusetts with the most gratifying success. It is a great error to suppose that the ability to draw well is a talent confined to the few, and that it would, therefore, be a waste of time to endeavor to develop it in the many. On the contrary, experience both at home and abroad has proven that every child who can learn to write can learn to draw equally well, and can begin one study at as early an age as the other. One great advantage which drawing possesses is, that unlike the ordinary school studies, which are so frequently disagreeable to the children, it has a fascination for the majority of pupils which makes it a pastime instead of a labor to them. To illustrate their aptitude and fondness for this study, it is sufficient to say that the chief difficulty found in teaching them the art of designing is, not to develop originality of conception, but to restrain that originality, which runs riot through every healthy child's head, manifesting itself in the oddest, wildest and most extravagant, as well as the most beautiful, forms and combinations that the human mind is capable of conceiving, and to curb it with the restraints of the true principles of art in design and color.

Important as this elementary public school course is, it is not by any means all that is required to accomplish the object in view.

To complete the system, it will be necessary to establish special industrial art schools and night classes for the advanced students and for the benefit of the working people who cannot attend during the day. In Great Britain there are about one hundred and fifty industrial art schools with three thousand students, and one thousand night art classes with forty thousand students, while in the little kingdom of Würtemberg, with a population of less than two millions, there are more than four hundred drawing schools. Throughout the rest of Germany and in all the other leading European countries the same interest is manifested in the establishment of art schools and night classes as a complement to the elementary instructions given in the common schools. What the central governments thus do in Europe, our state governments ought to do here. It is not necessary that they should bear the entire expenses of such schools and classes; that is not done abroad; but it is necessary that they should bear a part, say half, of the expenses (the students paying the rest), in order to insure their success and at the same time, by having them under state or municipal control, like the public schools, guarantee that they shall be conducted on a uniform system and for the best interests of the public.

It is to this proposed expense in aiding such special schools and classes that the objection will be made by many on the ground that, while the state may properly give elementary instruction in drawing in the public schools, it is not its duty to support, even in part, special schools for the benefit of special classes. This objection might be valid if it were consistent with existing facts, but it is not. The state does already support special schools for the benefit of special classes. The various institutions for the deaf, dumb, blind and orphan are quite as much schools as they are asylums; the state universities, agricultural colleges and normal schools are for the benefit of special classes; the public High Schools are for the benefit of those who intend to enter college or to engage in ordinary business occupations; and many of our colleges and universities have free scholarships supported by public appropriations for the benefit of those who intend to adopt some professional life. All this the state does for the benefit of special classes, while for the most needy and deserving—those for whom it ought to have the most solicitude and help—it does nothing. It allows them to grow up without that special training

for their pursuits in life which it so generously provides for their more favored brethren. Leaving all sentimentalism out of consideration, let us ask ourselves, whether it is really just that the community should be thus taxed to give a professional education to the rich while the industrial education of the poor is neglected? Do we not hereby furnish our domestic communists and malcontents a substantial cause of complaint about the injustice of their "oppressors," and place a deadly weapon in their hands which they will not be slow to use in contending for their "rights"—which, in this case, at least, reason admits that they are entitled to? Yet demagogues will stand up in Congress or a state Legislature and in the name of the "workingman" will vote down any bill having for its object the industrial education, consequently the direct benefit of that same workingman, who is seriously thought of by the economical representative only when his vote is wanted at the polls!

Admitting the force of the objection named in ordinary cases, the statement that the establishment of technical art schools would be for the benefit of a special class is absurd. It is a fundamental principle in political economy that the peace and prosperity of a country depend chiefly upon the employment and happiness of its working classes. To secure this condition, these classes must be educated up to at least an equality with foreign workers, so that the former can not only maintain their own manufactures at home, but that they can successfully compete with the latter in the markets of the world, and thus insure themselves employment of which they would otherwise inevitably be deprived, and the country at large suffer in consequence. It is a simple truism to say that a nation's prosperity or poverty depends upon the condition of its industries; if its industrial classes are busy and happy or idle and discontented, the country at large will benefit or suffer accordingly. It will thus be seen that the interests involved in the technical education of the workingmen are general, not special, and must be provided by public, not private, means. The truth of this principle has been fully recognized abroad, and the sooner it becomes recognised at home the better it will be for us.

The cost to the state of these special schools and classes would be insignificant compared with the benefits to be derived from them. It must be conceded that the children of to-day, as a rule, have no taste for engaging in industrial pursuits, and the fact is

easily explained; it is simply because they receive no training whatever to qualify them for engaging in such pursuits. Their school education tends rather to prepare them for mercantile and commercial occupations, or serves but as the preliminary course for a professional life, and, by leaving technical education unprovided for, fosters in their young minds the notion that it is undeserving of attention, and that manual work is only for those who receive no education at all. For this omission and its consequences, our professional educators are greatly to blame, and ought to be held in great part responsible. The remedy lies in making such a change in the present system of public education as will bring about a corresponding change in the qualifications and ideas of the pupils. As matters are at present, it is not to be wondered at that children are not more anxious to engage in industrial occupations. In the first place, their school training militates against it, as already explained; in the second place, the trades-unions, in their blind policy,—so fatal to the offspring of their own members,—of limiting the number of apprentices, virtually prevent the youth of the country from learning trades. Under such circumstances, what are our youth to do? They cannot all find employment in the light, or “fancy,” business occupations, and as they have not the ability or the inclination to engage in mechanical pursuits, many of them must of necessity either come to want, and finally become a burden upon the charity of the public, or else live “by their wits,” and degenerate into criminals of different types. Are they altogether to blame for such lamentable results? Can they not justly hold society and the state responsible for neglecting the plain moral and economic duty of giving them a training in youth which would qualify them for earning an independent livelihood, and so escaping the miseries of want, or the infamy of crime, in after life? As Wendell Phillips has said: “The public school hands a child to its parents with no means of earning its bread”—and yet, when that incompetent child, sent aimlessly adrift upon the wide world to seek its bread, is finally compelled to beg or steal it, as the only alternatives of starving to death, a humane and christian public lament the creature’s degradation or depravity, blind to the fact that they are morally responsible for it. If the state is to give any education to its children—as it acknowledges that it is bound to do—it ought to make that education a practical one; one which will

not only give them the means of honorable self-support, but which will relieve the state of all care and expense on their account afterward. The matter of cost may therefore be summed up in a single question. Which is the cheaper for the state; to support technical schools, to give practical instruction in the various trades, and art schools, to teach industrial art and design, which will give us a race of skilful, artistic, prosperous and honest workers, or to support almshouses and prisons for the benefit of the paupers and criminals, who are not only a curse in themselves but are a heavy burden upon the resources of their industrious and honest fellow-men? It is not necessary to quote figures to prove that the schools would not cost a tithe of what the public institutions named annually cost, directly and indirectly, while the moral and material advantages to be gained by the change cannot be overestimated.

Another point to be taken into consideration in the matter is the almost complete abandonment of the old-style apprentice system in this country. It is true that, owing to the multiplication of labor-saving machines and the consequent sub-division of labor, making the work in many cases a mere automatic operation, there is not the same necessity for the system now as there formerly was, but even yet there are many trades but little affected by machinery, while those into which it does largely enter still require some training and much intelligent skill. Where, then, are we to find the qualified hands for our mills, factories and workshops? Are we to be forever dependent upon Europe, as we are at present, for our skilled workmen and artisans? Our trades-unions say so, and our public schools echo it. But the voice of Wisdom, which considers the prospects of the future to be even more serious than the conditions of the present, condemns the suicidal indifference which permits a continuance of existing and increasing evils, and cries aloud in the highways and from the mountain tops for reform ere it is yet too late.

It may be said that even if industrial art schools and classes were established, the working people would not attend them; because, in the first place, they have not the desire for such education, and in the second place, granting that they have the desire, they have not the time to indulge it. Experience has shown, however, that the working people not only have the desire in a marked

degree, but that they quickly find the time to avail themselves of such opportunities. The industrial art classes, whenever formed, are nearly always filled as soon as they are opened, the accommodations frequently being inadequate to receive the numerous applications, which, even in the few schools already established in this country, include representatives from most of the trades and occupations. The most important part in the proposed system will be the evening classes, which will furnish the educational facilities for the great mass of persons who cannot attend instruction during the day. The value of these evening classes cannot be exaggerated. Not only do they accomplish the greatest benefits directly, by educating the people up to a knowledge and skill in art which enable them to do better work at higher wages, thus increasing their prosperity and consequent happiness, but they attract boys and young men from the street, where they would grow up in idleness and vice, and convert them into ambitious workers and useful members of society. Is not the last argument alone sufficient to justify the establishment of such classes? The European youth have crowded the art schools provided for them, and our American youth would undoubtedly do likewise if they were given the opportunity. As it is now, they are what their education, or rather, want of proper education, has made them, and if they turn out badly, the state will have only itself to blame for the evil consequences of its own wretched handiwork.

As it has been the endeavor of this article to show, the subject of allying art to industry is not a matter of superficial sentiment to the few, but is of the deepest practical interest to the whole community. When it is stated that the exports of Great Britain doubled *in value*, not quantity, in ten years, owing to their artistic improvement as a result of the public art education, the financial importance of the subject may be more readily appreciated by those who think only of dollars and cents. The direct returns to the government largely exceeded the public expenditures in behalf of art schools and classes, so that instead of being a useless expense, these schools and classes were really the cause of a considerable increase in the national income, in addition to which the many other benefits to the people and to the country cannot be computed.

The reason why foreign manufactures in many branches are

better than ours, is simply because the foreign workmen are bred in an atmosphere of art, and because their governments provide art and technical education for them, whereby they become intelligent and skillful artisans in the various trades. The necessity for such education is acknowledged and supplied abroad as it must be at home, if we would maintain our position among the manufacturing peoples of the earth. "The contests between nations have become largely industrial; and, while the commerce and trade of the world are the prize for which they contend, the great international industrial exhibitions are the arenas in which they measure their progress and note their deficiencies."* It is a humiliating confession to have to make, that in these international arenas, from the first exhibition in London in 1851, down to the last one in Paris in 1878, the United States stood at the foot of the list of the great nations in the artistic qualities of her industrial productions. We, who have done most in inventions and manufactures, have done least in art. The prevalent opinion among us has been that art has nothing to do with industrial pursuits, and so we have gone on glutting the market with productions as cheap, as common and as devoid of taste in the designing, and of skill in the finishing, as it is possible to make them. We have robbed our working classes of mind and heart and soul, converting them into so many animated automata attending labor-saving machinery of one kind or another. We have deprived them of the opportunity of exercising mental power or manual skill upon their work, allowing their minds to stagnate and breed pestilential thoughts of discontent and social danger. We have taken from them all pride in their work and all hope of advancement in their occupation, for the work is not theirs' to be proud of—it is made by the piece of mechanism that they start and stop—and their only duty being to hold a lever or to direct a movement—the personal qualities of the attendant being of little concern—it offers little chance of promotion in pay or position. Is it to be wondered at, then, that under such circumstances they should come to lose all pride, all ambition in their work; that they should become the dull, mechanical automata which we have labored (with such unhappy success) to make them, settling down in the methodical ruts which they are compelled to follow from Monday morning till Saturday night,

* Circular of Bureau of Education, Washington, 1874.

without pleasure in the present or hope in the future, and ready to engage in any movement which promises them a relief from the grievous burdens or the monotonous routine of their miserable lives? Why mock truth and suffering by talking about the "dignity" of such labor! There is no dignity about it, all the dreary platitudes of all the sentimentalists in the country to the contrary notwithstanding, and even the poor souls for whom these platitudes are intended as a soothing balm will not be deceived by them. Is all labor necessarily "dignified?" Then street-sweeping and stone-breaking must be dignified; and if they are so in themselves, they must be equally so when performed by street-sweeping and stone-breaking machines, which do their work more rapidly and effectively than do men. There is no real dignity about such labor, just as there is none about any labor which requires no mental thought, no artistic finish, no delicate manual skill; which simply calls for animal force or automatic movements; and which can be done quicker and better by machinery. Go into the mills of Massachusetts, the factories of New York, the mines of Pennsylvania, and then preach about the "dignity of labor" to the human machines employed therein. Labor is truly dignified only when it is guided by intelligence and when the higher faculties of the workman are engaged in producing something which bears the impress of human thought and skill, and in which he can feel a justifiable pride, knowing that it is the work of his own head and hand. Let us, therefore, educate their minds up to a knowledge and appreciation of the beautiful, and train their hands to the cunning which will put their conceptions into form; let us, in brief, teach them that they are *men*, from whom we expect to receive the work of men. Then will we have a nation of workers who, with all their nobler sentiments aroused, their higher faculties called into action, and emulous of distinction in the world's industrial strife, will cast the reflection of their souls upon the products of their hands, making their labor not only dignified but glorified.

Notwithstanding the apparent clearness of the facts, there are many persons who do not understand how art affects the value of ordinary manufactures and, therefore, cannot see the necessity for giving any art education to the men employed thereon. The best way for such persons to become informed upon the subject is for them to go out on a "shopping tour." They will find in every

store they enter that articles of about the same body or material, and to be used for the same purposes, will vary greatly in price. They will find that a lump of clay may be made into a plate or a pot which they can buy for a few cents, or into a vase or an ornament worth a dollar, or it may be worth, decorated, a hundred dollars; a log of wood may be made into a piece of furniture worth five dollars or five hundred dollars; a pound of silk, wool or cotton may be converted into a fabric worth a few cents or many dollars a yard; even the commonest articles of household and personal use will vary in price according to their design and finish. Since the raw materials employed in making articles of the same nature cost about the same, it can be only the plainness or roughness of one and the artistic finish of the other article which makes the difference in their price. Such being the unquestioned fact, does it not prove that art has a marketable worth, and that it has very much to do in affecting the value of all manufactures? To get the artistic work which will thus increase the value of our manufactures we must first get the artistic workmen—and these we can get only by educating the industrial classes up to the desired plane. It is not sufficient that our capitalists and employers should be artistic; no man can be his own grandson, and they cannot be their own workmen. They must not only have men who can design new goods and forms and patterns, but they must have many other men who can faithfully follow that design in their work. Art training is as necessary for the latter as for the former; a boor or an amateur can no more turn out artistic work than he can an artistic design. Both the mind and hand of the workman must be educated up to an understanding of the principles of industrial art and to the skill which will enable him to apply those principles in his daily occupation.

It is a natural desire on the part of the masses to buy the most "showy" articles, just as it is with the cultured to buy the most artistic ones; and they will gladly pay more for such than they would for the plain or rude. Hence it is that the manufacturer who supplies these demands will not only sell his goods, but he will be able to sell at a higher price and at a greater profit, where his less enterprising rival cannot sell at all. The people want cheap things, it is true, but they also want what they consider fine things, and as a rule they prefer the latter to the former. It is for

this reason that they still continue to buy certain imported articles—simply because they are more artistically finished than the domestic goods of the same class, although the latter are cheaper. It is useless for our American manufacturers to complain of this and to berate their countrymen for their unpatriotism in sending their money abroad and neglecting the industries at home; the fault and the remedy lie with themselves. The fault consists in their manufacturing goods which persons of ordinary taste will not buy at any price; the remedy lies in their improving the art quality of their productions until they at least equal, if they cannot excel, the imported. When they do this, they will no longer have reason to complain of American preference for foreign goods. It is true that the employer will have to pay skilled workmen higher wages than unskilled ones, but he will find that the increased value and salableness of his goods will more than compensate him for it. If a few cent's worth of ornamentation or extra finish increases the value of an article twenty-five or fifty cents, it certainly pays to give it. In view of all the facts stated, it is simply astonishing that so many of our manufacturers, in their near-sighted desire to save these few cents by making their wares as cheap and common as possible, will throw away sales and profits within their reach, and then complain of the result of their own stupidity and meanness.

The employer would not be the only one benefitted by this artistic improvement in manufactures. The skilled designer or workman, who would always be in demand, would share in the general returns. Receiving the higher wages which his abilities would command, he would be proportionately more prosperous and contented than if he were an automatic drudge on starvation pay. Finally, the purchaser of the work would be better satisfied with it because it pleased his own tastes and he could show it with some degree of pride to his friends. Besides this, he would occasionally be tempted to buy articles which he did not actually need, but which he fancied on account of their artistic qualities, thus making purchases which would otherwise not be thought of, and increasing trade accordingly.

Because the personal pronoun has been used in this article only in the masculine gender, it must not be supposed that the benefits of industrial art education are confined wholly to the males. Girls

and women can receive quite as much benefit from it as boys and men. It would be difficult to name any of the innumerable occupations in which females are engaged, in which such education would not be of as great value to them as it is to their masculine fellow-workers. While it would thus be of inestimable value to them in all their ordinary occupations, it would at the same time open up a wider field in the higher branches of designing and decorating which are so peculiarly adapted to woman's nature, but which are now so largely monopolized by men. To young ladies of delicate sensibilities, who, accustomed to living in luxury or comfort, find themselves suddenly reduced to the necessity of earning their own living, yet shrink from rough contact with the busy world into a starveling position, ruinous to their health if not their morals, an industrial art education affords the means of earning a pleasant and an independent livelihood—one which will certainly be more congenial to their tastes, and more profitable to their purses, than the hapless business or menial situations which they are now compelled to accept in such cases, simply because they neglected to qualify themselves when young for anything better, under the fatal delusion that they would never "have to work for their living." Industrial art should, therefore, be taught to the girls in all the public and private schools in the land, not only as a source of instruction and pleasure in the present, where the necessity for its practical use does not already exist, but also as a means of support in the possibilities of the future—and this matter-of-fact view of the subject is not to be sneeringly considered nor lightly passed over in this country of rapid changes of fortune among even the most favored. However independently they may be situated in the present, and however secure may seem the prospects for the future, parents owe it as a sacred duty to their children to give them such an education in youth as will qualify them for earning an honorable self-support in after life, if the necessity for it should ever arise—as it so frequently does, even in cases where least anticipated,—and for girls, no training could be pleasanter, more suitable and less conspicuously an "apprenticeship" to work, than this industrial art education.

JAMES JOSEPH TALBOT.

THOUGHTS ON THE LABOR QUESTION.

CARLYLE said, thirty-five years ago, "Labour must become a seeing rational giant, with a soul in the body of him, and take his place on the throne of things." Labor is already indeed a great giant, but as yet the soul is not in him in such effectual way as to keep him wholly sweet and sound. That problem of getting soul-power into labor, still lies athwart us, and is very urgently demanding consideration. One of the wholesome signs of the age is that it cares, with more sincerity and ability to understand and wisely adjust the industry of the world, than any of its predecessors, and it is the province of a Democratic epoch to explore the life of the working classes, and put it on the best possible foundation.

- In the labor history of Modern Europe, it may fairly be claimed that the great causes leading from serfdom and slavery, were skilled trades, and enfranchisement by means of municipal and borough charters. Nothing can well be conceived more deplorable than the condition in which the lower classes were left by that disorganization of society, which constituted the fall of the Roman Empire, and by the reconstruction, under the feudal system, of the Teutonic races. The Empire, by turning the trades-unions into agencies for collecting the imperial revenue, had reduced them to a pitiable state, stripping them of all their accumulations and leaving their members destitute of personal freedom, and burdened with heavy taxes. The peasantry were either the personal property of land-owners, or serfs attached to the soil and bought and sold with it. Skilled trades were practised by men who could be auctioned off in the market at the will of their masters.

But the military system of the uncivilized conquerors of the western Empire finished the degradation of labor. Coming into possession of from half to two-thirds of the real estate of the subjugated provinces, and maintaining themselves not only against insurrection, but against the violence of each other, by force of arms, these German captains managed to put an end to all but the simplest and most necessary industry. The better grade of industrial arts could not be maintained in the midst of anarchy, when the roads were infested by freebooters from the castles, when cities

were broken into and robbed by half savage barons, and when fields of ripening grain were trampled down by bands of plunderers ere their owners could gather their crops. Nor was there much appreciation of the finer products of human skill among the powerful in days when the severity of the camp was the honored mode of life common to the rich and the ruling class. The violence of the times made it desirable, also, that the yeomen or free farmers should connect themselves with feudal chiefs for the sake of personal protection, and this was given upon the condition of a vassalage scarcely better for the poor man than a pure serfdom. Indeed, this vassalage soon grew into serfdom, since laws were passed forbidding a man to change his master, compelling him to pay to his lord the customary tax in labor, produce or service, and outlawing him if he became a fugitive. It is not to be wondered at that, under such circumstances, there should have been a time in Europe, when a linen sheet was worth thirty-two days common labor, and a gridiron from four to twelve days; when the halls of baronial castles were strewn with rushes for carpets, and countesses and marchionesses used their gowns for bed covering; when noble revellers sat on rude wooden benches, picking their food with their fingers from the dishes; when cities were crumbling into ruins, and farm laborers lived in mud hovels without window or chimney; when a free peasant could be killed without even a fine, and a serf's murder could be compensated for about the price of a gallon of vinegar, or the fifth of the cost of a fat goose in the markets of Rome under the Emperors.

From this depressed condition, labor gradually emerged by the revival of trade which kept pace with the settlement of society. The administration of justice becoming more efficient, merchants could travel from city to city with greater security, the exactions upon the villein were gradually commuted from time service into money, and he was allowed to purchase from his lord the right to enter his son for the church, or as apprentice to some trade. Society saw that, with the increase of industrial art, its comforts were multiplied, and mechanics were allowed to drift towards the cities where the more convenient markets were to be found, both for purchaser and producer. In those days the merchant and the transporter of goods were counted among the tradesmen, and, indeed, it is easy to see that, at the first, a freeman would under-

take to sell the products of his own toil for himself. The manufacturer was his own factor.

The reviving cities became hives of industry, and their wealth and numbers enabled them to take measures for their own protection. It is a fact worth notice, that the charters granted to cities in the 12th and 13th centuries were chiefly concerned with the right to trade, hold fairs, and to govern themselves by means of their own companies or guilds. These guilds were associations of trades, each under its own particular chief or council, and their importance in the civic administration was very great, especially in Italy and France, their representatives appearing in the common councils of the towns. This term common council survives in our modern cities to preserve a reminiscence of this stage of industrial history.

The part which skilled labor, thus organized, played by means of municipal action, forcing its way into legal security, into freedom, and into vast influence in the sovereign government, it is not the aim of this paper to trace. This inquiry is forcibly and lucidly pursued by Guizot in his account of the rise of free cities in Europe. But so great was the advantage of this gradual revolution to laborers in England, that there are those who claim that their condition from the time of Elizabeth to the present century, was better than it has been before or since, except in the years of scarcity from bad crops. The ambassadors of Philip II. of Spain, in visiting England, were impressed with the abundance of food enjoyed by the common people, though not overpleased with their habits, for they wrote of them, "these peasants live like hogs, though they fare as well as the King."*

Prof. J. E. Thorold Rogers, in his *History of Agriculture*, says that the wages of labor in the 13th and 14th century were "virtually higher than they have been from 1825 up to within the last five years, if, indeed, they were not higher than even they are now." Tables are accessible of the fare provided in some of the English workhouses in the first half of the 18th century, and it was richer in variety and quality than the ordinary fare of the peasantry of France and Germany now is, and many a farm laborer in England now would be glad to have as ample a diet. From the investigations of

* See Dr. Young's "Labor in Europe and America."

Professor Fawcett of Cambridge University, it appears that now the provision made by the poor rates of England for the support of the children cast upon them is greater than the agricultural laborer can possibly make for his own family.

Daniel Defoe, writing in the time of Queen Anne, complains that men refused to work for him at twice the wages paid in Yorkshire, saying they could do better by begging, and points out that a Dutchman laid up money on wages which hardly sufficed an Englishman to keep his family off the parish. In these estimates of the comfortable circumstances of laborers from a hundred to four hundred years ago, agree such authorities as John Stuart Mill, W. J. Thornton and Henry Hallam, who have doubted whether a workman can now as adequately maintain his family as his ancestors of four hundred years ago.

These facts go to prove two things; first, that the rise and progress of skilled labor brought about an age of independence for the craftsman, and that we have been recently receding from that position. What are the reasons for this retrograde movement, and how is it to be turned in the opposite direction? The most potent agency at work in modern industry, and one to which our social adjustment is imperfectly made, is that of machinery. I am not disposed, in any respect, to deplore the richness of modern invention, nor do I imagine that it is practicable to restrict it. There is frequent suffering attendant upon the changes that new mechanisms cause, but these are incidental, and the solution of our difficulties is not to tilt with the windmill, but find out its function and turn it to best account. The more accurately we perceive what conditions and impulses invention has given to industry, the clearer will become the line of development to be wrought out.

Machinery has made muscular labor more arduous and unprofitable. That can be seen at a glance. Commerce is not likely to work its way forward on any other theory than that of buying cheap. Its relation to sentiment is not that of bad business economy. Now, labor is a commodity on sale, and its price is determined by competition. If a man can only sell his brute force, then, as that force in human muscles is only one-fifth of what is in the thews of a horse, he will only be worth the fifth of a horse. Both man and horse must suffer in competition with the machine, for however much coal is used for power, it is cheaper than food;

whatever the cost of it, the mightiest engine that forges the ship through the seas is more economical than rearing to mature strength either the men or the horses which are represented by its power. However much repair the machine requires, or however soon it becomes obsolete because of improvements, still, if its steel sinews and fierce energy were not more profitable than living bone and muscle, it would not be constructed.

Mr. Erastus B. Bigelow, in the October number of the *Atlantic Monthly*, 1878, estimates that only about one-tenth of the manual workers in the United States are engaged in pursuits to which machinery is applied. If the efficiency of machinery be put at thirty times that of human hands, which is a large allowance, it follows that the productive power of industry is increased three-fold by existing inventions. At first sight, the natural expectation would be that man had lost in this competition two-thirds of his value, and wages should sink correspondingly. They have not shrunk in any such proportion, and for reasons which will be obvious when stated further on. Yet it cannot be doubted that the tendency of machinery is to depreciate the worth of mere unskilled labor. In whatever way man is made a competitor with an engine, in whatsoever his act and its function are the same, he is sure to be the sufferer. The chief economy of machinery is in the multiplication of power, and if the laborer is but mechanical power, his stomach is in contest with a furnace, his arms with steel rods, his back with insensible dovetailed and welded frames that never shiver. If this be true, then, the future of human labor demands that a different function be found for it than that of the machine. That in the man which makes him more than a curiously complicated muscular machine, of one-fifth of a horse-power, must be developed and utilized as thoroughly as possible.

A second effect of modern invention has been the breaking up of old trades. A hundred years ago the houses of our working ancestors had their spinning wheels and looms, and the same persons carded wool, spun it, dyed it, wove it, and dressed it. Now there are at least eight different sets of hands through which the manufacture of woolen cloth ordinarily passes, and in large, well-organized mills the different operations are distributed among still more numerous sets. A hundred years ago, a carpenter could frame a house, get out its sash and doors, fit them in place, build its stairs, and

with the mason turn it over to the owner complete, each master using only his ordinary set of hands. Now the framing and the fitting are about all that is left to the carpenter. The boards are planed, grooved and tongued in the mill; the sash and doors are made by machinery; stair-building and floor-laying are distinct trades. In a like way, other industrial arts might be examined, and, wherever machinery comes into use, it will be found that the subdivision of labor is extended with a tendency to reduce the function of the worker to some single motion. The nearer we get to the point when a man shall have only one motion to make, the higher will be the efficiency of mere muscular labor.

It is by no means an easy thing in these days to find a trade in all parts of which an apprentice can be instructed. And if he were, he would not have occasion in after life to use the knowledge thus gained. He must take his place in the great system, doing only that thing which the existing organization of industry will grant him. That function grows more restricted as invention becomes more ingenious and effective.

Again, there are incidental consequences of the introduction of machinery. The employment of it has changed the distribution of the population. It concentrates capital in great factories, and these again stimulate the growth of cities and deplete the country. By the census of 1870, it appeared that the commonwealth of New York had made all its gains of population in the cities while the rural districts had receded in numbers. By this ever growing concentration, which is only possible as the process of sub-division in labor goes on, two apparent obstacles are placed in the way of the improvement of the workingman. First, the sub-division impairs the trade or means whereby he is to make himself useful. Society asks a smaller and lower duty from him, and his working faculty is thereby diminished. Secondly, he can no longer hope to become a capitalist and employer himself. The little shop of his ancestors he could aspire to emulate, but the gigantic factory with its larger resources is beyond his hope. Even where his trade is not seriously invaded by invention, the tendency of concentrated population, is to create huge establishments for the sake of economy in sub-divided labor. In them the apprentice is seldom made the master of his trade. Recently, a book-binder who had served his time, said that he was not taught to emboss covers nor

to stamp letters on the backs of bindings, these being separate departments of the business. After four years of service, he comes out of the factory unable to complete the binding of a single book. A like complaint was made by a hatter, and by a stone-mason. These are typical cases, no doubt. Unfortunately, the injurious tendencies of modern industrial organization seem to be augmented by the action of trades themselves. It is stated by those who have examined the history of trades-unions for the last forty years that they have had no appreciable effect on wages. They have equalized them over vast districts of territory and made it difficult for competing employers to get advantage in the labor market, one of another. But for the workmen themselves, trades-unions seem, thus far, to have proceeded upon the doctrine, that by making labor scarce or inefficient they enhance its value. In view of the rapid development of machinery this would seem a forlorn hope. If the productive efficiency of this country has been trebled during this century by means of invention, it is not easy to see how any practicable reduction in the number of laborers or in the work they turn out, can keep pace with this increase. Moreover, the unions have aimed to prevent any free apprenticeship, and hence to hinder our youth from becoming proficient craftsmen. None suffer more from this course than themselves, for it is their own children who are doomed to live without a skilled pursuit, and to endure all the depression that comes from the want thereof. I cannot think that limiting production, or closing the avenues to handicrafts, is in the line of any solution of the difficulty. That difficulty is great and its pressure and magnitude are forcibly presented in the careful and sober statement of the Report for 1875 of the Massachusetts Bureau of Labor Statistics. "In the majority of cases, workingmen in this commonwealth do not support their families by their individual earnings alone." It also says that the minor children of such families can earn from one-fourth to one-third of the household support, and of this sum one-half is the wages of children under fifteen years of age. The same facts will hold true probably in all our manufacturing communities, and they show the extent of the depression of labor.

On the other hand, there are impulses and agencies in operation which will yet be utilized to the improvement of the condition of labor. Those who are familiar at all with the factory acts of Sir

Robert Peel, and who know what salutary reforms have been achieved since they were first proposed, will not despair of seeing the hardest features of industrial life soften into benignant smiles. If machinery has caused revolutions that have pressed hardly and long upon large classes of toilers, it has also brought to them some great advantages. Obviously, it has cheapened the cost of living. The muslin which, a hundred years ago, was bought by the wealthy for two dollars and a half a yard, is now sold to the laborer's wife for five and six cents. Instead of wattled hovels without floors or windows, in which the mediæval peasant lived, the poorest workman now has a brick or frame cottage well glazed and capable of ventilation. The old trencher out of which the family ate is replaced by servicable crockery at hardly greater cost. But it must not be forgotten that cheapening production is by no means a necessary sign of good industrial conditions. Carlyle bitterly says that when muslin was sold at two pence a yard there were more ill-clad persons in England than ever. Of little avail is it to cheapen production by destroying the ability of the people to buy. And it is one of the reproaches of the times, that while utensils which our ancestors would have thought luxurious are common, and food is abundant, and so well distributed that famines like those of the 14th century, and even those at the close of the 18th, are no longer feared, thousands of persons are in wretched destitution. By the most prudent and careful calculation, averaged from actual inquiries made in Massachusetts, it is estimated by the Bureau of Labor Statistics in that state that 750,000 persons accustomed to toil, were last winter unemployed in the United States. This estimate makes no account of those who, from reduced wages or partial occupation of their time, are brought to the lowest penury. Is it not a strange phenomenon that extraordinary abundance and unmatched cheapness of merchandize should go hand in hand with bare backs and gnawing stomachs? If cheap production necessarily meant low wages, it would be no boon to mankind, since the power of the people to buy having been destroyed, it is immaterial to them what the cost of goods may be, and the manufacturer himself is confronted with that ruinous situation, a warehouse full of goods and no market for them at any price, or with what he calls over-production. But machinery does change this condition of cheap production to a large extent. If

it degrades mere muscular toil, it also takes the drudgery of work, and it lessens the cost of fabrication, not by new exactions upon human hands, but by its own speed and tireless energy.

It is popularly thought that machinery inflicts its worst injury by displacing laborers; for example: by the old hand method, a man could shell five bushels of corn in a day, whereas now, two men with a power machine can shell fifteen hundred. In other words, the efficiency of the machine is one hundred and fifty times greater than that of a man, and the inference is superficially made that its introduction displaces one hundred and forty-nine laborers and leaves them either with nothing to do, or under the necessity of crowding into other ill-paid pursuits. But this is by no means an accurate view of the case. Machinery has opened a vast number of vocations, unknown until invention made them possible. The business of manufacturing the machines themselves is a new occupation, and one of no inconsiderable magnitude, when one considers how short the term of service of machinery is, and how rapidly it is superseded by later inventions.

But, in addition, it needs but to be mentioned that the whole business of railroading, with its dependent industries of coal and iron mining, of locomotive and car factories, has created the new pursuits of firemen, engineers, brakemen, expressmen, conductors and administrators, and so far from displacing the farmers' wagons has only given them new duty as feeders to the mighty stream of traffic. Telegraphy has created a new vocation with employment for thousands: and so has the introduction of gas into dwellings. This line of illustration might be carried on almost indefinitely.

But besides this consideration, facilities for performing work cause new demands for it. When the sewing machine was first invented, many thought it would throw out of employment innumerable dependent women. But so far from this, the demand for sewing has equalled, if not outstripped, the added productive power of the machine. There are innumerable things which are put upon the market, which would not be manufactured at all were it not for machinery, or, if made, would have only an exceedingly limited market. There are thousands of mechanics' houses with cabinet organs in them, which would be destitute of them but for invention. There is not a kitchen in the land which does not proclaim, with its variety of utensils, that a dozen vocations have been

created by machinery since the days when even a manor-house had for cooking purposes but a spit and two or three brass pots.

Closely related to this argument is the theory of over-production. That is a term frequently used in commercial circles in a very restricted sense. Whenever the market is sluggish the merchant says it is over-supplied. By this he can mean only a temporary bad distribution of work or manufacture. There may be a production of one hundred and one brogans for one hundred men to wear, but that is only a momentary difficulty, and the man who made the extra pair is likely soon to find his way on to another class of work.

But the notion that there is more producing power in the world than there is consuming power is a delusion. That producing power may be turned to some over-crowded industry, but the remedy is not in cutting off the producing power, but in placing it where it is needed. There is, in some quarters, an apprehension that the wants of men are a limited quantity, and as soon as that maximum is reached all new workers are superfluous. If that quantity is in part supplied by machinery, then it is thought men are made needless and must starve. This is far from true. The power of consumption is unlimited.

Undoubtedly there is a fixed number of stomachs to feed, but these may be filled with rye-bread and blood-sausage, or with charlotte-russe and reed birds; there is a limited number of backs to clothe, but they may wear a russet gown, or the daintiest fabrics. You may shelter men under a thatch, but you may also build for them palaces and cathedrals. Tiberius paid \$72,000 for a single dish, and an Eastern pro-consul under the Empire, entertained a dozen friends in Antioch at an expense of \$240,000 for a single dinner. Clearly, the power of men to consume is without limit. It was the enormous consumption of the Roman Emperors and Senators that plunged their dominion into poverty and feebleness. What is desirable is to increase the ability of the people to consume, and that is done by improving their physical and moral condition.

After we rise above the supply of our simplest wants, the new demands which we make upon production are upon the labor part of it. The first necessity may be to clothe the foot, and a sandal or sabot will accomplish that; but when our means are ample and our taste improved, we want a sewed and buttoned boot. Now,

the difference in value between a sabot and a French-calf-skin boot is only to a small extent in the raw material, and chiefly in the labor expended upon them. As we rise in the scale of taste, and furnish ourselves with better appliances and a more sumptuous garniture, we are making fresh demands upon labor. Especially is this true when, passing our physical necessities, we come to our higher faculties. Things that please our taste,—beautiful forms of furniture, fine fabrications of material, books, works of art, and the endless requirements of our many-sided nature are ever opening to labor new avocations and sure remuneration.

Nor are we to consider ourselves alone. Think of the power to consume which would arise in this country, if its 12,000,000 workers had each but fifty dollars a year more to spend and had the refinement and taste to spend it wisely. The arithmetic is not to be performed by multiplying these figures once together, for that fifty dollars would pass through several hands in going from consumer to producer, and the process would be repeated, probably, twice or three times every year.

The more cultivated society is, the more complex its life becomes, and the more manifold are its wants, and hence the more labor will it sustain.

The supreme thing then to aim at in the labor question is the education of the worker. He must be taken out of muscular competition with machinery. Invention ought to do something to make it easier for him to live, and educate himself and family. Its ultimate function is to give leisure to those who now drudge ceaselessly.

Moreover, as modern invention has created vast concentrations of capital in factories, it has also given development to an agency yet destined greatly to serve labor. These concentrations of capital are secured by means of charters of incorporation, whereby the savings of hundreds are brought together for a common enterprise. This system, notwithstanding all the abuses connected with its sudden expansion, and all the popular fear of its monopolies, is destined to still greater growth. Its roots are too deep in our modern life to be torn out. The process is under a momentum too great to stop. Incorporation is to become the law, not of capital only, but of labor, and here, perhaps, the adjustment between labor and capital will finally be made.

At present the difficulty in getting labor organized under a system of voluntary incorporation must be found in the incompetency of workmen to act under the necessary restraint, and to imbibe a sufficient and wise sense of their community of interests.

A highly organized and voluntary system of industry implies a considerable degree of character, and an ability to see that self-interest is really at one with the interest of society. But the capacity thus to control itself, will come to labor as it is instructed and lifted to a higher plane of service. As education in trades can now only feebly and inadequately furnish the discipline needed, society must take up the improvement of labor. In doing so, the schools of the country should not aim *merely* at making special craftsmen, for that tends only to turn the man into a producing machine; and when that kind of work has been accomplished, the struggle of life will only be transferred from one plane to another, where it can rage just as relentlessly and savagely as ever.

Yet, the education needs to be technical, only it must also be theoretical. Science must go with the art. The man must be trained, for in his manhood lies the power which no subtle genius, can ever confer on a machine. The lathe and the loom can never take the place of the cunning hand, which not only fabricates but leaves the impress of its own touch on the fabric. Man alone can design, he alone can minister to the sense of the beautiful. When his labor is touched with spirit and taste, all the uncounted faculties of the mind welcome his work, and then "labor is become a seeing, rational giant, with a soul in the body of him, and takes his place on the throne of things."

D. O. KELLOGG.

THE PROPOSED FRANCO-AMERICAN TREATY.

THE rapid advances our country is making in various departments of manufacturing industry, have affected the several nationalities of northern Europe in very different ways. England was the first to feel the pressure of our competition, as a very large proportion of her coarser wares had been purchased by this country, and these our people ceased to buy and began to export. In Germany we sought a market rather than met with competition,

driving other producers from the field, and gradually awakening our Teutonic friends, by the brilliancy of our example and the soundness of our economic teachings, to enter upon a similar career of industrial development. France was the last to suffer from the alteration in our attitude, for the reason that her exports are generally of a highly elaborate sort, such as are seldom produced in any new country until its manufactures have attained a considerable advancement. She has no "cheap and nasties" to sell, and so long as we were chiefly occupied in excluding such wares by furnishing something better, she was not much affected. But now at last the pressure has begun to tell even in that quarter. Our exhibits, both at Philadelphia in 1876, and at Paris two years later, plainly indicated a purpose on the part of America to undertake the finest and the most difficult lines of production, and to make herself, so far as is possible, independent of European supplies of even the most elaborate articles of manufacture.

Up to that time, France had shown no great desire to obtain any special intimacy in business relations with this country. She had been content to sell to us whatever we pleased to take, and to say little or nothing about the duties imposed upon her wares by this country. Her trade with us grew imperceptibly in magnitude, until she awakened up one fine morning to discover that we had become one of her best customers, and yet that we were likely to cease to be such at no distant date. In 1871, for instance, we imported her silk manufactures to the value of \$146,400,000; by 1876 it had fallen to less than \$65,000,000, and has fallen still lower in later years. In 1872 we bought over seven million gallons of her wines; in 1877 less than two and a half millions, and at present we take a still less amount. And these reductions are not due to any reduction in our consumption of wines or silks, or to the transfer of our custom to any other foreign market. They are due, especially as regards wines, to the immense increase in the home production.

In these circumstances, *la grande nation* clearly perceived that something must be done, and her method of going about it exactly shows her estimate of us. Stupid Johnny Bull had scolded himself hoarse over our economic lunacy, our ignorance of the first principles of economic science, and the like, without producing any result except to confirm us in believing that it was wisest to do

just what he did not want us to do. Clever Jean Crapaud sets his social gifts in play; he will charm us into a more complaisant mood by his *sociabilité*, his sweetness of manner and phrase. So he raises a committee and sends over plausible M. Leon Chotteau, to show us how much the Frenchmen love us, and what benefits they would like to confer on us by sending us their ratskin gloves, their well gummed silks, their articles of *vertu*, their doctored wines, free of duty. This gentleman has made the tour of our Boards of Trade and other commercial bodies, pleading at first with some effect on behalf of a commercial treaty with France, not asking, as the English do, that we honestly and squarely renounce the principle of protection, but that we make France an exception to our principles, and treat her products as we treat those of no other country. He does not desire that our Congress shall by law repeal what by law they have established, but that the President and the Senate, ignoring the law of the land, shall reduce the duties without laying the proposal before the representatives of the people.

We say that M. Chotteau met with some success. Those of our commercial bodies who are interested only in buying and selling, and represent communities which have no great manufacturing interests, gazed with rapture on the golden pictures of extended commerce which he set before them. His courage grew as he went on. Having no basis for his figures except his own imagination, he limited them only by what he supposed to be the capacity of his hearers to swallow them; and their encouragement convinced him that it would be cruel to be stingy. From a modest increment of \$80,000,000 a year to our exports, he worked his way up to \$269,000,000, at which figure the St. Louis Board was so overcome that it could only gasp out an approval. He was as free with other statements as with statistics. Every one who had given him a courteous reception, and stood quiet under his button-holing, was quoted as in full accord with the Treaty. "All your leading men in Washington," he told the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce, "have accepted the idea of a convention with France. I saw your Senators and Representatives, and I am sure they will accept it soon. I think when you have some new documents you will accept it."

But they did not. San Francisco merchants, like a majority of

our business men in the East, rejected the bait, and they have taken pains to let the world know why. The Pacific Coast is solidly Protectionist, and will have none of M. Chotteau and his Treaty. The arguments of Messrs. Haraszthy and Wetmore, and the memorial of the manufacturers, which they have published in a handsome pamphlet,* put the case against it about as clearly and forcibly as it could be, and we have to thank our French visitor for evoking such a display of Protectionist feeling on that coast as we had hardly looked for.

The proposed Treaty would affect nearly every branch of American manufactures; but our native production of wines may be taken as one of the most important of those which would certainly be injured. America is rapidly becoming a wine-drinking nation, and we welcome the change to this, from heavier and less wholesome drinks, as a gain to the health and the morals of our people. The native production of wines is over fifteen million gallons a year, of which California produces nearly a third, and her quota is greater than our importation from all other countries. She has forty-five million vines planted, occupying forty thousand acres and employing over ten thousand people. When all these vines are in full bearing, *i. e.*, by 1882, she will produce twenty million gallons of wine. She can multiply her production, it is claimed, seven hundred and fifty fold, producing more wine than is now consumed in all Europe and America.

The quality of these wines is generally underestimated, because of the wretched stuff made by inexperienced beginners in the first years of the business. It has been steadily improving, with the extension of technical knowledge, and all but the finest grades of European wines have been driven from our markets. The grape juice is expressed by machinery, to the avoidance of the filthy processes usual in Europe, and great improvements have been made in other parts of the apparatus. Especially is there no resort to the processes by which French wines are manufactured of the best brands from the worst trash in the market, that they may be sent abroad for English or American consumption.

* FRANCO-AMERICAN COMMERCE; Statements and Arguments in behalf of American Industries against the proposed Franco-American Commercial Treaty, submitted to the Special Committee of the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce, in conformity with the resolutions of the Chamber, passed June 13th, 1879. San Francisco: 1879.

The present American duty on wine is a specific duty, and is a trifle less than wine pays at the gates of Paris. It was proposed to the Government by an association of the better class of wine importers, and they have no desire to see it reduced or altered to an *ad valorem* duty, as they know that would only result in our being flooded with French trash. But its reduction to half its present amount is a point for which M. Chotteau is laboring. The committee of manufacturers in Paris, which pays his expenses, has adopted a neat little programme for American adoption, in which this is specified as one of the first points to be attained.

We hope that the authorities at Washington are fully awake to the nature of these proposals, and that they do not intend to allow irresponsible committees of Parisian manufacturers to take the initiative in legislation for the United States. If we are to have a change in our commercial policy, there is but one proper and dignified way, sanctioned by the example of all civilized nations, for its inception. We should have a national commission of experts to examine the industrial situation, give a hearing to all the interests involved, sift the truth out of conflicting statements, and prepare such a law as we can stand by for the next half century. But unintelligent and hap-hazard tariff laws, such as Mr. Wood proposed two years ago, we would have to change and tinker at each new session of the national legislature. There is but one thing worse—entangling commercial alliances with sister republics, negotiated on the principle of "grab what you can get," and binding the nation for ten years not to do whatever it thinks best for the welfare of its own people.

If the telegraphic despatches from France fairly represent the conduct of our minister, Mr. Noyes, and our consul general, Mr. Fairchild, then we should think that those gentlemen had merited the censure both of the national executive and the American people. For an American minister when abroad to proclaim himself hostile to the deliberate policy of his own country, and to associate himself with those who are endeavoring to overthrow that policy, is to disqualify himself from holding that office. But we cannot be sure as to what these gentlemen have done* for the simple reason that the French promoters of

* The conduct of Messrs. Noyes and Fairchild in attending the drawing of the *Lottery* for the erection of the colossal statue in New York harbor, is not suggestive of confidence in their sense of propriety. In the opinion of the vast majority of the

this scheme do not consider themselves bound to tell the truth. A number of Americans are scooped together for a grand dinner party at M. Menier's, to talk about the propriety of closer and more friendly relations between the two countries. There is a great deal of talk about Lafayette and Rochambeau, with some asides about a commercial treaty. The older hands—such as Ex-Governor Fenton—avoid committing themselves, saying that they know nothing of the merits of the case; but next morning the dinner-party is in all the papers, as a grand social demonstration in favor of Free Trade with France, and every one present is mentioned as giving aid and comfort.

Next comes a public demonstration in a circus building, which the French newspapers belaud as a brilliant success, and the English declare to have been an utter failure to extend the interest or awaken enthusiasm. In the Trans-atlantic despatches and the official report, Mr. Noyes and Mr. Fairchild are there to represent the American colony; but the London papers declare that they were conspicuous by their absence. Which are we to believe,—mendacious John Bull or veracious Jean Crapaud? Which is most given to telling the truth with variations.

Lastly comes a visit of one of those Congressmen who, like David A. Wells, loom into eminence only in a European atmosphere, and are discovered to be stars of the first magnitude because they favor Free Trade. Mr. Wood must be entertained by the Paris Committee; Messrs. Noyes and Fairchild cannot stay away this time,—“in honor of your eminent statesman, you know.” And so once more the American ambassador is made fogle-man of a

American people lotteries are immoral and demoralizing. In the laws of the United States they are so emphatically proscribed, that to use the mails for their promotion is a penal offence. With this, the legislation of the two states from which these gentlemen were sent abroad, fully coincides. Only Kentucky and Louisiana now tolerate such abominations. But these gentlemen, representing the national dignity and character of the American people, are advertised to the whole world as giving the sanction of their presence to this proceeding.

This colossal statue of liberty is a fair gauge of the vehemence and tenacity of French affection for America. It was proposed with great enthusiasm in 1876, and one hand sent over to the Centennial, on the strength of which pledge the credulous New Yorkers provided a site in their harbor. It has not gone very much farther, the fire of Franco-American zeal having suddenly gone out. Now that something is to be got from us, the embers are vigorously blown, and it may be that the other hand, or a foot, or some other dear pledge will be forthcoming this year.

committee of Parisian traders, and the grand cause gets one more lift,—in the despatches.

It is incumbent upon these two representatives of our country to wash their hands of this whole matter, and if their own sense of propriety is not sufficient to prompt them to do so, it is the clear duty of the Department of State to suggest it. We do not send out our ambassadors to glean for us information as to needed changes in our national legislation; and we do expect from them a decent reserve upon those mooted questions of national policy upon which there is any division of sentiment among our people. If Mr. Noyes would only take a leaf out of Mr. John Welsh's book, America would be better represented at Paris.

ROBERT ELLIS THOMPSON.

THE NEW YORK FREE KINDERGARTEN.

WHILE there may be honest doubt as to the value of some of the teachings dispensed by Prof. Felix Adler of New York, to the Society for Ethical Culture, there can be no two opinions as to the value of the beneficent institutions set on foot by him. Perhaps his severest critics would pause in their denunciations, if they but realized that his self-appointed mission is directed, not to the destruction of what religious faith his followers may still retain, but rather to the re-awakening and quickening of their interest in their fellow men. He desires not so much to have his hearers *believe* less, as that they shall *do* more—and that, too, in the way of good works. In so far as the tree may be judged by its fruit, Professor Adler has deserved well of the city in which he lives and labors.

Notable among the institutions which he has inspired, and fostered into active, healthful life, is the Free Kindergarten for pauper children. His learning and eloquence have not been idle gifts, inasmuch as they have enabled him to enlist in the cause the voluntary assistance of a number of ladies and gentlemen who give unstintedly of their time and their means to the care of the waifs they have taken in charge.

As to the success of the Kindergarten, Professor Adler thus expresses himself:

“The experiment of a Free Kindergarten for the children of the poor, instituted by the society for Ethical Culture, nearly two years ago, has proved an eminent success. At the beginning of this month we found ourselves with twenty children ready to graduate from our Kindergarten, and it became necessary to take immediate steps toward realizing an ‘artisan’s school.’ Lack of means, however, was the obstacle in our way. But, a few days ago, despondency was changed into gladness, when I received word from Mr. Joseph Seligman that the fulfillment of our favorite plans should not be hindered for want of pecuniary support. A gift of \$10,000 accompanied this assurance, and aided by this noble endowment we shall now be able at once to move forward to the enlargement of our work. The Society has rented a new and spacious building on the corner of Forty-fifth street and Broadway, where the Kindergarten and Artisan School will hereafter be located. It may be noticed that the benefits of the Kindergarten, as well as of our District Nursing Department (another charity of the Society), have hitherto accrued mainly to orthodox Christians.”

The present usefulness of the Free Kindergarten is obvious enough. It is no little matter to have done so much for the health and happiness of the little ones. But there are other influences, direct and indirect, and yet all for good, by which the beneficent effects of this noble work so fitly done must be greatly augmented. The ray of sunshine thus let into otherwise dark and dreary lives, must undoubtedly reflect more or less of light and warmth on their home environment.

The promoters of the Free Kindergarten will assuredly find their greatest reward in the future—and that, too, in the fact that they are helping to solve the “equation of life” for their present wards:—They will have rendered it easier for them to become honest, decent, industrious men and women. S. A. S.

THE NEW POLITICAL ECONOMY.

THE opinion has long prevailed in the leading school of English political economists, that the principles of political economy are permanent in their duration, universal in their operation, and have attained to such a degree of perfection as to preclude all hope of any important additions or improvements. Mr. Lowe has not stopped even here, for in a speech made at a centennial dinner in London, in honor of the memory of Adam Smith, he declared

that "the great work of political economy has been done," thus, not only foreclosing all improvements in economic theory, but going still further and proclaiming the hopelessness of achieving any kind of success by working in this direction in the future. Probably there are many belonging to the same school as Mr. Lowe himself, who look with more hopefulness upon the future of political economy; but he certainly is not alone in claiming permanency for economic principles and universality in their operation.

It would not be difficult to show how this idea has become so deeply imbedded in the minds of many English economic thinkers, but, without delaying to make such an inquiry, it may be remarked that opposition has been rising to this view, which has now attained to such a height as to arouse even those who had been most serenely reposing in the economic faith delivered from their fathers. The sturdiest English opponent of what must still be considered as the prevailing view, is Mr. Cliffe Leslie, the republication of whose *Essays* relating to the subject afford a fitting occasion for surveying the battle-ground, and ascertaining what has been accomplished.

At the outset, it may be observed that the method employed by the old school of political economists is held to be erroneous, and so, of course, are the principles obtained from employing it. Professor Leslie properly divides the old school into two branches: the disciples of one branch making an extensive use of assumption, of which branch Ricardo is considered as the ripest exponent; the other branch, also making use of assumptions, but supplementing their conclusions by an investigation of the facts relating thereto. Adam Smith and John Stuart Mill are regarded as the ablest and truest representatives of this branch, which, though stronger than the other, is still not free from the gravest flaws, as Mr. Leslie repeatedly shows.

Opposed to this method is the inductive or historical, which, in the examination of any particular question, consists in making the smallest possible use of assumptions, and the broadest and deepest investigation of facts. In other words, it is an extension or importation of the scientific spirit and method into questions lying within the pale of political economy. The fruitfulness of this method in the realm of natural science, no one will dispute; and it may be thought not a little singular that any one should have objected to the employment of it in studying economic ques-

tions. Yet there have been many able and strenuous opponents; and for years Mr. Leslie has waged the battle in England in favor of using the inductive method alone. It is gratifying to learn that at last opposition to its employment is rapidly subsiding, for more than one person of eminence in the field of British economic inquiry has come to see clearly its superiority to the older and less perfect method. It cannot be denied, that for a long period in the history of English economic investigation, the inductive method had been used by individuals pursuing special inquiries, and with the richest results. Such, assuredly, was the method employed by Tooke, in his investigation of Prices, by Chadwick, in treating of the effects of English Factory Legislation, by Rogers, in his great work upon the history of Agriculture and Prices during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and by other writers pursuing special, though perhaps less extensive, inquiries. Indeed, may it not be said that all economic inquiries yielding important results have been conducted by the inductive method of investigation; and yet, in the light of this very obvious truth, opponents have been both numerous and strenuous against the use of the very method which has borne such desirable fruit. Since Adam Smith wrote, pretty nearly all advances in economic theory have been made, not by the writers of economic systems, like Mill and Fawcett, but by those who have singled out some problem and wrestled with it, examining it from all or many sides as a jeweler scans a diamond to ascertain its beauty and value. We do not mean to disparage the labors of Mill and Fawcett; for, doubtless, works such as they have produced, gathering up whatever is believed to be the best of the speculations and investigations of others, serve an important purpose, but the fact is nevertheless indisputable, that the most valuable original economic results have first been given to the world in monographs, official reports, and works of similar import, which, for the most part, have dealt with single questions, instead of a whole body of economic doctrine. In all these investigations, we repeat, the inductive method has been generally followed; always, whenever results have been obtained of any worth to mankind. Why, then, should there be so much opposition to the method which, it must be admitted, is the only one that has proved fruitful in adding to the world's stock of economic truths?

To this question several replies may be given. In the first

place, not infrequently, the inductive method has been employed by those who disclaimed the use of it; but who would not have done so had they been fully conscious of their employment of it. Professor Leslie has frequently shown in his essays that Adam Smith and Mill, after weaving an economic web by the speculative method, have carefully examined it with searching eyes in the light of all the facts they could gather, to see if it could stand the test of such an illumination. Throughout their works, they have shown a consciousness of living in a world of facts to which their theories must be fitted if they are to possess any value. While they did not always do this, they appeal to the facts often enough to prove how necessary they believed it was to make their speculations square with the economic phenomena they were professing to explain.

In the second place, it is so much easier to invent economic systems in the closet, by the light of a candle and the inner consciousness, than by collecting and sifting facts, that the wonder at once ceases why not a few should still stand by the less laborious method. Medicine has its quacks, and so has every calling; but political economy has been overrun with them, especially of late years. In the United States, during the last twenty years, they have appeared in swarms everywhere, buzzing constantly, and emitting a flood of fancied light on the currency question, how to resume specie payments, fixing the quantity of money used by the country, showering panaceas for the definitive settlement of all labor troubles, prescribing numberless remedies for the cure of the business depression; in short, so prolific have they been in prescribing for all the ills from which the country at large and individuals in particular have been suffering, that the "winter of our discontent" would long since passed away had their prescriptions been applied and had they proved efficacious. Now all these quacks, without exception, have followed the Ricardian, *a priori*, speculative method; they have never troubled themselves about investigating facts, not one of these pretenders. Indeed, they have manifested a sublime indifference to facts, they have indulged in wide thin generalizations, and have generally propounded their panaceas with a boldness that would astonish even Haeckel himself; yet, in many cases it has been the boldness of a child, springing from innocence or unconsciousness of danger, which never

would have been displayed had they not been so grossly ignorant. Now, the speculative method is wholly responsible for these many exhibitions of economic quackery. Were this method frowned down and argued out of existence, as it ought to be, these quacks would not get any hearing, and would never be able to perpetrate the mischief which, it cannot be denied, they do perpetrate upon the country.

But the disciples of Ricardo may say, These quacks abuse a good method; we are not responsible for that; they would probably flourish in any event, and if this method did not exist, they would use some other. To this we reply: The method is a vicious one, even when employed by Ricardo himself, and through him has wrought practical mischief, as Mr. Leslie has proved. There is no defence for the employment of the method in any case. On the other hand, it may be said of the inductive method, if the quacks attempted to use it, they would find themselves, in many cases, too ignorant or too sluggish to go far, and consequently would abandon their designs in disgust or despair.

In Germany, the speculative method has never acquired that hold upon political economists which it has upon the economic writers of Great Britain. In a very interesting essay, constituting the eleventh chapter in his book, Mr. Leslie has sketched "The History of German Political Economy," showing what Adam Smith has accomplished in that country, the magnitude of Roscher's labors, and how strongly the current has set in favor of the inductive method of investigating economic questions.

By no one has the worthlessness of the speculative method been so clearly and ably exposed as by Mr. Leslie. The strength of his attack can be more fairly estimated, now that his efforts are collected in a single volume, than it could be so long as his writings lay scattered in various periodicals. In perusing these essays, we cannot help expressing our admiration for the wide range of the author's knowledge, and the closeness and accuracy of his reasoning. Notwithstanding the frequency with which Adam Smith's name is invoked by the political economist, we question if there are many, now-a-days, who have ever wandered through his voluminous pages; yet Mr. Leslie seems to be on the most familiar terms with every portion of his writings, and refers to him again and again for illustration, for defence, beside often explaining and per-

haps opposing his views. One of the most interesting essays in the volume is that entitled, "The Political Economy of Adam Smith," in which his conception of political economy and the foundation upon which his system rests, are shown with a lucidity and ability not equalled by any other writer within our knowledge.

Mr. Leslie has done good service, not only in exposing the weakness and unfruitfulness of the *a priori* economic method, but also in pricking various economic bubbles which the Ricardian school of pipers have been incessantly engaged in blowing. Three of these thin, airy doctrines have been termed "the average rate of profits," "the average rate of wages," and "the wage fund," all of which Mr. Leslie shows to be mere fictions, having no substantial basis in fact—"fictions which have done much harm, both theoretically and practically, by hiding the real rates of wages, the real causes which govern them, and the real sources from which wages proceed." Elsewhere, he says, "The aggregate amount of wages is nothing but the sum of the particular amounts in all particular cases taken together, and that it would be as rational to say that the income of each individual in the United Kingdom depends on the proportion of the total national income to the number of individuals, as to say that the wages of each laborer in every place and in every occupation depend on the ratio of the sum total of wages to the total number of laborers. The statistician may find some interest in calculating the average rate resulting from the ratio of the aggregate amount of wages, if it could be ascertained, to the number of laborers in the kingdom; but the economist deludes himself and misleads others by representing this as the problem of wages. * * * In every country, instead of an average or common rate of wages, there is a great number of different rates, and the real problem is, what are the causes which produce these different rates?" The doctrine of "an average rate of profits" is shown to be equally fallacious. "The fact is, that there are, in the first place, no means whatever of knowing the profits and prospects of all the occupations and investments of capital. No capitalist knows so much as the names, or even the number of trades in the *London Directory*, only a part of the trades of the kingdom, and their number and names are yearly increasing. If, again, there were any statistics showing the actual gains of the different trades, they would show that the profits of the individual members of each

trade vary immensely." The foregoing is contained in a review of Cairnes' last work, in which it was assumed that the profits of every business were well known. "If they were," says Mr. Leslie, "it would be seen that to speak of the average profits, even of a single business, is idle. Moreover, even if the past profits of every individual in every trade were known, it would be a serious error on the part of capitalists, though one which they often commit, to judge of the future from the past. The changes in production and the conditions of trades, in international competition, and in prices, the effects of speculation, fluctuations of credit, and commercial crises, of scarce and abundant seasons, wars and other political events, new discoveries and inventions, would upset all these calculations. * * * So far, indeed, are men in business from knowing the conditions on which future prices and profits depend, that they are often ignorant, after the event, of the causes of their own past profits and losses. * * * Thus the doctrine of average profit, like that of average wages, falls to the ground, and with it falls the superstructure built upon it."

Not only has Mr. Leslie sought to show the erroneousness of deductions flowing from the application of a wrong method, and to replace it by a better one, but he has demonstrated the superiority of the new method, by an application of it to the solution of several questions of considerable interest. Among the topics thus treated are, "The Distribution and Value of the Precious Metals in the Sixteenth and Nineteenth Centuries;" "The New Gold Mines and Prices in Europe in 1865;" "The Movements of Agricultural Wages in Europe," and, particularly, in an essay describing the economic features of a section of France, the province of Auvergne. A careful study of any of these chapters proves conclusively how closely the facts have been gathered, and how accurately they have been interpreted; in short, throughout the work, the reader cannot escape the conviction that he is living in a very different atmosphere than is usually found in the works of political economists, so closely are the facts eyed and made to disclose their true meaning.

For example, in the chapter entitled "On the Philosophical Method of Political Economy," which originally appeared as an essay in the *Hermathena** and attracted unusual attention, our au-

* From which it was reprinted in the *PENN MONTHLY*.

thor discusses anew the assumption upon which deductive economists found so many of their deductions, that "the desire of wealth" is the chief incentive to production and accumulation. The strong critical light turned upon the assumption express at once its shallowness and weakness. No extract could possibly do the subject justice. In the course of his criticism, however, he remarks, "The division of labor, the process of exchange and the intervention of money have made abstract wealth or money, appear to be the motive to production, and veiled the truth that the real motives are the wants and desires of consumers determining the commodities supplied by producers. After all the reproach cast on the Mercantile School, modern economists have themselves lapsed into the error they have imputed to it. If every man produced for himself what he desires to use or possess, it would be patent and palpable how diverse are the motives summed up in the phrase, 'desire for wealth,' motives which vary in different individuals, different sexes, and different states of society. Hunger and thirst were the first forms of the desire for wealth. A desire for cattle is its principal form at the next social stage. A desire for land comes into existence with agriculture, but the desire for land is itself a name for different feelings, aims and associations in different ages, countries, classes and individuals, producing at this day widely different effects in two countries so close to each other as England and France." In the twenty-sixth chapter, the author returns to his subject and remarks, "Among the chief motives to production, the most powerful of all to accumulation, and deeply affecting consumption and distribution, are conjugal and parental affection. And again in the same chapter, he adds, "If you know all a man's inclinations and motives, and their relative force, you may foretell how he will act under given conditions. But if you set aside all save the desire of pecuniary gain and aversion from labor, you will to a certainty go wrong about human conduct in general; you will not be right about even a miser, for he has sometimes some human affections, and, on the other hand, thinks nothing of trouble."

The inductive method, therefore, properly employed, leads to a much wider and deeper investigation of questions than does the older method employed by Smith and his followers. Political Economy, thus conceived, is simply a branch of sociology, or, as Prof. Leslie expresses the idea, "a department of the science of

society, which selects a special class of social phenomena for special investigation, but for this purpose must investigate all the forces and laws by which they are governed." This conception of Political Economy is in harmony with the view expressed by Dr. Ingram, in his famous address delivered in the economic section of British Association for the Advancement of Science last year. Indeed, this newer and, as we believe, sounder conception of Political Economy, is now rapidly gaining ground in Great Britain, judging from the reception which Mr. Leslie's collection of essays have met there, as well as from the vigorous discussion which has grown out of Dr. Ingram's address to which we have just alluded. Earnest as has been the opposition to the inductive method, its superiority is proved by its fruitfulness, which is too great for any one to dispute. To object to its worth, is to throw away pretty nearly all the results of special economic investigations, like Tooke's *History of Prices* and Rogers' *History of Agriculture*, besides the results of many smaller, but by no means unimportant, inquiries. This truth has become too apparent to be hidden any longer, and we may confidently look forward to witnessing fresh excursions into the economic field, with the strongest faith in seeing abundant returns in consequence of employing a better method of inquiry.

This latter remark leads to one other characteristic of Professor Leslie's volume, namely, its suggestiveness. Not only has he accomplished much himself, but his writings are very stimulating to the reader. They open numerous fields of view and create a longing in him to explore for himself in every direction. They reveal at once the existence of a vast field, which hitherto has been very imperfectly cultivated, but which promises the richest rewards to the diligent cultivator. But the harvest gathered, reveals also the hopelessness of making valuable acquisitions by the closet method. It is only by going out, collecting and turning over the facts that anything can be gathered of much worth to the world.

This volume of essays ought to find an eager publisher in this country. A volume which, the *London Spectator* affirms, "may fairly be said to be the most important economic work of the past decade," is surely worthy of republication here, when so many works of an inferior character have found greedy publishers. It would prove exceedingly instructive and suggestive, and we sin-

cerely trust that it may receive that wide and thorough reading here which it richly deserves.

In closing this review, one serious defect of this volume may be noted, which can easily be corrected in future editions, namely, its title. In our judgment, the title, "Essays in Political and Moral Philosophy," conveys a very inadequate idea of the contents of the work. Of course, when the reader is once in possession of a book, the title is of very little consequence to him; but, inasmuch as the sale depends somewhat upon the title, it seems to us that a more felicitous one for this volume might arrest the eye of many to whom the present title will prove unattractive.

NEW BOOKS.

THE GREAT SPEECHES AND ORATIONS OF DANIEL WEBSTER. With an Essay on Daniel Webster as a Master of English Style. By Edwin P. Whipple. Little, Brown & Co., Boston, 1879.

In the twenty-five years which have passed since Daniel Webster died, his fame as a great orator has in no wise diminished. His remarkable efforts are still exceptional exemplars of vigorous expression, lucid and logical thought, and broad, comprehensive patriotism. No man since the days of Edmund Burke, with whom alone Webster is to be mentioned, has so worthily merited the much abused title of orator as the illustrious Massachusetts statesman. Strictly speaking, there was much in Daniel Webster that the Irish orator was unable to command, and it is not, perhaps, excess of praise to claim for Webster that he was the most eloquent man of the century. Deeper philosophic depths were no doubt sounded by Burke, and his rich, massive style is unique among the noblest illustrations of the exhaustless capacity of our glorious English speech, yet his speeches lack that conciseness, that consecutiveness, that closeness and clearness of reasoning, each of which, adapting itself to the most democratic intelligence, addresses itself also with effect to the highest, and justifies the distinction which is generally accorded Webster by discriminating critics on either side of the Atlantic. In manner, method and matter his speeches have no equals in our American annals, and neither the recent history nor the habits of the Englishmen of our day has been favorable to the development of anything like forensic or parliamentary oratory of a high order. We return to the perusal of Webster's efforts with the same delight that originally attended

this pleasant occupation. In imagination, we revive the recollection of that sturdy imperial presence, the incarnate impersonation of that most American of all American New England, that flashing, penetrating eye, that earnest, incisive utterance, that matchless voice, and partake again of the historic triumphs, whose interesting evidence we find in the attractive pages before us.

The volume before us calls for no extended comment upon the career of Mr. Webster as a public man. His fame, indeed, suffered a partial eclipse, previous to his death, because of his unfortunate subserviency to the slave-power, and the Quaker poet's "*Ichabod*" but too plainly expressed the wide-spread sentiment of that large section of his northern countrymen, who were cut to the quick by his apostasy. One has but to read the Buffalo speech of May 22d, 1851, to recognize how bitterly Webster felt the keen criticism and condemnation that followed his championship of the Fugitive Slave Law; and, in the tranquility of a period in which the passions and prejudices of the past forever slumber, likewise to perceive that it is possible that the speaker might not have indulged in such petulant utterances had his own conscience unreservedly approved his course of conduct. But the portentous crisis which Mr. Webster's heroic conservatism only aided to postpone, not prevent, came—and we, who have survived it, while not insensible to the grievous shortcomings of such leaders at such a momentous time, can still indulge in lenient criticism, as we think of the severe ordeal through which they were compelled to pass. The sentiment of charity becomes a dominant impulse, indeed, as we read such a patriotic utterance as the famous "*Hülsemann Letter*," which, although not a speech, properly finds a place in the appendix to this collection. The effect of that communication was great, and has been universal and permanent. It was an unanswerable rebuke to the arrogance which inspired and dictated it. It was immeasurably serviceable in enforcing the conviction abroad, that we were, in reality, a nation; a conviction not, until then, too extensively cherished. It proved by no means unimportant when, in 1866, the national government asserted its supremacy over armed rebellion, that that emphatic, authoritative and official enunciation of American doctrine had previously appeared. The recollection of Mr. Webster's eminent and courageous services, as its chief, if not sole, author, may rightly enough, therefore, be effectual in controlling our general judgment of his public acts, and should go in mitigation of our censure of his timidity in the critical domestic emergency which shortly preceded this international quarrel.

Mr. Whipple's observations on Mr. Webster's excellence as a Master of English style, exhibit an intelligent familiarity with the subject; and form a most creditable contribution to our essay literature. In a judicious analysis of the productions, he indicates, as

the salient features of Mr. Webster's style, purity, directness, and classic strength; and, in recognizing their conspicuous merit in this regard, finds, with the rest of the world of readers, abundant reason for republishing this selection. It includes some fifteen or twenty of the most celebrated speeches, each of which is prefaced with a comprehensive and valuable historical note. There is also a valuable appendix, containing the Hülsemann letter, as already mentioned, the correspondence with Cass on the Washington Treaty, and other historical documents. The index is a full one and is a vitally useful addition to the book, while the excellent type and two capital steel portraits of Mr. Webster, complete a most welcome volume.

LIFE OF THE PRINCE CONSORT. By Theodore Martin, with Portraits. Volume iv. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1879. Pp. 424.

The royal progress made in these volumes is marked by a good deal that is valuable as throwing light on the history of the time in which Albert the Good lived, and by a good deal else that shows how unreal was the world in that little corner of it in which he ruled, in happy ignorance of his insignificance elsewhere. His share in securing popular education in England, like his activity in exhibitions and museums, was very creditable, but he was merely the representative of many earnest men, moving to the same end. His overweening notion of his own importance is shown in his letter to the present Emperor of Germany, approving his campaign in Baden, a bit of military history that no one else would like to recall, and his suggestion that he would urge its adoption as an example for that in India, to quell the mutiny there, showed how he applied his little German measure to all the rest of the world. Lord Palmerston seems to have taken him in his own vein, when he wrote back to the Queen that it was lucky for the opposition that she was not in Parliament to urge her views,—no doubt Prince Albert inspired them, and no doubt Palmerston meant to poke fun at him. Their intimacy with Napoleon may well explain the Queen's sympathy for his widow, in the recent overwhelming sorrow for the loss of her only son.

Still, it is clear that even Prince Albert had a well-founded distrust of the Imperial love of map making, and, he peculiarly condemns a plan, mooted in 1857, for giving Morocco to Spain, Tripoli to Sardinia, Syria to Austria, and Egypt to England. However, even in that day, D'Israeli, who was always a welcome and a clever courtier, was, in his own language, preparing the ante-chamber of an imperial Palace in India, by impressing the name of the Queen on the Indian population and their native life. In contrast to all

the great plans for governing the world, is the love of small things that occupied Prince Albert,—his regretful complaint, that on the day he and the Queen entertained the Emperor and Empress of France, it was only on going to bed that he found time to read *Jane Eyre*, and in a whole month he was so engrossed in business that he read only one book, and that a novel, Kingsley's *Two Years' Ago*; while in December, the next month, he read Trollope's *Barchester Towers*, Whately on the Mind, and *The Memoirs of Prince Eugene*,—not very solid mental food. Yet he found time to watch *The Times*, and to sneer at it for its frank and outspoken tone about Albert the Good and the French Alliance. There are some curious and significant hints in the memoranda made at the time, as of Napoleon's statement that Cherbourg was intended to protect him against the world, and the fort that crowned its works to protect him against Cherbourg,—and Persigny's cynical frankness in speaking of his master's faults making him, his own ambassador, unhappy. The loyalty of the Queen is well shown in her interpretation of Napoleon's mystical phrase in conversation with Cavour, that there but three men in Europe, and they were two of them,—he would not name the third; but Mr. Martin, inspired by the royal widow, suggests that Prince Albert must be he. Rather a poor return for the compliment, when the Prince writes to his German relatives, that he and the English Foreign Secretaries, Lord Clarendon and Lord Malmesbury, are busy keeping Napoleon straight and helping him out of scrapes. It is no wonder that he was a busy man, for he prepared for the Princess Royal, to help her fill her new place as Crown Princess of Prussia, an essay on the advantages of a Constitutional Government, and he certainly gave her sound advice when he told her that the great advantage of free masonry was that it obliged husbands to keep its secrets from their wives. He evidently thought himself much shrewder than Palmerston, and points out the blunder the latter had made in telling Napoleon what he ought to do for Italy and Austria after the peace of Villa Franca had put both countries in his power, how Lord John Russell, on the other hand, conciliated the Royal pair by writing to the Queen that the Cabinet quite concurred in her views on the Italian question, and while he did his best to prevent Parliament from disliking the constitutionally doubtful intervention of the Queen and her husband in government, he could not prevent their very great dislike for Parliament, as a body that stood in no awe of them and acted quite independently of their opinions.

Prince Albert found it easier to preside over the British Scientific Association, or to organize volunteers by a circular adopted by a Tory Minister, than to influence the House of Commons, or to lead the Whigs to adopt his views. He died, perhaps, too soon for the comfort and happiness of his wife, but the Prince of Wales

can hardly look back with much pleasure on the complete system of education prescribed for him by his father, which included, during his brief stay in Edinburgh, lectures by Playfair on Chemistry, with practical illustrations, by visits to the great factories; on Roman History, by Schmitz; lessons in Italian, German and French; exercise and drill with the 16th Hussars; and lessons in law and history. Even more characteristic of the thoroughly German training of the Prince Consort, is his constant reference to his old friend and guide, Baron Stockmar, of all questions great and small, public and private, political and personal, with an evident feeling that the man who had made him, could solve all his doubts through life. The picture, drawn by the Queen's hand, is, on the whole, a pleasing one,—his life had, of course, some small griefs and anxieties, but it was cast in pleasant places, and he certainly strove conscientiously to discharge the duties of his position so as to do honor to the Queen for her choice of a husband. The fact that he resisted the temptations that surround all who are in the purple, and retained a fair share of manly independence of thought and art, in spite of courtiers, is his best title to popular respect and affection, but his name can hardly gain much glory from his memoirs.

HISTORY OF AMERICAN POLITICS. By Alexander Johnston, A. M. Pp. x, 274. 12 mo. New York: Henry Holt & Co.

THE NATURAL RESOURCES OF THE UNITED STATES. By J. Harris Patton. Pp. ix, 115. 12mo. New York: D. Appleton & Co.

These two little books are intended to promote a popular acquaintance with our own country, and each of them supplies a real want in our literature.

Mr. Johnston's is one of a series of "Hand-books for Students and General Readers." It is just the thing for a young voter to read and to keep for consultation. It relates the events of our political history in a terse, accurate and thoroughly "objective" way. We have gone through it with some care, to see to which of our political parties the author belongs, and found ourselves unable to decide. We think he is a Republican, but it may be he is a Democrat; we suspect him of being what is called in America a Free Trader—as he says, we have no real Free Traders—but it may be that he is on the other side, as we hope he is, for he seems to be a sensible man.

In treating his difficult topic, he shows that the principle of strict construction or that of loose construction of the Constitution, has been throughout the principle of Party existence in America. Not that either party has always been faithful to the principle. On the contrary, they have often changed weapons and fought still.

But the recurrence to the original type in each has been constant, and on the whole it has been on this line that our parties have fought.

The political events of each Administration, the important debates and measures of Congress, and the forces which inclined the scale in Presidential nominations and elections, are briefly indicated, and the story is brought down to the inauguration of President Hayes. In the appendix are given the Articles of Confederation, the Constitution, Tables of the Presidential vote and some useful tables of Population. That of the Presidential vote is very clearly and happily arranged.

We take issue with Mr. Johnston in describing the Tariff of 1842, as "a tariff designed to afford revenue" merely, and as "the low tariff of 1842." It was one of the best and most protective laws ever passed. His description of that passed in 1846 is not full enough for those who do not understand allusions to "the Horizontal Tariff," and "the Dallas Tariff." Nor can we agree that the responsibility of the defeat of Clay in 1844 rests with the Anti-Slavery Whigs and the Free Soilers. It rests with Clay himself, whose wretched tergiversation made it impossible for any Anti-Slavery man to support him.

Mr. Patton's little book is equally interesting in its view of our country from another side. Its chief fault is its unequal execution. The articles on coal, iron, gold and silver are reasonably full, but others are very meagre. For instance, in treating the marbles of the United States, hardly any are mentioned outside those of Vermont, the immense wealth of Tennessee being quite unnoticed. So, in treating of other building stones, the bluish-gray limestones which beautify St. Paul and other cities, are passed in silence, as is our own green serpentine. Nor is anything said of the deposits of good clay for brick-making, to which our own and some other localities owe so much. The book contains a great deal of useful information, but is very far from a complete account of the subject.

DICKENS'S DICTIONARY OF LONDON. 1879. An unconventional Hand-book. New York, Macmillan & Co.

We cannot recommend this little book to readers whose eyesight is weak,—at least not for continuous reading. But it is, in its very brief compass, a store-house of information about the greatest of cities, such as is to be found nowhere else. Every side of London life, from the Court to the courts, is touched, and the information, instead of being of the cut and dried sort, usually furnished in such works, is fresh, to the point, and of interest even to those who never saw London. For such readers, a general map of the city, instead of the sectional maps distributed through the work, would be desirable.

But such books are always to be caught tripping at some point. If a reader should desire to know where to find our minister, he would naturally look under the head "America." There he would find a further reference to "United States," and, on following up the reference, would find there is no such article. Or, if interested in the Workingmen's College in Great Ormond street, where Tom Hughes now presides, he would look for it in vain under any head. So, again, we fail to find, in the charities, "The Society for Organizing Charitable Relief and Repressing Mendicity," although, under the head "Beggars," the reader is advised to join the "Society for the Suppression of Mendicity, . . . which has been established upward of sixty years." The description answers closely to that of the younger society, but the addresses differ, and the latter is only ten years old.

We are pleased to see in the article on Chess Clubs, among the frequenters of Lewis's rooms is mentioned "Pratt of Lincoln's Inn, the author of a book on chess that was described by Professor Allen, of Philadelphia, as 'a marvellous mixture of schoolmaster's English and Johnsonese.'"

THE STORY OF THE BIBLE, from Genesis to Revelation. Told in Simple Language for the Young. Tenth Thousand. Revised, enlarged and newly illustrated. Pp. 703. 8vo. Philadelphia: Charles Foster.

From the very invention of wood engraving, it was abundantly employed in illustration of the Scriptures. Even before the invention of printing, the block-book *Biblia Pauperum*, told the story of the Old and New Testament to the common people, and with the rise of the vernacular versions of the Bible, which began with Luther's, the art received a great impulse in this direction. Holbein, Dürer and Cranach, besides a host of lesser men, contributed to the work, and some of the old editions of Luther's Bible and of the Latin Vulgate are sought after with great eagerness, as masterpieces in this branch of art. In the 17th century, copper plates superseded wood engraving, and although Merian, Lyken and others accomplished great things in this branch, the change was, in general, mischievous. Instead of the vigor, the freedom, and life-likeness of the older artist, there came in a cramped, painful and elaborate style, without artistic motive or power to please an unsophisticated eye. Still worse was the more modern and English practice of illustrating by steel engravings, chiefly of landscape,—a mode which has left us nothing worth remembering, except Finden's *Bible Illustrations*.

In our own times, the revival of sound taste has caused a recurrence to the older style of illustration, while the art of wood

engraving has been carried forward on purely modern lines. The Cotta's of Stuttgart have published a very beautiful edition of Luther's Bible, with engravings taken from the old masters of xylographic art, and there are at least two others of equal or greater merit in the German market. We have as yet no really well illustrated edition of the English Bible, and the attempts at such a work have been prepared by persons devoid of an adequate knowledge of the principles of this art and of its past achievements.

The book before us is decidedly the best we have seen. The engravings are, for the greater part, well conceived and well executed, and they are such as to command at once the attention of children. No attention is wasted on needless details, and the central motive of the picture is kept well in view. We have tried it on actual children, with satisfactory results. As the publishers tell us nothing of the origin of these illustrations, we infer that they have taken them mostly from good German models, and a few from other quarters. Indeed there are clearly four sorts of wood engravings in the two hundred here given. First, a few are in the antique style of the fifteenth century, as for instance, that of the Feast of Tabernacles, on page 143. Secondly, the great majority are in the modern German style of adaptation from the older masters. Thirdly, a goodly number suggest the pages of the modern magazine, as for instance, "Nehemiah, the Cup-bearer," on page 481. Fourthly, some are in the style of the modern Sunday school book and paper, as for instance, "The Death of Sapphira," on page 636. The omission of the fourth, and perhaps of the third of these classes, would not deduct from the value of the book.

The text of the book has stood the test of repeated editions, at first without illustrations of any sort. It is simple, clear, connected, and suited to the capacity of children, without stooping to any puerility. But we are puzzled with some parts of the arrangement; *e. g.* why does the Book of Jonah come between Ruth and I. Samuel?

EPIPHANIES OF THE RISEN LORD. By Rev. George Dana Boardman. Pp. 289. 8vo. New York, D. Appleton & Co.

STUDIES IN THE MODEL PRAYER. By the same author. Pp. 201. Same publishers.

PARABLE OF THE SHREWD STEWARD. By the same author. Pp. 28. Philadelphia, The Chandler Printing House.

Dr. Boardman has long been known to Philadelphians as one of the most thoughtful and suggestive of our preachers. It is only recently, we believe, that he has begun to give to a wider circle the results of his studies and labors in preparation for the pulpit. The Christian ministry, in general, displays a great amount of reserve

in this matter. No other profession writes so much that is suited to general readers and yet prints so little of what is produced with care and labor. But it is a clear gain when the best minds in the profession are not content with the circle reached by the pulpit, and seek the larger one reached by the printed page. Mr. Robertson, of Brighton, would never have been the power for good he is, if one zealous friend had not gathered up his sermons out of all sorts of fragmentary reports; and his American counterpart, Mr. Brooks, would be doing no more than his duty if he gave the public something more than two volumes and three or four separate sermons.

Dr. Boardman's works are well calculated to do good in developing a more thoughtful spirit in those who read religious books. The first of the three here noticed is taken up with the most distinctively Christian of Christian doctrines, "Jesus and the Resurrection." It is admitted on all hands that that doctrine was the one on which the early success of Christianity hinged. The historical fact has been made the centre of discussion between modern sceptics and apologists. No other single fact holds so prominent a place in the teachings of the Apostles. And yet, while fought over and discussed in a polemic way, it has not been studied with any general recognition of its central position. Westcott's "Gospel of the Resurrection" is the only single treatise on it in English theology of recent date. Dr. Boardman studies it in its relation to the successive groups to whom our Lord appeared, aiming at a practical enforcement of the inferences which Christian theology insists upon.

The second book covers a more usual field of exposition, but one which is very far from exhaustion. The "Our Father" is a miracle in words, of which, especially, we might use the language of Richard of St. Victor, in regard to the whole Bible—"Here a lamb may wade, but here also an elephant may swim." Any child sees the sense of it, and yet no Doctor of Divinity can give you more than half an interpretation of it. The best we know of, is F. D. Maurice's *Nine Sermons on the Lord's Prayer*, twice reprinted in this country. But there is good in many, and in Dr. Boardman's we have found good things which we have seen nowhere else. We are not always satisfied with his exposition, especially of the two crucial passages. Of "Forgive us our debts as we forgive our debtors," he gives the right sense when he says, "Belief in God's Fatherhood is itself forgiveness," but seems to us rather to obscure than to enforce this thought in other parts of his exposition. And we are not satisfied with his or anybody's interpretation of "Lead us not into temptation," if, indeed, that be the sense original. If temptation be a good thing, why pray to be kept out of it; if an evil thing, why pray as if God, the Deliverer from evil, might lead us into it?

In his exposition of the parable which opens the sixteenth chapter of Luke's Gospel, commonly called the Parable of the Unjust Steward,—Dr. Boardman says "the Shrewd Steward"—he adopts a line of thought which has been anticipated by a few of the hundreds who have tried their skill in this difficult passage. He thinks the praise given is purely intellectual, not moral. We think he should have observed more closely the connection, which is broken in our Bible by the beginning of a new chapter. The parable is the last in a series of four, which are closely connected in sense, and the Steward is simply the Elder Son in another guise. Also, the sense is obscured in the English version, which Dr. Boardman follows, by following a bad reading, and by an ambiguous rendering. Verse G should read: "Make to yourselves friends by means of the mammon of unrighteousness, that when it fails they may receive you into the everlasting habitations."

MILTON. By Stopford A. Brooke. Pp. 168, 8vo. D. Appleton & Co.

This is the first volume of a Series on Classical Writers, edited by Mr. J. R. Green. Its author is already known as a literary critic by his *Theology in the English Poets*, and his *Primer of the History of English Literature*. The latter is a masterpiece of terse, sound criticism, and if it were just twice as large, would form a first rate text-book for instruction.

Mr. Brooke's study of Milton is equally good in its way. He must know his Milton very well indeed who can learn nothing from it, especially from its excellent analysis of the *Paradise Lost*. The poems are studied with close reference to the history of the man and the history of his times, and Mr. Brooke, though far from a Puritan in his opinions, does full justice to the greatness of Puritanism, especially in its Miltonic form.

Our author is especially happy in refuting the objection so often made, that Satan is the hero of *Paradise Lost*. He shows that Milton's Satan is not at the start an utterly fallen being, but one in the course of degradation. In the earlier scenes, something of archangelic grandeur still clings to him, but his very success as the Tempter hurls him downward, to utter moral debasement and loss of dignity.

MAID, WIFE OR WIDOW. By Mrs. Alexander. Leisure Hour Series.

COUSINS. By L. B. Walford. Leisure Hour Series. New York: Henry Holt & Co. 1879.

These two novels come to us as additions to the attractive looking Leisure Hour Series. One struggles heroically through "Cousins," and closes the book with a sense of relief and of wonderment at the misplaced energy involved in the composition of so much pointless English. If it truthfully portrays the every day exist-

ence of the respectable middle class in England, that is the single merit that may be honestly claimed for it. The accuracy of the picture, uninviting as it is, must be the excuse for its existence. Likewise the author may be pardoned, not complimented, for having written it. It is a dreary, stupid, vapid thing, and the reader follows the unfolding of the commonplace narrative of the doings of the most ordinary of mortals, with the same interest, but no more, which accompanies his noting the changes in the occupants of the seats of an accommodation train upon a protracted railway journey. This, indeed, it is to be admitted, approaches to the nature of an intellectual delight with some simple souls. To such, and to no others, "Cousins" may be cordially commended.

Mrs. Alexander's clever and pleasant tale deserves more favorable mention. It is a well-told story with a sufficiently novel and romantically interesting plot. The action transpires on German soil; the scene being laid in Saxony and the Bohemian border, at the conclusion of the war of 1866. We have in it an accurate and interesting representation of German social and military life, and which is quite as true to-day as it was when the passions and prejudices incident to the Austro-Prussian struggle were still rampant. A feature of "Maid, Wife or Widow," is the vivid illustration of these sectional enmities. Such a story could not be told at second hand; and it is plainly apparent that the authoress is directly familiar with the scenes and characters so effectively reproduced.

YOUNG MAUGARS. By André Theuriet. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1879.

If in the analysis of a book we give the first rank to the imagination of the writer, this cannot be called a work of great force, but in the naturalness of the characters, and in the grace of the composition, it has much merit to which the translation does not do justice, since even the original order of construction of the sentences is slavishly followed in the English rendering.

Young Maugars is the only child of a French mechanic, who, by knavery and industry, has become a banker and a great power in his own community. The son, destined for the law, has will for art only, out of which and his love affairs comes his father's disappointment in him and his own awakening to his father's true character. This is the best part of the book, which tells of the breaking down of early faiths in a man heartily reverencing a father kind and generous to him, but execrated by the world that knows him better as an oppressor and a knave. Misfortune overtakes the usurious banker, and sudden death saves him from judicial condemnation, while the son's sense of honor finds relief in the loss of the ill-gotten hoards. The heroine's character is very independent, for the traditional French model, and not of the order that would rather die than speak her love.

GREEK HERO STORIES. By Barthold George Niebuhr. With Illustrations by Augustus Hoppin. Translated by Benjamin Hoppin. Pp. 120. New York: Dodd, Mead & Co.

There is nothing in the life of the great historian Niebuhr more touching than his passionate love of his son Marcus—a love all the more remarkable in a man so cold and reserved towards the rest of the world. For Marcus, he would secure all things excellent in life, not excepting the fervent Christian faith which the father valued so highly, but missed through his own years of formation falling within the era of dreary Illuminism. Although deprived by his father's premature death of the full benefit of this care, and although his own early death took him away before he had done what his abilities gave promise of, Marcus Niebuhr showed himself not unworthy of his father's deep affection. His *Geschichte Assurs and Babels* is a piece of honest and thorough work, which, although drawn from Greek and Hebrew sources only, has not been superseded even by the results of the cuneiform decipherments.

These "Hero Stories" are an everlasting monument of a great parental affection. They are masterpieces of graphic simplicity. Just the points to interest a child are seized with great skill, and the wondrous tales of the youth of Greece—the Argonauts, Hercules and Orestes—were never better told, not even by Charles Kingsley in his little book, *The Heroes*. Niebuhr holds fast to the simplicity of Greek art in his narrative, while Kingsley, who, with all his theoretical admiration of the Greeks, had no real sympathy with them, romanticizes the old stories in spite of himself, just as he romanticizes Andromeda and Hypatia.

The translation is a good one, but not, we believe, the only one in the language. Mr. Hoppin's illustrations are also excellent, and admirably adapted to the child's eye. They are neither overburdened with details, nor slovenly in detail.

Appleton's New Handy Volume Series. "MY QUEEN." New York. D. Appleton & Co.

My Queen is an heiress, and the tale runs on her love for a poor cousin, Max, and her money, the barrier that disturbs its course till she takes a fever in nursing his wretched tenants. Then his pride gives way, the troubles are cleared up, and the very pretty and well told story comes to its happy end. One may ask why should it have been written. *Cui bono?* We give it a welcome, knowing how much our vigor, moral and mental, depends on association with others whose interests and pursuits are not ours, and that to many this rubbing of minds must come largely from books like this, for instance, which gives a half-hour's chat with charming people.

A THOROUGH BOHEMIENNE: Madame Charles Reybaud. New York: D. Appleton & Co.

Sketches of life in an old Breton manor-house, framed in pure and simple language, and a few characters well defined and consistently sustained, combine to make this a story of unusual merit. It will be read with interest and remembered with pleasure, and the refinement of touch and delicacy of execution it excels most of the current novels of the day.

MODERN FISHERS OF MEN. New York: D. Appleton & Co.

The experience of a young, untried clergyman among the "Various Sexes, Sects and Sets of Chartville Church and Community" are depicted with a lively pen, some typical characters are presented and natural incidents occur. While the book never rises above the commonplace in style or execution, the interest of the story is sustained and satisfactory.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

The Distracted Young Preacher. By Thomas Hardy. Hester. By Beatrice May Butt. One volume. (Handy Volume Series.) Pp. 179. Price 25 cents. New York: D. Appleton & Co. [Porter & Coates.

Uncle Cesar. By Madame Charles Reybaud. (Handy Volume Series.) Pp. 185. New York: D. Appleton & Co. [Porter & Coates.

German without Grammar or Dictionary. By Dr. Zur Brücke. Cloth. 12mo. Pp. 262. Chicago: S. C. Griggs & Co. [Claxton, Remsen & Haffelfinger.

History of American Politics. By Alexander Johnston, A.M. Cloth. 16mo. Pp. 274. Price 75 cents. New York: Henry Holt & Co. [Claxton, Remsen & Haffelfinger.

Eyesight, and How to Care for It. By George Harlan, M. D. (American Health Primers.) 16mo. Cloth. Pp. 139. Price 50 cents. Philadelphia: Lindsay & Blakiston.

Abraham Lincoln and the Abolition of Slavery in the United States. By Charles Godfrey Leland. Cloth. 16mo. Pp. 246. Price \$1.00. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

The Value of Life. A Reply to W. Mallock's Essay, "Is Life Worth Living?" Cloth. 12mo. Pp. 253. Price \$1.50. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

All Quiet Along the Potomac, and other Poems. By Ethel Lynn Beers. Cloth. 12mo. Pp. 352. Price \$1.75. Philadelphia: Porter & Coates.

The Pre-Historic World. By Elie Beithet. Translated from the French by Mary J. Safford. Cloth. 12mo. Pp. 310. Price \$1.50. Philadelphia: Porter & Coates.

Sarah de Berenger. A Novel. By Jean Ingelow. Cloth. 12mo. Pp. 415. Price \$1.50. Boston: Roberts Bros. [Porter & Coates.

Memoir Concerning the French Settlements in the Colony of Rhode Island. By Elisha R. Potter. (Rhode Island Historical Tracts, No. 5.) Providence: Sidney J. Rider.

Haworth's. By Frances Hodgson Burnett. Cloth. 12mo. Pp. 374. Price \$1.50. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. [Porter & Coates.

Statements and Arguments in behalf of American Industries against the Proposed Franco-American Commercial Treaty. 8vo. S'wd. Pp. 220. San Francisco: Alta California Print.



THE
PENN MONTHLY.

NOVEMBER, 1879.

THE MONTH.

“THAT Irish Dare-Devil, General Roberts,” has carried the English flag into Cabul more swiftly than the best informed critics of the situation thought possible, and has punished the massacre of his countryman, Major Cavagnari, by the death of every man found in arms and offering resistance. Another daring Irishman, a surgeon Bellew, has been found to take the murdered man’s place, and the injury inflicted on English prestige by the murder of the envoy is retrieved; but the large question, “What shall we do with Afghanistan,” awaits an answer. Whether to hold on or to let go, the English can hardly tell. They cannot make the Emir real ruler of the country by a less outlay of force than is necessary for its subjugation and annexation. They cannot do less, without leaving a large part of the country open to Russian intrigue and secret alliances. The awkwardness of the situation is a fitting punishment for their wanton interference with the Afghans in a time of peace and comparative order. They have destroyed the Amcer’s rule by destroying his prestige, and yet they have pledged themselves to support his authority. It is no wonder that he fled to their camp after the uprising in Cabul; he had no support left but the English, but every reason to expect the fullest exercise of their power in his behalf.

The situation is further complicated by the financial difficulties of India. As Professor Fawcett shows, in the current number of *The Nineteenth Century*, English statesmen are at last awake to the fact that the limit of taxation has been reached in India, that the recurrence of famines every few years may be as confidently expected as any other periodical event, and that the outlays upon public works, so far from being remunerative improvements of a fine estate, are chiefly money thrown away upon works which will never pay for themselves,—money borrowed of English capitalists and payable in London out of Indian revenue. Two-thirds of the millions laid out on irrigation works are thus irretrievably sunk, while in guaranteeing railroads over a hundred and ten million dollars have been lost. Heretofore, this state of things has been concealed in the Indian Budgets, “by classing some branch of expenditure as ‘extraordinary,’ and regarding some outlay as exceptional;” but the time for such pieces of self-deception has gone by.

The first step in the right direction is proposed in the reduction both of the number of officials and of the salaries paid to them. “There is probably no country in which official salaries range so high. . . . In numerous instances, for precisely the same services, a poor country like India pays twenty or thirty per cent. more than is paid by England with all her wealth.” At the same time, the new License Tax of over two per cent., which impinges on every native income not already reached by the Land Tax, not excepting those of fifty dollars a year, is not levied on these officials; nor do they contribute a farthing to the support of a government which might be made far cheaper if it were not necessary to take expensive precautions for their safety. At the same time there is a limit to these reductions in salaries. It can never be cheap to govern a conquered and disaffected country. Insurance against such horrors as those of Cawnpore must be included in every salary paid to an Anglo-Indian. A wise policy would be to replace English by native officials, wherever such an exchange can be made with safety, and to hold only the military power exclusively in English hands.

The reduction of the outlay on public works is another step in the right direction. The hasty and indiscriminate construction of canals and the like, wherever a board of civil engineers thought it advisable, without any previous mastery of the economic condi-

tions, has added much to the poverty of the country. It has been decided that not more than ten million dollars a year shall be borrowed for this purpose. "As it is strictly enjoined that the money shall be borrowed in India and not in England, it may fairly be concluded that the government have at last recognized the political and financial disadvantages of adding to the indebtedness of India in England, and thus rendering it necessary to transmit a large portion of the revenue of India in order to discharge her obligations to India." And from this sentence, written by a Professor of orthodox Political Economy, it may fairly be concluded that even English economists are at last aware that the only safe place for a nation to borrow is at home, and that it is suicidal to offer a rate of interest lower than the home market will accept. But our own Treasury has not learned so much.

As to the silver question, nothing is to be done. The weight of the rupee is not to be raised, nor is a gold currency to be forced on the Hindoo people, nor is the amount of silver coinage to be reduced. The Indian authorities were eager to try one of these experiments, but as any of them would have reduced the demand for silver and depreciated its value, the result would have been still more disastrous to the Indian Empire.

THE Land Question remains the great issue in the British Islands. Even the English economists are awake to the fact that the English system has been an immense failure, and that something must be done to amend it, but exactly what, they do not agree to say. One party, headed by Mr. Bright, and including all the worshippers of Competition, demand "Free Trade in Land"—"that land be made as salable as Consols." But, as Professor F. W. Newman well observes, the only effect of that would be to perpetuate existing evils. It would confessedly raise the price of land, and put it farther than ever from the reach of the class in which it ought to be vested.

Professor Newman comes nearer to an insight into the real difficulty than any other English writer. He traces the mischief back to the want of a more radical policy at the date of the abolition of the Corn Laws and the adoption of Free Trade in wheat. "The retrospect of thirty years suggests new lines of thought. . . .

Cobden and his associates were in the right, and performed well the task of the day, but the existing state of our agriculture is now discerned to be highly unsatisfactory. Every year widens and deepens the conviction that our laws of Land Tenure are fundamentally wrong; indeed they are diverse from those of all the world; if they are not signally better than those of all other nations, they are gravely and lamentably wrong. The idea now presents itself, that the temporary relief given to us by the free importation of wheat has proved a buttress to an evil system of land laws, and has blinded us to the essential evils contingent on a perpetual increasing ratio of the population in great towns to that of the rustic districts. . . . We may speculate as to the results which must have followed if no foreign markets had been able to give us permanent supplies of necessary food. Suppose that . . . the United Kingdom had been cast on its own resources for grain and cattle, will any one maintain that by a proper use of the land we could not have fed our own population? If any one is of that opinion, let him consider the phenomena of French agriculture." "We have postponed the day of necessary reform by buying our food of almost every kind, in dangerous amount, from foreign countries, while our own arable land goes back into grass and pasturage."

In other words, as American economists have repeatedly insisted, the root evil of English mismanagement is the destruction of the balance between her agriculture and her manufactures. She has driven her people from her farms into her factories, or beyond the seas, after robbing them of their rights of commonage and copyhold. She has dissolved the old partnerships between the landlord and the people, in such a way as to throw the whole effects into the hands of the former, whereas Prussia insisted on a fair division between them. She has annihilated that yeoman class which was once her glory, at the very time when Prussia was creating it out of Serfs and *Sclaven*. And her free trade was but the palliative of a social evil, which should have been dealt with more radically. It put off the evil day, until the time should come when other nations should find the use of their hands and cease to buy the huge surplus of her monster manufactures. And now that that day has come, England finds that much more sweeping changes than she had ever contemplated are impending.

Professor Newman, representing somewhat the new tendencies

in her Political Economy, is inclined to move in just the opposite direction from Free Trade in land. He regards the land-holder as a trustee for society at large, and insists on the right of society to dismiss him from his position if public policy calls for such a change. He would give the land-owner compensation at market rates for his property, but he would give him no choice about disposing of all beyond a certain fixed maximum of acres. With this half-way communism, we have some sympathy, but not a particle of agreement. We believe that a strict compliance with those natural economic laws which the English profess to expound but continually ignore, is all that is needed to redress the evils of even their system.

THE Irish land-problem, although superficially resembling that of England, is in many essential respects exactly the reverse. In Ireland it is the absence of manufactures which keeps the people perpetually poor and discontented. The farmer has no home market, and no choice of any alternative occupation. The Irish people are forced into competition with each other for a piece of land, for which they pay a rent lower than land brings in England, but exorbitantly high in relation to their capacity to pay. The great multitudes who cannot find employment on the farms, are left in a chronic idleness to live off the earnings of the few who have work and wages. The common people naturally select the landlords as the objects of their hostility, when in truth landlords and smaller freeholders suffer as severely from the impoverishment of the country as do the tenants.

The present agitation, which is associated with the Home Rule movement, furnishes a good deal of perplexity to the government. They have acquired the good sense not to provoke a collision, and so long as the agitators abstain from open and general violence they will do nothing. The leaders propose a passive resistance to the claims of the landlords, through the tenants simply refusing to pay rent until they are given better terms. If this resistance could be made general, and there were a general abstinence from violence, it would probably be quite successful. The wholesale eviction of an entire people, or even a considerable proportion of them, is an impossibility, and the English people are not at present disposed to see it carried out. The danger is that the hot Celtic

blood cannot be kept passive, and when the extreme men proceed to violence, the more moderate will surrender to the landlords in order to show that they are not the accomplices of violence.

But even if it were successful, this agitation would furnish no adequate solution of the Irish difficulty. If every Irish farmer had the fee simple of his land given him, the poverty and suffering of the people would continue. Freeholders are driven out of their holdings and across the seas, as well as tenants. Landlords have even been forced into the poor-houses. Nothing but a vigorous development of manufactures on Irish soil, will elevate the people from their perpetual poverty, and no such development will they attain without obtaining the control of their own national policy.

THREE years ago we predicted that the next presidential election would depend upon the continuance of hard times. Not foreseeing the failure of the crops in Europe this year, and knowing that Resumption would not turn a hair either way, we did not expect that the tide would turn so speedily in favor of the Republicans, as has been indicated in the Maine, California, Colorado, Ohio and Iowa elections.

In Ohio the campaign was fought on national issues purely, and those not of a financial character. Whatever Messrs. Sherman and Schurz might do in their few speeches to give a hard-money color to the Republican canvass, the great mass of the speeches took a different tone. The Greenbackers were rather conciliated than antagonized, and most stress was laid upon those considerations which should rally all who had been Republicans to the support of the party, whatever they might think about paper-money. The condition of things in the Solid South, the reappearance of the State Rights doctrine in a Congress where its advocates have the majority, the imperilling of the results of the war, were held steadily before the people, and the twenty thousand majority for Mr. Foster is simply Ohio's vote to reaffirm all that her soldiers fought for and her people suffered for, during the years of the Rebellion. Of course, every pains was taken to convince the voters that this was *not* the issue presented by the Democratic party; but on the evidence they found that it was, and recorded their verdict accordingly.

We see no reason to expect that this will have any effect upon the South, or will secure any change of their policy. Their present attitude is not one which they have selected out of several alternatives; it is the only one which they can occupy, until they are driven from it by force of law or of arms. Mr. Hayes has rendered the country the service of fully testing what conciliation can do to bring them into sympathy and agreement with the national will. His warmest admirers will not claim that he has met with any measure of the success they expected, while they will claim that he was right in making the experiment. In its attitude of hostility to all the legislation resulting from the war, its denial of any national character to the country, and its determination to suppress the negro vote by any and every means, the South has not changed since 1875, except to become more decided and un-reasoning on every point. Each of these parts of Southern policy is a fanaticism, which no experience will either modify or eradicate from the Southern mind. This people have but one regret,—that the rebellion did not succeed; and but one purpose—to bring matters as near as possible to the posture which its success would have secured.

The cure must be in a still further amendment of the constitution. All ambiguities must be removed from that document; the results of the war and the national character of our government must be written at large on our fundamental law. And this implies that the control of all elections must be put under national authority, and every citizen, through the same authority, must be secured those "inalienable rights" in whose defence the War of Independence was begun.

ONE of the first changes needed in the Constitution is the obliteration of the Eleventh Amendment. In 1794 the United States Supreme Court decided that a state could be prosecuted by the citizen of any other state, just as might any other corporation. This the Bench inferred from the terms of the Constitution. At once the strict-construction party secured an amendment to the document, forbidding the United States Courts to hold a state answerable at their bar. From their standpoint, the amendment was reasonable enough. If the several states were sovereign powers, united in a confederacy whose existence might be only temporary,

to allow them to be prosecuted in any court, would be to degrade them from their equality with the great powers of Europe, whom nobody can sue. It would be an acknowledgment of their subordinate or municipal character, altogether out of keeping with their claims to sovereignty. And yet, for five years they managed to exist in a status in which their sovereignty was thus formally denied, and even the amendment does not dare to assert the claim, except by ambiguous implication.

The chief objection to the amendment is not its coincidence with any States Rights theory, but the abuse made of it by dishonest states. As no one can sue them, every one deals with them at his peril. Great multitudes of our people and of foreigners have lent them money, as they would not have lent them if they had stood outside the Union as independent powers. There has been an assumption that public opinion was a common bond, which would secure honesty of action, and that no state would like to be regarded by her associates as a wilfully dishonest community. But in a great number of cases, nearly all in the South, public opinion has proved quite inadequate to any such restraint. State after state has repudiated its honest indebtedness, beginning with Mississippi even before the Rebellion, and proceeding with Virginia, Georgia, Tennessee and Louisiana since it. The amount of this repudiation in the South, since the war, reaches the aggregate of three hundred millions of dollars, and the effect of it has been injurious to a still greater extent than the immediate losses of the creditors. The good name of the country has suffered abroad, where people cannot be expected to be *au fait* with our nice constitutional distinctions, and where many have lent money to these defaulting commonwealths, with a vague notion that the loan was made to America, or was under our national guarantee. Foreigners look to see us compel these local governments to be honest, and suppose it is our national indifference to right and wrong which accounts for our inactivity. The better informed suppose that a more vigorous exercise of moral pressure would reach the difficulty, and deplore our national want of righteous principle. They classify us with Turkey, Egypt, and those South American Republics whose bonds used to figure on the exchanges and bourses of Europe. They know nothing of the stolid indifference to reproach and objurgation, with which national opinion is met in

the South, and often nothing of the legal barrier which stands in the way of direct action.

There is but one way out of this bad business, and that is to cancel the most mischievous of all the additions made to the Constitution in the name of State Rights. The nation exists for the establishment and enforcement of justice, and whatever interferes with the great purpose, whether it be a murderous partisanship in individuals, or dishonestly in communities, must be made to give way.

A LITTLE conspiracy has been brewing in New York City, whose object is the overthrow of the Protective System during the next session of Congress. It seems that some of the Democrats are heartily sick of fighting the political campaign on the issues which were raised during the extra-session of Congress. They want to change the current of political discussion, by thrusting merely political questions into the back-ground, forgetting all about hard or soft money, and raising an excitement over Tariff and Free Trade. Considered merely as a political movement, this is not such a bad idea,—too clever, indeed, to have occurred to the politicians themselves. It came confessedly from the New York importers, who think they ought to be making a little more money, and would not object to seeing our own workmen less abundantly employed, if that be necessary to the prosperity of the importing interest. They have, many of them, but one idea in politics, and that one is unrestricted trade. They think that the country generally and the West in particular, are ripe for a change in our policy, and that only a determined movement is necessary to make this the great issue throughout the country. They ascribe the defeat of the last attempt at tariff-tinkering to the unpopularity of Mr. Wood, and they declare that he will have the united support of the New York City delegation when he next moves on the Protectionist lines.

It is the weakness of New Yorkers that they often spell United States with an N. and a Y., and think that any current of opinion which prevails among themselves is of national importance. And they are making that mistake in the present instance. As is conceded by the most observant Free Traders, there never was a time when the Protective policy was more popular than it is now. Twenty years ago the *Tribune* gave up the case, and hardly a

Philadelphia paper had a word to say against Free Trade. The Morrill Tariff was only carried on the plea of political and military necessity, at a moment when all the world seemed to have gone over to Free Trade. Seven years ago the results of Protection were still so uncertain, that a united and determined assault upon it might have brought its fate into a temporary uncertainty. But to-day the current sets so strongly and decidedly in that direction, that any political party courts ruin by taking up the Free Trade policy, and identifying itself with it before the people. Not long after the close of the war *The Nation* told us the American people were evidently tired of restricted trade; that our policy was possible as a permanent one only in a despotic government; that a great change might soon be expected. Now it says that half-educated communities naturally incline to the Protective policy, and that America being one of these is opposed to Free Trade.

To come down to details, one result of the movement would be to deprive the Democrats of a large amount of support which they at present enjoy. The Protectionists, as the opposition to Mr. Wood's Bill showed, are much better organized and more ready for a political conflict than their opponents. They will, of course, spare no pains to unseat every Democrat who now represents a manufacturing community, on the ground that every vote for a Democratic speaker is a vote against Protection. The Democratic majority in the next House is not so well assured that they can afford to see a solidly Republican delegation returned from Pennsylvania.

We do not believe that the Democrats generally are ready to undertake any such enterprise. They have learnt a lesson from the currency struggle, and that is, in good times to propose no changes which contemplate an industrial revolution. Things are becoming better; nobody except the importers looks on the Tariff as a grievance; and the farmers begin to think it best to let well enough alone.

THE country is to have one more wicked war upon the Indians, —a war so clearly unjust that even the commanding general advertises the country that he is going to fight men with whom he heartily sympathises in the resentments which prompt their hostilities. The Utes have been treated much as the other tribes who

have preceded them in these revolts. Our government made them promises, which it had neither the will nor the power to keep. It pledged itself to secure them possession of territory which the white settlers occupied at their pleasure. It promised them supplies of food and clothing, and did not send these. It left their ponies at the mercy of organized gangs of horse-thieves, against whom the red man has neither defence nor redress. And now a long series of misconduct ends in hostilities, and our soldiers lay down their lives and suffer untold hardships in inflicting our vengeance on a poor people who have everything on their side, except the discipline of civilized warfare.

The particular acts of provocation which filled the cup to overflowing, we are sorry to say, were those of the agent, Mr. N. C. Mecker. We have always entertained the highest opinion of this gentleman, and his *Life in the West* we think a book of no small worth for its pictures of growing society in the Mississippi Valley. And we are glad to believe that he was guilty of nothing worse than faults of judgment in his eagerness to begin the civilization of his wards. But it is evident that he carried things with altogether too high a hand, and that, instead of being a centre of security and peacefulness to the Indians, he only added to the disturbance which had resulted from the general failure to discharge our obligations. He has paid the penalty with his life, all the men at the agency having been killed, and the women and children carried off, as the Utes returned from defeating the troops who had been called to his assistance.

We should hope that our government would seek some peaceful settlement of this unhappy outbreak, and would seek some solid arrangement to secure the rights of which we have given the guarantee of treaties. Although very far from agreeing with the members of the Peace Society, as to the allowableness of war in general, we cannot see how any one can regard this war as other than a murderous butchery of men whom we had forced into hostilities by our own misconduct.

A SOMEWHAT complicated case of political casuistry is raised in New York state by the determination on the part of a few Republicans to scratch the name of Mr. Cornell, the candidate for Governor. As the election promises to be a very close one, and as

the Republicans are building great hopes on the division of their enemies, this disposition to follow the example of the bolting Democrats is loudly deprecated. It is met in the Republican papers one day by a ridicule which is meant to be overwhelming, and the next by finely drawn arguments from the nature and necessity of party organizations. It is said that, on these principles, any party action on the Republican side will become impossible, and the Democrats will have the monopoly of power.

It seems a very plain question, and one which each voter must settle for himself. It is "would the election of Mr. Cornell's opponent be an evil so great as to overbalance the evil of electing the personal nominee of Senator Conkling?" All parties must take the risk of raising such questions, and of alienating support by nominating men to whom there is a strong and rational opposition. More especially, the Republican party must ever be open to it; whatever be true of the rank and file of the party, it contains a large body of voters who will not march after their leaders like sheep after a bell-weather. And if the party is to be maintained at all, it must be at the cost of temporary defeats when its over-confidence leads to bad nominations.

The Republicans who refuse to vote for Mr. Cornell have gone so far as to appeal for the support to their policy throughout the state; and in so doing they have issued a very unwise and misleading statement of their position. They did quite right to fall back upon their private convictions and conscientious objections, in refusing to accept the dictation of the Convention. But it is quite another thing to organise an opposition inside the party, and to use its name as a rallying point against its own ticket. As they had no reasons to urge against the candidate but such as were commonly known, they had no sufficient reason for addressing their fellow citizens on the subject. To assume the role of conscience-quickener to the less stalwart men of the party, is to put themselves in exactly the false position of the party-leaders, and to assume that liberal Republicans need their guidance. Furthermore, such a line of conduct destroys their right to be heard in the counsels of the party for the future. We do not say that they will not be heard; party exigencies are great at times. But they will have no right to be heard, and can only come in at the expense of their own self-respect.

The reasons which they give for their action are both inadequate and misleading. They talk as if they were chiefly actuated by the desire to save the party from defeat in 1880, whereas their only safe ground to stand on is that of conscience against party. They also speak as if Mr. Cornell were a personally objectionable candidate, which he is not, not even the Democrats having anything to allege against him. The one reason for rejecting him is that he represents the personal rule of Senator Conkling, having been put before the public by his omnipotence. And this reason they do not give at all, unless it be implied in some vague phrases.

THE Kelly wing of the Democrats in New York is proving much stronger than was at first expected. If this gave Mr. Kelly any opportunity of election to the office of Governor, it would be greatly to be deplored. He is not the sort of man whom any American would desire to see in the executive office of the greatest of our states. And if it were a choice between him and Governor Lucius Robinson, all decent Republicans should imitate the example set by so many of the regular Democrats in Massachusetts, when they voted the Republican ticket rather than help General Butler to become Governor by the votes of a plurality. But Mr. Kelly is generally recognised as a hopeless candidate, and he is widely supported by those who desire to inflict a blow on Mr. Tilden and his friends. This action has not always the best motives to plead for itself. Messrs. Tilden and Robinson, although not entitled to the credit of the reduction of the expenses of the state government, have undoubtedly rendered some services to that state, especially through breaking up the old Canal Ring; and wherever that Ring was strongest, Mr. Kelly's supporters are most. It is but natural that the Republicans do not mourn over the divisions of their enemies; but the attempt made, in some of their papers, to contrast Robinson with Kelly, to the advantage of the latter, indicates an uncertain moral standard in its authors.

The weakest place in the record of the Robinson wing of the party, has been the high-handed attempt to secure control of the elections in New York city by excluding the Tammany wing of the party from representation among the Inspectors. The movements to this end have been going on for months past, in the re-

moval of Police Commissioners, with whom the appointment is vested, and the substitution of others upon whom Mayor Cooper, Governor Robinson and the old gentleman behind them both, could depend. A game of political pretences was thus played, in which persons were got rid of for reasons not allowed to appear on the surface of the proceedings against them. A policy of this sort cannot but be revolting to the conscience of any community. We expect every government to speak the truth, to pursue no bye-ends, to go openly and honestly to what it aims at. And to do one thing under the pretence of doing another, while it is the temptation and the sin of all political parties at one time or another, can never be attempted in any American city without exciting moral repulsion in the best elements of the community.

As regards the Republican nomination for the Presidency, there is one decided change in the situation. Mr. Sherman's name has evidently been withdrawn, either permanently or for the present. His supporters have evidently reached the conclusion that it is not easy to keep a candidate favorably before the people, while you are using him to secure private benefits and advantages from the government. And by this time even Mr. Sherman must see that it is possible for a public official to be too kind to the fine fellows who are taking such pains to promote his political welfare. At any rate, the newspapers whose editors could not sleep for thinking of John Sherman in the White House, are suddenly silent about that combination of political ideas, and some of them are beginning to talk of Mr. Blaine in the same connection. We infer from this that Mr. Sherman is not to be transformed into a "dark horse," to be brought up at the last moment, but has entirely renounced his pretensions to the next nomination, and has begun to look for something more accessible. Perhaps he is to be Secretary under Mr. Blaine; the two are exceedingly friendly. Perhaps he is to be Senator from Ohio, where Blaine has been working very hard for a Republican victory. It looks as if Mr. Sherman's supporters had been transferred to Mr. Blaine, for a consideration. We regret this very greatly. It will give Mr. Blaine a better chance of the nomination, if his rival has retired; it would have been better if their rivalry had forced the nomination of some better

man than either,—say General Garfield. And it will bring Mr. Blaine into office, if he be elected, under far worse auspices than any with which his name has hitherto been associated. We are not admirers of this preternaturally “smart” statesman, but hitherto we have never placed him so low as to think of him in connection with the Wall Street Ring.

If our construction of the situation be correct, the reasons for opposing Mr. Blaine’s nomination are increased four-fold by this new combination.

THE Society for Organizing Charity in this city has reached the end of its year of service, so far as its ward organizations are concerned, and these latter have made their reports to their several constituencies. The General Society will hold its meeting in the Academy, November 18th.

The reports of these ward branches show that a very large volunteer force of men and women, especially the latter, has been secured to labor personally among the poor; that the funds needed to relieve actual necessity, and to pay the expenses of the work, have been, in most instances, secured without great difficulty; and that a large amount of charitable work, which needed to be done, was not accomplished by the organizations already in the field. The plan has been, in spite of the drawbacks which necessarily attend beginnings, a substantial success; and the dangers which were predicted for it, such as a recurrence to the wasteful and reckless policy of the older ward associations, and a dissolution of the associations at the return of spring, have been escaped. There are still some defects in the working of the Society, one being the need of a more public discussion of the great questions of charitable administration, so that the conclusions reached may be brought directly to the people. At least all the Ward Directors, and perhaps all the lady visitors, should be present when the reports on Employment and other subjects are presented.

Another is the need of a more substantial assistance to the poorer wards. It is true that several hundred dollars were thus dispensed during the past year; it is also true that there is great danger in extending too liberal aid. But much more might be done with perfect safety, and with great advantage. The downtown wards are obliged, by the present system, to look after their

own poor, as these are sent home to them by the ward offices elsewhere, and in several instances they have not the means to do this as it ought to be done.

The last great need is the thorough application of the principle laid down by the society—"To make employment the basis of relief." Something has been effected in several of the wards in the way of securing employment, but large sums have been spent in feeding those who were both able and—as a rule—willing to work. Perhaps this was unavoidable during the prostration of industries, out of which we are passing. For the future, the society is establishing a bureau of employment, with a branch in each ward office, and with connections extending into other parts of the commonwealth. In so far as the trouble arises from the labor being in one place while there is a demand for it elsewhere, this arrangement will obviate the evil. But there is also need to find some sort of local employment for the poor, especially those who can find work only in summer. This should be such as not to come into competition with the labor of persons already at work, and such as not to demand any large investment of capital. It is not easy to discover any sort of work which complies with both these conditions, but if it can be had, it would be a good step towards the solution of our difficulties.

The society, so far from being content with the really large amount of work already done, shows a wholesome dissatisfaction with it, and a purpose to aim at much larger and better results in the future.

HENRY CHARLES CAREY.

IN the death of Mr. Henry C. Carey, Philadelphia has lost her most widely known citizen, and economical science its greatest American representative. Aside from these mere public aspects of our loss in him, a wide circle of attached friends has to mourn the death of one who was endeared to them by his many personal qualities,—who was a social centre around which were gathered many of the most delightful elements of our city's social life.

Mr. Carey was in his eighty-sixth year when he was taken from us. His father, Matthew Carey, was a native of Ireland, and a

printer by trade, but had been obliged to leave the country, while still a young man, to escape the hostility of the Irish government, because of his attacks upon its treatment of the Irish Catholics. He first went to Paris, where he had letters of introduction, and afterwards he came to America, in 1782, and settled in this city, which was the largest in the Union, and the centre of such literary activity as then existed. He started a newspaper, and subsequently published *The American Museum*, (1787-93), the most important periodical that had been ever attempted in America, and specially commended to his countrymen by General Washington. In 1789 Mr. Carey entered upon his career as a book publisher, in which he took the first place in America, carrying on his business with an enterprise and audacity which would not shame our own times. In 1825 he retired from the business, but until his death, in 1839, he continued his career as an author, having produced during his lifetime some sixty books or pamphlets, containing nearly twenty-five thousand octavo pages. Many of these were devoted to the defence of the Protective policy, but that of most permanent value is his account of the Yellow Fever in 1793. He was one of the small band, numbering John Barclay, Stephen Girard and others, who "stood between the dying and the dead" in that year of calamity, and his whole life corresponded to the promise of that year. Philadelphia had no more public-spirited citizen than Matthew Carey.

His eldest son, Henry, was born December 15th, 1793. His father took especial charge of his education, and imbued him at once with a love of books, and with a keen practical outlook upon life. The lad began his study of that especial science in which he was to become illustrious, while he walked the streets of the city, holding his father by the hand, and listening as the elder Carey pointed fact and inference from fact to his attention. In 1802 he attended in New York the first Literary Fair—the forerunner of the Trade Sales—and did business on his own account with a quantity of books which had been given him. They called him "the book-seller in miniature." He was much impressed with the straggling character of the city, and especially remarked the old-fashioned appearance of the City Hotel, with sheets hanging in front of the door. It and the Tontine Coffee House were the only places of public entertainment.* In 1804, in his twelfth year, he took sole

* Letter of Mr. Eugene L. Didier: *New York Tribune*, October 15th, 1879.

charge for six weeks of his father's branch store in Baltimore. In 1812 he marched with the State Fencibles to Camp Dupont, to help to avert the danger of a British invasion of the city.

From 1814 till 1838 he was himself a publisher, first as his father's partner, and then in partnership with others. His firm bore successively the style of "M. Carey & Sons," (1821-5), "Carey & Lea," "Carey, Lea & Carey," "Carey, Lea & Blanchard," (1832-6), and after his retirement, "Lea & Blanchard." The firm of Carey & Hart, now Henry Carey Baird, was formed by a secession from the original firm.

In 1824 Mr. Carey originated the system of Book Sales, which had been foreshadowed by the earlier Literary Fairs, and which still form the chief channel of literary interchanges among our publishers. In 1828, he became Washington Irving's publisher, and remained such for many years. Mr. Irving wrote from Spain, "I am glad to have such spirited, off-hand book-sellers to deal with in America as the Careys." His friend, Sir Walter Scott, did not so much admire the enterprise with which they managed to bring out their American reprint of the Waverly novels ahead of all competitors, and used to tell with high glee of the trick by which he furnished them with an utterly ridiculous ending to one of his novels, while the genuine ending was printed in a different Edinburgh office. But the Careys were among the first, if not the very first, to set the example of paying English authors for the privilege of reprinting their works in this country. Mr. Carlyle wrote to Carey & Hart: "I cannot conclude without expressing my sincere acknowledgments, my hearty approbation of your honorable conduct; I accept the money as a very gratifying proof that there are men—not very frequent, Alas!—who do not need the admonition of the constable to do what beseems them in matters of business."

About 1833 Mr. Carey purchased a country seat near Burlington, N. J., where he resided until 1855, when he returned to Philadelphia. Until 1842, he spent the winter in the city, and the rest of the year in the country. He invested a portion of his fortune in a manufactory of paper in New Jersey, and sustained severe losses in the prostration of all business which then prevailed.

Mr. Carey's career as an author began in 1835, a few years before his retirement from business. His *Essay on the Rate of Wages* which appeared that year, was in the main a reply to Mr. N. W.

Senior's *Lectures on Wages*. It exposes the falsehood of the "see-saw theory," as Joseph Cooke calls it, of the relation of labor and capital,—the notion maintained by Ricardo and the English school, that low wages means high profits and *vice versa*. It thus strikes the keynote of Mr. Carey's whole work as an economist, in refuting by the logic of facts one of the most specious but most wooden of the English theories, and one upon which much of the sophistry of "the dismal science" was made to turn. In point of method, as well as of tone, this and his other earlier works resemble his later. It is inductive, passing from the investigation of facts to the formation of theories, and not in the opposite direction. An orthodox English economist once warned a French neophyte that the science was not hungry for facts (*avide des faits*). Mr. Carey hungered for facts.

The following year he prepared for publication a work entitled *The Harmony of Nature: as exhibited in the Laws which regulate the Increase of the Population and of the Means of Subsistence; and in the Identity of the Interest of the Sovereign and the Subject; the Landlord and the Tenant; the Capitalist and the Workman; the Planter and the Slave*. This title shows the turn his thoughts were taking, but the very work of preparing this book led him to safer ground than that on which its arguments rest. Although finished it was never published, and only a very few copies of it are believed to be in existence.

In 1837-38-40 appeared his *Principles of Political Economy*. In this work his great law of distribution is enunciated, but imperfectly, as its author had not yet emancipated himself from the influence of some of the errors of the English economists. Thus the notion that the best lands are occupied in the earliest stages of society is still taught and assumed. But he already saw that every advance in the mutual fertilization of labor and capital causes "a diminution in the labor-value of all previously existing capital," and that the reward of labor in the form of wages forms a continually increasing proportion of their joint product, while capital gets, although a diminished proportion, yet an increasing quantity. Mr. Carey already saw the beneficent drift of those natural laws of social development, which tend to the diffusion of wealth throughout "the most numerous classes, that is poorest," and was convinced of the falsehood of the contrary assumptions of the Malthus-Ricardoan school,

who would fain have us believe that misery and hunger for the many, are the natural and necessary results of the growth of wealth and affluence for the few. He showed that the savage state is that of alternate waste and starvation, of the pressure of a thin population upon the means of subsistence; that civilization moves away from that towards a state of diffused comfort; and that the survival of the savage's wretchedness in the midst of civilization is no result of natural law.

Equally novel and precious was the doctrine as to the origin of the value of landed property. This point, it is well known, is the Achilles' Heel of orthodox Political Economy. Holding, with Ricardo, that rent is a payment for the natural and inalienable powers of the soil, it can present no valid reason for the retention of the monopoly involved in its ownership. Through the line of reasoning thus suggested, several Economists have gone on to Communism, and even those who shrink from the logical results of their own positions, have been led to favor land-laws which are half-way towards Communism in land. Mr. Carey, from the start, maintained that landed property differed, as regards its origin and its rights, in no essential respect from other property; that it derived its value from the expenditure upon it; and that rent was a payment for the use of the capital thus invested in its improvement. He thus shut the door upon one of the most insidious dangers which have grown out of economic speculation.

As Mr. Carey took some pains to have *The Principles* offered for sale in the great literary centres of Europe, it attracted attention there. It was translated into Swedish and Italian; its main positions were reproduced in M. Bastiat's *Harmonies Economiques* (1850). M. Bastiat employed not only Mr. Carey's doctrines, but his facts, arguments, and even his figures and illustrations. But he made no acknowledgment to the American author; on the contrary, he set out by claiming absolute originality, and by asserting that his views were opposed to those of "all other economists, without exception." Mr. Carey very promptly called public attention to this literary procedure, and extorted from M. Bastiat the concession that "that grand and consoling cause, the accord of the interests of classes is more indebted to no one than to Mr. Carey. He has signalized and proved it from a very great number of differing points of view, in a manner to leave no doubt re-

maining about the general law. Mr. Carey complains that I have not cited him; it is perhaps a wrong on my part, but it was not an intentional wrong. Mr. Carey has been able to open new vistas to me, to furnish me with arguments, but he has not revealed any principles to me." He had meant to quote Mr. Carey when he came to discuss the subject of land, in a volume which he did not live to publish;—"and not only would I have cited him, but I would have withdrawn myself into the back-ground, in order to assign to him the leading rôle upon the scene, and this for the sake of the cause. In fact, on the subject of land Mr. Carey could not fail to be an important authority. To study the primitive and natural formation of that sort of property, he has but to open his eyes; to explain it, he has only to describe what he sees" in the development of a new world. The attempt which M. Bastiat made to distinguish between indebtedness for "vistas" and "arguments," and indebtedness for "principles," impartial economists have refused to sanction. The eminent Italian economist Ferrara, afterwards Finance Minister of the Kingdom of Italy, pronounces (1852), that M. Bastiat has followed Mr. Carey in the definition that "value is determined by the cost of reproduction,"—a fundamental principle with both the American and the French economist.*

Contemporary with *The Principles*, was his work on *The Credit System in France, Great Britain and the United States* (1838), which, indeed, may be regarded as an amplified extract from *The Principles*. He never ceased to attribute great value to the investigations and results it contained, and especially the proof that freedom and safety are co-extensive in any banking system. Indeed,

* M. Bastiat died during the controversy, and his friends in France made an appeal *ad misericordiam*, assuring Mr. Carey that he was giving great comfort to the orthodox French economists by his onslaught on the honesty of Bastiat. The latter's adherence to Carey's doctrines had made him the object of orthodox suspicion and even hostility, in spite of his ardent advocacy of Free Trade. Mr. Carey, with characteristic kindness and placability, wrote them a letter, of which he unfortunately retained no copy, and from which they published two disconnected sentences, claiming that they had satisfied Mr. Carey as to M. Bastiat's good faith.

In 1867, *The World*, of New York, renewed the controversy, declaring that the charge against M. Bastiat was a calumny, and making what another Free Trade paper called an "almost brutal" attack on Mr. Carey. The latter replied with force and dignity, offering to submit the matter in dispute to three intelligent and independent men, and to abide by their decision. The offer was not accepted.

the idea of unlimited liberty of individual action dominates all these earlier works. Like his intimate friend Condé Raguét, and unlike his father, he was at this stage a believer in unrestricted foreign commerce. That was the first inference to be drawn from his newly enunciated principles. It is the inference drawn by several of his European disciples, such as Bastiat, Benj. Rampal and Herr Schulze-Delitzsch. From the evidence that the natural tendencies of economic movement are in the best direction, it might seem fair to conclude that governmental interference of any sort cannot but work mischief. Mr. Carey was writing, indeed, in the midst of a financial crash produced by the reduction of protective duties in the period 1833-40; but he believed that he could account for those years of disaster from the gross defects of our credit system. It was not the loss of prosperity in that unhappy time, but its return after the enactment of the Tariff of 1842, that finally opened his eyes to the fact that governmental action may sometimes be needed to counteract interferences with the beneficence of law on the part of selfish individuals and nations. The researches and studies which lead to this change of view extended over years. From 1847, Mr. Carey was a consistent and ardent Protectionist. To many he was no more than this; the natural vehemence with which he urged the particular truth needed at the moment of his writing, helped to this mistake. But if Mr. Carey had died after completing the first group of his writings—those in which no Protectionist doctrines are presented, he would still have deserved to rank as one of the great benefactors of the human race. He would also, however, have laid a foundation upon which only Protectionists could have built.

For ten years he published nothing except a pamphlet on currency. The second group of his writings begins with *The Past, Present and Future* (1848), in which he corrects the great error which he had hitherto passively accepted from the Ricardian school. In this, he traces for the first time, the history of the settlement of the earth, showing that men begin with the worse soils, and afterwards proceed to those which are richer but less accessible to human labor. In this great book, we have the finest application of the inductive method to economic science in all the range of its literature. The present writer has had occasion to test the accuracy of the results, by an examination of historical and other au-

thorities which appeared since 1848, and in regard to nearly every country of the Old World, without finding the principle break down in a single case; and he has seen and heard of enough illustrations of it in our own country to fill this number of our magazine. The significance of the discovery of this open secret can hardly be exaggerated. It gave the logical *coup de grace* to the dismal science, showing that, with the growth of society, men proceed from what is worse to what is better, in land and in food, as well as in labor. It gave a final refutation to those communistic inferences which Lasalle, Bright, Stuart Mill and others have drawn from the false premises furnished them in Mr. Ricardo's theory of rent.

In 1851 Mr. Carey presented his defence of the Protective policy in the *The Harmony of Interests: Manufacturing and Commercial*, parts of which had previously appeared in a monthly periodical, *The Plow, the Loom, and the Anvil*. His aim is to show that American agriculturists were impoverished through the absence of such a development of our manufactures as would furnish them a home market for their products. He called attention to the great importance of local centres of trade and interchange, showing that economists had made the blunder of regarding the interchanges between distant points as the chief part of commerce, when in truth those which go on within a neighborhood are both more extensive and more beneficial to both producer and consumer, while they are less subject to the taxation exacted by the middleman known as the trader. He set up Adam Smith's maxim of bringing the farmer and the artisan into neighborhood, as the great rule of national policy in this regard, and showed that in the existing status of international commerce this could only be effected by Protective legislation. He maintained that all classes would find their benefit in the national laws which naturalize manufactures on our soil.

This work appeared in that golden age of cosmopolitan sentimentality, when, under the leadership of their amiable Prince Consort, the English were inaugurating "an era of international harmony," and, as *The Saturday Review* says, were setting up "a new religion compounded of Free Trade and the pleasanter parts of Christianity." Mr. Carey's proclamation of a robust nationalism in economic matters, might well seem a voice wasted on the empty air. Nowhere did it seem more so than in his own country. Our Secretaries of the Treasury were talking, in official reports, like

Cambridge professors, of the beauties of the "let alone" policy; "let all the international exchanges of products move as freely in their orbits as the heavenly bodies in their spheres, and their order and harmony will be as perfect, and their results as beneficial." And things grew worse as the years went on; by 1857 the wretched Dallas Tariff of 1847 was made still more wretched, by a reduction of all its duties on imports, causing another panic throughout the land. Mr. Carey never faltered in the conviction that our country would return to protection and others would follow her example. Mr. Greely told him it was no use to fight Free Trade any longer, as the whole world had gone after it, and *The Tribune* made no opposition to the new tariff legislation. Neither of them expected to see Congress enact a highly protective Tariff in 1861, and a general "wave of Protection sweeping over the world," as the London *Times* expresses it, within twenty years afterwards. And to this result no single man,—no ten men—contributed so powerfully as did Mr. Carey. His personal influence, above all, his infectious confidence in the righteousness and the success of his cause, no less than the weight and practical directness of his arguments, have been felt everywhere, and there is hardly a Protectionist in the civilized world, who did not in some sort look up to Mr. Carey as the patriarch and the prophet of the movement, with feelings of personal regard and esteem. He was brought into correspondence, by his views, with persons in all parts of the world,—Sweden, Germany, Hungary, Spain, Italy, France, England, Australia and Canada being among those from which we have seen letters in his correspondence. Probably no American, perhaps no living man, had so large a range of acquaintance by letter, and the tone of personal interest in which persons whose face had never seen, inquired as to his health and welfare, showed that his foreign readers had discovered the man behind the books.

A year later came *The Slave Trade, Domestic and Foreign: why it exists and how it may be extinguished* (1853), and *Letters on International Copyright* (1853). The former grew out of his interest in the great slavery controversy, then at its height. In Mr. Carey's view, slavery was but one side of a vicious policy, which would give way as a whole if successfully attacked on any side. He saw into the alliance of Free Trade and Slavery, which Southerners themselves proclaimed some years later,—the policy of forcing

down the prices of Northern wheat, so as to make cotton and sugar culture in the slave states profitable. From the time of its organization, Mr. Carey was identified with the Republican party, and labored earnestly for its success as early as the Fremont campaign in 1856. He enjoyed the confidence of many of its great leaders during the war. He had opportunity to explain to Mr. Lincoln the sectionalizing and disuniting tendencies of Free Trade, in running all the great railroad lines across the continent to the seaports, a huge warp with no woof to complete the web of domestic channels of commerce. Mr. Chase consulted him as to the National Banking Law, and was forewarned of the failure of that law in its first or optional form. Mr. Maculloch discussed with him the questions of Contraction and Resumption. But this is a digression.

In 1857, and again in 1859, Mr. Carey visited Europe. In the former year he arrived just before the news came of the Panic in America, and in calling on Mr. George Peabody he warned him to prepare for the impending disaster. His warning was received with utter incredulity, but shortly after Mr. Peabody was begging an extension of help from the Bank of England to save him from bankruptcy. After the storm broke, Mr. Carey called on our minister, Mr. George M. Dallas, author of the Horizontal Tariff of 1847, and endeavored to turn the conversation to the financial situation, which Mr. Dallas was determined to avoid. At last the minister asked at what date the Capitol would be completed. "By the date of the dissolution of the Union," replied Mr. Carey; "What! Mr. Carey; you do not mean to say that the Union is going to break up?" "Yes, sir; no country could stand the strain of this accursed Free Trade policy of ours!"

In 1858, after witnessing the disasters inflicted by the change in the Tariff law, he published *Letters to the President on the Foreign and Domestic Policy of the Union, and its Effects as exhibited in the Condition of the People and the States*. The same year he began the publication of his *System of Social Science*, in three volumes, which he finished in the following year. With this great work, we believe, he closed the productive period of his authorship. Into it he gathered the results of all his earlier investigations on labor, capital, distribution, settlement of land, commerce, protection, slavery, wealth and value. He presented his views in their

relation to each other, in systematic form, and developed them yet further on minor points. Besides this, he presented several novel and valuable investigations, especially as to the effects of money supply on prices. The gold discoveries in Australia and California had turned the attention of economists in this direction, and more than one had ventured to prophesy vast variations and fluctuations in the price of the great staples. The English or wooden theory of the subject, is that elaborated by David Hume. It regards an increased supply of money as producing merely an equal increase in the price of other commodities, and thus making that country "a good place to buy in, but a bad place to sell in," until its surplus of coin is transferred to other countries and the balance is restored. In this view there is nothing alarming in what is called an unfavorable balance of trade; on the contrary, it carries with it its own corrective, and must be compensated in the long run by a return of coin from the countries to which it was drained. Mr. Carey, however, showed that the possession of a large and increasing supply of money facilitated the organization of manufacture and the division of labor, so that a country whose labor is thus fertilized can undersell others less favored in this respect. For, as he said, it is not labor that men wish to purchase, but commodities, and as money enables the production of more commodities with less labor, money helps to lower prices. It finds its way, therefore, from the countries which have but little of it, and where it will buy much labor but few commodities, into those where there is plenty of it, and where it will buy many commodities but little labor. "To him that hath shall be given; from him that hath not, shall be taken away that which he seemeth to have." Or, in other words, start a guinea in circulation in Thibet, and the chances are that it will turn up in London.

This discovery, which is amply confirmed in actual experience, gave strong confirmation to his position as a Protectionist, while it helped to explain many of the social phenomena of poorer countries which are practising the *laissez faire* doctrine, and are "enjoying" unrestricted commerce with their richer neighbors. It shows that to get rid of the money of a country in exchange for foreign commodities, is as if we were to export three feet in depth of the water of our canals. It is to dispose of an article which is indispensable to commerce with each other and yet is not capable

of replacement at will. The discovery also justified that instinct, which leads our mercantile class to watch the balance of trade,—an instinct which no amount of theoretical persuasion on the part of English economists has been able to eliminate from the minds of their own merchants.

With the publication of *Social Science*, the great labor of Mr. Carey's life was at an end. With the exception of his work on *The Unity of Law* (1872), he published no subsequent book. In the defence of the work already done, and in application of it, he published a multitude of pamphlets and articles of which the most remarkable were the *Letters to M. Chevalier on the French and American Tariffs* (1861), and the *Review of a Decade* (1867). The former is a spirited reply to the French economist's attack on the Morrill Tariff, and carries the war into Africa with characteristic vehemence. The latter was written as an introduction to a German translation of his *Social Science*, and is devoted to showing how strikingly the events which had occurred since the publication of that work, fulfil the prophecies which were or might have been based on those principles. His last published words were his articles on "Repudiation—Past, Present and Future," which appeared in the pages of this magazine during the spring of the present year.

It was after the outbreak of the war that Mr. Carey began to reap the harvest of honors in Europe, to which he was so thoroughly entitled. He was no longer an obscure American author vindicating his claims to priority in the discovery of a principle, against those of a writer better known and more attractive than himself. He was now the recognised head of the opposition to economic orthodoxy, the foremost champion of the national policy, the author of an advance in the development of economic science not less notable than that made by Adam Smith. His doctrines found their way into the great universities of central and northern Europe, and, even when not accepted in their entirety, were regarded as containing valuable contributions to the investigation of the subject. He was pointed out to the students of British universities by their orthodox professors, as the author whom, before all others, they were to refute in their prize essays. He was quoted as an authority in the legislative assemblies of the continent; and in Germany, where three translations of his chief work have appeared,

he was, as described by his opponents, a greater power than even in his native country. In the great struggle for the restoration of the Protective system, which had been abandoned fifteen years previously, his name and that of Frederick List, were the watch-words in the ranks of the party who have won the great victory in the recent elections. One or more of his works have been translated into each of seven principal languages of the continent—French, Italian, Spanish, German, Swedish, Russian, Hungarian,—and a translation of one of them into Japanese is in preparation. Even in England he has had ardent disciples, such as Judge Byles and Professor T. C. Banfield. In France, MM. Fontenay, Benjamin Rampal and A. Clapier (*De l' Ecole Anglaise et de l' Ecole Americaine en Economie Politique*, 1871), besides M. Bastiat, have adopted his principles. He was elected a member of the "Société des Economistes" in Paris. In Sweden, the recent failure to reduce the tariff is ascribed by a government official to the influence of his writings.

In Germany, Dr. Eugene Dühring, formerly of the University of Berlin, Dr. Franz Stoepel, editor of the *Merkur* in that city—the Protectionist organ,—and Herr Schulze-Delitzsch, the great promoter of Coöperation among the working classes, are the most eminent. The former, both in his systematic works and in his *Carey's Transformation of Political Economy and Social Science*, (*Carey's Umwälzung der Volkswirtschaftslehre und Socialwissenschaft*), his *Carey's Depreciators and the Crisis in National Economy*, (*die Verkleinerer Carey's und die Krisis der Nationalökonomie*), and his *Critical History of National Economy and Socialism* (*Kritische Geschichte der Nationalökonomie und des Socialismus*), has presented Mr. Carey to the scientific world as the Copernicus who has announced the true principles which explain economic phenomena, and which raise the subject to its proper place among the sciences of observation. English writers ascribe to his teachings a decided influence on the recent struggle between the Protectionists and the Free Traders in Germany.

In our own country, and especially in our city, the number of Mr. Carey's attached disciples was such as to form a school great enough to influence our political history. In the political world, Messrs. Kelly and Greely;* in the scholastic, Professor E. Peshine

* Mr. Carey contributed extensively to the *Tribune* in Mr. Greely's lifetime, furnishing not only signed articles, but also many editorials. He and Mr. Greely took different roads on the question of Resumption, and their coöperation ceased.

Smith, of Rochester ; Professor J. H. McIlvaine, late of Princeton ; Professor Wilson of Cornell University ; in economic literature, besides these gentlemen, the late Stephen Colwell, Mr. Joseph Wharton, his nephew Mr. Henry C. Baird, Messrs. William and Cyrus Elder, and Mr. Edward Atkinson, are among the best known.

With his advance to a great age, Mr. Carey's interest in the questions of the day remained undiminished. In 1872 he was chosen a delegate to the State Constitutional Convention, the only public position he ever held, and took a lively interest in its proceedings, especially as regards the question of a Usury law. The financial issues of our recent politics especially occupied his attention, and no new phase of the question since his pamphlet, *Contraction or Expansion? Repudiation or Resumption? Letters to Secretary McCulloch* (1866), either escaped his attention or failed to elicit a pamphlet from his pen. His attitude toward these questions divided him from many with whom he had hitherto labored, and who never ceased to retain a high personal regard for the man. But it was one closely connected with his earlier views—his profound interest in the working classes, in the small producers, and in the prosperity of the local centres of industry. He thought that our system of banking and the measures taken toward Resumption, had the effect of centralizing our national credit-system in a single city, of building up a money metropolis at the expense of the rest of the country, of sacrificing the interests of the laborer, the farmer and the small manufacturer to those of the money-lenders on Wall street. He regarded our policy as an attempt to legislate against the beneficent natural tendencies expressed in the Law of Distribution formulated by himself—as giving the accumulations of the past power to exact an unfair share of compensation from the labor of the present. He deplored the violent and sudden appreciation of our paper money as oppressive to all who had incurred debts during the time of its depreciation, and regarded the banking system as defective, since it debarred the poorer and less developed sections of the country from furnishing themselves with any kind of credit money for their urgent needs. To this policy

On his death, *The Tribune* had not a word of comment in its editorial columns, although it published a long obituary notice in its news columns. This latter showed an accurate acquaintance with the facts of his life, and with some of his leading principles, but by no means an intelligent appreciation of his system.

he ascribed the severity of the Hard Times, especially after the passage of the Resumption Law, and declared his belief that it had cost the country more than the losses of the war. Yet he denied that he was in any sense an inflationist, declaring that he proposed nothing which would not lead to contraction, but a contraction so moderate and gradual as to inflict no injuries upon the country. Nor was he in agreement with those of us who desired to see the issue of paper money made a government monopoly.* He thought the country banks would be ruined by a withdrawal of their circulation, and this result he would deplore most of all, as tending to inflict vast injury on the local centres of societary circulation. The preservation of local centres of issue, he regarded as a prime necessity. If paper-money were to be made a government monopoly, the power to issue it must be extended to the county and municipal governments as well as to that of the nation; and how or under what guarantees this could be done, he could not see his way to say. This view of his attitude we have drawn rather from his conversations, than from his writings; to one point he continually returned in these conversations—that his sympathies had lain with the working classes since the very beginning of his career as an economist, that he had always labored for their advancement, and he was convinced that any other course than that he was pursuing would be inconsistent with his past record.

To the very last he was fully awake to all that was going on around him. About a week before his death we called, at his request, and undertook to assist him in procuring a competent translator for Dr. Dühring's chief work. Although he had been suffering from the failure of his sight, he was well informed as to the latest appearances in the field of economic literature, and had half a dozen articles or papers, which he was urgent to have us read.†

* Very recently he seems to have changed his mind on this point, and to have adopted the views of the advocates of an exclusively national paper-money.

† Mr. Carey was not so extensive a reader of purely economical literature, as was his friend, Mr. Colwell. He read much more widely in collateral lines—history, travels, statistics, and the like. He was more eager to learn the facts, than to acquaint himself with the dreary discussions about facts, which make up much of the literature of the "dismal science." But the driest book of facts, though it contained nothing but statistical tables, was full of interest for him, as he had that glance of divination which discerned a truth where a common eye would see nothing. He used to compare himself to Berzelius, whom a visitor once asked about his apparatus of chemical study, and was pointed to a solitary blow-pipe in a corner of the room.

Among his last requests was that we should reprint, in the *PENN MONTHLY*, Mr. Ingram's paper on the "Position and Prospects of Political Economy." For the "Historical School," to which Mr. Ingram belongs, he had some admiration as destroyers, but he felt no confidence in their power to build up anything. Prof. Cliffe Leslie, he said, had spent twenty pages in attempting a definition of wealth, and had ended by the conclusion that wealth was a pretty hard thing to define, after all. Their great authority Roscher he had read but without obtaining any edification, and he had come to the conclusion that the "Historical Method" consisted in quoting every one's opinion, from Aristotle down, on every subject, and winding up by having none of your own.* He referred with especial pleasure to his recent meeting with Dr. Acland of Oxford, to whom he had put the case of American Protectionists in a shape which was new to the doctor. Showing him that man is a most expensive machine to produce in full completeness, and the one especially needed for the development of the vast resources of our country, he had added: "Now under Free Trade we would import your other commodities and leave your men at home; while, under Protection, we cease to buy your cheaper wares, and get your men delivered free of cost on our wharves. Which policy, then, suits us best?"

The weekly gathering of Philadelphians and strangers at his house, was one of the pleasantest of meetings to those who were permitted to enjoy it. Whatever visitor of notable worth or name was to be found in our city, was sure to be carried thither, to meet not only Mr. Carey, but one of the most remarkable assemblages of character and intelligence to be found in any American city. During the hospitalities of the Centennial year, these Vespers, as he called them, were especially thronged, and multitudes of our distinguished visitors carried away the pleasantest recollections of his hospitality and of the society they met under his roof. He had seen nearly all of his own generation pass away as the years went by; only a few of his earlier associates—General Patterson, Mr. Chandler, Hon. Win. D. Lewis, may be mentioned—remained of the goodly company that once included Condé Raguet, Clement C. Biddle, and

* We need hardly say that, although as little in agreement with the new school as was Mr. Carey, we do not quite share his estimate of it, especially as regards Professor Cliffe Leslie.

Henry Vethake. But *two* younger generations had gathered around him,—his friends, yet with a reverence due to his superior age and his great services to society. In his Vespers, desirable and pleasant people of all sorts, artists, authors, journalists, men of business, met on a free and friendly footing. As he said to Mr. Didier—“We discuss everything and decide nothing.”

In social intercourse Mr. Carey was one of the most delightful of men. His easy, simple manner, his kindliness of disposition, his inexhaustible store of anecdote and repartee, his reckless, half-humorous speeches, the impression he created of a racy, intense individuality, his richly characteristic voice, his beautiful bright black eyes, and the other traces of a manly beauty which must have been extraordinary when he was a younger man, all attracted men's attentive regard to the very last. An English economist once said to us, “When I came to America, there was one man I determined I would not go to see, and that was Henry C. Carey. But a friend persuaded me to go, and now I must say that if there be one man in America I would not have missed seeing, it is Henry C. Carey.” Those who had known him only in the vehemence of his books, and had felt the unsparing severity of his criticisms, were thus surprised to find his vehemence more than overbalanced by a genuine kindliness and a warm hospitality, to which none were more welcome than his English visitors. But in conversation he was even more unreserved and open to misrepresentation than in his writings. He spoke, however, with perfect confidence; a thorough gentleman himself, he could not suppose his guests to be less than that. Only once was this confidence painfully abused, and that by a fellow-countryman of some prominence, who formerly enjoyed access to his home. This person saw fit to make public an unguarded remark of Mr. Carey's on the occasion of Mr. Cobden's death, and caused him to be grossly misjudged by some who had no opportunity to know him better.* There was in Mr. Carey something of that contrast of manner and character which we find in Walter Savage Landor, of whom Dickens has drawn such an amusing sketch in *Bleak House*. In the case of each it was easy for stupidity to misconstrue or malice to misrepresent

* This story now circulates in the British Free Trade press, as part of a speech made by Mr. Carey at a public meeting. In this form it has turned up even in Japan. It will next appear, no doubt, as a quotation from his works.

the man's real character. One of the three still living who have known him best and longest, Mr. Joseph R. Chandler, writes of him :

“ Beyond the extended fame of a brilliant writer, beyond successful efforts as a man of business, is the memory of Henry C. Carey dear to his friends as a man of generous sympathies, a man that made his companionship profitable as it was delightful ; as one to whom in prosperity the associate loved to make known his success for the pleasure that was given ; as one who loved to seek out the unfortunate and lighten disappointment by practical sympathy He was a cheerful contributor to the active amusement of youth and manhood, holding in restraint all inclination that might by indulgence lessen the high consideration of others, or at least operate against that self-respect which every gentleman desires to deserve or enjoy. That cheerfulness, that vivacity which distinguished his earlier and even his matured years, were only softened by advanced age, and those who have known Mr. Carey half a century back, recognized in the playfulness of his fancy and the strength and appropriateness of his language, only the general influence of time and association.”*

In his domestic relations, Mr. Carey was a man of great warmth and delicacy of feeling. He was especially a most devoted husband. He was married to a sister of C. R. Leslie the artist, but lost his wife in 1847. He was tenderly devoted to her memory. “ No man,” Mr. Baird says, “ ever more truly mourned a wife than he.”

Of late years his health had been giving way, and his friends were for years past contemplating with pain the certainty that they must soon lose him. Just before his death he had been very much better. Indeed, it was his restoration to better health which induced him to attend the annual dinner of the Hibernian Society, where he caught the cold, which a week later resulted fatally. Up to within a few hours of his death, there was no immediate apprehension felt that he was seriously in danger. His last words were a prayer for sleep to come. His death was not unwished for, on his own part. To a person of his stirring character, the privations of old age were very keen, and not even the loving care shown him in his domestic circle, and the attentions of his large circle of friends, could quite prevent his feeling them. He often spoke of himself as having lived too long, and although it was in a pleasant humorous way, yet there seemed to be a real feeling behind the words.

* *The North American*, October 14th, 1879.

Abiit ad plures. He has gone to a world of less friction than ours, finding the rest for which he sighed, and finding it in some nobler service than any that was open to him here. Mr. Carey was not, in the ordinary sense of the word, a religious man. He was in the membership of no church; he had been brought up in a generation when church-membership was rarer than it is now among men of education. But that which makes the essential difference between a good man and a bad one must have been in this man's heart, for his life was spent in the service of his fellow-men. What are called religious themes, we have heard him discuss with seriousness, and with an evident leaning to the Catholic Church, of which his father had been a pious and zealous member. But he had little liking for either speculations or emotions in this connection. He liked that presentation of Christianity upon which his friend the late Stephen Colwell laid the most stress, the Christianity of charity, of duty, of active benevolence. Nor was his own benevolent feeling a matter of vague generalities and of care for the interests of mankind; he made sacrifices for the needy and the helpless, and his heart was never closed to any cry of distress. And it was no small satisfaction to himself that in his own writings he had done so much

To justify the ways of God to men;

and to vindicate Divine Providence from the charges against its wisdom and goodness, which are implied in the theories and the writings of the older Economists. His feeling that thus he had been serving "the Intelligence at the heart of things," in his own way and in his place as an investigator of social phenomena, showed itself not only in his conversation, but also in his writings, especially in *The Unity of Law*, the last of his books. And while perhaps, he was disposed, by his special studies, to lay too much stress upon the merely economical aspect of human life, he had no sympathy with the popular materialism which has become the fashion in these days; he could not speak of these new theories without repulsion, and he exulted in everything of value which appeared in refutation of them.

He loved righteousness and hated iniquity.

ROBERT ELLIS THOMPSON.

THE ORGANIZATION AND MANAGEMENT OF STATE
HOSPITALS FOR THE INSANE.

THOSE who are engaged in that special department of medicine, the treatment of insanity, are at times surprised and perplexed by the ignorance of the present condition of their work existing in the minds of some intelligent people when conversing or writing on the subject; their despair should not be hopeless, however, as a little reflection will convince them that it is but the dark hour before the dawn—even the honorable bench itself, now but rarely indulging them in a laugh over an absurd decision, as of yore. But with another class of complainers, the outlook is more hopeless; the confirmed novel-reader is not amenable to the influence of the senses in his intercourse with real life, and though the whole machinery of a hospital be stayed, that he and his numerous relations may take a fair look at the inside, he will go home quoting the horrors gathered in British blue-books of fifty years ago and rehearsed in the sensational fiction of the day. Against such, society has little need to arm itself, were it not for a possible source of mischief lurking in their accounts of the horrors of hospital life, of which they themselves little dream: the ease with which such calumnies are disproved, tends to make us too lenient in our further investigations, and we set down as perfect, what we merely find to be far better than was expected. We find the golden rule occupying the place of honor, instead of iron chains, and more kindness displayed towards one unfortunate patient within the walls of such places, than would be bestowed upon hundreds outside at the hands of their fellow-citizens. For so grand a triumph over the prejudices of ages, we should heartily congratulate the alienists and ourselves, and especially those immortal philanthropists whose labors were instrumental in its accomplishment; and we should also look forward with hope to the time when this same charity shall be observed by the world in general in its treatment of its insane brethren.

But it may be properly questioned whether this roseate view of the kind, considerate, and charitable character of the treatment of patients by these hospitals really assures us that their whole duty is accomplished. Readers of the recent periodical literature

of this country could scarcely have failed to notice such expressions of doubt in the numerous corners devoted to a discussion of this subject, in which the writers not seldom showed a tendency to go deeper than the surface, to see if other things kept pace with the advance in humanitarian views. Not less than eleven such monographs, papers, and editorial discussions, exclusive of newspaper notices, have appeared during the first half of the present year. These various criticisms and apologies contain undoubtedly much that is too true, and we can safely say that but few of them will be totally without influence in bettering the condition of this helpless class. But the writer would here put in his protest against the unfortunate fault, invariably found in the criticisms that have been examined so far, which takes for granted that the condition of one hospital, or the condition of the hospitals of one state, represents the condition of American hospitals for the insane. No greater mistake can be made than to suppose that the hospitals scattered over this extensive and varied territory, with a local autonomy and characteristics peculiar to each section, should bow before the mirror held up to any one of their number as their own image, be it situated in the states of Pennsylvania, Maine or Texas. Hence comes the inherent weakness of the arguments contained in many of the late contributions to this subject, notably those emanating from a circle of neurologists in New York state. When Dr. Hammond, Dr. Spitzka, and Dr. Van de Warker tell us that the prevailing characteristics of American superintendents are ignorance, extravagance, venality and betrayals, of trust, we lose confidence in all their utterances, for our experience and observation tell us that the contrary is true. Had they the manliness to aim their fire directly at the front ranks of the enemy, and not over the heads of a nation, their shots might have infinitely more effect. Let them tell us that the superintendents of New York state asylums are stupid, corrupt and neglectful of duty, and those of us who are true citizens of New York, will set about to test the accuracy of the statement; while those of us who live in Maine, in Florida, or in Texas, will not draw wrong inferences about our own institutions. This country is too large for such rash generalizations, what is true in one part is often far less true in another, or it may be totally false. What the subject needs is a quiet criticism of its conditions as exemplified in a single state, or even a single hospital.

No wholesale iconoclasm is needed either; but a patient, painstaking improvement of existing systems, the outcome of but seventy or eighty years of experiment; and a careful application of remedies, if any be needed, to enable the hospitals to accomplish in the best manner the beneficent work assigned them.

It has seemed to the present writer that the cause he has deeply at heart, the welfare of the mentally sick, demands of him a statement of what seem to be real defects in the management of the insane in the state hospitals of Pennsylvania. As to the corporate and private hospitals of the state in question, and the institutions of other states, let the criticism be applied only where it fits.

And what, in the first place, are the real uses of an hospital for the insane? Truly, the *cure* or the *care* of the insane. And by what methods are these accomplished? But a slight acquaintance with the literature of the subject will introduce us to the answer of this question in the stereotyped statement about the limited usefulness of drugs, the great importance of bodily and mental hygiene, and of physical and moral treatment. Thus we become impressed with a great fact, by the general admission of all authorities: the supreme importance of the so-called moral treatment. It is for this that the majority of patients are sent from home; this only can they obtain in an hospital, which is unattainable in a well regulated private family. The moral treatment of patients in these institutions is accomplished in two ways: by mechanical appliances, chief amongst which are the proper construction and arrangement of buildings and grounds; and by mental appliances, as found in the organization and management of the institution. The question of the correct construction of hospitals for the insane is fairly under experiment in this state; let us proceed at once, therefore, to a consideration of the sources of the mental appliances in use.

In examining the working methods of these hospitals, wherein from four to seven hundred patients are cared for, we have two things to notice: (1.) The character of the by-laws or regulations governing them; and (2) the faithfulness with which the said by-laws are followed in practice. Such an examination of all the insanity hospitals in Pennsylvania, wholly under state control, is easier than it might at first appear, since the by-laws in force at the Danville hospital are an exact reprint of those framed for the Harris-

burg institution many years ago, and still in use there, while all indications point to an entire acceptance of the same by the trustees of the Warren Hospital as soon as that institution is placed in running order. Their application to the hospital being erected at Norristown remains in doubt, as the record of the commissioners engaged in its construction shows a decided tendency to revolt against some of the straight-laced traditions of the day.

The mode of government of the first state institution of Pennsylvania, the State Lunatic Hospital at Harrisburg, was provided for by Act of Legislature of April 14th, 1845, directing the appointment of nine Trustees by the Governor, with the advice and consent of the Senate, who, in the language of the Act, "shall manage and direct the concerns of the institution, and make all necessary by-laws and regulations." Vacancies in their body were to be filled by re-appointments to serve three years. They were further directed to "appoint the superintendent, who shall be a skilful physician, subject to removal or re-election no oftener than in periods of ten years, except by infidelity to the trust reposed in him, or for incompetency." Section 6 of this Act reads: "The superintending physician shall appoint and exercise entire control over all subordinate officers and assistants in the Institution, and shall have entire direction of the duties of the same." Other sections follow, containing various provisions not strictly relating to the government of the hospital, as may be also said of frequent legislation since the passage of the original Act; so that in the quotations made above we have the main points of all that has been laid down by legislative enactment affecting the management of the State Lunatic Hospital at Harrisburg. The next purely state institution, the State Hospital for the Insane at Danville, commenced operations in the latter part of 1872; on the 27th of March, 1873, an act was passed relating to this institution, in which the wording of the Act of '45 was closely followed, the provisions being applied to the new hospital without change.

Having thus reviewed the statute laws relating to the management of these charities, we are the better prepared to examine the by-laws which they themselves have established for their governance, in accordance with the provisions of the several Acts.

The first chapter of this document provides for the manner of working of the Board of Trustees, and contains the various directions necessary for their own self-government.

The first section of the second chapter names those who are said to be the resident officers of the hospital: namely, a superintendent, two assistant physicians, a steward, and a matron, "all of whom shall reside on the premises, and devote their whole time to the interests of the Institution." Section 2 directs that no officer shall resign without giving three months previous notice. The resignation of the superintendent shall be tendered to the Board; that of other officers to the superintendent.

Chapter III. is devoted to the duties of the superintendent. Section 1 reads: "The superintendent shall be the chief executive officer of the hospital. He shall appoint and exercise entire control over all subordinate officers and assistants in the institution, and shall have entire direction of the duties of the same." To the latter part of this section the writer desires to call especial attention, presenting as it does in a nutshell, the peculiar management of Pennsylvania State Hospitals, in which they differ so largely from analogous institutions in neighboring states and the civilized world generally. The paragraph in question forms the sixth section as quoted above of the Act of 1845, relating to Harrisburg, and the second section of the Act of 1873, relating to Danville, and is therefore part of the statute law applying to these institutions; its practical effect is to render the subordinate persons, humorously called officers, mere creatures of the superintendent, who appoints them, directs the minutest details of their duties, and discharges them at his will. One naturally wonders what the trustees are appointed for; and if an election to a superintendency invariably produces a saintly character. In considering this subject, however, we should not forget the evil effects of a division of supreme authority in an institution, as was so graphically set forth by Conolly, in the closing pages of his work on *The Treatment of Insanity without Restraint*; still, such fears should not drive us to the opposite extreme, with its probably more disastrous consequences. The experience of many hospitals has clearly demonstrated the advisability of placing the chief direction in the hands of one man, under the active control of the trustees or managers, and with certain limitations requiring the advice and coöperation of his associates—an experience similar in results to those of all organizations, from the humblest family to the most exalted nation; but when the associates of a chief are placed entirely at his mercy, with no redress

from the frown of his brow, a vital blow is struck at the efficiency of such a system, where the only check on the honesty, impartiality and thoroughness of so autocratic a leader is in the free appeal of his subordinates. For the establishment and maintenance of proper executive power in the superintendent, it is *not* necessary that the subordinate officers should be virtually his hirelings, and it is but natural to suppose that so long as such a system continues in operation, the hospital cannot retain the services of the best men in her subordinate trusts, and that the interests of the patients will correspondingly suffer. Sections 2 and 3 of this chapter relate to the preparation of rules for the governance of employés, and the general superintendence of buildings, furniture and stock. Section 4 directs him to learn the condition of each patient daily, adding: "He shall have entire direction of their medical, moral and dietetic treatment; and his instructions respecting them are to be implicitly obeyed by all persons about the establishment." The remaining seven sections direct the keeping of a record of correspondence; the employment of subordinates; the presenting of records and reports to the trustees; and the immediate transfer of all moneys to the treasurer.

A critical examination of the powers of this officer, thus set forth, will fail to discover anything in the least objectionable, viewed in the light of the best interests of the institutions, with the single exception of the first section, some of the unfortunate results of which have already been mildly dwelt upon. It should, however, be here understood that the requirements of this chapter by no means represent the full amount of detailed work and authority discharged by the superintendents at present, owing to the inevitable action of the section placing unlimited power in their hands. The intimacy of relationship between all portions of the machinery of a hospital for insanity and the object of its existence—the treatment of individual cases—is little understood by the majority of people at the present day, and was doubtless even as little understood by many alienists but a few years ago; the absence of anything without an influence, directly or indirectly, on the conduct of the treatment, either in the buildings, the grounds, or the farm is very apparent to those engaged in this work, and it is probably to a desire to continue everything in the most effective condition that an absorption of the powers and duties usually pertaining to

stewards by the superintendents of these hospitals is mainly due. Certain it is that few of the non-clerical duties of the former officials, as laid down in the by-laws, to be noticed further on, are actually performed by them, being discharged instead by the superintendents. This merging of the principal duties of the steward in the work of the superintendent, though probably not intended by the trustees, is certainly productive of much good in securing greater efficiency in the management of the employees, and avoiding the evils of clashing authority; with it, however, the importance of the superintendent's position becomes greatly enhanced, and it is of much moment that the duties thus pertaining to it be discharged in the best manner, whether he be at home or temporarily absent. As now constituted, these hospitals have no official to render him proper assistance when on duty, or represent him when absent or sick, as the assistant physicians at present are very apt to be inexperienced, and, besides, are all equal in authority. The rule is certainly poor if it fails to work both ways—if a concentration of executive authority is desirable when the superintendent is at home and well, it should be equally, or more, desirable when he is absent or sick. Either some gradation of authority should be established among assistant physicians by exact rules, or an assistant superintendent should be appointed.

Chapter IV. is devoted to the duties of the Treasurer, who is usually a bank officer in the nearest town.

Chapter V. relates to the duties of the Assistant Physicians. In Section 1 they are directed to take charge of the "shop"—presumably the dispensary—"and shall prepare and superintend the administration of the medicine." Section 2 reads: "The assistant physicians shall have charge of the male and female departments, respectively, as the superintendent may designate; and the assistant physician in charge of the male department shall perform the duties of supervisor." The first part of this section is a dead-letter in the practical management of the hospitals in question; the assistant physicians *do not* have charge of any of the wards, nor have they the authority to direct the slightest hygienic disposition of them or their contained patients. The latter part of the same section is ludicrously indicative of the fossilary character of the whole, and the blindness with which a set of rules drawn up for one institution has been followed by another: the provision was

designed for the Harrisburg hospital when without a male supervisor, but as that institution has now possessed one for many years, and the Danville Hospital always had one, the absurdity of its further retention is manifest. Sections 3, 4, 5 and 6 direct them to visit the wards twice a day, and more frequently if necessary; to report negligence in subordinates; to study the patients carefully and exert a moral influence over them; to direct the amusements and exercise; to keep a case record; and to perform all other services in the medical department. The last section attempts to make provision for the absence of the superintendent, when each assistant physician is to direct the department to which he is assigned, the senior assistant representing the superintendent in matters of general concern.

Were the provisions of this chapter adhered to in practice, we would say: so far, so good. It is true, the requirement to act as druggist operates as a serious hindrance to the proper performance of strictly medical duty; but this is a difficulty not easily overcome in those hospitals presumed to be too small to afford the additional cost of an apothecary. There is, however, a practice prevalent in these institutions, that seems still further to turn the attention of the assistant physicians from their proper employment and study, and that effectually annihilates any time they have left after their perfunctory walks through the wards and performance of apothecary work: this is the necessity they are under to prepare popular lectures, etc., to be delivered regularly every week during one-half of the year in the chapel of the hospital, designed as a combination of amusement and instruction for the patients, but generally becoming an intolerable bore all around. Though much time is usually consumed in a laudable endeavor to make these efforts entertaining, I have yet to see any results at all commensurate with its value. In regard to similar entertainments given by persons unconnected with the hospital, the results are very different; such entertainments are eminently useful in varying the monotonous life the patients are compelled to endure, and the philanthropists who offer to conduct them are deserving of the greatest encouragement.

But I would here digress somewhat in calling attention to a tendency of these institutions at present to devote much more time to systematic amusement than to systematic employment;

obviously it is easier to reduce the giving of stereopticon entertainments, lectures, readings and amateur theatricals to a system than it is to deal with the difficult matter of systematic employment; the reading, lecture, or other entertainment, does not take the willingness of individual patients into account, and it is proceeded with all the same whether a few of them stay away or not; but when it comes to inducing patients to take an interest in an employment of some kind, and endeavoring to keep the interest alive when once shown, we have evidently to deal with individual cases and will surely encounter great difficulty. It is in creating systematic employment for the large number of patients whom it would benefit, and in the proper selection and supervision of such patients, that progress is urgently needed; together with an abandonment of the present haphazard method of merely allowing patients to help the employés, if the latter desire it, which results in the overworking of the few and the enforced idleness of the many. The amusements have their proper place, and should go with the employments like butter with bread, as an important accessory of more solid and satisfying fare.

We have conceded three things as the duties discharged by these medical gentlemen, who are paid salaries by the state for the purpose of assisting in the treatment of the patients: viz., the work of the apothecary; that of the popular lecturer; and certain walks through the wards at stated intervals. It is to be presumed these latter feats are still required, owing to an occasional necessity for the treatment of a boil, an indolent ulcer, or a sore toe, since the medical, moral, and dietetic treatment of the main disease itself does not fall within their powers. The authority properly belonging to them in these matters is entirely exercised by certain persons, other than the superintendent, who are superior to the assistant physicians in the practical management of the patients: namely, the supervisors. It is to these persons, not to the assistants, that all accounts of accidents or of changes in the condition of patients are to be reported immediately; and it is for them to say when a patient is in a fit state for exercise or had best remain in a condition of repose; in fact it is to them that the whole management in detail of two or three hundred patients is confided while the superintendent is engaged in the general supervision of the institution. The individuals thus placed in positions bearing so closely on the

interests of each individual case, are not medical men or women, not even educated men or women, but merely those attendants or employés who appear to deserve this promotion from long service in the hospital—facts totally at variance with the letter and the spirit of even these rules. A few figures may enable us to appreciate some of the results of this mistaken policy in crippling the efficient working of these charities, by keeping up a constant apprenticeship among the so-called medical officers; for instance, during twenty-five years of the existence of the Harrisburg institution, namely, from 1851 to 1876, there were sixteen changes of assistants—an average of one change in 1.56 years. The institution at Danville shows six changes in the six and a half years it has been in operation. Such frequent introductions into our hospitals for the insane of the raw material turned out by the medical colleges has no parallel in the ordinary annual changes of resident physicians in general hospitals, for in the latter case the numerous visiting physicians and surgeons supply the requisite skill in diagnosis and treatment, without being engrossed, like the superintendents, in the secular care of the institutions.

Chapter VI. defines the duties of the steward. For the sake of brevity it may be said that they are comprised under the following heads: the keeping of the business accounts; the purchasing of supplies and incidental necessaries; the management of the business of the farm, garden, etc.; the keeping of the male clothing list; and the reporting of abuses to the superintendent.

It will be seen that the duties confided to this official appear to be of two kinds: administerial and clerical—the latter largely predominating. Outside of the sections in which the methods of keeping the accounts are detailed, there is no single duty assigned to him which is not especially ordered to be exercised only “under the direction of the superintendent;” even without the legislative provision therefore, which places him completely in the hands of the superintendent, his administration of his department would be but illusory, while under the said provision the office is entirely shorn of responsibility. On the whole, it would appear that a proper appreciation of the “Queen’s English” suggests the propriety of seeking another word than “Steward” to properly designate the position of this official.

Chapter VII. specifies the duties of the Matron. In section 1,

under the general direction of the superintendent, she is given charge of the domestic concerns of the house, instructed to frequently inspect all other departments of the same, and assist in securing the faithfulness of subordinates. Section 2 gives her the general oversight of the domestics, and superintendence of the cooking and distribution of the food. Section 3 instructs her to frequently visit all parts of the institution to secure the neatness and welfare of the whole.

There has certainly been either a careless interpretation of some of the provisions of this chapter, or a tacit suspension of the same, for the duties performed by the matron are entirely comprehended in the second section, to which might be added the supervision of the laundry. To inspect any other portion of the main building than the centre, would be considered an impertinence on her part.

Chapter VIII. relates to supervision and attendance on patients—a matter of the utmost importance. It is here that the machinery of the institution comes into closest bearing with the recipients of its care; and the perfection, or want of perfection, of this portion undoubtedly contributes largely to the ultimate results. It is in this direction, too, that improvements must tend largely in the future, as in the past, notwithstanding the brilliant progress already made since the days of Pinel. The duties of these supervisors are not specified by the trustees, but an inkling of the powers accorded them by the superintendent has been already given, when speaking of the assistant physicians. They are each in practical charge of their respective sides, under the superintendent, while the medical men are confined to the drug shop, engaged in pounding and compounding the very limited list of drugs employed, and in various oratorical displays in the chapel. Examples of the evils of placing the whole care of patients, except the prescribing of drugs, in the hands of ignorant, non-medical persons, are by no means rare, and present themselves in a thousand and one forms to the eyes of a painstaking observer. It requires however, no astuteness of understanding to draw lessons from such cases as the following, the careful narration of which the writer will vouch for: a lady, in good circumstances, being left alone in the world, with a family of small children, resorted to dress-making as a means of supporting herself and little ones; she became insane, and was sent to an asylum, together with a narration of the

facts relating to her history, in which the insanity was attributed to overwork and anxiety. Being only affected with harmless delusions relating to wealth, power, etc., she was readily induced to *go to work* in the sewing-rooms, by the non-medical person in charge of the female wards, who knew or cared nothing for her history, and only acted according to the general advisability of getting as many patients at work as possible. The result was the production of a new delusion: the patient believed she was placed in charge of the sewing-rooms, with large wages, and exerted herself prodigiously in consequence; becoming troublesome here, she was transferred to the laundry, where the same thing was re-enacted, resulting in final complete exhaustion and confinement to bed. After convalescence she was not allowed to go to work again, owing to the indirectly exerted influence of the assistant physician, and the rest and quiet which she had all along needed effected a gradual restoration.

Besides the prescribing of the amount of occupation or diversion, of exercise or rest, suitable to individual cases, there is another remedial measure largely confided to the hands of these individuals—the management of the restraining apparatus. I do not wish to unduly horrify the public in making the statement that the application of wristlets and straps, gloves, muffs and camisoles, and especially of seclusion in rooms, is largely in the hands of attendants and head-attendants, or supervisors, since the superintendents keep a watchful eye for very patent abuses in such things, usually restoring the liberty of those unjustifiably confined, when discovered; but the practical management of mechanical restraint, in most cases, by the supervisor, is an undoubted fact, and cannot be other than a hindrance to the solution of the vexed question of the true value of this agent in the treatment of insanity. The Earl of Shaftesbury and the other British Commissioners in Lunacy may be enthusiasts on the subject of the abolition of all mechanical restraint, when measured by a comparison of their professions and results, but in any case, their enthusiasm, like that of many others, contains much truth, which can only be tested or adopted at the hands of educated men, acquainted with the theoretical as well as practical side of their speciality.

The remaining sections of this chapter, being the last of the

by-laws relating to the management of the institutions, direct the appointment of an attendant of each sex to take charge of the wards during the night.

Such, then, is a careful, and we trust impartial, statement of the methods by which these public charities are administered at the present day. The purpose of this paper being the indication of those faults and their cause which cry loudly for remedy at the hands of the proper authorities, it is not thought necessary to mention the many excellent details which redound to the credit of the several superintendents. Their devotion to duty and strict integrity properly challenge our admiration, but should not be allowed to warp our judgment.

We have then a great hospital, built and maintained at public expense, and formally turned over to the charge of nine honorable gentlemen, for their fostering care and protection, of which solemn trust, the same nine gentlemen immediately proceed to dispossess themselves, by the passage of certain rules and regulations effectually delegating their duties to another: to wit, they elect a superintendent, and tell him to hire persons to assist him officially, over whom he shall have absolute control, and with whom they shall have nothing whatever to do! Is it a wonder that their charges even can appreciate the results of this? Unless the superintendent is grossly incompetent, an autocracy becomes established, bearing a striking resemblance to the Czar's rule. The abdicators are shown around the buildings at their regular visits, like strangers: they enjoy their quarterly dinners, and return home satisfied.

The lowering of the positions of co-adjutor officers is a natural consequence. But there is more executive work than one man can perform: this is readily met by the elevation of ignorant persons from the ranks of attendants, who can find no excuse in the by-laws, or elsewhere, to arrogate to themselves inconvenient authority.

Let us ask a question: Do these institutions, thus managed, fulfil the objects for which philanthropic legislators created them: namely, the rendering of the best hospital treatment, instead of poor-house care, to the insane poor? The answer cannot be unreservedly in the affirmative, when it is remembered that the patients themselves are in the care and control of non-medical persons in each class of institutions; while the doctors in the former are busy in looking after the general concerns of the institution,

or in searching out funny stories to read in the hospital lecture-room. As there is but one man to prescribe, too, in the so-called hospitals, the *materia medica* is apt to get into ruts that represent very oddly the medical science of the day. For instance, one of these institutions contained, not a dozen months ago, three hundred and sixty patients on a chance day, taken at random; of these, one hundred and ten were taking medicine—forty-three per cent. of whom took the same mixture, while all other formulas in use at the time numbered eight, and were dosed out to fifty-nine patients. Without unnecessarily exalting the functions of drugs, in the treatment of insanity, *per se*, it does seem that they deserve somewhat more consideration than this indicates. It is hardly requisite to add that electrotherapy or hydrotherapy are totally unused.

Are not the results, then, somewhat short of the intentions of those philanthropists who, years ago, started the movement of conveying patients from almshouses to costly state institutions, that they might receive the sorely needed medical treatment, as well as better living conditions? That they *are* placed amongst excellent surroundings and treated with unvarying kindness in these institutions, I emphatically bear witness to; but that this constitutes the whole duty of a real hospital is certainly more than doubtful.

There has been some discussion, recently, relative to government supervision of the insane in hospitals and almshouses, and the plans of the British and Scotch Commissioners in Lunacy have been freely thrust upon us by enthusiastic advocates, as models for close imitation. Such a central board for the whole country could only have been advocated by persons ignorant of the detail work and powers of these boards, and the difficulty of applying their regulations to the much greater territory of the United States. A patient, for instance, would certainly die, or get well, before his admission to some of the remoter hospitals could be sanctioned by the central authority at Washington. State boards of insanity, on the other hand, are quite practicable, and some of the states, including Pennsylvania, are already supplied with them in the form of Boards of Public Charities. The additional supervision such boards exercise over other charitable, correctional, and reformatory institutions, by no means prevents the exercise of their full power over all cases of insanity under treatment, as the latter are concentrated in fewer groups than in England, but few cases being cared for outside of hospitals or almshouses.

The Board of Public Charities of Pennsylvania, which was created by Act of Legislature, approved April 24th, 1869, has nearly the same powers over the insane of the state in charitable hospitals and almshouses as is possessed by the British Commissioners in Lunacy over cases similarly cared for in England and Wales. In either case there is but a power of recommendation, and not executive authority in remedying abuses. In the 5th section of the act mentioned they are given full power to examine into the "condition of all charitable institutions" receiving state aid; to inquire into "the government of their inmates, the official conduct of trustees, directors, and other officers and employes of the same * * * and into all other matters pertaining to their usefulness and good management." Any hindrance placed in the way of this examination subjects the offenders to a fine of one hundred dollars. The 6th section further specifically directs them to visit all such charities at least once in each year, and report to the Legislature "whether the objects of the several institutions are accomplished; whether the laws in relation to them are fully complied with," together with any recommendations they may deem proper. The same powers are extended to almshouses, etc., in the seventh section of the same act.

From this it may be gathered, that the Board of Public Charities of Pennsylvania has ample power to examine into abuses of any nature in any one of the hospitals for insanity within the limits of the state, receiving aid from the public treasury, and to present the result of their examinations to the Legislature, with any recommendations they may deem called for in the premises. Such powers are at present sufficient for the purposes in view, and we have no doubt that the gentlemen now actively discharging the duties of this board will, in time, succeed as thoroughly in the work before them as analogous boards in older countries.

It may now be desirable to emphasize the main points of this criticism by a brief recapitulation of the faults that have been indicated, and a statement of the methods by which, in the opinion of the writer, the same may be avoided in the future. And first: great regret must be expressed that the trustees of some of these institutions feel it incumbent on them to shirk the serious responsibilities they have taken upon themselves, in consenting to act in

this capacity. While much more could be done by them at present than is dreamed of by themselves for the welfare of their charges, it cannot be expected, however, that they will be able to discharge a tithe of their duties until certain mischievous legislation, the *fons et origo mali*, has been repealed. Section 6 of the Act of April 14th, 1845; and section 2 of the Act of March 27th, 1873, should therefore be at once repealed. The laudable object of still retaining the hospital in the charge of the superintendent, would be properly and fully provided for by the adoption of some such clause as the following: "Under the direction of the trustees, the superintendent shall exercise supreme control over all officers and departments of the institution." This, being passed by the Legislature and repeated in the by-laws, would, together with the fourth section of the chapter relating to his duties, as it now stands, confer upon him ample authority for all the necessities of the case, while the trustees would retain to themselves the appointments and dismissals of his colleagues, and thus be better able to properly exercise their powers of general government.

II. A responsible medical officer should be elected and appointed by the Board of Trustees, who should be the superintendent's assistant in the routine duties of his position especially, such as the reception of patients, etc.; who should aid him in keeping all portions of the institution under constant supervision and control; and who should be competent to properly represent him when absent, thus ensuring an efficient head to the institution at all times. To these duties should be added, *inter alia*, the especial direction of the employments, exercise, and amusements of the patients throughout the institution, that the efforts of the assistant physicians to advance these very important matters be properly directed and encouraged. With an active man in such a position, wonders could be done in introducing system in the employments of a large hospital, and above all, the employments could be kept up, and would lose the present character of occasional energetic spurts with quick following languor, due to the want of constant laborious attention to the subject.

III. The assistant physicians should be appointed by the trustees. They should be increased in number, and brought in more direct contact with the patients, discharging, in addition to their proper duties, the work of the supervisors, thus rendering the latter

unnecessary. Besides the removal of faults already mentioned, by the adoption of such a system, the nearness of relationship between the physicians and individual patients that would follow would be of incalculable benefit to the latter, securing to them all the advantages of small institutions in addition to the conveniences that can be found only in large ones. With but two or three wards under his care, and being in immediate charge of the attendants of these wards, a knowledge of the condition of each patient could be maintained that is impossible at present, and more care bestowed upon their personal hygiene and regimen. This plan would secure also much closer supervision of attendants, and thus act as a preventive of abuses on their part. In addition, I think there is reason to believe that the interests of some of the female patients might be advanced by the appointment of assistant physicians of their own sex over the wards occupied by them, with powers similar to those of the other assistants.

IV. The steward and the matron should both be appointed by the trustees, and the title of the former changed to clerk, as more properly representing the character of the position.

G. BETTON MASSEY, M. D.

THE PRESENT POSITION AND PROSPECTS OF POLITICAL ECONOMY.*

HAD I been called upon at any other time to preside over this section, I should have followed the example of most of my predecessors, in selecting as the subject of the discourse which it is usual to deliver from this chair, some one of the special economic questions of the day, which my knowledge might have enabled me most adequately, or, let me rather say, least inadequately to treat. But I have felt that the matter with which I should deal has been practically determined for me beforehand. An important crisis in the history of our section has taken place. Its claim to form a part of the British Association has been disputed. Some of the cultivators of the older branches of research but half recognise the right of Political Economy and Statistics to citizenship in the commonwealth of science, and it is not ob-

*A Lecture delivered in the Section of Economic Science and Statistics of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, by the Professor of the Section, Professor John K. Ingram.

scurely intimated on their part that these studies would do well to relinquish pretensions which cannot be sustained, and proceed, with or without shame, to take the lower room to which alone they are entitled.

How far this sentiment is entertained by those who would be recognised as the best representatives of the mathematical, physico-chemical, and biological sciences, I am unable to say. But it is natural to suppose that no one clothed with an official character in the Association could have assumed towards us such an attitude as I have described, unless supported by a considerable weight of opinion amongst those within the body who are regarded as competent judges. Still more—and this is what lends a peculiar gravity to the incident—such a step could scarcely have been taken if the general mass of the intelligent public entertained strong convictions as to the genuinely scientific character of political economy, as it is usually professed and understood amongst us. It is, in fact, well-known that there is a good deal of scepticism current on this question. There may be seen in various quarters evidences sometimes of contemptuous rejection of its claims, sometimes of uneasy distrust as to their validity. And even amongst those who admit its services in the past, there is a disposition to regard it as essentially effete, and as having no scientific or practical future before it.

When some of our leading economists met not long ago to celebrate the centenary of the publication of the *Wealth of Nations*, it was plain from the tone of most of the speakers that the present position of their studies, as regards their general acceptance and public influence, was considered to be far from satisfactory.

“To those who are interested in economic science,” says a recent writer in *Mind*,¹ “few things are more noticeable, than the small hold which it has upon the thoughts of our generation. Legislation has been directly influenced by it in the past, and the results of the application of its doctrines are manifest in every department of our laws; yet, in spite of its triumph in this region, we find a widespread tendency to look on its teaching with suspicion.”

¹ Rev. W. Cunningham, in a remarkable article, entitled “Political Economy as a Moral Science,” published in *Mind* of July, 1878.

"I seem to observe," said Professor Cairnes in 1870,² "in the literature and social discussions of the day, signs of belief that political economy has ceased to be a fruitful speculation; nay, I fear I must go further and admit that it is regarded by some energetic minds in this country as even worse than unfruitful—as obstructive—a positive hindrance in the path of useful reform. . . . It is not denied that the science has done some good; only it is thought that its task is pretty well fulfilled."

The attitude which the working classes generally take up with respect to political economy, may be seen from Mr. Howell's candid and instructive book on the Conflicts of Capital and Labor.³

Professor Jevons has recognised quite recently the state of facts indicated by these testimonies, though he has no misgiving as to any grounds for it in the current methods or doctrines of political economy; if the public do not like the science, so much the worse, he thinks, for the public—"the fact is," he says, "that just as physical science was formerly hated, so now there is a kind of ignorant dislike and impatience of political economy."

It is plain, therefore, that the low estimate of the studies of our section, which is entertained by some members of the Association, is no isolated phenomenon, but is related to a mass of opinion outside the body—that in fact the crisis which, as I have said, has shown itself in the Association with respect to our section, is only the counterpart, in a more limited sphere, of a crisis in the history of economic science, which is apparent on the face of English,—and, as I shall point out by and by, not of English only, but of European—thought. It is important to understand the origin and significance of this state of things; and to that subject, accordingly, I purpose to direct your attention.

We must take care to distinguish, at the outset, between two views which are sometimes confounded—namely, between the opinion that economic facts do not admit of scientific investigation, and the quite different opinion that the hitherto prevailing mode of studying those facts is unsatisfactory, and many of the current generalizations respecting them unsound. That economic phe-

² Introductory Lecture delivered in University College, November, 1870, reprinted under the title "Political Economy and Laissez faire," in his *Essays on Political Economy, Theoretical and Applied*. See pp. 238-240 of that volume.

³ London, 1878.

nomena are capable of scientific treatment is a proposition which I do not intend to spend time in demonstrating. It is comprehended in the more general question of the possibility of a scientific Sociology, and any one who disputes it will have enough to do in combating the arguments by which Comte, and Mill, and Herbert Spencer have established that possibility. Nor do I intend to waste words in showing that, if there be a science of society, no other branch of investigation can compete with it in importance or in dignity. It has the most momentous influence of all on human welfare. It receives contributions from all other departments of research—whether in the ascertainment of results to be used for its purposes, or in the elaboration of methods to be applied in its inquiries. It presides, in fact, over the whole intellectual system—an office which some, mistaking the foundation for the crown of the edifice, have claimed for mathematics. It is the most difficult of all the sciences, because it is that in which the phenomena dealt with are most complex and dependent on the greatest variety of conditions, and in which, accordingly, appearances are most deceitful, and error takes the most plausible forms. That the professors of the more stably—because earlier—constituted branches of knowledge should ignore the claims of this great department of inquiry would be doubly disastrous—first, by leaving the scientific system without its necessary completion in a true theory of the highest and most important class of phenomena accessible to our researches; and secondly, by tending so far as prejudice and misconception can temporarily produce such an effect, to hand over to minds of insufficient power, and destitute of the necessary preparation, studies which, more than any others, require a strong intelligence, disciplined in the methods and furnished with the results of the sciences of inorganic and organic nature. There is, in my judgment, no duty more incumbent in our day on the professors of these last, than that of recognising the claims of Sociology, whilst at the same time enforcing on its cultivators the necessity of conforming to the genuine scientific type. Yet it is now sought to expel from this Association, which ought to represent the harmonious union of all positive research, the very limited and inadequate portion of the science of society which has ever found recognition in its scheme.

I assume, then, that economic phenomena are proper subjects

for scientific treatment. This I imagine the public at large are not disposed to doubt, though they may not repose much confidence in the methods actually followed. But, strangely enough, a professor of political economy has recently disputed the possibility, or at least the utility, of a scientific handling of economic questions. Professor Bonamy Price, of the University of Oxford, who has published a volume⁴ in which several of those questions are handled with much ability and freshness of treatment, not only repudiates a scientific character for his own inquiries, but alleges the scientific method to be a mistake. According to him, ordinary people are right in believing that they can arrive at truth on these questions by the aid of their natural lights, by their untrained sagacity—that they can take a shorter and far clearer path through their own observations, than through what he calls “the tangled jungle of scientific refinements.” In plain terms he is in favor of relegating the study of economic phenomena to the domain of empiricism—to what is called the common sense of practical men.

A more fatal suggestion could not, in my judgment, be made. I shall have to express the opinion that the prevalent methods of economic research and exposition are open to grave criticism; but how can this be remedied by throwing ourselves on the undisciplined and random inspirations of so-called common sense? It was “common sense” that long upheld the mercantile system; and indeed there is scarcely any error that it has not, at different times, accepted and propagated. What security can there be in this as in other branches of inquiry against endless aberrations and confusions, but systematic observation and analysis of the phenomena, resulting in a body of ascertained and reasoned truth; and what is this but science? I am forced to say that Professor Price seems to me to labor under radical misconception as to the nature and conditions of science. Because the facts of the production and distribution of wealth have always gone on spontaneously amongst mankind, and definite modes of social action with respect to them have progressively established themselves, economic investigation, he argues, adding nothing to what men have with more or less sagacity and intelligence always practised, cannot be regarded as having the nature of a science. But it might be similarly shown that there is no science of human nature, for the intellectual pro-

⁴ *Chapters on Practical Political Economy.* London, 1878.

cesses, the feelings, and the practical tendencies of man have always been similar; they have not waited for science to develop themselves and pass into action; rather their long continued spontaneous action was the necessary condition of the science that studies them. So, too, with respect to all human action on external nature—practice always must precede theory; art, more or less intelligent, must precede science. Science is simply the ascertainment and co-ordination of laws; a law is the statement of a general fact; we explain a particular fact by showing that it is a case of a more general fact. Now, from the beginning to the end of his own book, Professor Price is endeavoring to ascertain such general facts, and to explain particular facts by means of them—in other words, he is busied upon science without knowing it. He rests much of the importance of economic studies, which he regards as essentially practical, on their efficacy for uprooting the evil weed of false theory; but theory of some sort will always be necessary. *On ne détruit que ce qu'on remplace*; and the only way of extinguishing false theory is to establish the true.

I therefore repudiate the doctrine of Professor Price, and I hold by the truth, which has indeed now become a philosophic commonplace, that social phenomena generally, and amongst them the economic phenomena of society, do admit of scientific treatment. But I believe, though on different grounds from his, that the mode in which the study of these phenomena has been conceived and prosecuted in the hitherto reigning school, is open to serious objections; and the decline in the credit and influence of political economy, of which I have spoken, appears to me to be in a large measure due to the vicious methods followed by its teachers. The distrust of its doctrines manifested by the working classes is, no doubt, in a great degree owing to the not altogether unfounded belief, that it has tended to justify too absolutely existing social arrangements, and that its study is often recommended with the real, though disguised, object of repressing popular aspirations after a better order of things. And it is doubtless true that some of the opposition which political economy encounters, is founded on the hostility of selfish interests, marshalled against the principles of free-trade, of which it is regarded as the representative. But it is not with manifestations of this kind, which belong to politics rather than philosophy, that I am now chiefly concerned. It is

more appropriate to this place to point to the growing coldness or distrust exhibited by the higher intellects towards political economy, a fact which lies on the surface of things, and shows itself everywhere in contemporary literature. The egoistic spirit in which it is steeped may explain the continued protest which Carlyle and Ruskin have, mainly as moral preachers, maintained against it—though that very spirit is, as I shall show, closely connected with vicious method. But what are we to say of Miss Martineau's final judgment? Speaking, in her *Autobiography*⁵, of that part of her career in which, as Professor Jevons says, "she successfully popularized the truths of political economy in her admirable tales," she tells us that what she then took to be the science of political economy as elaborated by the economists of our time, she had come to regard as being no science at all, strictly speaking—"So many of its parts," she adds, "must undergo essential change, that it may be a question whether future generations will owe much more to it than the benefit (incalculable to be sure) of establishing the grand truth, that social affairs proceed according to great general laws, no less than natural phenomena of every kind." Here is a conclusion resting essentially on intellectual, not moral, grounds; and I presume Professor Jevons will not explain it as a result of ignorant impatience.

But it is no longer necessary to consider scattered indications of the feeling of eminent individualities on this matter, for of late years the growing dissatisfaction has risen to the dimensions of a European revolt, whose organs have appeared not in the ranks of general literature, but within the sphere of economic investigation itself. It is a characteristic result of the narrowness and spirit of routine which have too much prevailed in the dominant English school of economists, that they are either unacquainted with, or have chosen to ignore, this remarkable movement.

The largest and most combined manifestation of the revolt has been in Germany, all whose ablest economic writers are in opposition to the methods and doctrines of the school of Ricardo. Roscher, Knies, Hildebrand, Nasse, Brentano, Held, Schmoller, Schäffle, Schönberg, Samter, and others, have taken up this attitude. In Italy a group of distinguished writers, among whom are named

⁵ Vol. ii, p. 244.

Luzzatti, Forti, and Lampertico, follow the same direction, and have a special organ in which they advocate their views. In Denmark a similar scientific evolution is in progress, chiefly under the leading of Frederiksen. The eminent Belgian publicist, M. de Laveleye, has done much to call attention to these new tendencies of economic doctrine, in which he himself participates.⁶ In England, a corresponding movement, by no means imitative, but, on the contrary, highly original in character, is represented by Mr. Cliffe Leslie, whom I mention with pride with an alumnus of this University. In France, the new direction is not so marked in the economic world, strictly so-called, though in that country it really first appeared. For the vices of the old school which have led to the development of the new, were powerfully stated more than forty years ago by a French thinker, who is too little studied by the mass of his countrymen, Auguste Comte, the greatest master who has ever treated of sociological method. How far the Germans may have been led by national prejudice to ignore his influence in the formation of their views, I will not undertake to say; but there is no doubt of the fact that the tendencies they have sought to impress on economic studies are largely in accordance with the teaching on that subject contained in his *Philosophie Positive*.

In the admirable chapters of that work, in which he described the normal conditions and method of social science, whilst paying a warm tribute to the merits of Adam Smith, he criticised what he considered the aberrations of the later political economists. The late Professor Cairnes, of whom, as a member of this University, we are justly proud, and whom, even when I differ from him, I name with all the respect due to an able and earnest searcher after truth, attempted an answer to some of these strictures of Comte, which again elicited a reply from Mr. Frederic Harrison.⁷ Considering the criticisms of the great Frenchman to have been perfectly just when he wrote them, and only requiring a certain correction now in view of the healthier tendencies apparent in several

⁶ See his article "Les Tendances Nouvelles de l'Economie Politique et du Socialisme," in the *Revue des deux Mondes* of July 15, 1875.

⁷ Professor Cairnes' article, "M. Comte and Political Economy," appeared in the *Fortnightly Review* of May, 1870, and is reprinted in his *Essays on Political Economy*. Mr. Harrison's Essay was published in the *Fortnightly Review* for July of the same year.

quarters since his work was published, I shall dwell at some length on the several grounds of his censures, stating and illustrating them in my own way, which will differ considerably from the mode of treatment which they received in the controversy to which I have referred. Those grounds, though by him nowhere formally enumerated, are essentially reducible to four, having relation—first, to the attempt to isolate the study of the facts of wealth from that of the other social phenomena; secondly, to the metaphysical or viciously abstract character of many of the conceptions of the economists; thirdly, to the abusive preponderance of deduction in their processes of research; and fourthly, to the too absolute way in which their conclusions are conceived and enunciated. It will be found that these heads cannot be kept strictly apart, but run into each other at several points. The separation of them will, however, serve to give distinctness and order to the discussion.

I. The first objection is, as I have stated, to the pretension of the economists to isolate the special phenomena they study, the economic phenomena of society, from all the rest—its material aspect from its intellectual, moral, and political aspects, and to constitute an independent science, dealing with the former alone, to the exclusion of the latter. This question, as to the relation of economic studies to the general body of human knowledge, is really the most radical and vital that can be raised respecting them, and on it more than on any other depends, in my opinion, the future of these studies.

It is sometimes sought to get rid of this question in a very summary matter, and to represent those who raise it either as weakly sentimental persons who shrink from studying the conditions of wealth apart, because there are better and higher things than wealth; or as persons of confused intellect, who wish to mix together things which are essentially different in their nature. On the former of these imputations it is unnecessary to dwell. I am far from undervaluing sentiment in its proper sphere; but I take up no sentimental ground on the present question. In denying the propriety of isolating economic investigation, I appeal to considerations derived from the philosophy of science. The second allegation is therefore the only one with which I am now concerned.

In a recent elementary treatise on political economy, by a well-known writer, it is argued:—"We must do one thing at a time; we cannot learn the social sciences all at the same time. No one

objects to astronomy that it treats only of the stars, or to mathematics that it treats only of numbers and quantities. . . . There must be many physical sciences, and there must be also many social sciences, and each of these sciences must treat of its own proper subject, and not of things in general.

But a little consideration will show that these remarks touch only the outside of the question. Of course we must do only one thing at a time. Only one out of several branches of a subject can be considered at a time; but they are yet branches of a single subject, and the relations of the branches may be precisely the most important thing to be kept in view respecting them. It might be said: "It is important, no doubt, that plant life and animal life should both be understood; but zoology and botany are different sciences; let them be studied apart; let a separate class of *savants* be appropriated to each, and every essential end is secured." But what says Professor Huxley, in unison with all the most competent opinion on the subject?—"The study of living bodies is really one discipline, which is divided into zoology and botany simply as a matter of convenience."⁸ They are, in fact, branches from the common stem of biology, and neither can be rightly conceived without bearing this in mind. Now I maintain that for still stronger reasons the several branches of social science must be kept in the closest relation.

Another biological analogy will place these reasons in the clearest light. When we pass from the study of the inorganic world to that of the organic, which presupposes and succeeds to the former, we come upon the new idea of a living whole, with definite structures appropriated to special actions, but all influencing one another, and co-operating to one result—the healthy life of the organism. Here, then, it is plain that we cannot isolate the study of one organ from that of the rest, or of the whole. We cannot break up the study of the human body into a number of different sciences, dealing respectively with the different organs and functions, and, instead of a human anatomy and physiology, construct a cardiology, a hepatology,⁹ an enterology. It is not of course

⁸ Preface to *Elementary Biology*, London, 1875.

⁹ Some phrases in this sentence coincide remarkably with those used in a similar connection in an article by Dr. J. H. Bridges in the *Fortnightly Review*, for July, 1878, entitled, "The Place of Sociology." The passage was, however, written before I saw that excellent essay, which I earnestly recommend to the study of my readers.

meant that special studies of particular organs and functions may not be undertaken—that they may not be temporarily and provisionally separated from each other in our researches; but the fact insisted on is, that it is essential to keep in view their relations and interactions, and that therefore they must be treated as forming part of the subject matter of one and the same science. And what is thus true of theory is also true of practice—the physician who had studied only one organ and its function would be very untrustworthy even in the therapeutics of that organ. He who treats every disease as purely local, without regard to the general constitution, is a quack; and he who ignores the mutual action of the *physique* and the *moral* in disease, is not properly a physician, but a veterinary.

These considerations are just as applicable, *mutatis mutandis*, to the study of society, which is in so many respects kindred to biology. The most characteristic fact about what is well called the social system, is the consensus of the different functions; and the treatment of these functions as independent, is sure to land us in theoretic and practical error. There is one great science of Sociology; its several chapters study the several faces of social existence. One of these faces is that of the material well-being of society, its industrial constitution and development. The study of these phenomena is one chapter of sociology, a chapter which must be kept in close relation with the rest.

The justice of this view is clearly seen when we consider the two-fold aspect of sociology as statical and dynamical—that is, as dealing on the one hand with laws of coexistence, and on the other with laws of succession. As in biology we have, alongside of the theory of the constitution and actions of an organism, the further theory of its development in time; so in sociology we have, beside the doctrine of the constitution and actions of society, the doctrine of its evolution from a primitive to a higher condition. Now nothing is plainer than that in the course of the human evolution the several social elements did not follow separate and independent processes of growth. The present economic state, for example, of the nations of Western Europe as a group, or of any individual one amongst them, is the result of a great variety of conditions, many of them not in their own nature economical at all. Scientific, moral, religious, political ideas and institutions have all concurred

in determining it. But if they worked in this manner in the past, it follows that they are working so in the present. It is therefore impossible rationally to conceive or explain the industrial economy of society without taking into account the other coexisting social factors.

In nothing is the eminent superiority of Adam Smith more clearly seen than in his tendency to comprehend and combine in his investigations all the different aspects of social phenomena. Before the term "social science" had been spoken or written, it could not be expected that he should have conceived adequately the nature and conditions of that branch of inquiry, much less founded it on definitive bases—a task which was to be achieved, more than fifty years later, by the genius of Comte. But he proceeded as far in this direction as it was possible to do under the intellectual conditions of his time. In his *Theory of Moral Sentiments* he promises to give in another discourse "an account of the general principles of law and government, and of the different revolutions they have undergone in the different ages and periods of society, not only in what concerns justice, but in what concerns police, revenue, and arms, and whatever else is the subject of law." Here is no separation of politics, jurisprudence, and political economy, but rather an anticipation, wonderful for his period, of general sociology, both statical and dynamical—an anticipation which becomes more extraordinary still, when we learn from his literary executors that he had formed the plan of a connected history of the liberal sciences and elegant arts, which would have supplied, in addition to the social aspects already mentioned, a view of the intellectual progress of society. Of this last undertaking there remains to us only the remarkable essay on the history of astronomy, which is evidence at once of his thorough acquaintance with that branch of science, and of his profound philosophical conceptions on the nature of scientific inquiry in general. The other project too was never fully carried out; it may well be thought because it was essentially premature. The *Wealth of Nations* is in fact a part of that larger design; and though in this work he has for his main subject the economic phenomena of society, he has incorporated into it so much that relates to the other social aspects that he has on this very ground been censured by some of the later economists. Mill, however, who of all his English successors was the most

large-minded and the best equipped in respect of general culture, has recognised it as the great characteristic excellence of Smith that, "in his applications of political economy, he perpetually appeals to other and often far larger considerations than pure political economy affords."¹⁰ In consequence of this admirable breadth of view, the study of the work of Adam Smith is, I believe, more fitted than that of the writings of any other economist, to cultivate in theorists a philosophic, and in practical men a statesmanlike, habit of mind.

In striking contrast with this spirit of the master is the affectation, habitual in his followers, of ignoring all considerations except the strictly economic, though in doing so they often pass over agencies which have important effects on material well-being. Thus, when Senior is led to make some observations of the utmost importance and interest, on the very doubtful advantage to a laboring family of the employment of the mother and the children in non-domestic work, he thinks it necessary to apologise for having introduced such remarks, as not, perhaps, strictly within the province of political economy. And when he finds himself similarly induced to observe on the evils of severe and incessant labor, and the benefits of a certain degree of leisure—subjects so momentous to workmen, and closely connected with their material as well as moral condition—he pauses and corrects himself, admitting that he should not only be justified in omitting, but was bound to omit, all considerations which have no influence on wealth.¹¹ This is the very pedantry of purism; and the purism is not merely exaggerated, it is really altogether out of place. Mill, though, as I believe, he did not occupy firm ground in relation to the constitution of social science, is free from any such narrowness as this:—"For practical purposes," he says, "political economy is inseparably intertwined with many other branches of social philosophy. Except on matters of mere detail, there are perhaps no practical questions, even among those which approach nearest to the character of purely economical questions, which admit of being decided on economical premises alone." This is true; but it is only part of the truth. For purposes of theory as well as practice, the several branches of social inquiry are inseparably intertwined; and this larger propo-

¹⁰ Preface to the *Principles of Political Economy*.

¹¹ Senior's *Political Economy*, separate edition, 1850; pp. 152 and 148.

sition Mill in another place has stated with all the desirable fulness of enunciation, declaring that "we can never understand in theory or command in practice the condition of a society in any one respect, without taking into consideration its condition in all other respects."¹²

Yet, notwithstanding this ample admission, he appears to exhibit some uncertainty of view with respect to the relation of economic studies to general sciology; at least after repeated careful examination of all that he has written on the subject, I confess myself unable to understand exactly the position he occupies. Sometimes¹³ he speaks of political economy as being a department "carved" (to use his own expression) "out of the general body of the science of society;" and again¹⁴ he speaks of it as belonging to a subordinate order of speculation to that with which the science of society is conversant—proposing to itself a quite different sort of question, and supplying only a sort of knowledge sufficient for the more common exigencies of daily political practice. The latter view is apparently reflected in the title of his economical treatise, which is called *Principles of Political Economy, with some Applications to Social Philosophy*, a phrase which seems to imply that political economy is not a part of social philosophy at all, but is preparatory and ancillary to it. And it is interesting to observe that it was from this point of view of the study, as preliminary only and intended to prepare the way and provide materials for a true science of society, that Comte, in his correspondence with Mill, encouraged the latter in his project of a special treatise on political economy.¹⁵

¹² Preface to his *Political Economy*; and *System of Logic*, (16th ed.) vol. ii., p. 488.

¹³ *Logic*, ii., p. 496.

¹⁴ *Ib.* ii., p. 509.

¹⁵ Je persiste à regarder votre projet de traité sur l'économie industrielle comme une très-heureuse et fort opportune tentative d'attirer à la nouvelle philosophie une classe d'esprits estimables qui, tendant avec énergie vers la formation de la vraie science sociale, n'ont besoin, à cet égard, que d'être mieux dirigés; en attendant, ils preservent le public, à leur manière, du pur empirisme sociologique, qui serait bien plus dangereux. Ainsi présentée, ou du moins conçue, avec la destination purement préliminaire et l'office provisoire que lui assigne l'ensemble de l'appréciation historique, l'économie politique perd ses principaux dangers actuels, et peut devenir fort utile; car les sympathies qu'elle excite encore, sans être communément fort éclairées, ont certainement un caractère progressif."—*Lettres d'Auguste Comte à John Stuart Mill*, p. 254.

The ground which the economists commonly take up in justifying their one-sided attitude, is this: they announce that their treatment of every question is partial and incomplete, and that for a real solution all the other elements involved must be taken into account. Political Economy, Professor Cairnes tells us,¹⁶ is absolutely neutral as between all particular schemes and systems of social or industrial life. It furnishes, he tells us, certain data that go towards the formation of a sound opinion, but can never determine our final judgment on any social question. Now this systematic indifferentism amounts to an entire paralysis of political economy as a social power capable of producing or confirming in the mass of the community just convictions on the most important of all subjects. How, it may well be asked, are sufficiently fixed and convergent opinions on such matters to be generated in the public mind? How are the scattered lights, supplied by the several partial and one-sided studies of human affairs, to be combined, so as to convey social truth to the understanding, and impress its practical consequences on men's consciences? These queries bring into the clearest light the doctrine I wish to commend to your attention—namely, that what is wanted for this purpose is a study of social questions from all the points of view that really belong to them, so as to attain definite and matured conclusions respecting them—in other words, a scientific sociology, comprehending true economic doctrine, but comprehending also a great deal more.

Even on the special subjects in which purely economic considerations go for most, it will not do to take into account those considerations only. Professor Fawcett, in his recent timely and useful treatise on Free Trade and Protection, finds that he cannot restrict himself, in the treatment of that question, to the economic point of view. "As complaints," he says, "are constantly made by protectionists that their opponents persistently ignore all the results of protection which are not economic, I will be careful to consider those results."¹⁷ And he goes on to maintain these propositions, in which I entirely concur, that protection may produce

It is much to be regretted that, for personal reasons, the letters of Mill to Comte are still withheld from the public. For the influence exercised on Mill by the *Philosophie Positive*, see *Lettres d' Auguste Comte*, p. 4.

¹⁶ *Essays in Political Economy*, p. 256.

¹⁷ Pages 80, 81.

social and political consequences, even far more mischievous than the economic loss it causes to a country. I believe that the most effective weapons against this and other economic errors will often be found in reasons not based on material interests, but derived from a consideration of the higher ends of society, and the ideal of the collective life of the race. And, *a fortiori*, when we have to deal with the larger economic subjects, now rapidly increasing in urgency, which are more immediately in contact with moral conceptions, these questions of the ultimate ends of the social union cannot be left out of sight. This was recognized by Mill, who was open to all noble ideas, and saw that the practical life of mankind cannot be governed by material egoism. In discussing the claims of communism,¹⁸ he says:—"Assuming all the success which is claimed for this state of society by its partisans, it remains to be considered how much would really be gained for mankind, and whether the form that would be given to life, and the character which would be impressed on human nature, can satisfy any but a very low estimate of the species." Here, you observe, is raised the entire question of the ends of social life; and economic progress is subordinated, as it ought to be, to the intellectual and moral development of humanity.

Mr. Lowe, at the Adam Smith celebration,¹⁹ declared himself not to be sanguine as to the future of political economy; he believes that its great work, which he justly remarks has been rather a negative than a constructive one, has been already accomplished, and that not much more remains to be achieved. Such, indeed, as we have seen, Professor Cairne's declared to be the prevalent idea of the great majority of educated people—that political economy has fulfilled its task by removing impediments to industry; and that it cannot help us—is rather likely to be an obstruction—in the social work which now lies before us. I will not use language so strong; but it does appear to me that either as a fruitful branch of speculation, or as an important source of practical guidance, it will cease to command, or rather will fail to regain attention, unless

¹⁸ *Political Economy* (1st ed.) i, p. 246. The passage has dropped out from the chapter as recast in late editions; but the necessity of considering the influence of systems of life on the formation of character is still maintained.

¹⁹ Revised Report of the Proceedings at the celebration (by the Political Economy Club) of the hundredth year of the publication of the *Wealth of Nations*. London, 1876; p. 20.

it be linked in close connection with the general science of society—unless it be, in fact, subsumed under and absorbed into Sociology.

II. The second common error of the political economists since the time of Adam Smith, consists in this, that mainly by the influence of Ricardo, they have been led to conceive and present, in a viciously abstract way, the conceptions with which they deal.

Abstraction is, indeed, necessary to all science, being implied in the search after unity amidst variety. The criterion of true or false science lies precisely in the right or wrong institution of the relation between the abstract and the concrete. Now, in matters of human life especially, we have only to carry abstraction far enough in order to lose all hold on realities, and present things quite other than they in fact are; and, if we use these abstractions in the premises of our reasonings, we shall arrive at conclusions, either positively false, or useless for any practical purpose. As Comte remarked,²⁰ the most fundamental economic notions have been subtilized in the ordinary treatises, till the discussions about them often wander away from any relation to fact, and lose themselves in a region of nebulous metaphysics; so that exact thinkers have felt themselves obliged to abandon the use of some of the most necessary terms, such as *value*, *utility*, *production*, and to express the ideas they attach to them by circuitous phrases. I am far from condemning the effort after accuracy of language and well-defined terms; but the endless fluctuations of economists in the use of words (of which numerous examples are given in Senior's Appendix to Whately's Logic, and in Professor Price's recent work,²¹ certainly indicate a very general failure to apprehend and keep steadily in view the corresponding realities.

A vicious abstraction meets us on the very threshold of political economy. The entire body of its doctrines, as usually taught, rests on the hypothesis that the sole human passion or motive which has economic effects, is the desire of wealth. "It aims," says Mill,²² "at showing what is the course of action into which mankind living in a state of society would be impelled if that motive"—except so far, as it is checked by aversion to labor, and desire of present indulgence—"were absolute master of all their

²⁰ *Philosophie Positive* (1st ed.), tome 4, p. 270.

²¹ See especially pp. 9, 33, 34, 105, of Professor Price's volume.

²² *Logic*, ii., pp. 492, 493.

actions." "So strictly is this its object," he adds, "that even the introduction of the principle of population interferes with the strictness of scientific arrangement." But what is the desire of wealth? It is, as Mr. Leslie says in an article in *Hermathena*,²³ in which he urges the necessity for a new method in political economy—it is a general name for a great variety of wants, desires, and sentiments, widely differing in their economic character and effect, and undergoing fundamental changes in some respects in the successive periods of society. As moralists, viewing the same abstraction, not as a condition of well-being, but as the root of all evil, "have denounced under the common name of love of wealth, not only sensuality, avarice, and vanity, but the love of life, health, cleanliness, decency, and art, so all the needs, appetites, tastes, aims, and ideas which the various things comprehended in the word wealth satisfy, are lumped together in political economy as a principle of human nature, which is the source of industry and the moving principle of the economic world." The motives summed up in the phrase "vary in different individuals, different classes, different nations, different sexes, and especially in different states of society;" in these last, indeed, the several desires comprehended under the general name follow definite laws of succession. The point Mr. Leslie here insists on is, be it observed, not merely—though that is also true—that the phrase *desire of wealth* represents a coarse and crude generalization in the natural history of man; but that the several impulses comprised under the name assume altered forms and vary in their relative strength, and so produce different economic consequences, in different states of society; and therefore that the abstraction embodied in the phrase is too vague and unreal for use in economic investigations of a really scientific character. The special desire for accumulation, apart from the immediate or particular uses of wealth, is no doubt a principle of social growth which must not be overlooked; but this, too, takes different directions and works to different ends in different stages of social development. All these economic motors require to be made the subjects of careful and extensive observation; and their several forms, instead of being rudely massed together under a common name, should be discriminated as they in fact exist.

²³ *Hermathena*, No. IV., 1876. "On the Philosophical Method of Political Economy," p. 269. I am much indebted to this article.

The consumption, or more correctly the use, of wealth, until lately neglected by economists, and declared by Mill²⁴ to have no place in their science, must, as Professor Jevons²⁵ and others now see, be systematically studied in its relations to production and to the general material well-being of communities. And none of these things can be really understood without correct views of the structure and evolution of society in all its aspects; in other words, we are led back to the conclusion that they cannot be fruitfully treated apart from general sociology. I have not here been able to do more than indicate the leading features of a criticism which I recommend all who are interested in the subject to pursue in its full development in Mr. Leslie's admirable essay.

There is a common economic abstraction which, by the unsympathetic color it has given to political economy, has tended, perhaps more than anything else, to repel the working classes from its study. By habitually regarding labor from the abstract point of view, and overlooking the personality of the laborer, economists are led to leave out of account some of the considerations which most seriously affect the condition of the workingman. He comes to be regarded exclusively as an agent—I might almost say, an instrument of production. It is too often forgotten that he is before all things a man and a member of society—that he is usually the head of a household, and that the conditions of his life should be such as to admit of his maintaining the due relations with his family—that he is also a citizen, and requires for the intelligent appreciation of the social and political system to which he belongs a certain amount of leisure and opportunity for mental culture. Even when a higher education is now sought for him, it is often conceived as exclusively designed to adapt him for the effective exercise of his functions as a producer, and so is reduced to technical instruction; whereas moral and social ideas are for him, as for all of us, by far the most important, because most directly related to conduct. Labor again is viewed as a commodity for sale, like any other commodity; though it is plain that, even if it could be properly so called at all, yet in some particulars, as in the difficulty of local transfer (a family having to be considered), and in the frequent impossibility of waiting for a market, it is quite ex-

²⁴ *Essays on some Unsettled Questions in Political Economy*, p. 132.

²⁵ *Theory of Political Economy*, pp. 46, 47.

ceptional amongst commodities. By a further abstraction, the difference of the social vocations of the sexes is made to disappear, in economic as in political reasoning, by means of the simple expedient of substituting for *man* in every proposition *person* or *human being*; and so, by little else than a trick of phraseology, self-support is made as much an obligation of the woman as of the man. It is true that ungenerous sentiment has much to do with the prevalence of these modes of thought; but what it is most suitable to insist on here, is that the science on which they rest, or in which they find justification, is false science. By merely keeping close to facts and not hiding realities under lax generalizations, we shall be led to more humane, as well as truer, conceptions of the proper conditions of industrial life.

It is a characteristic feature of the metaphysical habit of mind (using that phrase in the sense with which Comte has familiarized us) to mistake creations of the speculative imagination for objective realities. Examples of this tendency have not been wanting in the dominant system of political economy. The most remarkable is perhaps furnished by the *Theory of the Wages-Fund*. The history of that doctrine is instructive, but I cannot here enlarge upon it; it may suffice to say that though the so-called wages-fund is simply a scientific figment, the only legitimate use of which would be to facilitate the expression of certain relations, it has been habitually regarded as an actual entity, possessing a determinate magnitude at any assigned instant. It is true that Mill gave up this theory, when Mr. Thornton had convinced him²⁶ of its unsubstantial nature; but, strange to say, even when relinquished by the master, some of the disciples continued to cling to it. Professor Cairnes in his latest work,²⁷ insisted that Mill was mistaken in abandoning it, and it is still taught in some of the elementary manuals—not, I am glad to observe, in that of Professor Jevons, who indeed never adopted it.²⁸ There are, in my opinion, other quite as illusory economic conceptions which have met with a good

²⁶ Thornton "On Labor," p. 84, and Mill's review of that work in the *Fortnightly Review* of May, 1869, reprinted in his *Dissertations and Discussions*, vol. iv.; see pp. 43, and foll. of that volume.

²⁷ *Some Leading Principles of Political Economy newly Expanded*, pp. 184, 185.

²⁸ *Theory of Political Economy*, Preface, p. vii.

deal of acceptance, and have even obtained the sanction of distinguished names. If I do not now enter on an examination of them, it is because I am unwilling that the general views I am desirous of presenting should be lost in a series of special discussions, for which a more suitable opportunity can easily be found.

(Conclusion in December Number.)

LAFONTAINE AND HIS CRITICS.*

LAFONTAINE is, next to Moliere, the best known and most popular French author in Germany. Bouterwek and Jacobs have pretty well exhausted the harvest of instruction and knowledge to be gathered from a critical study of his fables. Kulpe, however, first gives a sketch of Lafontaine's life, and of the successive phases of his career as author, moralist and philosopher. In doing this he criticises very sharply the unkind criticisms of Lamartine and reproduces the hearty, wholesome praise that Lessing gave Lafontaine, making known to Germany, and properly estimating, his real claim to popularity and respect. In Germany, as in France, Lafontaine is the familiar friend of young and old, and his is the model after whose graceful form many thousands of Fables have been told in prose and verse; but few have equalled him in manner or substance, or in the popularity that has proved his success in the ingenious method he has adopted of teaching lessons of morality. His literary skill exceeded that of any of the earlier writers of fables, whose works he studied with untiring diligence, and it has not been equalled by any of his imitators.

Lafontaine was past twenty when he woke up to the charm of poetry, and after a diligent study of Malherbe, Boccaccio, Ariosto and Macchiaveli, he fortunately turned to the old French writers, to Rabelais, Voiture and Marot, and inspired by their manly strength, went back to a careful study of Terence, Horace, Virgil and Quin-

Lafontaine, seine Fabeln und ihre Gegner, [His Fables and their critics]. By Wilhelm Kulpe. Leipzig: Wilhelm Friedrich, Publisher of *The Magazine of Foreign Literature*, 1879. Pp. 78.

tilian. Married at twenty-six to a wife of fifteen, whose love of novel-reading was as strong as his for poetical contemplation, he soon found the duties of an office secured for him by his father too onerous, and the married pair, partly for want of means, and mainly to be able to pursue their particular tastes, separated and each lived afterwards only to gratify his or her own tastes.

Lafontaine gained some credit for his translation of the *Eunuchus* of Terence, and what was still more important, a place in the household of Fouquet, who in his rôle of a modern *Mæcenas*, gave him a yearly pension of a thousand francs, on the condition of a poem every quarter. Fouquet was in the midst of his short-lived greatness and, at his chateau of *Le Vaux*, surrounded himself with the cleverest men of his time. *Pelisson* was his secretary, *Le Nôtre* designed his gardens, *Le Brun* painted for his gallery, *Moliere* wrote for his theatre,—but Lafontaine had little skill in making his abilities known, and his ballads written to order, were stilted and artificial. The fall of Fouquet suggested to Lafontaine a clever description of *Vaux* in its days of splendor, and led to a touching tribute to his poor patron, whom he visited in his prison cell. From Fouquet's overcrowded house he went to the solitude of the chateau occupied by the *Duchess of Bouillon*, and to her inspiration the world owes Lafontaine's *Fables*.

While *Corneille*, *Moliere*, *Boileau* and *Racine* went to the classic writers for the originals of their plays and poems, Lafontaine found his first models in the old songs of the *Troubadours* and the *Fables* of the Middle Ages, and, as in them, so in his early verses there was a degree of freedom of speech and sentiment that makes them quite impossible for the modern reader, and, indeed, Lafontaine himself lived to regret a license that was by no means unusual in his day. *Racine*, although eighteen years younger than Lafontaine, was of infinite service to him in leading him to a study of the Greek poets, and in making him one of the group of which *Boileau* and *Moliere* were the leaders. For the first time in literary history we see four friends of such marked distinction united in the closest sympathy,—*Horace* and *Virgil*, *Pope* and *Swift*, *Luther* and *Melancthon*, were all examples of the advantage of such intimacies, but here were, for the first time, four men of uncommon genius and the most diverse dispositions, united in the closest bond of friendship. *Moliere* and Lafontaine were rather silent and

disposed to melancholy, but Racine was full of good humor, while Boileau was hot-tempered and excitable, yet the four met regularly three times a week, at Boileau's and worked together in great earnestness at their literary studies, and Lafontaine owed to them his return to serious contemplation and a more elevated tone of morals. Under the leadership of Madame de la Sablière, there gathered under her roof, as at the Hotel Rambouillet, a circle of clever men and women, who elevated the literary standard, improved by the conversation at their gatherings, the work done at home, and prepared the ground that has produced the rich harvest of modern French literature. It was she who gave Lafontaine a home and shelter after the death of his last patroness, the Duchess of Orleans, and it was there that he wrote the second series of his Fables on which his reputation is enduringly established.

The first series was printed in 1668, dedicated to the Dauphin, and attracted much popular attention, while the second series was distinguished by the king's gracious notice of the poet, who however lost favor in the eyes of Louis the XIV., by an evident preference for the society of his own favorite animals, over that of the splendid court of his sovereign. Lafontaine was sixty-two years old before he was elected to a seat in the Academy, but once one of the Immortals, he was distinguished by the regularity of his attendance, rather than by his literary activity, although, as a proof of the earnestness of his conversion to the creed of the church, he wrote a translation of the *Dies iræ*, and a legend of St. Malchus, neither of any importance. In 1695 he died quietly, under the roof of another patron, cared for in his last moments by Racine and Fenelon, and to-day he sleeps at Pere la Chaise, alongside of Molière,—while his name and his Fables are household words in France and with thousands of readers elsewhere. In illustration of the simple, ingenuous nature of the man, his German biographer has collected many anecdotes that go to prove him an absent-minded, kindly genius, who was fortunate in being cared for by others much better than he could care for himself, but to the eye of a practical observer it looks as though a husband who could neglect his wife and forget his child, was hardly a subject for much praise.

The French claim for Lafontaine the right of sitting near Homer, and Lamennais attributes to him majesty, dignity, energy,

elegance, refinement, naturalness, tenderness, beauty, unequalled in any modern poet. He wrote tragedies, comedies, elegies, odes, ballads, novels and tales, but all his glory is due to his Fables, in which he invested the dumb creatures of the field with qualities that elevate them at once to the highest dramatic interest.

Lafontaine's attention was first drawn to this form of poetical composition by a translation published in 1644, made by Gallaud and Gaulmin, of the Fables of Bilpay, a Brahman poet, whose tales of Indian wisdom, were first made known to European scholars in a Latin version of 1262. He had not such industry as was necessary to master the old French writers of the thirteenth century, but he studied carefully a collection of Fables by Nevelet, which contained all the Greek and Latin Fables, those of Boccaccio and the Queen of Navarre, and from them and from Æsop and Bilpay, from Rabelais and Regnier, he learned how to make animal life as full of instruction and entertainment as any drama of classic or contemporary events and characters. In his Fables we find true pictures of nature and society, with all the feelings and aspirations, hopes and fears, passions and struggles, joys and sorrows, virtues and vices of the human heart. Each of his personages has a special character and a unity with all the others, so that the reader finds his old friends under new disguises, and discovers that the moral lesson taught mankind out of the mouths of animals, is well worth studying, and that it combines poetry and truth of the highest value.

Kulpe has made a careful analysis of many of the Fables, and even the reader most familiar with these tripping lines, will learn from it to see in them new truths and the manifold applications that can be given to such old texts. Much of this is drawn from Taine's admirable study of the great French poet, but the German author has not been able to carry into his commentary the charm of the French critic, with his subtle observation and his inimitable skill of expression. Indeed, when he leaves the safe guidance of Taine, and trusts to his own inspiration, he becomes dull and common-place beyond endurance. The chapter on Lafontaine's philosophy carries the poor story-teller up to a world of which he never dreamed, and from which the general reader may well shrink back, appalled at the learned apparatus brought together for the purpose of ascertaining the exact source of every one of the lessons

that Lafontaine taught, and to show that they had their origin in the deepest philosophers of his own and earlier times. A more welcome subject is that of the exact place in letters to which Lafontaine is entitled, and the hearty praise of Fenelon, of La Bruyère, of Vauvenargues, of Chamfort, is set forth in sharp contrast to the warning that Lamartine drew from his own experience of the ill effect of putting Lafontaine's Fables in the hands of young and nervous children. For this Lamartine receives a sharp setting down from the German critic of the great Frenchman, and is himself criticized in turn with results that may perhaps surprise the admirers of Lamartine, for he is declared to be insincere, hollow, sentimental,—in every respect, the contrast to Lafontaine. Still, the fact remains that Lafontaine's Fables were not written for children, except a few Fables intended to amuse a young Duke de Bouillon, and that Lamartine judged the author by his own feeling towards his Fables, and visited on his head the errors of those who thought their own intellectual enjoyment of stories of animals, told as only Lafontaine could tell them, was sure to be shared by the child whose timid nature shrank from the dreadful apparition of talking beasts and reasoning birds. Lessing, however, honored Lafontaine with a very careful, critical study. This is reproduced in the main by Kulpe. It gives him a place of honor above Æsop or Phædrus, and the long line of German mediæval writers who dealt with animals much as Lafontaine did, as well as far above his imitators. A wealth of learning is displayed in his sketch of the literature of Fables, from those of the Bible and of classic antiquity, from the east and from mediæval Europe, down to Lafontaine himself, who is recognised as the real author and creator of the modern Fables. His own personal qualities, his calm, clear, simple nature, his straightforward, ingenuous, unambitious character, his untiring labor in securing mechanical perfection, his perfect freedom in the use of the material gathered together by his own industry, and his readiness in availing himself of help from every quarter, are clearly mirrored in his Fables, which supply a new source of intellectual pleasures as well as a very high standard of moral instruction. To Lessing, indeed, is due the most thorough analysis of Lafontaine's genius, and to the German critic must be given the praise of doing justice even to a French poet.

NEW BOOKS.

THE HUMAN SPECIES. By A. de Quatrefages, Professor of Anthropology in the Museum of Natural History, Paris. [International Scientific Series, Vol. xxvii.] New York: D. Appleton & Co.

This book we regard as one of the most valuable contributions to science in the International Series. Although the author is a man of very definite convictions, and is obliged to meet and answer theories the opposite of his own, at every step, the book is characterized by a thoroughly scientific spirit,—a patience and calmness in weighing evidence, a readiness to confess ignorance, a willingness to hear all sides. His style is simple and clear, and he marshalls the great range of facts in regard to human anthropology with such skill, that the reader everywhere obtains a clear and satisfactory view of what is known and what is conjectured on each head. M. de Quatrefage's general results are as follows:

1. Mankind have sprung from a single stock, and therefore constitute a single species.
2. The species has not been developed out of ape, or any other form of animal life. As to its origination, the sciences of observation can say nothing.
3. The advent of mankind on this globe occurred much earlier than the ordinary chronology supposes, and was perhaps as early as that of the earliest mammals of other species.
4. All the races of the species are distinguished from other species by common peculiarities of physical, moral and religious character.

M. de Quatrefages thus places himself in decided antagonism to all schools of anthropology. The Darwinians in general would agree with him as regards the unity of the species, against the Negrophobists of the Anthropological Society and Agassiz; and so would the theologians. The theologians and Agassiz would support his second position against the Darwinians and Negrophobists. The Darwinians would agree with him, against the theologians, as to the great antiquity of the human race, but to put it as far back as that of the other mammals would be a blow to the Development hypothesis. On the last head, Agassiz and the theologians would sustain him against both the Darwinians and the Negrophobists.

No one can read this book without learning a vast deal about the early history of the race, which is not told in any of our ordinary works of history. Indeed, history must confine itself to the story of the great central peoples, and has no room for such a story as that of the colonization of Polynesia, told in chapter xvii.,—a story not devoid of interest and instruction. So, again, of the

researches which extend into prehistoric times. The account of the cave-dwelling races of northern Europe is the clearest and most connected we have ever seen, and while it probably contains nothing new to specialists, is admirably fitted for the class of readers for whom this book is intended.

STUDYING ART ABROAD, AND HOW TO DO IT CHEAPLY. By Mary Alcott Nieriker. Boston: Roberts Brothers.

This little book is better in intention than in execution. The author, whose name is an odd mixture of good old New England,—suggesting the Concord summer school of philosophy,—and German or Danish,—undertakes to report the actual cost of living, instruction and other items of art study abroad, and this part of the book is fairly well done. Still, without turning to the Guide Book to verify our guess, we venture to think that most of the details can be got more fully from Murray or Baedeker, than from the somewhat vague and loose writing of this little book. It is painfully loose in its grammar and in the construction of sentences, while there are blunders in spelling and in names, that may perhaps be attributed to careless printers and still more culpable proof-reading. St. Swetchin is a poor alteration of St. Swithin. French, English and even American artists, find their names wonderfully reconstructed,—and the French misprints are still more glaring. The actual information on the topics of special interest to artists is very small indeed. In Paris, we are told, instruction is to be had “at L’Ecole des Beaux Arts, besides M. Jackson and other teachers,” but, on the other hand, we learn that at Krug’s School, where Muller, Cott and Carrier Belleuse give lessons, the price of his daily séances and one evening lesson, is one hundred francs a month, and no extras. The list of French artists who take pupils, includes such well-known names as Chaplin, Duran, Cabanel, Luminais, Bougereau, Fleury and Lefebre,—and among the pupils whose works have attracted special notice are Miss Cassatte (sic) and Miss Dodson, of Philadelphia.

The fact is noted that there are only few good French women painters,—the list, indeed, is limited to Bonheur, Jacquemart, Abbema, and Sarah Bernhardt, and while there is a proper reservation as to the last, the first is especially spoken of as the founder of an art school. Even more wonderful than the cheapness of the teaching recommended by the author,—for she especially commends M. Jackson’s school, where there is one séance a day given for one hundred francs a month, with every appliance,—is her list of economical dressmakers,—Mme. Thierry, whose dresses cost from forty to fifty francs, and Femary, whose prices begin at sixty francs, shoemakers who make stout boots for 14 to 18 francs, and shops where sets carved black walnut furniture, covered with velvet, can

be had for forty dollars, may well be remembered. On the other hand, we are told that in Rome a good boarding house costs twelve to fifteen liri a day, and that other expenses are in the same proportion; for instance, Miss Hosmer's Three Hundred Guinea Hunter. The pleasantest part of the book is that devoted to a brief account of the picturesque nooks and corners of France and England, best suited for the artist, who can thus combine work with pleasure, and find in London a fair sale for any good drawings, etchings and water colors, that many have been made on the spot. The book ought to be gone over, and, by a careful revision and some excision, it may be made useful as well as attractive, if not so popular as Miss Howitt's Art Student in Munich, and then, with successive editions, it will, no doubt, secure the accuracy and fulness which it now needs.

HECTOR BERLIOZ. Selections from his Letters, and Æsthetic, Humorous and Satirical Writings. Translated and preceded by a Biographical Sketch of the Author. By William F. Apthorp. New York: Henry Holt & Co.

In a musical sense, the American public may be said to know but little about Hector Berlioz. Two of his overtures, *Les Francs Juges* and *Le Carnaval Romain*; two symphonies, *Episode d'une vie d'Artiste* and *Roméo et Juliette*; and his orchestral arrangements of the *Rakoczy March* and Weber's *Invitation à la Valse*:—are nearly if not quite all of his orchestral works that have been performed in this country. The *Episode d'une Vie d'Artiste* drew from Robert Schumann, at that time editor of the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, one of the most elaborate newspaper criticisms ever vouchsafed a work of that kind. The article referred to has to this day remained a model in its way, and contains some common-sense writing on the much-mooted subject of descriptive music.

Mr. Apthorp has drawn upon "*Les Soirées d'Orchestre*," "*Les Grotesques de la Musique*" and "*A Travers Chants*," in making up the volume before us. The Letters from Germany show Berlioz's estimate of the musical situation in the various cities that he visited, with, here and there, hints as to the treatment of certain instruments in the orchestra and the proper method of directing chorus singing. Besides much that is purely technical, there is the usual Berlioz mixture of the fantastic, the bizarre, and the natural, which, to be appreciated, must be read in his own words. No description can convey an adequate idea of the writings of Berlioz—now *saltimbanque*, now artist. Whether they contain much or little that is of enduring worth (and on this point opinions will vary, according to the tastes or the prejudices of readers) they are always piquant.

It seems strange that the ever busy translator should have delayed so long in introducing Berlioz to English readers. Judging

by the manner of Mr. Apthorp's performance, it is well that the task has fallen to his hands.

GERMAN WITHOUT GRAMMAR OR DICTIONARY. By Dr. Zur Brücke. Chicago: S. C. Griggs & Co.

An examination of the "German without Grammar or Dictionary, by Dr. Zur Brücke" is convincing that it is one of the very best of the methods for acquiring German, in that it seeks to relieve the student of the dry and tedious work of the Grammar.

It undertakes at once to educate the ear, regarding this, very properly, as one of the most important factors in the study of a living language, and Dr. Zur Brücke's work is, therefore, especially adapted not only to the needs of younger students, but to all who wish to gain a speaking, in distinction to a reading, knowledge of German.

Its method, briefly stated, consists in a series of questions and answers, which can be used to equal advantage in class or private instruction, beginning with the simplest phrases and progressing gradually to the more complicated. These are explained, translated where necessary, and are connected with notes that are unusually simple and clear, and especially to be commended for their sensible treatment of those stumbling blocks—the irregular and separable verbs.

The author has shown the best possible judgment in using, throughout the whole work, the largest possible number of such words as are cognate to English in sound, meaning and orthography, and in dealing with subjects of every day interest and experience.

In this way the student gains, almost without conscious effort, a large vocabulary of such words as he most needs for practical service, as well as fluency in handling idiomatic forms, which are the life of any language, as they are confessedly the most difficult to master.

Although called distinctively a work on German *without a Grammar*, the author has added, perhaps by a wise concession, at the close of the book, the essentials of Grammar, together with a complete list of irregular verbs.

RUSKIN ON PAINTING. New York: D. Appleton & Co.

Whilst few perhaps regard Mr. Ruskin as an unerring guide either in art or in political economy, none who are familiar with his writings will deny that they contain many passages of exquisite beauty and interest in the midst of much that is unattractive to the average reader. This fact has been recognized in the work, "On Painting" which is merely a judicious selection of the best things in "Modern Painters," preceded by an excellent biographical sketch of the author.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

Table-Talk. To which are added imaginary conversations of Pope and Swift. By Leigh Hunt. (Handy Volume Series.) Price 30 cents. New York: D. Appleton & Co. [Porter & Coates.

The Skin and its Troubles (Health Primer). Cloth. 16mo. Pp. 94. Price 40 cents. New York: D. Appleton & Co. [Porter & Coates.

Christie Johnstone. By Charles Reade. (Handy Volume Series). Price 30 cents. New York: D. Appleton & Co. [Porter & Coates.

A Gentle Belle. Christian Reid. Sw'd. 8vo. Pp. 142. Price 50 cents. New York: D. Appleton & Co.

Appleton's Dictionary of New York and Vicinity. Compiled by Townsend Percy. 1877. 16mo. Pp. 234. Price 30 cents. New York: D. Appleton & Co. [Porter & Coates.

Lafontaine, Seine Fabeln und ihre Gegner, Von Wilhelm Kulpe. 12mo. Sw'd. Pp. 178. Leipzig: William Friedrich.

Petőfi's Tod vor dreissig Jahren, 1849. Jókai's Erinnerungen an Petőfi, 1869. Historisch-literarische Daten und Enthüllungen, bibliografische Nachweise. Zuzammengestellt von K. M. Kertbeny. 12mo. Sw'd. Pp. 100. Leipzig: Wilhelm Friedrich.

A New Method for the Study of English Literature. By Louise Maërtz. Cloth. 12mo. Pp. 101. Price \$1.50. Chicago: S. C. Griggs & Co. [Claxton, Remsen & Haefelfinger.

Hector Berlioz. Selections from his Letters, Æsthetic, Humorous and Satirical Writings. Translated and preceded by a Biographical Sketch of the author. (Amateur Series.) 12mo. Cloth. Pp. 427. Price \$2.00. New York: Henry Holt & Co. [Claxton, Remsen & Haefelfinger.

Belle and the Boys. By Mrs. Caroline Fairfield Corbin. Cloth. 12mo. Pp. 248. Chicago: Jansen, McClurg & Co. [J. B. Lippincott & Co.

The Life of Benedict Arnold; his Patriotism and his Treason. By Isaac N. Arnold. 8vo. Cloth. Pp. 444. Price \$2.50. Chicago: Jansen, McClurg & Co. [J. B. Lippincott & Co.

Winter and its Dangers. By Hamilton Osgood, M. D. (American Health Primers.) Cloth. Pp. 160. Price 50 cents. Philadelphia: Lindsay & Blakiston.

The Publisher's Trade List Annual, 1879. Seventh Year. Cloth. 8vo. New York: F. Leypoldt. [Claxton, Remsen & Haefelfinger.

The Life and Poems of Edgar Allan Poe. A new memoir by Eugene L. Didier, and an introductory letter by Sarah Helen Whitman. Cloth. 12mo. Pp. 305. Price \$1.50. New York: W. J. Widdleton. [Claxton, Remsen & Haefelfinger.

Studies in German Literature. By Bayard Taylor. Cloth. 12mo. Pp. 418. Price \$2.25. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. [J. B. Lippincott & Co.

Midsummer Dreams. By Latham C. Strong. 12mo. Cloth. Pp. 174. Price \$1.25. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. [J. B. Lippincott & Co.

A System of Water Color Painting. By Aaron Penley (Putnam's Art Hand-Books). 16mo. Boards. Pp. 68. Price 50 cents. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

Notes on Railroad Accidents. By Charles Francis Adams, Jr. Cloth. 12mo. Pp. 280. Price \$1.25. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

Studying Art Abroad, and How to do it cheaply. By May Alcott Nieriker. Cloth. 16mo. Pp. 86. Price 50 cents. Boston: Roberts Bros. [Porter & Coates.

Chequer-Work. By Thomas G. Appleton. Cloth. 12mo. Pp. 384. Boston: Roberts Bros. [Porter & Coates.

The Light of Asia; or, The Great Renunciation. By Edwin Arnold, M.A. Cloth. 12mo. Pp. 238. Boston: Roberts Brothers. [Porter & Coates.

The Political Economy of Democracy; with a Statement of the Law of Justice between Capital and Labor. By John Lord Peck. 12mo. Sw'd. Pp. 64. Price 25 cents. Philadelphia: Edward Stern & Co.

Descriptive Catalogue of Ruins, Restorations and Scenes exhibited in the Pompeian Museum, Fairmount Park. Sw'd. 12mo. Price 10 cents. Philadelphia: Edward Stern & Co.

THE
PENN MONTHLY.

DECEMBER, 1879.

THE MONTH.

THE English ministry are evidently in a quandary as to the dissolution of Parliament. They are holding themselves in readiness to dissolve, in case there should be some sudden turn of affairs in favor of their foreign policy, and yet are equally prepared to let this Parliament run on until it expires by legal limitation. At present, the drift of public feeling is manifestly not in their favor. Even their successes in Zululand and Afghanistan have done nothing for them,—have at most merely cancelled the record of their mismanagement in those countries, without creating any popular enthusiasm. And each of these new conquests is felt to be a new burden of responsibility upon an overburdened treasury,—a new opening for possible complications in the future. The imperial spirit is evidently laid at rest again, and the mass of the people wish that the frontiers of these two conquered countries had never been crossed.

The ministry seem disposed to make some capital out of bullying Turkey. The alliance of Austria with Germany has excited raptures in Tory breasts, as giving a guarantee that all central Europe will oppose the encroachments of the Muscovite in the direction of Constantinople. But just at this point the Russians won a move of the utmost importance. They met check with check by coming to a virtual understanding with Turkey.

For this latter Russia has always had a subtle fascination, not unlike that which a serpent has for a bird. Again and again, during the last half century, English or French diplomacy has been frustrated at Constantinople by secret understandings of this sort. And, in ordinary circumstances, the Russian is less offensive to the Pasha, than is the Englishman. He is known to want to see the Crescent expelled from Europe: but in times of peace he does not pester the Turk about reforms. He takes the Turks on their own low estimate of themselves: he expects them to plunder their Christian subjects, and to waste their revenue on their harems. He does not want to make the Turks into civilized westerns; he has too many faults in his own administration to be very impatient of theirs. And, therefore, the dangerous enemy is preferred by a shiftless government to a troublesome, fidgetty and unsympathetic friend. The loss of empire may be the will of Allah, and the faithful must submit. But it is not so easy to see the will of Allah in all of Mr. Layard's proposals, remonstrances, and various sorts of pressure in favor of the Armenians. It may be Allah's will that the faithful should lose what they have, but not that they should be forbidden to enjoy what Allah sends in their own way. So the Sultan dismisses his reforming ministry, creates another with Russian sympathizers at its head, and awaits results.

For the time being, Mr. Layard has the best of it. The English fleet has been brought into play once more, and the Sultan has had to get rid of the offensive ministers. But both Russia and the Porte can afford to wait; the fleet will not always be at hand, nor will English attention be so ready to concentrate itself in Constantinople. The recent ministry represents the dominant tendency in Turkish politics, and in the long run it will get the upper hand. It is Russia, and not England, who will officiate as chief mourner at the sick man's funeral.

THE agrarian agitation in Ireland has reached such a height that the government has seen fit to interfere by arrests of some of the subordinate leaders for incendiary language. They have made, we think, a mistake in taking this step, for they will only inflame and extend the agitation. The arrest of O'Connell in 1843 was a different matter. That was made after the agitator had broken his own prestige and had alienated the violent members of his own

party. These are made while the agitation is at its height, and will probably lead to a defeat of the authorities before either the Jury or the Grand Jury. It is true that the movement has no such leader as O'Connell; but equally true that it has a propellant force in its own nature, such as the agitation for Repeal never had. Revolutions, like armies, "move on their stomachs," and a real distress pervades Ireland, which helps to fill up the gap and cover up the fallacies of the arguments which Mr. Parnell and his associates lay before the people.

The representatives of the movement have issued an "Appeal to the Irish Race," with a copy of which we have been favored. We can go with its authors most heartily, while they describe the wretched condition of "the six hundred thousand landless farmers of Ireland," and the need of some change in their condition. But when we came to ask what remedy they propose, and are told that it is the transfer by the government of land-ownership from the landlords to the tenants, after a fair compensation to the former, we feel that these gentlemen have not yet sounded the depth of Irish misery, nor reached any adequate solution of Irish difficulties. If all the landlords were swept into the depth of the sea, and no other change made, Ireland would still be a wretched, impoverished, suffering and discontented country. Every bad harvest would bring with it the certainty of privation and perhaps of famine. Her towns would still be full of idle, ragged, unemployed, half-fed people. And the same pressure which has driven the Irish people by millions across the ocean, would continue to expel them from the land they love so well.

Does anyone suppose that it is only the tenant-farmers who have been forced to emigrate from Ireland, or that the transformation of that class into owners of the soil would work miracles? We speak from personal knowledge when we say that the class of freeholders have contributed a large proportion of these involuntary emigrants. In truth, farming land that you own in Ireland is but one degree less unprofitable than is farming land that you have rented. Else why the large emigration of freehold farmers from county Down?

The cure for Irish wrongs must be at once more radical and less violent than that proposed by this "National Land League." It must be in the creation of those alternative occupations, which at

once emancipate the tenant from the slavery of dependence upon a landlord's will, and increase the profits of his farming. It must be in bringing the artisan and manufacturer into neighborhood with the farmer,—in creating that balance of the industries, in whose absence no prolonged prosperity is possible. So long as Ireland buys everything, and sells nothing but food and raw material, she will continue to be a proverb for poverty. And so long as her people have nothing to which to turn from farming, they will be the virtual slaves of the landowners, whether those landowners are counted by hundreds or by hundreds of thousands.

FRENCH politics continue of an eminently personal nature. Whether M. Waddington will weather impending storms, through M. Gambetta's alliance, seems to be the only live question, and a foreigner who is more inclined to look for measures than for men as the guiding forces in political movement, finds it difficult to know what is the case for or against the eminent Protestant who stands at the head of the ministry. But it is noticeable that M. Grevy is the one highly placed man who is of no importance in the present situation. The presidency of the French Republic seems to be a sort of honorable banishment, into which some eminent statesman is to be sent, whenever it is desirable to get him out of the way. This arises from the fact that the office is hampered by the restrictions both of the English kingship and of the American presidency. M. Grevy has neither a hereditary position, an unparalleled social prestige, and an immense personal income like Queen Victoria, nor a right to select his own ministers, a real veto on legislation and a freedom from interference during his term of office, like President Hayes. To act as the national figure-head and to exercise the pardoning-power, seems to be the extent of the executive functions; and the latter M. Grevy exercises in every capital case by commuting death to imprisonment, as he is opposed to the infliction of the death penalty.

M. Grevy's chief rival in political position is Prince Napoleon, who, after much hesitation, has made his peace with the Imperialist clergy, and poses as the candidate for the Napoleonic throne. In so doing he has swallowed all of his professions of political principles, but that sort of deglutition has always been easy for the

Bonapartes; none of them ever were choked by it. The Republic shows its good sense by ignoring all its enemies except the communists. Were it to tolerate the reds, it would give its other enemies an excuse for representing it as revolutionary in its tendencies, and would lose its hold upon the peasants, who rallied at the last elections to its support. But so long as it makes the provinces believe that it is not the red, but the conservative, Republic, it can afford to let Imperialists and Royalists play what pranks they may. If it only had as much good sense and moderation in its ecclesiastical policy, it might be perpetual.

SPAIN is at last setting itself to the abolition of slavery in its colonies. The ministry do not propose immediate and unconditional emancipation. The measure they offer is one whose operation will be gradual, but none the less effective. Nearly all peaceable abolitions of slavery, as in our own northern States, were of this sort. That in New Jersey, for instance, operated so slowly that there were still a few left in that state when the census of 1860 was taken. We do not, therefore, think that more rapid movement is necessary to prove the sincerity of the plan; and we hope there are those now living who will see the complete extinction of slavery on the soil of every Christian nation.

Brazil still remains to be thus freed from the burden of slavery. She has been very loud at times in her profession of anti-slavery zeal, and Dom Pedro has been hailed more than once as the crowned Wilberforce of South America. But all this talk has come to nothing, and Brazil alone, of all the South American States, is stained by the dark blot. A general movement on the part of the opponents of slavery throughout the world would probably produce the desired effect; or perhaps a tax on Brazilian coffee, with the pledge of its removal on the completion of emancipation, would do equally well. The retention of slavery in Brazil is but one symptom, out of many, which shows the low moral level of that people. This huge, lumbering, loose-jointed Empire needs the infusion of some new moral energy into its mass, and even its excellent Emperor, though full of the culture and the ideas of more favored lands, has not shown himself exactly "the leaven to leaven the whole lump."

THE November Elections have completed the work begun by those held at an earlier date. The people of the North distrust the Democratic party, and are not prepared to place the government in its hands. As *The* (London) *Spectator* points out, the rising generation, who have begun to vote since the war, have decided against the Democracy, and have rallied to the support of that party with which their fathers voted in the time of the nation's perplexities. The one hope that the Democracy had for the future is cut away from them, and when after the census of 1880 the West is awarded from fifty to sixty new members of Congress, and the South loses nearly as many, the chance of putting a President into office by the vote of the Solid South will have disappeared forever.

The result of the November elections is most remarkable in the doubtful States. That Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Wisconsin, Nebraska and Minnesota should roll up Republican majorities, was to be expected. The wildest Democratic calculators could not have doubted the result in any of these States. But to have lost New York, and the States on either side of her, is a blow from which the party will not rally. Connecticut and New Jersey have each gone Democratic at such recent elections that both parties have felt uncertain as to their future. No one now entertains any doubt as to their vote in 1880.

In New York the result is not so decided as elsewhere. Each party put into the field a ticket which could not command the support of the whole party. On the Democratic side, Mr. Kelly's bolt assured the defeat of the regular nominee; while Mr. Cornell, although elected by this movement, ran far behind the rest of the Republican Ticket. The Republican leaders, it is to be hoped, will not fail to profit by this lesson. If a man who was really acceptable to the whole party, had been put in nomination, the party would have secured a clear victory, and would have entered upon the Presidential campaign of next year with the certainty of success. As it is, although the Republican vote for Lieutenant Governor and other lesser officials is a few thousands ahead of the whole Democratic vote, it is less so than if the enthusiasm of the party had been generally aroused. The placing of Mr. Cornell at the head of the ticket in a pivotal state, will cost the party vast sums of money and vast outlays of effort in the campaign work of next year. It will make the campaign one of intense excitement, and much bitterness, whereas,

had it not been for that nomination, the Republican candidate might have walked over the course.

Still the chances, however reduced, are on the Republican side, and the South begins to appreciate the fact. Its "solid" vote cannot elect a President without the help of Indiana and New York, and one of the two is lost. Of even the other they are not sure, for the enthusiasm which has so mightily affected the Western vote in other States will doubtless extend to that one; and the revival of prosperity will, as elsewhere weaken the hold of the Democrats and Nationalists upon the discontented classes. Next year may see a "Solid North" arrayed against the "Solid South."

THE meaning of the vote is variously interpreted by various judges. Mr. Sherman and his New York friends see in it the popular approval of the resumption policy. We do not believe that they are justified in so interpreting it. The people are not at all awake to fine points of fiscal policy. They have relapsed into their normal condition of indifference to financial questions, which do not directly pinch themselves. So long as hard times lasted they listened to speculations on such topics, and often fell in with very vague and wild notions. But now that they are no longer directly and consciously pressed by monetary difficulty, they are not much disposed to give them any attention. They hear Mr. Sherman and his like descant on the glories and benefits of resumption, but do not feel bound to have any opinion on the subject. He may be right or he may be wrong; they are indifferent which. With or without the help of specie payments, prosperity has come back, and prosperity for them removes the money question out of the sphere of theory into that of practice. When we have another Era of depression, they will take up the question with renewed interest, and will run after Ewing and his like as eagerly as ever.

The real issue of the campaign, the one issue to which our people are thoroughly awake, was the imperilment of the results of the war by the Solid South and its Democratic allies in the North. This is a point upon which the American people have made up their mind. They reached definite conclusions by the light of war's lightning flashes, which gave things a vividness they will never forget. The maintenance of the Union against the heresy of State Sovereignty, the assertion of the national authority against claims of

State Rights, and the protection of the emancipated slaves from the living spirit as well as the dead form of slavery, are not open questions with the North. The northern people mean to make every man in this wide world know and feel that this is a nation and not a confederacy, and to make it safe for every man, white or black, to think as he pleases, and vote as he pleases, on every yard of soil over which the American flag floats. And nothing will rally them so swiftly to the support of the Republican party as the conviction that these results are imperilled by the purposes of its opponents.

The South seem to be fully aware of this, but they are intrenching themselves behind the guarantee furnished by the Constitution. The bulwark that defended slavery, they hope will save them from the exercise of national authority on behalf of their slaves. They will have to submit, as they see, to national control of national elections; but they really care far more for the power to govern and misgovern their own States, than for the chance to put a southerner in the White House. And nothing that has happened as yet threatens them with the loss of their State governments. We hope they will continue to flaunt these constitutional guarantees in the face of the nation, until the people are driven to change the constitution itself, and exorcise the demon of State Rights from his last stronghold in the body politic. This is, of course, impossible in the present condition of the distribution of States, but with the formation of New States out of the Territories which will soon be knocking for admission, the two-thirds majority needed for a revision of the Constitution will be obtained at no distant day.

THE elections in the South were not of much significance. That in Virginia must have pained every American who remembers what that commonwealth once was, and sees to what a depth she has been humiliated by the votes of her own children. The Repudiators have carried both branches of the Legislature, and only the veto of an upright governor, Mr. Holliday, stands between the state and the shame of dishonesty. To the result, the vote of the colored people has very largely contributed, but partly through the mismanagement of their opponents. The opponents of repudiation assumed the party name of Conservatives, the name associated with every severe measure against the colored people of the state.

To vote against anything which calls itself "Conservative," has become an instinct with the colored Virginian, and when white men exhorted him to support an "anti-Conservative" candidate, he was only too ready to rise to the bait. But the result is one more proof, if more were needed, that the Southern negroes are not fit to be entrusted with the ballot. The reconstruction of the South on the basis of negro suffrage, was the worst and most selfish thing the Republican party ever did. They thought to ensure their party predominance by bringing into the Union states in which a majority of the people were irrevocably pledged to the support of the party. They had not foresight enough to perceive that a mass of ignorant negroes, with no political tradition or education, and with the memories of slavery still fresh, would soon be either controlled or terrorized by the white people of the South. You might as well expect feathers to sink or lead to swim, as expect the ignorance and inexperience of a community to govern its intelligence and its social experience. And so this huge mass of negro suffrage is a positive injury to the South. In localities where there is a white majority, it is the material upon which demagogues work; in others, it presents the continual temptation to a violence and a terrorism which are demoralizing white society itself. Virginia and the border states represent the one situation; the states farther south, the other. The recent election in Mississippi, for instance, was carried on in accordance with "the Mississippi Plan." Colored and even white men, who tried to vote the Independent ticket, were knocked down at the polls; pistols were fired in the air at a given signal, so as to create a stampede of the colored voters, who expected a return of the scenes of 1875. And then, on the evening of the election, a despatch came from the scene of Colonel Dixon's murder, informing the country that "Yazoo has gone Democratic."

MR. TILDEN'S chances of an election to the presidency are certainly much diminished by the results of the election in New York. It is now evident that he cannot carry that state if he be nominated, for the Democratic opposition to him is both too extensive and too determined in its purpose, to leave him any room for a majority. And without New York the Democracy are lost. It is curious to see how some of the Democratic papers begin to speak

of the statesman over whose wrongs they were weeping so recently. They do not hesitate to charge him with a full knowledge of the cipher complots, although they stoutly denied this when the cipher investigation was on foot. It really looks as if Mr. Tilden were not to be the Democratic candidate in 1880, a fact which must sorely grieve the Republican leaders. For, if we are not very wide of the mark in interpreting what was done and said two years ago, they have a rod in pickle for his back, and that of some other Democratic statesmen, which would have hurt him much more than did the publication of the despatches to Florida and South Carolina. Of the cipher depatches to Louisiana, only one has ever been published, although Mr. Wooley was busy in that state before his visit to Florida.

Mr. Tilden's Income Tax Suit is another of the elements which modify the political situation. There seems to be no doubt that he took advantage of the law, to avoid paying his full contribution to the support of the public burdens; were it otherwise, he would not have pursued the dilatory line of defence, which has kept him for months in the legal columns of the New York papers. Astute as he is, he made the mistake of supposing that the government had no redress, but, in the absence of a return from him, must take the estimate of their own agent as final. This plea the courts have overruled, so it is only a question of time as to the collection by legal process of the balance due to the national treasury. He has thus put another weapon into the hands of his enemies, for even the states who repudiate their debts, do it on the plea of poverty, and will not admire such sharp practice on the part of a millionaire.

Some of the southern papers are talking of taking up General Grant, alleging that if they vote for him he will treat them with fairness after the election. We do not see that they have any injustice to fear from any of the Republican candidates, and they have certainly had fair play from Mr. Hayes. Why should they not join the admirers of our harmless President in demanding his re-election? Mr. Grant will not go any farther towards allowing them to repeal the national election laws than Mr. Hayes has done, and they certainly could not have been treated with greater kindness and consideration by any occupant of the executive chair. The only reason we can see for their wishing to have Mr. Grant

re-elected, is found in the fact that the worst outrages on the negro voters, in Mississippi at least, occurred in 1875, under his administration.

We believe that General Grant will not accept of any nomination to the Presidency, however unanimous. He has distinctly announced his acceptance, under certain conditions, of the presidency of the Nicaragua Canal Company, thus checkmating M. Lesseps' Panama Canal, and saving European capitalists the loss of many millions in an impracticable plan.

WE are not, in general, given to admiration of Mr. Carl Schurz. We think he has made himself sufficiently ridiculous at times by his Civil Service Rules, his "stumpage" crusade on the Montana people, and other like absurdities. But we must praise his treatment of the difficulty with the Utes, which has grown out of Mr. N. C. Meeker's murder. He has shown that exact balance of patience and severity which the case calls for. He has not marched forward our troops to exterminate the whole people, and to involve the innocent with the guilty in a common destruction. Neither has he acted as though our Government could overlook the crime committed in the murder of its agent. He distinctly announces that the guilty must be surrendered, that he will grant a reasonable time for their surrender, and that if that time passes and they are not forth-coming, the Utes may expect to be treated with severity. If this line of action is successful, it will be an immense gain as regards the future of our Indian policy. In dealing with these national wards, we have already shown plenty of both indulgence and severity, but not at the same time. To blend the two in the same transaction, to make the Indian feel that we mean to be just to him and yet just to ourselves, was indeed a new departure, and Secretary Schurz is entitled to credit for making it.

Yet we cannot pronounce his whole Indian policy a successful one. It has been characterized by as many needless wars, and as gross instances of rapacity on the part of miners and settlers, as that of any of his predecessors. In part, at least, this seems to be due to our unfortunate arrangement of the relation of the local to the general governments. The very same "State Rights" which prevent the nation from defending the Southern negroes, are equally in the way of its giving adequate protection to the

red man. Whichever way we turn, we find that "the sacred compact of the fathers" comes between our national authority and the great end for which all national authority exists,—the doing of justice.

OUR New York friends have been working very hard to put a period to our mild resumption of prosperity. Wall Street has been the scene of speculative movements and reactions, which recall the flush period which followed the war, when all our sins could be charged to "a depreciated currency and inflated values." Inflation of values depends but little on the nature of our currency, as may be seen from the history of the past two months. We have had all the extravagances of the worst days of the gold ring, with plenty of gold to be had for the asking.

The reader who knows anything of the methods of business which were current in this country fifty years ago, must be struck with the evidence these days present of an unobserved revolution which has been going on for some time past. We mean the concentrating of all financial and business interests in a single street of a single city, and that the city in closest relation to foreign *bourses* and European capitalists. In the position New York held as the chief port of entry, at a time when our imports were of more importance than our manufactures, is to be found the beginning of this unfortunate tendency. But the national policy, instead of correcting this tendency, has done very much to promote it. In its present administration, the treasury has become a Wall Street broker's office, and the needs of "the Street" have been repeatedly pleaded in contravention of the rights of the nation. The law suffering our national banks to keep their reserves in New York, has converted our whole banking system into a vast pipage to drain the money of the country into a single reservoir, and centralize all its business interests. We seem about to follow the example of France, which ruined a country to create a metropolis.

One New York paper has labored to show that we have too much money. It shows that in the period 1860 to 1879, our population increased fifty per cent, our imports 28 per cent, our exports 83 per cent, our cotton manufactures 70 per cent, and our paper and coin money 154 per cent. These figures are based upon estimates, as to whose accuracy our statisticians are by no means agreed.

There is, for instance, no way of finding exactly what was the paper and coin circulation in 1860. We have only Dr. Linderman's estimate of the latter, and his estimates were always unconsciously swayed by his opinions on related topics. And *The Times*, in taking cotton as a representative manufacture, is wide of the mark. Great as has been the extension of cotton manufacturing since 1860, there has not been room for so much growth in that as in other branches, for the cotton manufacture, during the half free trade period, 1847-60, never quite lost the ground gained under the tariff of 1842. The general growth of our manufactures since 1860 is far more than seventy per cent.

We are surprised that any intelligent paper, in estimating the volume of our circulation, should take into account only the paper-money and coin in circulation. It shows the need of a new popular edition of Mr. Stephen Colwell's *Ways and Means of Payment*, in order to the diffusion of a correct notion of the functions and the importance of money of account. The credit money created by discounts on the books of our banks, as the best English and American economists have long insisted, is just as much a part of the currency as is our gold coin, and far more capable of mischievous inflation and explosion than any other. And if *The Times* would only study the history of those discounts during the period 1860 to 1879, in which we have correct figures as to their amounts and variations, it will see that we have had an inflation far more serious than any presented in its own figures.

The Times would have us draw the inference, that the greenbacks should be cancelled and the bank-paper left. By its own showing, this would only result in giving us an equal volume of bank-paper, issued for the advantage of corporations, instead of the people at large. For his great recommendation of bank-notes is their elasticity of volume, "as shown by their average increase of about a million a month during the present year." If they increased at that rate, it must have been because of some demand for paper-money; and if we swept away over three hundred and sixty millions of national notes, the demand would be increased by just that amount. We should be no nearer to contraction than before, but we should have transferred the interests on that sum from the pocket of the nation to the pockets of the capitalists.

THE plan of the New York importers, to induce the Democrats to retrieve their fortunes by shifting the political struggle to the debatable ground of Protection or Free Trade, is evidently meant with all seriousness, and pushed with some energy. With that curious obtuseness to national self-respect, which is characteristic of Free Traders, they have selected the occasion of Mr. T. Bailey Potter's visit to America to get up a demonstration in favor of Free Trade. Mr. Potter himself was obtuse enough to fall in with this project, if indeed it was not a main object, of his trip to America. When at home, he knows better. He would not select the visit of some distinguished American statesmen to get up a demonstration in favor of universal suffrage, or unsectarian schools, or a change in the Land Laws. He knows that he would alienate every right-minded Englishman by such a proceeding, and do the cause infinitely more harm than good. But Englishmen of Mr. Potter's type look upon Americans as well-meaning provincials, who may be treated with condescension, but have no national feeling to be taken into account. They think of running over to America to preach Free Trade, as they might think of running up to Scotland to strengthen the Liberal cause. They seem to feel no delicacy in getting on their feet after dinner, to tell the American people that they are pursuing an altogether mistaken policy, one in whose defence there is really nothing to be said, and which they will do well to abandon for that of England at the earliest opportunity. And their entertainers not only find the proceeding altogether beautiful, but even go to much trouble and expense to create the opportunity for this paternal lecture to the forty millions of the American nation. Both hosts and guest altogether mistake the temper of the American people. If there be a feeling which more than another characterizes them, it is that which Burns has expressed in his rough, vigorous lines :

The Kettle o' the Kirk an' State—
 What though a clout may fail in 't;
 Deil the foreign tinkler loon
 'Ill ever ca' a nail in 't.

If our New York friends wish to help on the Protectionist cause, let them (1) get Mr. Wood to prepare another Tariff Law ; and (2) get all the Manchester school, one after another, to come over to instruct us how to manage our own affairs. We are not in very

great need of such assistance at present, but still we will not forget their benefits.

We have been visited by the National Convention of Wool Manufacturers this month, who held in our city their annual meeting. It was happy in every respect but one,—they failed to extract a protectionist speech from Senator Bayard.

Our woolen industry is advancing with rapid strides in all its departments. In six years the import of dress goods has declined \$8,000,000, while that of carpets fell from \$6,000,000 to \$400,000. The advance in quality is even more remarkable. Like other industries, this received a new impulse from the Centennial Exhibition. The public comparison of native and foreign products, showed where the American article was defective, and led to strenuous efforts to improve both texture and design. There is now no inferiority in many lines of production, especially carpets. Philadelphia, now the greatest wool manufacturing centre of the world, weaves 6,500,000 yards of carpet more than are made in the British Islands, and the whole American product is twice as great as the British. Every foreign style is now produced at home of the best quality, and the demand for foreign carpets has ceased in great measure, even among those who will buy nothing but the best.

Upon this industry depends the success of a very important and growing branch of American agriculture, the raising of sheep. American wool, we used to hear, was too coarse for the finer grades of production. But in California they make blankets which sell for \$125 a pair, and in Minnesota what sell wholesale for \$75 a pair.

THE trial at New Haven of a Mr. Hayden, a lay preacher, not a clergyman, of the Methodist Church, for the murder of a girl, presents points of scientific interest of a character altogether novel. The girl was found dead in the woods, not far from her father's house, with her throat cut, and with a quantity of arsenic still undissolved in her stomach. During the legal investigation which followed his arrest on suspicion, it appeared that Hayden had bought an ounce of arsenic in the neighboring town on the morning of the girl's death. He admitted the fact, but declared it was to poison rats, and that he had placed it on a beam in his barn, because his wife disliked having it in the house. Search was made, and a tin box containing

an ounce of arsenic was found in the place specified. This seemed to dispose of this part of the evidence against him, and as no blood was found in his clothes, the jury disagreed, although there were many suspicious circumstances which seemed to point to him as the guilty person.

During the interval before the present second trial, it occurred to Judge Harrison, the chief of counsel for the commonwealth, to have the microscope applied to the arsenic found in the stomach and that found in the barn. Fortunately, another specimen of arsenic, bought on the same day in the same store, was obtained, and the State procured a third specimen from what the druggist swears to have been the same lot. The result of the microscope examination of these by Mr. S. A. Dana, now Professor of Mineralogy at Yale, was so surprising that the State paid his expense to go to England and study the new English methods for the manufacture of arsenic. It seems that in the English process, arsenic is driven off in a volatile condition by great heat, and then crystallizes in either large or small crystals as it deposits. The latter are too small to be crushed in the subsequent grinding, and are still discoverable under the microscope in commercial arsenic, while the larger crystals are broken into amorphous fragments and fine dust. But in the German process, what is called glass arsenic is made, in which there are very few fine crystals to reappear after grinding, and the broken pieces and dust make up the great bulk of what is seen under the microscope. A microscopic study of the four specimens of arsenic above mentioned, showed that only that found in the barn was English arsenic, that found in the stomach resembling in every way the specimens purchased in the same store, on the same day and at a later date. If Hayden's story were true, the barn arsenic should resemble the arsenic purchased at the store at which he dealt. To the naked eye, the two are exactly the same, but the microscope detects a decided and unmistakable difference. One has some seventy five per cent of unbroken and shapely crystals; the other has hardly more than fifteen. Professor Dana's studies of the arsenic were fully confirmed by similar studies made by Prof. Wormley, of the University of Pennsylvania, the chief American authority on microscopic toxicology. But it is to the lawyer that is due the suggestion of making a comparative study of the several specimens. Should the trial result in Hayden's conviction, it may

help to deter evil minded persons from attempting to use such substances for others' destruction. They never can tell when the magnified senses of chemical science will discover their wickedness.

But Hayden will not be hung, if the wit of astute lawyers can save him. Mr. Watrous, who conducts the defense, must excite the admiration of even the proverbial Philadelphia lawyer by his inexhaustible cleverness. Having to deal with a jury made up very largely of Connecticut farmers, and knowing that the bucolic mind can never understand how any service can be worth more than two or three dollars a day, he set himself to excite prejudice against the experts by asking them how much they were to get for their work.

THE visit of Mr. George Jacob Holyoake to this country, has turned attention to the coöperative movement as one solution of the workingmen's difficulties. Mr. Holyoake has very wisely devoted his energies to the promotion of this practical measure for the welfare of his countrymen. He has had a chequered career. In early life he was one of Robert Owen's ardent disciples, but in the excitement created by the imprisonment of a fellow Owenite for blasphemy, he became the leader of the Secularist secession from the Owenite ranks, and spent many of his best years in trying to persuade the common people that religion was an empty theorizing about matters beyond human ken. As a social movement, Secularism was a failure; its congregations fell away, its halls were sold, and, except in a few places, there is hardly the name of such a body. Its merely negative creed furnished no basis for social coöperation.

The coöperative movement grew out of the Owenite movement, being accepted as a half-way house to the socialistic organization of society. It gained an independent character in 1848, when it was taken up by many, in both the lower and middle classes, who had no sympathy with Owenism. Its most remarkable development in recent years has been the coöperative stores established by the Civil Service clerks in London.

Coöperation has been much more successful as a method of distribution than of production. In the complexity of modern business, it is difficult, if not impossible, to keep the management of a shop or factory in the hands of an association of workingmen.

But as a plan for reducing the excessive profits of tradesmen and securing thoroughly pure articles of food and honest articles of clothing, it has done a great work in England, especially in the northern shires. Its introduction into our own country has been repeatedly undertaken, and with more failures than successes. The pressure upon our people is not so great, nor are the profits of our storekeepers so excessive, as to compel them to have resort to this method of saving their money.

The plan of coöperative colonies from our cities has been brought forward in connection with Mr. Holyoake's visit. We do not expect much from such undertakings. The well-paid, comparatively successful workman is in no hurry to leave the locality where he earns an adequate support and has the best opportunities for the education and the advancement of his children. The poorer sort of workmen, those who have failed in the cities, will not succeed if transferred to a much more difficult position and invited to play the role of the founders of a new community. The position of a colonist is one of especial hardship and difficulty. It required the best nerve and sinew of Europe to effect a landing on our own shores, and colony after colony perished in the attempt. The colonist experiences nature's resistance at its maximum; the citizen at its minimum. Those who have not succeeded under the most favorable conditions, will not be likely to succeed under the least favorable.

Sometime during the present month, Mr. John' Murdoch of Inverness, the editor of *The Highlander*, will lecture in this city under the auspices of the three Scottish societies. Mr. Murdoch has been carrying on a gallant fight for years past, on behalf of the small tenant-farmers and crofters in the Highlands and the adjacent islands. The weapons of his warfare have been pleas for justice and fair play,—pleas based on indisputable facts and addressed to the consciences of landlords and their agents. He has carefully refrained from stirring "bad blood" on either side, and he has succeeded in securing a great many reforms in the administration of Highland estates. His paper, with which we have been long acquainted, is unique as a journal devoted to social agitation, and yet conducted with perfect sobriety and a careful reference to Christian principles. He has never failed to rebuke the faults and

shortcomings of the class on whose behalf he is laboring. He discusses national topics with an ethical earnestness, which makes one think of John Knox risen from the dead.

Unfortunately, *The Highlander* has not paid its way, as might be expected from the poverty of the people upon whom it depends for support. Mr. Murdoch visits America to secure subscriptions and support, especially among the Gaelic population of Canada. The opportunity of lecturing on the Land Question in the Highlands has been tendered him by his friends in this city, as a help to the same result. Mr. Murdoch wears the highland dress, having never adopted any other. He is a man of fine mind, great information, and an earnest practical religiousness.

He told us, when in this city, that he was surprised at the small proportion of drunken people in America, so far as he could judge from what he saw on our streets. He thought we owed this to the vast consumption of fruit in America. The growing and the use of fruit is greatly on the decline in the British Islands, where old fruit gardens and orchards are much neglected, and very little fruit is offered for sale in the towns. Nearly all the apples for sale are American. He has been laboring to procure a change in this matter, and has stirred up many small cultivators to grow fruit and offer it for sale. We hope to have a contribution from his pen in an early number of this magazine.

OUR city authorities, having decided on a two dollar tax-rate, are compelled by the terms of the new Constitution to cut down the expenses within the limits of the revenue this will furnish. There is therefore a general overhauling of all departments of the government, in the interest of economy. We greatly fear that economy will be so over-done this year, that next year there will be a reaction in the opposite direction. Saving money is not the chief end of city government, and it will not pay to starve a department till its work runs behind, and then spend four times what was saved in bringing it up again. Especially will it not pay to reduce either the highway or educational department of the city below the level of thorough efficiency. Like most of our fellow citizens, we are not satisfied with the management of either of these two departments. We think the city should have much larger returns for the money laid out in them. But reform should begin at the other

end of the line, by compelling them to do their whole duty, and not in fining them into incapacity in punishment of their faults.

The proposal to abolish out-door relief of the poor, retaining of the \$50,000 appropriation of last year, only the \$7,000 needed to pay the medical service, is one of the most radical which has been made. The reasons given are, (1) that the money is very largely used for political purposes, and not for the assistance of the deserving poor; and (2) that the new Ward Associations of our Charity Organization Society are fully competent to take care of the poor who really need and deserve assistance. This must be taken as a high compliment to the new society, and it gives them larger claims upon the support of our people generally. It is equally an answer to the charge that the organization is very expensive, for if it is to save the people of Philadelphia over \$40,000 a year, it certainly saves more than it costs in all forms of its outlay.

ST. PETERSBURG.

FIFTY years after New York was founded, a vast marsh extended on both banks of the Neva where St. Petersburg, or Peterburg as the Russians generally call it, now stands. When the wind blew fresh from the South West the water from the Gulf of Finland covered this marsh, and a lake extended as far as the eye could reach. When winter had frozen the Neva, and the snow had covered the marsh, an immense uninhabited plain extended in every direction. It is difficult to imagine a scene of greater loneliness and desolation than that presented less than two-hundred years ago by the spot where a great city of 600,000 inhabitants now stands.

In the year 1700 Russia did not extend to the Baltic, or to the Gulf of Finland. Peter the Great desired to have an outlet for his empire in that direction, "to have an eye into Europe" as he expressed it. In 1702 he attacked the Swedes, who then held Finland and that part of Russia contiguous to it, and, driving them out, commenced the construction of his capital.

Why he selected a marsh twenty miles from the Gulf as the site of St. Petersburg, can only be conjectured. At Peterhoff, fourteen miles further down the river, the land is high and well wooded, and

still further down lies Oranienbaum, apparently another good site for a large city: But the water is not deep at Peterhoff, flats extending far into the river, while at St. Petersburg it is very deep. Peter's reason for his selection was probably, facility for defence. He had no fleet in those days, while the Swedes possessed a strong one, which, as it was, gave him some trouble on the Neva in the early days of his undertaking.

Peter carried his project into execution with his accustomed energy. He drafted 40,000 men annually, many from distant parts of his empire, and set them to work on his marsh. Of course, the loss of life must have been fearful. But he triumphed over every obstacle, and in a few years a substantial and well built city stood upon the banks of the Neva.

Then Catharine the Great took up the task. She built quays, facing the banks of the Neva for miles with granite. She built the Hermitage and other striking buildings. She gave lands freely to churches, no matter of what denomination, on condition of building; and the Lutheran, Roman Catholic, Armenian and English churches are now strong and wealthy in St. Petersburg. She built an Opera House, and did everything in her power to draw her rich subjects to the capital by making it an attractive residence to them. The Russian nobility came in numbers, and of course built palaces, and gradually the city assumed its present palatial appearance.

St. Petersburg reminds one of Washington. Both cities were built to order. Both were created, and did not grow up, and both were cities of magnificent distances. St. Petersburg has now grown up to its distances, and Washington is following in her footsteps.

The Admiralty was the first building of importance constructed. It was at first built of wood, but this building has been replaced by an immense structure in brick. It stands upon the South bank of the Neva, and it formed the point of departure for laying out the city. There radiate from it, running nearly East, South-East and South, three principal avenues, called "Prospectives." These are superb streets, well built up, and two or three miles long. One of them the "Prospective Nevsky" is the Boulevard of St. Petersburg, nearly as large as Pennsylvania Avenue, and much better built up. A horse rail-way runs in the middle, while the carriage way is paved with wood, which has to be renewed every year, or at least every two years, on account of the dampness of the soil

and the severity of the climate. The side walks are of stone or asphalt, and very wide. Nearly all the crack shops of the city are upon this street.

Here on a Sunday or fête day, and there are eighty of them without counting the Sundays, you see the Peterbourgeois in his glory. Nearly every second man is in uniform, for the garrison of St. Petersburg alone is 70,000 strong, and on account of the vicinity of Cronstadt, there are, of course, many officers and men of the navy to be met, and then almost every employé of any public and of many private establishments, wears uniform. The old-fashioned Russians of Moscow look down with contempt upon St. Petersburg, and call it a "City of Bureaus." There are certainly enough of them. Carriages dash up and down the wooden pavement at great speed, for there is no city in the world where there are such fine horses, and where they are driven so recklessly. They are harnessed without blinds, and are consequently rarely frightened. With all their fire, there is rarely a runaway in Russia. For some strange reason, the Russian drives with double reins, two to each horse, and invariably with both hands. They use double reins probably because their ancestors did not know how to do differently, and as their ancestors did, so do they in all things. For the same reason, probably, the single horses are driven with a hoop over the collar to which the check rein is fastened. Many reasons are given for this custom. Some say it is used to hang bells upon, to drive away the wolves; others that it is in the shape of a horse-shoe, and therefore brings good luck. My explanation is that it was adopted to check the horses' head up, for the Russians are not an inventive people, and did not know how otherwise to do it. Once adopted, it will stay forever. The most disagreeable feature of the affair is to see the draught horses dragging heavy loads, and needing to throw all their weight into the collar, with their heads painfully checked up.

For the Russian, while gentle to most animals, is hard upon his horse. What part superstition may play in this matter, I do not know. But the pigeons, the sparrows, and even the crows, are so tame that they will scarcely flutter out of your way. Pigeons are emblems of the Holy Spirit, and are therefore never killed by a genuine Russian. To some they embody the souls of their deceased relatives. Crows, too, are to some of them, their

dead sisters or brothers. It is to be feared that the poor horse is a deceased mother-in-law. When a peasant girl marries, she goes to live with her husband's parents. She probably has a pretty hard time of it, and her sufferings and longings for her own dear mother are a favorite theme of the Russian peasant poet.

The fruit-sellers are rather a picturesque sight on the Nevsky. They are dressed in a red shirt and white apron, and the inevitable long Russian boot. They carry their wares on a wooden tray, and bending on one knee in the mud or on the stones, rest the tray on the other. Apples are pretty good at St. Petersburg; strawberries are delicious and abundant and not dear; and so are raspberries; but all other fruit comes from a distance, and is expensive.

The silver shops are a feature of the Nevsky. We had an opportunity of seeing something of the beautiful Russian silver at Philadelphia three years ago. Silver ware in all sorts of shapes, useful and merely ornamental, is manufactured in great quantities in Russia, at Moscow and Toula principally. Large amounts of silver must be used in this way, for every house has its sacred picture, generally of the Virgin and Child. It faces you as you enter the room, hung against the wall in a corner. In the better houses it is made of silver, often gilt; in the poorer houses, of brass.

The St. Petersburg lower classes, "peasants" they are called both in the city and the country, are a church-going people. The bells begin to ring at six in the morning in summer, and at seven in winter, every day, and sweet-toned bells they are, silver entering largely into their composition. The people throng to the great Cathedral of St. Isaac's, and on fête days and Sundays fill that large building. Unlike other countries, in this two-thirds of the church-goers are men. They stand or kneel during the two hours service, for seats are permitted only to a few invalid women of rank. This is a matter of faith. From time to time, they prostrate themselves with their foreheads upon the floor, in true oriental fashion. The service consists of reading (intoning) and chanting—voices alone, for organs and other musical instruments are forbidden. In the great churches the voices are fine, and the music, therefore, impressive, but it is monotonous and soon fatigues the ear.

St. Isaac's Cathedral, the finest church building in Russia, was

only finished under Nicholas. All that marble and gold, bronze and silver can do to make it gorgeous, has been done. The dome is of gold, not gilt merely, a thin plate of gold laid upon copper, the large cross which surmounts it of solid silver, seventeen feet high. Columns of malachite and lapis-lazuli, thirty feet high, adorn the interior. Fifty-two bronze statues of saints and martyrs, seventeen feet high, decorate the exterior. The large doors are in bronze, and magnificent they are. The Russians excel in bronze work,—their bas-reliefs stand out from the surface as if detached.

But this great church is settling, and is likely to cost much money to repair. The architect sunk a forest of piles for it to stand upon, and evidently counted upon no settling, or upon its settling evenly. He forgot that the four beautiful porches are lighter than the main building with its heavy iron dome. The main building has settled evenly, but in doing so has detached itself from the porches, bearing the great marble columns out of line, and in some instances cracking them. For three years they have been at work patching, cementing and shoring up. It must end in their being counselled to take down the porches and rebuild them,—an enormously expensive job.

The second church in St. Petersburg, in importance and interest, is the Kazan. It is an imitation of St. Peter's, but built on a smaller scale, and is, therefore, architecturally a failure. But it is rich with battle-flags and splendid jewelry, offered by sovereigns and by the faithful.

Church domes are a striking feature in St. Petersburg. Some are gilt, some blue studded with stars, and many green like the roofs of the houses. Some of the churches are built with many small domes and minarets, giving them a very mosque-like appearance.

The religion of the Russian peasant is very simple. His whole doctrine is this: If he crosses himself with three fingers he will be saved; if with two, he will be damned. This beautiful simplicity is admirably adopted to the average bucolic mind, and saves it much trouble. To take off his hat and cross himself when he passes in front of a church or shrine, to do the same if he meets a funeral, or even when he hears a distant church bell, this, besides fasting, is the whole duty of the peasant man in Russia.

Add to this, that he is to abstain from work on Sundays and fête days, to wear a sheepskin even in summer, to sleep in his clothes, wash his face at the pump and not disturb his hair too often with a comb, to visit the graves of his relatives once a year, there to eat and drink all the potato brandy he can get, not forgetting to leave a portion of food on the grave, for the benefit of the deceased, and you have a picture of the moral, physical and mental condition of the Russian peasant.

But he is polite and affectionate, and very tolerant. He takes off his hat with quite an air of elegance when he meets a friend, *i. e.*, a male friend; for I regret to state that he too evidently looks down upon the female of his species. When he is drunk, and this perhaps happens rather too often, he kisses and hugs his companion instead of fighting him, and as for the "unorthodox," for he is the only "orthodox," why, they were born so, poor fellows! It is not their fault, they are not to be blamed for it!

In this connection, a word upon the Greek Church may not be out of place. It claims to be the oldest Christian church extant, far older than the Roman Catholic, and certainly its traditions have been unchanged for ages. One is struck with the uniformity of the type of the pictures of the Saviour and the Virgin. The Roman Catholic painters have made her a beautiful Italian or Spanish woman. In Russia she is of the purest Eastern type, an unmistakable Hebrew. Pictures of her abound in the churches, and in every variety, but no statue is permitted. The Russian interprets literally the commandment against making "any graven image."

Their priests are of two classes, the white—or rather the brown—and the black. The former marry, or rather may be married; for when once ordained they cannot marry. When a young man is ready for holy orders his bishop looks up a wife for him. She is almost always the daughter of a priest, and in this way the families of deceased priests are provided for; for the bridegroom must take his mother-in-law and the other members of his wife's family to live with him. If his wife dies, he may not marry again, and under these circumstances he generally leads anything but an edifying life. These village "popes" are generally very commonplace and uneducated men. They are supported by the state and by the voluntary contributions of the people. As a rule, they ex-

ercise very little influence and are very little respected. They very rarely preach, preaching being discouraged by the church, for fear, it is said, that the doctrine preached may not be sound.

The black priests do not marry. They reside in convents, and are supposed to give themselves to prayer, meditation and study. They have great contempt for the white priests.

The Emperor is the head of the church. Up to the time of Peter there had always been a Patriarch at the head of the Church, as the Pope is the head of the Roman Catholic Church. But the Patriarch of the day opposed Peter's innovations in his Empire, and denounced them as heretical. On his death, Peter appointed himself Patriarch. The spiritual and doctrinal government of the church is vested in the Holy Synod, but the power of appointment and of deposition is in the Emperor, who exercises it through a minister, generally a military man.

The Greek church, of course, rejects the supremacy of the Pope. It believes, with our Baptists, in total immersion, but in infant, and not adult baptism. It does not believe in indulgences or dispensations. It rejects Purgatory.

The Russians are the strictest possible observers of the fasts of the Church. The food of the lower classes is poor enough at all times. In winter it consists principally of black bread, salted cucumbers, and tea, which they drink weak and in great quantities. The Russian or caravan tea, is delicious but dear. In Summer the peasant eats eggs, and has milk and occasionally chickens and meat. But during the forty days of Lent, about twenty days in June, and nearly two months in the autumn, and on every Wednesday and Friday during the year, he abstains from all kind of animal food, and even from milk and eggs. After the long and strict abstinence of Lent he is so run down as to be very liable to disease, and at this time the deaths are very numerous. St. Petersburg is perhaps the most unhealthy city in the world. In winter and spring the deaths are as numerous as they are in Paris, a city of three times the number of inhabitants.

For it is not the want of proper food only against which the lower classes have to contend. To keep out the intense and penetrating cold, they seal up the windows. They use, of course, double sashes, but in addition to these the space between them is filled up with three or four inches of sand or cotton, and the cracks are the:

puttied. A large fire is made in the stove (a mass of brick and plaster), and as many people as possible crowd into the room. The odor from the sheep skins under the influence of the heat, does not improve the air.

But while the Russian peasant's dress is filthy, his skin is generally clean. He does not trouble himself much to wash his face and hands, or comb his hair, but he goes every Saturday evening to a hot bath, and cleanses himself thoroughly. In the country he has generally a small log building near his house, for kiln-drying his grain in the autumn, for often it fails to ripen in the short wet summer, and for a vapor bath in winter. Steaming himself up till he is almost red-hot, he leaves his bath and rolls in the snow. It seems to do him no harm.

Food is cheap in Russia. In St. Petersburg you can buy as good beef as there is anywhere at 14 cents a pound for the best cuts. In certain places on the Volga common beef can be bought for a cent and a half. Mutton is not generally good, but breeds of English sheep have lately been imported, and the meat is improving. Fish is abundant and good. The fish market is a curious sight, both in summer and winter. In summer the fish are swimming about in large tanks in the Neva and in the canals. You point out your fish, the attendant scoops him up in a hand net, cuts him on the back of the neck, and instantly he is a dead fish. In winter they are brought in immense quantities from the Volga and elsewhere. They are frozen solid, and piled up in the market like so much wood. If the fish freezes to death when taken from the water, he remains fresh till he thaws. But if he dies first, and then freezes, he is not so good. When once frozen he remains so generally till sold, for it is the rarest thing here for it to thaw, after the winter has once set in, till spring. When this does happen the loss to the fish dealer is very great.

Horse hire, as well as food, is cheap at St. Petersburg. Day and night, and in every quarter, the little "droskies" await the customer. They are most uncomfortable little vehicles, Take a wheel-barrow, put four wheels under it instead of one, fasten the horse between the handles and you have a "droskey" There are 17,000 of them in St. Petersburg. They drive for a mile for ten cents. A Russian never enters a droskey without bargaining. The driver asks of course more than he expects to get and is willing to take. The

customer turns away with feigned indignation, and walks off as if all negotiation was at an end. The driver waits a minute to see if he will relent, then calls out *pajolot* ("as you please"), and the bargain is closed. The foregone conclusion of these negotiations makes the performance rather absurd.

Handsome equipages are of course to be had, and very much cheaper than in the United States or in Western Europe. For eighty dollars a month you can hire a two horse carriage complete, with no other expense except a little *chai* (tea-money), to the coachman, if you choose to give it. The same equipage, or not so good a one, in Paris would cost you a hundred and twenty dollars a month.

The Petersburgers live in apartments, as is done in Paris; and not as we live at home, in houses to ourselves. The salons and show-parts generally of these apartments are very fine, the bedrooms are miserable. A large comfortable bed-room is a thing almost unknown, except at the hotels. To reach one bed-room, you often must pass through another. In a veritable old fashioned Russian house there are frequently no bed-room doors, curtains supplying their places, and the faithful serf being supposed to sleep across the entrance, to guard his master or mistress. The Russian does not pretend to provide sleeping quarters for his under servants, "mujiks" as they are called. They sleep wherever they can throw themselves down, but generally according to their calling. Thus the cook's mujik sleeps in the kitchen, the butler's mujik in the butler's pantry, the coachman's in the coachhouse, etc. For every upper servant must have his or her mujiks. This is a matter of personal dignity which cannot be waived.

Servants' wages are low. You can get a man cook for ten or fifteen dollars a month, and a woman to help him for three. But it is necessary to keep so many servants that the expense of feeding them is very considerable. At New Year's, and at Easter too, they expect handsome presents,—at least a month's wages.

St. Petersburg is a city of *gourmets*. The long nights in winter, and the excessive cold and discomfort out of doors, drive the inhabitants to indoor pleasures. They consequently pay great attention to the *cuisine*, and the cooks become *cordon-bleus*. The best *cuisine* is of course the French, and there are French *chefs* in many of the houses, but the Russians have a number of national dishes they are fond of, especially soups—cabbage soup eaten with

sour cream, cucumber soup, and a cold sour soup, which they swear by, but which is not very agreeable to a foreign palate. The root vegetables, turnips, beets, etc., are remarkably good, so are water melons and cucumbers, while game, snipe, woodcock, partridges, white partridges, hazel grouse, black cock, *cogs du bois*, and hare, are all abundant in their season and good. In the way of fish, the salmon is excellent, and they have trout, pot fish, perch, grayling sequis, somewhat like a striped bass, and the famous sterlet, which I do not think deserves its reputation. Its roe makes the best caviare.

The regular Russian restaurant is not to be seen in perfection in Petersburg. There is one in Moscow, they call the Hermitage, which is thoroughly Russian. A feature of these restaurants is an immense mechanical organ, which grinds out lively airs during dinner. One can hardly talk. The correct thing to do is to take, before dinner, a "zacouska," which being interpreted means a preliminary lunch, a small glass of *liqueur*, generally "wodki," with salt fish, or caviare, or a little cheese. This is supposed to whet dulled appetite.

Besides the pleasures of the table, the Russians rely greatly upon cards to pass the long winter evenings. They play a great deal and play high. Whist, with some modifications in the counting, baccarat, and a game they call "quinza," something like "Boston," are their principal games. Our great national game of poker is not unknown among them, but its attractions are just beginning to be appreciated. Cards are a monopoly in Russia, and their importation is strictly prohibited. The profits on their sale go to the support of the Foundling Hospital, and it is magnificently supported. Any infant can be brought there, and no questions are asked either as regards the mother or the child, and no payment is necessary. It is said to be the only place in Russia where no passport is required.

The public buildings are imposing from their size, but not architecturally. The necessity for using brick as a building material, because it resists the climate better than stone, interferes with the architectural effect. The brick is stuccoed, or yellow washed. The Winter Palace is a mass of stuccoed brick, 700 feet long by 450 feet deep. It has no pretension to beauty but size. The Hermitage has a porch supported by large bronze caryatides. This

is fine. The "Bourse" is of brick, with large brick columns. In fact, nearly all the public buildings, and they are very numerous, are mere masses of brick.

The houses, the modern ones, are wonderfully well built. The outer walls are generally three feet thick, and the partition walls two feet. The halls and stairways are of stone and iron. An extensive conflagration is almost an impossibility in St. Petersburg, and it is fortunate that it is so; for their means of extinguishing a fire are of the most primitive description. They use an absurd garden engine that two men can easily work, and the water is drawn by them from casks brought up on carts. They have excellent horses and plenty of them, and active young firemen, but their mechanical contrivances would excite the derision of a six month's village on a western prairie.

St. Petersburg excels in monuments. One of the oldest and most spirited is that of Peter the Great, erected to him by Catharine. It is an equestrian statue, and both rider and horse are full of life. It stands upon the identical rock upon which Peter stood when he defeated the Finns. The statue of Nicholas is also equestrian. On the base are beautiful bas-reliefs in bronze, setting forth the principal events in that sovereign's life. The statue of Catharine, the statues of Suwaroff and Barclay de Tolly, the column of Alexander I., the famous bronze horses on the Fontanka bridge, and many others, are admirable in their way, and set off and ornament the squares and public gardens in which they stand, and beautify the city.

The environs of St. Petersburg are very beautiful. The Neva divides into four branches, at or near the city, and between them lie several islands, covered with fine birch and oak trees, and luxuriant vegetation. Every one who can afford it leaves St. Petersburg in summer, and lives on one of these islands, or elsewhere in the neighborhood. The fashionable drive is to the island of Jelagin, to the "Point." Here the breeze comes in fresh from the Gulf of Finland, and the view is pleasing, and here the fashionable world walk, or sit in the carriages and talk with their friends, during the long, light summer evenings till ten or eleven o'clock. But it is not all *couleur-de-rose* at Jelagin. If a gale blows from the south-west for twenty-four hours, the water covers all but the footpaths, which are elevated, and you are lucky if you escape

with water in your cellar only. Trees are blown down, and bridges and bathing-houses carried away. Then the mosquitos are nearly as bad as on Lake Borgne, near New Orleans, and that is the *ne plus ultra* of mosquitodom. Places of amusement are scattered over these islands. Restaurants where you may dine in the open air, orchestras, theatres, rope-dancers, and gypsies, who sing a wild barbaric song, not unmelodious. The Russians make the most of their short summer of ten weeks, and live out of doors much more than we do in a more genial climate.

But the great feature of St. Petersburg is the Neva, and this in winter as well as in summer. The Russians are very proud of it. If you have not seen the Volga, they will tell you that the Volga is the finer river, but if you have seen it, they will admit the superiority of the Neva. It is the finest river in Europe, for depth and volume of water. No tide sets into it, but it has a current of about two miles an hour. It is the outlet of Lake Ladoga, an immense lake, for Europe, as large almost as Lake Huron.

The Neva surrounds St. Petersburg on two sides. It is generally frozen over in November, and remains solid till late in April, with ice from 20 to 30 inches thick. It was crossed by one stone bridge only until lately, but another was formally opened in October, sprinkled with holy water and blessed by the Metropolitan. All the other bridges are of boats. As soon as the ice begins to form, these bridges are swung against the Northern bank. When the ice becomes firm, channels are cut and the bridges are swung back into their places. Here they are firmly held by the ice, and are safer from injury than even in summer. When the river breaks up they are again swung to the shore, and remain there while the ice is running out. This is the season for the picturesque little boats with high sterns, which now do a great traffic, carrying innumerable passengers across the river for a few copecks (about half a cent); for your true Russian hates walking as a certain exalted personage is reported to hate holy water, and will rather call a boat than walk a hundred yards to a bridge.

While the Neva is frozen, life on the ice is gay and picturesque. Foot passengers, pleasure sleighs and loaded sleighs, are crossing and recrossing in every direction. The ice dealers are getting out their stock. The Laps, with their sledges and reindeer and skin tents, encamp upon its face, and for two copecks you may ride be-

hind a team of reindeer. Their gait is not rapid, an awkward trot of about 8 miles. They are driven by the horns.

A race course of half a mile is laid out upon the ice and fenced in, and here trotting races take place every Sunday. The Russian trotter is not to be compared with ours in speed; 2.30 is the very best he can do. But the palm for beauty must be conceded to him over our horses.

When the ice breaks up no one is permitted to cross the river until the signal is given by a gun from the Fortress of Peter and Paul. Then the Governor embarks in his barge, rowed by a dozen stout oarsmen, and attended by a fleet of small boats. He crosses the river to the Winter Palace, where the Emperor meets him. He presents to the Emperor a goblet of Neva water, as a token that the river is open. The Emperor sips it, fills it with gold coin and returns it to the Governor. Once upon a time the goblet grew rapidly larger year by year, and energetic measures had to be taken to check this miraculous growth.

In summer the scene is very different but equally animated. Huge barges loaded with wood, clay, or brick, sand or stone, float down with the current, and are tied up along the quays, or in the canals, many of which intersect the city, to the great convenience of trade. Sailing vessels make their way from Finland, English and German steamers line the northern quay below the stone bridge, steamboats start every few hours for Cronstadt and Peterhof, and little steamers ply backward and forward, every few minutes, between the city and the islands; and we are forced to appreciate the enthusiasm of the good divine, who thanked God that large, navigable rivers always flow by great cities.

WICKHAM HOFFMAN.

BI-METALLISM.*

THE subject indicated by the invitation with which you have honored me, excludes the consideration of questions relating to paper money or circulating credits. It limits us to the consideration of the question of metallic money—whether it should in the future consist of one metal, or, as in the past, of two, silver and

* An address read before the Bullion Club of New York.

gold. The magnitude of this question cannot be exaggerated. Money is the life-blood of trade. Upon the sufficiency of its volume and its free circulation depends the health of every civilized community. Hence the discussion of our question involves the consideration of all the manifold and subtle relations of money. It cannot proceed upon a single point as schoolmen propose to conduct it.

These partisans of mono-metallism fail to consider the consequences involved in the difference between a sufficient and a contracted volume of money; the effect upon the entire social organism of an augmentation of the volume of the world's stock of metallic money; the unhappy consequences produced by an increase in the number and activities of a people whose volume of money is stationary; or the consequences, disastrous alike to citizen and state, attendant upon a contraction of the volume of money, in the midst of an increase of population and human activities. They prefer to confine themselves to the consideration of what they are pleased to speak of as a standard of value. In my judgment, this is a scholastic subtlety, involving an evasion of the real question at issue. That such a standard is possible is an assumption; and if I show it to be a false assumption, as I think I shall be able to, the suggestions offered by these pseudo-scientists will go for naught.

But for the present let me invite your attention briefly to the preliminary question, "What is Money?" Neither gold nor silver is in itself money. Silver is not money in England beyond 40 shillings in one payment. On the other hand, though the same Parliament enacts the laws for both countries, gold is not money in India. In France, the States of the Latin Union, and many other States, both gold and silver are money. In Germany, prior to 1871, silver was the sole money recognized by law; now gold is the money of the Empire. China, Japan and other countries use only silver as money. These facts are sufficient to prove that money is a national institution, and the creature of legislation; and that it may be of one material or another, as governments determine. This truth is recognized by mono-metallists in their present demand for the demonetization by legislation of silver. A few years ago they recognized it by demanding that legislation should demonetize gold.

Michel Chevalier leads that side of the controversy. He de-

mands the demonetization of silver. He is supported by John Bright and the Liberal Party of England, which Cobden, Bright and Peel called into existence. Yet here is a volume, published simultaneously in France and England in January, 1859, the substance of which appeared in the *Revue des deux Mondes* in 1857, and had been widely circulated in pamphlet form. It is from the pen of the same Michel Chevalier, and is entitled "The Probable fall in the Value of Gold, The Commercial and Social Consequences which may ensue, and the Measurés which it Invites." The elaborate and laudatory preface is by the translator Richard Cobden, who concurred in Mr. Chevalier's demand for the demonetization of gold, though that metal constituted then, as now, the only metallic money of the British Islands.

I now proceed to the question, "Is money a standard of value?", and affirm that it is not. Nay, more; that the attempt to discover a standard of value must necessarily be such a waste of labor as is involved in the attempt to discover perpetual motion. The value of coin, whether it be of gold or silver, fluctuates with that of commodities. Thus in the presence of a deficient cotton crop, the value of gold coin is less, when measured by cotton, than it is in the presence of an abundant and especially of a superabundant crop. This is equally true as to grain, tobacco and all other crops. It is true also as to textiles and other manufactured articles. An excessive production of any of these articles increases the value of coin in relation to it, and each dollar will buy more than it would have done in default of the excess. But, further: a sudden change in popular taste affects the value of coin. A given number of gold coins will purchase fewer yards of a fashionable silk than they will of one unfashionable; it requires more gold to purchase 100 yards of a new and accepted style, and less than formerly to pay for a like measure of goods of equal quality against which fashion has issued its edict. No merchant will deny these propositions.

The value of a coin is tested by its purchasing power, and, thus tested, is seen to fluctuate constantly and from many causes. If this be admitted, who will claim that money is a standard of value? Again, I have but to appeal to the consciousness of each one of you to sustain the assertion that when an article is bought for a given number of dollars, neither party to the transaction calculates the number of grains of gold or silver to pass between

them. Each acts upon his knowledge of the market price of the article and the general purchasing power of a dollar at the time the bargain is made. The value of the article in question depends on the judgment of the parties, and when its value has been ascertained, money comes into use as a medium of exchange by which the transaction may be closed without resort to barter. No; money, coined gold or silver, is not a standard of value. It is a convenient representative of value. It is a medium of exchange, for use in current purchases, and is a standard of deferred payments. When money is spoken of as a "Standard of payment," there is precision in the term, but when it is called a "standard of value," confusion is introduced into the discussion.

Silver, I may remark in passing, is better adapted to the purposes of money than gold. So true is this, that if the supply of fresh gold should fail and the old stock be exhausted, silver would answer all the purposes of money; while, should such an event occur with silver, another metal than gold would have to be found with which to supply a medium of exchange adapted to the wants of petty commerce and the settlement of wages. Silver furnishes convenient coins representing threepence, sixpence, the half franc, the dime and half dime; but not only these smaller coins, but francs, marks and shillings, if coined of gold, would be too minute for use. The smallness of our gold dollar excludes it from popular favor and use. Coins of silver are also less subject to abrasion than those of gold; and, as those of minor denominations are those which circulate most actively, they are most subject to abrasion. I think you will, therefore, agree with me in saying that silver has the advantage of gold in its more perfect adaptation to the uses of money.

In approaching the consideration of our question in its practical relations, I must premise that I shall not attempt to meet the arguments of those who seek to establish that chimera, an unchanging standard of value, by following their methods. Condemning the inductive method of Bacon, Newton, Franklin and Carey, they adopt those of the schoolmen and dialecticians of former ages. Seeking an impossible object, they pursue their subject by methods which science long since discarded. Their mode is to assume the truth of certain propositions and to maintain them by abstract reasoning. They not only ignore the inductive system of reasoning, but protest

against the use of statistics, historical facts, and authorities, in the discussion. Thus, in a recent paper on Bi-metallism, the Professor of Political Economy at Yale College, Rev. Wm. G. Sumner, says:

“For instance, one writer adopted the term concurrent circulation; and gave it frequent use to express his doctrine and aim. I thought the term well chosen to express the writer's idea as I understood it, and it seemed to me that here was an idea so clear and precise that we could join issue upon it, make an analysis, undertake verification, and so refute or demonstrate, which is what I understand by discussion, and not the heaping together of statistics, historical facts and authorities.”

Seeking to promote the welfare of mankind by practicable methods, I propose in this, as in all other discussions, to accept the teachings of history, the force of authenticated and well digested statistics, and to give due weight to authority, believing that history, current events, and the conclusions which governed men whose learning and judgment have made their names immortal, are safer guides for statesmen, economists, and men of affairs than can be the assumptions and dialectic exercises of narrow schoolmen.

To present the elements of our question, I need not adopt an earlier date than the beginning of this decade. In 1870, $15\frac{1}{2}$ of silver to 1 of gold was the accepted relation between the metals. This relation was recognized by England,—an ounce of standard gold being worth £3 10s. $10\frac{1}{2}$ d., and of silver $60\frac{7}{8}$ d. Any apparent disturbance in this relation resulted from the charge for transportation and mintage, when any nation found temporary use for an unusual amount of gold or silver. The price in London or Paris was always in accord with this relation, and the utmost limit of variation that occurred between 1803 and 1870 is accounted for in the charges indicated, those of transportation and mintage. Let me not be understood as saying that all nations used gold and silver indiscriminately in their coinage. It is notorious that such was not the fact. England offered unrestricted coinage to gold. The legal tender money of Germany was silver, to which she offered unlimited coinage. In France, and throughout the Latin Union, both metals were legal tender and entitled to unlimited coinage. In India, silver was legal tender, with the right of unlimited

coinage. Both metals were admitted to unlimited coinage in the United States, and for ten years prior to 1803 circulated concurrently. But since 1803, when France established bi-metallism for Europe on the basis of $15\frac{1}{2}$ to 1, the United States, though legally a bi-metallic, has been practically a mono-metallic, country. Prior to 1834 we undervalued gold by maintaining in our coinage the relation of 1 of gold to 15 of silver. Hence there was a profit of 3 per cent on the export of gold coin from this country to London, Paris or elsewhere. By the act of 1834, we changed the relation, unhappily not to $15\frac{1}{2}$ to 1, which would have given us concurrent circulation, but to 16 to 1, which involved such an undervaluation of silver that a profit of 3 per cent. was to be derived from the export of our silver coins. Time will not permit me to consider the monetary systems of other states, nor is it necessary, for those to which I have alluded regulated the relation of the metals from 1803 until Germany announced her determination to substitute gold coins for her silver money. Though Britain, Germany and India were mono-metallic, and the United States was also practically mono-metallic, the exchanges of the world were, through the influence of France and the Latin Union, maintained from 1803 to 1870 on the bi-metallic basis of $15\frac{1}{2}$ to 1. The only apparent variations were those which resulted from an occasional necessity requiring an unusual shipment of silver to India or Germany, or of gold to England, when, as I have said, the cost of transportation and mintage interfered temporarily with the price of either metal in a particular market.

It thus appears that the concurrent use of gold and silver on an agreed basis of relative value afforded for 70 years a convenient medium of exchange and a stable standard of payment. During this long period, fluctuations in the relative value of gold and silver were prevented by the admission of both metals to unlimited coinage by some, though not by all, of the great commercial nations. We may, therefore, proceed to the question, Could we increase the stability of our standard of payment by demonetizing either of these metals? both of which all generations of men have believed were especially created for use as money. To demonetize either would relegate it to the category of commercial commodities, in which it would, if deprived of the use to which it has been applied through all ages, inevitably take a low place.

If, in the consideration of this question, it be legitimate to consult history and statistics, I am, I think, prepared to show that to demonetize either metal,—gold as was proposed by the impracticable school-men of 1857-60, or silver, as those of this day propose,—would impair the stability of the standard of payment, subject commerce to frequently recurring crises, and endanger the entire fabric of national credit.

France served as an immense reservoir, equalizing the flow of the metals in all channels of commerce. If any nation needed silver, it had but to send gold in the proportion of 1 to 15½ to Paris and procure it. If any needed gold it had but to send 15½ times as much silver to procure the needed gold; or, what was equivalent, to send merchandise against which bills might be drawn, the proceeds of which could be remitted in the needed metal. Thus, from 1803 to 1870 the world had a stable medium of exchange and standard of deferred payments. Both metals were sufficiently precious for monetary purposes. Silver furnished the money for petty commerce; gold, that for purchases involving larger sums, both being available in the redemption of bank notes and transferrable in large sums by check, draft, or other of the many means of settling accounts known to commerce.

France and England have been painstaking in the ascertainment of the amount of gold and silver respectively produced in each year. Tables exhibiting these amounts show that while the amount of each has fluctuated so widely that, had the world been dependent on either, it would have been subject to alternating periods of contraction and expansion, it has by its acceptance of both, enjoyed a steadiness which is very remarkable. The use of both has gradually augmented the stock of money, as if to meet the demand created by the steadily increasing numbers and activities of men. Taking the British official statistics, upon which Mr. Cernuschi,*—from whose letter I borrow the statement,—preferred to rely, I find that from 1853, one year after the discovery of Australian gold, to 1878, inclusive, the annual production of gold has ranged from £31,090,000 in 1853 to £17,300,000 in 1878; and that of silver from £8,120,000 in 1853 to £17,850,000 in 1873, a year of exceptionally large production, and sank to £14,700,000

* "Bi-Metallism in England and Abroad. Letter to Henry Hucks Gibbs, page 42. London, 1879."

in 1878. It also appears that while this wide range of fluctuation occurred in each metal, the total production of the two knew no wider range than from £39,210,000 in 1853 to £30,590,000 in 1862, closing with £32,000,000 in 1878. The percentage of extreme fluctuation in the production of gold during those twenty-six years was more than $44\frac{2.5}{100}$ per cent.; that of silver slightly more than 53 per cent., while that of the two metals conjointly was less than 22 per cent. This table is based on the relation of $15\frac{1}{2}$ to 1, showing that England regarded the relation established by France as the true one. It is proper that I should remark that for the last five years the table is defective, inasmuch as it assumes that the metals retained the relation of $15\frac{1}{2}$ to 1 during those years. This is a mistake. When Germany attempted to demonetize silver, the value of gold appreciated and that of silver depreciated. The table indicates the amount of each metal produced, but is misleading as to its value, inasmuch as it assumes that the old ratio had still been maintained.

Had Chevalier induced any great gold standard country to change its money to silver and demonetize gold in 1857-60, it is gold that would have depreciated, and silver would have increased in purchasing power. The commercial and social consequences that have followed the attempt to demonetize silver would then have ensued, and, as the disparity between the purchasing power of the metals widened, the bi-metallists of that day would have been charged with demanding the circulation of clipped gold dollars for the relief of the debtor classes. The epithets which are now applied to the friends of bi-metallism because they favor the restoration of silver to its historic function, would have been applied with equal asperity and force to the adherents of gold because they asked the restoration of an artificially and arbitrarily depreciated metal to its historic monetary function.

In 1867 there assembled in Paris, an International Conference at which our country was represented by Mr. Samuel Ruggles, the object of which was to devise, if possible, a system of international coinage. That was the sole function confided to the delegates to that conference, yet, under the influence of Mr. Chevalier, they proceeded to consider the question of a standard of value; and, believing that they had discovered it, recommended the adoption of gold as a universal monetary unit and sole legal tender. The

mere unauthorized consideration of this question aroused the fears of men familiar with monetary science and practical affairs, and the late Count Wolowski, then a Senator of France, than whom no man enjoyed higher consideration as a financial authority, said in the course of the discussion:

"If, in the existing state of trade, one of the great nations demonetize silver, the balance will be overthrown and dire mischief will follow."

In the following year an unofficial conference was held between Wolowski, Earnest Seyd and other gentlemen of large financial and commercial experience, who had been alarmed by the action of the Paris conference. The result was a protest against the scheme of demonetization in which appeared the following predictions:

"1. The international trade of the world will instantly show signs of decline, to the special injury of the countries whose international trade is large.

2. Public enterprise, such as results in the construction of railways and other beneficent undertakings, will come to a standstill, and general progress will suffer.

3. The decline in price will compel countries internationally indebted to depart more and more from the principles of free trade towards a policy of protection.

4. The nations of the world will be divided into two principal groups, the one trading in gold, the other in silver, and this will render commerce between them precarious.

5. Throughout the world a fall in prices will take place, injurious alike to the owners of solid property and to the laboring classes, and advantageous only, and unjustifiably so, to the holders of State debts and other contracts of that kind.

6. When this time of depression sets in there will be this difficulty, namely, that the causes of this depression will be sought for in all directions, and all sorts of allegations, more or less groundless and fantastic or of a secondary nature only, will be brought forward by the gold valuation school, and this real cause, the demonetization of silver, will be neglected until strong signs of distress shall compel thinking men to refer to it."

These predictions were not based on the fact that it was silver which was proposed to be demonetized. Had the original proposition of Chevalier, to demonetize gold, been propounded, the pre-

dictions would have been the same, for they were based on the theory that to contract the world's stock of metallic money one-half, by remanding the metal of which it was coined to the category of merchandise, must inevitably derange prices, restrict production and trade, and increase the burden of debts and taxation throughout the world.

Prediction is the accepted test of science, and the verification by events of each of their prophetic propositions will convince you that Wolowski, Seyd, and their associates of 1867-8 understood the law of the relation of the volume of money to the trade and progress of the world, and justifies me in naming them as authorities whom a student should consult. On page 17 of the very remarkable work recently published by Mr. Seyd, entitled "The Decline of Prosperity," is a table in which the annual exports of the produce of the United Kingdom from 1863 to 1878 are exhibited in millions of pounds sterling. This table is divided into three periods. The first embraces the thirteen years from 1836 to 1848 inclusive. The second commences with the discovery of the gold mines of California, and includes the twenty-four years from 1849 to 1872 inclusive; and the third is from 1872 to 1879 inclusive. The last year is estimated on the official report of the exports for the first five months of the year. During the thirteen years embraced in the first period, these exports range between £42,000,000 in 1837 and £60,000,000 in 1845. The value of the exports in 1836 and 1848, the first and last years of the period each, having been £53,000,000 and the average for the whole period £52,923,077 per annum, which is slightly less than those of 1836. The second period, that commencing with 1849 and terminating with 1872, begins with £64,000,000 in 1849, and, by a generally marked annual increase, is swollen to £256,000,000 in 1872. Divided into periods of five years each, the average exports were as follows:

From 1849 to 1853, inclusive, £ 77,200,000 per annum.

" 1854 " 1858, " 109,600,000 "

" 1859 " 1863, " 132,000,000 "

" 1864 " 1868, " 175,000,000 "

and for the four years from 1869 to 1872 inclusive, it was £217,150,000 per annum.

The exports of the last seven years, from 1873 to 1879 inclu-

sive, marked a continuous decline from the £256,000,000 of 1872 to £193,000,000 in 1878, with a further promised decline to £182,000,000 in 1879. The average for these seven years was £213,275,714, or £42,724,286 below the exports of 1872.

These figures certainly show that the international trade of the world has shown signs of decline to the special injury of the country whose international trade was largest.

The closing of the iron works of Great Britain, the United States and Germany, the general abandonment of the extension of railroads, and the paralysis felt by the British iron ship building interest, makes it clear that public enterprise, such as results in the construction of railways and other beneficent undertakings, has been arrested to the detriment of the general prosperity of the world.

I need but point to the adoption of the protective system by Canada, Australia, Germany and other countries, to show that some cause has recently compelled those countries to depart more and more from the principles of free trade—that for some reason they have felt themselves less able than they formerly were to pay for foreign goods, notwithstanding their increase of population, especially in the British Colonies.

For proof of the verification of the fourth and fifth predictions referred to, I may cite the conclusions reported on the 21st of last March, to the Council of the Incorporated Chamber of Commerce of Liverpool, by the Special Committee on the State of Trade in connection with the Demonetization of Silver. These conclusions, having been unanimously adopted by the Council, were presented in its name to her Majesty's Government. They are as follows:

“ 1st. That the recent shrinkage in the value of the world's silver money, measured in gold, is very large, and there is every reason to fear that, with the prospect before us, the depreciation will continue to increase.

“ 2d. That there has besides been much diminution in the value of investments of English capital in the public funds, railways, &c., of silver-using countries.

“ 3d. That we are now compelled to look upon the silver of the world as in large measure cut off from its previous sphere of usefulness as one of the two agents for the liquidation of international indebtedness.

“4th. That the serious diminution of the world’s money, caused by the disuse of silver, may, in the future, lead to frequent panics, through the inadequate supply of gold for the world’s wants.

“5th. That the uncertainty regarding the course of exchange in the future, largely prevents the further investment of English capital in the public funds of silver-using countries, or in railways, industrial enterprises, and commercial credits.

“6th. That the friction and harassment now attending business with silver-using countries, as India, China, Java, Austria, Chili, Mexico and others, naturally lead merchants to curtail their operation in the export of our manufactured goods, and to restrict the employment of English capital in such business.

“7th. That this is a most serious question for India, which many believe to be so impoverished as not to be able to bear increased taxation.

“8th. That the depreciation of silver seriously affects the power of silver-using states to purchase English manufactures, and leads to increased taxation, thus further curtailing the trade which has hitherto been carried on in English commodities.”

That the cause of this sudden revulsion of trade and reaction against social progress has been sought for in all directions, and that it has been ascribed to causes not only of a secondary character, but to those which are “groundless and fantastic,” I need only refer to the fact that learned professors of the British universities have in elaborate essays ascribed this world-wide commercial reaction to the influence of spots upon the sun.

You will pardon me for pausing here to inquire whether the emanation of these essays from such sources, and the suggestion by Prof. Sumner that statistics, historical facts and authorities have no place in this eminently practical discussion, does not justify a doubt of the value of that which is promulgated as economic science in all the British and many of our American colleges, and admonish us of the danger of remitting the solution of practical questions to scholastic visionaries.

I desire to commend Mr. Seyd’s book to students of this question. It was published by Edw. Stanford of London, and the price is five shillings. Especially do I commend to consideration the table of British exports to which I have referred. In presenting the statistics of the exports of the country which was, until quite recently,

regarded as the workshop of the world and the mistress of the seas, by reason of its superior manufacturing power and commercial relations, it illustrates not only the movements of British commerce, but,

1. The limitation of the power of the people of the entire commercial world to consume the productions of labor, imposed by an almost stationary stock of metallic money during thirteen successive years.

2. The constant augmentation of the power of consumption and consequent spread of civilization and increase of comfort and refinement, produced by a steady augmentation of the stock of money during twenty-four consecutive years.

3. The steady decline of this power of consumption, and consequent reaction against civilization, through seven consecutive years, produced by the reduction of that stock of money, through the attempt to demonetize silver.

Let us in this connection examine the figures more closely. The period from 1836 to 1848, during which time the joint production of gold and silver throughout the world was but 11½ millions of pounds sterling per annum, of which statisticians tell us but £8,000,000 were monetized, illustrates the effect of a stationary volume of money in a period in which the number of men and their activities were increasing. During the three years including 1836 and 1838, the total of British exports was £145,000,000, and those of the last three years including 1846 and 1848 amounted to £170,000,000, showing an increase of £25,000,000 in the latter over the former period, while the exports for 1848 were identical in amount with those of 1836, having been £53,000,000 in each year. It is also noteworthy that this period of but thirteen years was marked by two crises which involved the whole commercial world, those of 1837 and 1847.

The second period, beginning with 1849, the year in which the California gold mines were opened, and ending with 1872, when the purpose of Germany to demonetize silver and substitute gold therefor began to have its effect, illustrates the influence upon production, trade, and the social condition of the masses of the people, of a great and continuous augmentation of the stock of metallic money. During this period the average production of gold was £22,000,000, and of silver £9,000,000, of which it is estimated

that of the total production £350,000,000 of gold and £60,000,000 of silver became money. During the first three years British exports amounted to £209,000,000, and during the last three to £699,000,000.

The third period illustrates the effect of an influence even more disastrous than that of a stationary stock of money. Its record is that of a period in which, after twenty-four years of unparalleled increase in the number and activities of men, the volume of metallic money was arbitrarily subjected to continuous reduction. In the last year of the second period, British exports amounted to £256,000,000, and during the period which I am now considering, that of demonetization and contraction, they have been successively £255,000,000 in 1863, £240,000,000, £223,000,000, £201,000,000, £199,000,000, £193,000,000, and will in this year, as estimated on the exports of the first five months, be £182,000,000.* Particular years of this period are not marked as those in which crises occurred. It has been one long season of disaster and collapse. The productive power of England and Germany is in paralysis. The capitalists of those countries can find no other safe investment for their funds than American securities. Collectively, the American people and government are the greatest debtors in the world; yet, though we export little else than raw materials, Europe has sent us her coined gold, the life-blood of her trade, in such vast volume that the vaults of the Treasury and the banks are gorged with it. We are without the means of safe storage, and the tide flows on with increasing volume. This condition is unnatural, and betokens danger to the credit and peace of many nations.

In further illustration of this branch of our question, let me call your attention to other and, if possible, more palpable proofs of the disastrous consequences the attempt at demonetization has produced. There is not an old city in the British Islands or Western Europe in which there has not been in the current quarter of a century a period of stationary condition or of an inappreciable annual growth; one of unprecedented growth and improvement, and one of reaction which still continues. Whether it was London or Brussels, Berlin, Munich or Vienna, in each of the cities I visited

*The depressing influence of the sales of German silver on trade with India having been withdrawn by Prince Bismarck, Mr. Seyd's estimate for this year will be exceeded though the total exports will be marked by a serious decline.

during the past summer, these facts were visible. The dates which marked the several periods were, as I learned upon inquiry, coincident. Between 1852 and 1855 each received an appreciable and, what proved to be a growing, impulse. The new portions of each are more beautiful than those they surround. Buildings in the new quarters indicate, in their style and dimensions, not only improved taste, but enlarged means on the part of their builders and occupants. That a reaction had taken place in real estate in each city was apparent in the fact, so familiar during recent years to denizens of Philadelphia, New York and other American cities, that large numbers of buildings were tenantless, and that work on large numbers of others which had been brought almost to completion, had for the present been arrested. In response to the question as to when the reaction occurred, there was entire agreement. I do not mean as to a precise day or month. 1873-4 seemed to be the years in which the reaction against increase of population and activity set in, and in which the sudden depreciation of the value of city property, whether improved or unimproved, brought ruin to enterprising operators, and idleness and poverty to artisans engaged in all of the building trades.

It must be borne in mind that silver has not yet been demonetized; and that we are as yet suffering the demonstration of the truth expressed by Wolowski in 1867, that, "If in the then existing state of trade one of the great nations demonetized silver, the balance would be overthrown and dire mischief would follow."

Germany alone among great nations has demonetized silver. The announcement that she was to do so produced perturbations throughout the commercial world. The fact that her silver, which she denounced as unfit for money, would flow into France and other bi-metallic countries in exchange for gold, and was not thenceforth to be received by her as money, admonished France and her sisters of the Latin Union to close their mints against the free coinage of silver. They did not demonetize silver. They simply restricted its coinage. Forthwith, the value of gold measured by all commodities, began to appreciate. Silver, whether measured by gold or other commodities, must and did depreciate. With the fall of the value of the rupee of India, and of the coins of other silver using countries, profitable commerce between gold using nations and those whose legal tender was silver became impossible; and

India, once the source of seemingly boundless wealth to England, was soon so impoverished that she came to be a charge upon British taxpayers. If the mere attempt by Germany has produced these results, what may we not expect from persistence in an experiment which proposes to demonetize not only the current yield of the mines, but the world's accumulated stock of silver? The consequences of such persistence cannot be depicted. They involve the retrogression of society and the bankruptcy of nations. The scheme is revolutionary, and the civilized world is the theatre of the dialectic revolutionists.*

What remedial measure can be proposed? But one, the remonetization of silver, which would restore the relation which has been overthrown by demonetization. Is this practicable? Yes; and it may be effected without the derangement of the monetary system of any nation. $15\frac{5}{100}$ of silver to 1 of gold is the relation established by the British Parliament between the gold money of England and the silver money of India. It is the existing relation between the gold and silver coins of Germany. It is maintained by France, Italy, Belgium, Switzerland, Greece, Spain, Roumania, and most of the South American States. In Holland $15\frac{6}{100}$ prevails; in Austria, $15\frac{4}{100}$; in Japan, $15\frac{5}{100}$. These departures from $15\frac{5}{100}$ are hardly appreciable, and these countries may be reckoned on to sustain this relation.

The relation the United States has established, that of 16 to 1, has been adopted by no other government, and I shall refer to it hereafter. To effect the remonetization of silver will not require Germany, England, Holland or any other country to abolish or modify its gold coinage. All the provisions of their laws on this subject, except those which make gold the sole legal tender, may remain, and their mints continue to be open to the unlimited coinage of gold. What will be required of them is that they shall also make silver a legal tender and open their mints to its unrestricted coinage. This, I repeat, can be done without violent change, indeed I may say without appreciable change in the monetary system of any nation. As the existing silver coins of Germany are on the basis of a relation that prevails so widely, no change need be made in any of her coins. This beneficent restoration could be effected

*For evidence on this point, see notes to *Letters from Europe* by Wm. D. Kelley. Porter & Coates, Philadelphia,

so far as England is concerned by accepting the suggestion of Mr. Seyd, and establishing as legal tender a 4 shilling silver piece with the right of free coinage. In India, the change would be effected by authorizing the mint to coin a gold piece equal to a given number of rupees and the opening of the mints of that country to the free coinage of gold. In the United States, remonetization of silver upon the basis accepted by all the rest of the world would require a greater change. To effect it we must restore to the gold dollar one-half of the amount of gold taken from it by the act of 1834. This would add three cents to its metal value. Or, without changing the gold dollar, we can reduce the weight of the silver dollar enough to reduce its metal value three cents, when it would be related to the existing gold dollar in the proportion of $15\frac{1}{2}$ to 1. This will reduce the weight of the standard dollar from $412\frac{1}{2}$ to $399\frac{9}{100}$ grains. When England, Germany and the United States shall have authorized these modifications of law, France and all other bi-metallic states can re-open their mints to the unlimited coinage of both metals. This done, there will be no money price for either metal. Everywhere $15\frac{1}{2}$ of silver will be worth 1 of gold.

Each country now hesitates lest others may not unite with it. To obviate this difficulty, Congress directed our government to request an International Diplomatic Convention on the subject. The response to our invitation may not be prompt, but such a conference, in which Germany and England will participate, will assemble. I make this assertion considerately, for by no other means than by the revival of trade consequent upon the restoration to the channels of circulation of the nearly, if not actually, one-half of the metallic money of the world which is now dishonored, can the British Islands and British India be saved from revolution born of the sufferings of the people.

Many of you will doubtless inquire whether Germany did not, in demonetizing silver, act deliberately and after scientific investigation of all the consequences involved. And whether, after so acting, the men of iron will who consolidated the Empire of North Germany will consent to such a change. To these questions I can reply on the highest possible authority. Germany acted on this subject precipitately, and without due investigation of the consequences involved, except such as had been made by Mr. Delbrück, an adherent of the standard of value theory, who, believing in the

a priori system of reasoning, disregarded, in his consideration of the question, statistics, historical facts and authorities, as Professor Sumner would have us do. The Empire found itself with the many coinages of the German States which it must unify. Having laid France under an obligation to pay a war fine of five milliards, it believed that the time was propitious for introducing the use of gold into her monetary system; and her great Chancellor, believing that a man can only understand subjects to which he has given special study, remitted the question to Herr Delbrück, one of his colleagues, who enjoyed high reputation as a financier. But events, as they came to pass under the management of Mr. Delbrück, compelled Bismarck to order a halt; in last June he prohibited the further sales of silver, and in July ordered the restoration to circulation of the silver coins which were then in the vaults of the Reichsbank. The mere announcement of the purpose of Germany to demonetize silver, coupled with the closing of the mints of the Latin Union against free coinage, had reduced its market value from 60-61 *d.* to less than 55 *d.* Von Dechend, President of the Reichsbank, appalled at the loss that occurred, and at the increasing rate of depreciation that must ensue, for the price was still falling, shrunk from making further sales and submitted the question to the government. On the 17th of June last, he presented the facts to the Reichstag, and in his report I find the following statement:

“We have withdrawn from circulation 629 millions of marks in coined silver and sold 439 millions. About one-third of this amount was sold in the first four years, and the remainder in 1877 and 1878. The loss on these sales amounts to $14\frac{1}{3}$ per cent., or 89,487,073 marks. If the loss by abrasion of the coins, amounting to 24,479,000 marks, be deducted, there still remains a loss on sales of 64,911,980 marks. The average price of the silver sold was 54s. 8*d.* Within the last seven months, from October 14th of last year to the 19th of May last, silver has again been sold, but the average price realized was but 50*d.*, and at one time the price was as low as 48 $\frac{7}{8}$. We therefore lost 21 per cent. on our silver sales, and could not help it. On the silver sold this year, we have suffered a further loss of 7,000,000 and the aggregate loss on our silver sales amounts to 96,000,000 marks, and if the loss by abrasion is deducted, still 72,000,000.”

Yes, gentlemen, the logic of events is stronger than that of dialecticians. These may prate of a better possible world. But governments have to accept this world as it is, and conduct their legislation as closely as possible in harmony with Nature's laws. Events occurring in Britain, and especially in India and other silver-using nations with which three-quarters of the trade of the British Islands has been conducted, will teach haughty England that she belongs to the family of nations, and with the feeblest of them is subject to natural laws. Bismarck, having heard Von Dechend's report, and observed the paralysis of German trade, promptly accepted the admonitions of experience; and, however reluctant Britain may be to acknowledge her mistake and follow his example, events will bring her to it, and she will be one of the signatory powers to a convention which shall establish bi-metallism for the world, and by making it universal, make it as enduring as society.

WILLIAM D. KELLEY.

OUR UNWELCOME SOJOURNER.

A GLANCE AT THE CHINESE QUESTION.

CALIFORNIA is not to be judged or measured by standards fairly applicable to communities of more gradual and normal spread. Her growth has been unique; from seed scattered by the adventurous of all nations. The precious metals buried in her rocks and river-beds—the luscious burdens of her vines—the wealth of grain which springs almost unbidden from her fertile soil—her golden orange groves—her blue sky and mild air—the calm, majestic sea, her highway to the nations,—have all been made the themes of fairy stories which have fired the imaginations of a world. Thirty years ago, San Francisco was a mere waste of sand hills resting upon her bay, a grand natural harbor as desolate as herself. To-day, the waters of that bay wash the hundred busy piers of a city without a counterpart beneath the sun,—a city wherein the wanderer from every clime finds something to remind him of his native home. Generous nature has reproduced here, in close association, samples of all the beauties which she has distributed throughout the world, and where she fails to provide

some point of resemblance, the alien finds the impress his brethren have left upon the structure which they helped to rear. Though the active, progressive spirit of America, in all its unbounded vigor overshadows all else, the unity of a common thought and nationality is wanting.

This condition and the processes leading to it, must be appreciated before the true character of the "Chinese Question" can be understood; in addition to which, a proper conception must be had of the character of the Chinaman and the circumstances of his first coming amongst us.

National exclusiveness has been his religious and traditional policy from time immemorial. He has altered his ways less in centuries than our own restless nation has changed in a twelve-month. He is born in a groove that affords him no hint that aught else is possible to him as a path through life. The ambition with the possibility of attaining distinction is limited to so few among his countrymen, that it does not merit mention. Those who have the remotest chance of advancement would sooner lose their lives than leave their country. The life of each individual, from the Emperor to the meanest of his subjects, must be regulated in accordance with immutable forms, and guided by traditions and customs applicable to its particular station. He can look forward to no change or release; he must see as his father saw and do as his father did. His country is "Under the Heavens," the "Central Kingdom," the "Inner Land." In his map of the world, China occupies nine-tenths of the habitable space, in the exact centre. In his ideas of mankind, all men not Chinamen are "barbarians." The pressure of such a people among the untrammelled spirits who abandoned all ties of home and kindred to battle with the unknown, and build up a new world among the mountains bordering on the Western Sea, seems almost anomalous. It is natural enough when traced to its original cause.

It was not the spirit of adventure which prompted the first comers from China, or the majority of those followed. Their importation was a commercial transaction; the working of that great perpetual motion power, the law of demand and supply.

There were forests to be levelled, roads to be built, farms to be cleared, mountains to be tunnelled,—a hundred species of hard hand labor to be performed, distasteful to those who flocked west-

ward to grasp Fortune on the wing. Men from the east and Europe had set their faces towards the Pacific, as their own masters;—to command, not to obey. To delve and dig for a set daily stipend did not enter into their calculations. There were many masters and no servants, and no structure can be reared without both. Here was the demand!

Beyond was China, where, for centuries upon centuries, the population had been increasing and crowding and jostling. Where, notwithstanding the common and still continued national custom of infanticide, the people had so thickened upon the land, that it had grown weary, sick and blighted. Where classes were sinking in the social scale and becoming more and more like beasts, who live but to eat, to reproduce and to perish. Where, despite a boasted national magnificence and proud display of class, wealth and power, the fight for food was to millions the one overwhelming circumstance of being. Where a brass coin, of value unworthy of computation to the rest of the world, was to be obtained only by arduous and abject labor, and where a hundred struggled for what one obtained. Here was the supply!

It was in the spirit of serfdom they came; in a knowledge of this spirit they were received. None calculated on the changes which might be wrought by time. The present and its necessities comprised the one motive of action.

The land bloomed into towns and settlements; the forests were levelled, roads built and mountains drilled. The pittance paid to the unobtrusive, obedient, clannish laborers, seemed fabulous wealth to them;—the proceeds of a day's work in California would support them in China for a month. Their employers laughed at them in good-natured disdain, and buffeted them about in contemptuous but not ill-meaning spirit.

Then towns grew into cities, villages grew into towns. Broad stretches of barren land were transformed into thriving farms, fruitful vineyards and rich orchards. Mills were erected and factories established. Capital recognized the inducements which the Pacific Coast offered, the rich reward it promised to courageous adventure. Emigrants from the eastern states came not so much alone. They brought their families with them. Brothers sent for sisters, and men who had no families proceeded to establish them upon the spot. Necessities being supplied, comfort and

luxuries came into demand. Domestic help was required, and, it being almost impossible to find it in the "superior class" (as is largely the case even at the present day), a field was opened for Chinese youth of a more intelligent and human grade than the diggers and delvers whom only the native compaies had as yet brought to the coast. They were imported, and found ready and remunerative employment in hotels, boarding houses, restaurants and private homes. They set up laundries and little provision shops, and became peddlers of produce and small wares.

The business perceptions of Chinese merchants, not by any means to be underrated, did not fail to recognize the qualities and possibilities of a field which promised so well. They sent out sons and other relatives to establish agencies of their home business. These prospered,—there was room for them—and all went smoothly!

Through their natural clannishness, their peculiar inbred customs, and the policy of their supervising companies, the Celestials were held closely together. Masters grew up among themselves, as masters grow in all communities; squads were formed and employment agencies inaugurated. Was a bridge or a railroad to be built, a sewer laid or a street paved, the contractors applied to the masters of the squads, and the men required were supplied. Human machines, to do what they were instructed to do, at a rate of payment which allowed the contractors a large margin of profit;—and, of course, all went smoothly!

Gradually, the imitative faculties of the Chinese, now become universal, began to be appreciated. Under the direction of skilled workmen, they became shoemakers, shirt and clothing cutters, manufacturers of blouses and overalls, cigar makers and workers in tin.

Employers did not gauge, or, seemingly, did not care to gauge, the full depth of this imitative faculty. It was not until apprentices became rivals, starting factories of their own and underselling their former masters, that the eyes of the latter were opened. Just about the time of this first awakening, the great tide from "the States" set in. A tide that was to pour to the Coast a flood of emigrants of a different calibre from the first, sturdiest and bravest, who had overcome the greatest difficulties and made the path comparatively clear for the more cautious and less sanguine. This flood was made

up of mechanics who came to work at their trades for better wages than they could command at home ; of broken down merchants who hoped in a new land to begin life anew and make their hard earned experiences repay them for their defeats ; of bookkeepers, clerks, salesmen, canvassers, ambitious young lawyers and physicians :—all with an undefined impression that somehow the world would be easier to them in the West than it promised to be in the East.

The brief golden age was passing away. The land was settling into the grooves of wealth, competence and want, which time furrows upon every soil. The glad gallop was settling down into the inevitable jog trot. The East was being brought nearer to the West by travelling facilities and its older conditions were journeying with it. In New York, the Eldorado of the restless heart was the undefined "West". In Illinois it was "West ;" even in Nebraska, it was still "West, West." The Pacific Ocean appeared to be the one boundary where the East ended. Men in all walks of life came faster than the country could use them. The old "striking out" spirit which had urged the first comers to build up homes in the forests and create the places they were to occupy, did not belong to the later ones. They stopped in the towns and cities. Not being willing to accept the steady, gradually bettering routine which they might have followed at home, bitter disappointment became their portion. Competition grew strong and close. The spirit of calculation, hitherto marking only solitary instances, became general. The low priced element which had been quietly gathering strength and stability, recognized its importance and the position it was to fill. Then the shadow of the coming evil fell upon the land.

II.

The "low priced element" had been naturally forming into distinct classes, to which new arrivals gravitated according to their condition, and abilities. The lower class, a class much larger than all the others together, was composed of the native burden bearers, vagabonds and boat population ; being brought hither by the companies, and remaining here in a virtual servitude to them. With this class, life is labor. No such fallacy as "the world owes me a living" ever enters a Chinese mind, and no Chinese mind ever enters into a psychological analysis of the qualities or necessity of

industry. They are industrious because they exist and can find work ; whether it is building up or tearing down does not matter to them. Give them the task of murderous Danaë's hapless daughters, and they would continue at it without question, so long as each day's labor represented each day's pay.

They have no intellectual aspirations. Their comforts, their pleasures and desires are of the body alone. Though their nation is justly credited with an especial regard for its students and savants, those who are inclined towards the higher place of life do not leave their country excepting in its service or by its command.

They are lightning calculators in economy. Being used to the cheap blouse suit, so well known throughout the country, they want nothing more. Their idea of home, is a place to sleep. They do not care whether this is in garret or cellar, or, how many sleep around them or above or below them. They are used to crowds, and apparently fond of them. They eat to avoid hunger ; if two meals will suffice for this, they do not take three. They purchase nothing which they do not absolutely need, and buy all they can from their own people. It is manifestly to their advantage to conduct commercial transactions with those whom they can thoroughly comprehend. The purchase of a section of roast pig is a commercial transaction of some moment ! They practise their home customs here and lose no whit of their credulity respecting lucky and unlucky days, good and bad omens. Their fortune tellers are to be found on almost every street corner of the district they have appropriated in San Francisco. They worship the idols of their native land and spread food before them. They prostrate themselves in front of the tablets of their ancestors, and burn mock money to purchase indulgence for the spirit of their father, from the rulers of their various hells. Filial duty is their nearest approach to a heart fibre. It is the law of their nation, to which all bow, in every caste and in every district. What we term their vices, are to them normal concomitants of existence. Opium smoking is their luxury ; gambling, their infatuation. Their language is the safeguard of their social exclusiveness and their customs. Its character is too well-known to call for comment. A missionary writing home from China states seriously, that it was invented by the devil to prevent a knowledge of the gospel from being disseminated among them.

Between this class and the most elevated of the Chinamen so-

journing in this country, there is a wide difference. The latter are far-sighted men of active intelligence. They perform no manual labor, but are the directing spirits of thousands of hands. They are quick of comprehension, and acquire a knowledge of the vernacular with marvellous facility. They shrewdly appreciate the value of this knowledge, and display or conceal it as their interests dictate. They are courteous and hospitable, making their guest the master of their house. Proud of their position, there is a visible morbidity in their desire to impress upon visitors their superiority to the general mass of their countrymen. They take pleasure in displaying the extent to which they command others. Their garments are of broad-cloth, their linen immaculate. Costly gems adorn their fingers, and they wear upon their wrists curious onyx-like bracelets, said to be of great value. The mercantile operations conducted by these men are often of considerable importance; their adventures in opium, ginseng, flour and rice being especially extended. They lease ground and erect buildings. They aid in the establishment of numerous stores and factories throughout the coast, supplying capital and merchandise to trusted lieutenants, or selling to their countrymen on long credit. With a grand appearance of proud disregard for petty transactions, they are yet shrewd to a penny, and make no contracts which are not plainly to their advantage.

The most important middle class is composed of the joint proprietors of the small stores and the mechanics in factories conducted on the co-operative system, which is quite popular among the Chinese. These institutions are hives, wherein the workmen eat, sleep and labor. Each man is fitted to his work, and he gives his time and attention to it, industriously. Idlers are not tolerated; all those who are employed in the building retire together, rise together and labor steadily side by side.

Taken altogether, the Chinamen are cleanly in their persons, and the reverse in their habitations. Though unobtrusive in their contact with their Caucasian neighbors, they are particular as to their standing, and the respect due to it, among their own people. Their confidence in the greatness of their home government is secure beyond all power of disturbance. Their faith in the supreme importance of their country in the world's economy, is perfect. Their laws are the best laws possible; their customs are founded

upon the sublimity of wisdom. They entertain no idea of changing or forgetting them.

Each Chinaman looks forward to a return to his own country, and dreams of a peaceful death amidst his family altars. His greatest dread is that, dying here, his bones may not be returned to China. He would then be forever deprived of the bliss of companionship with the spirits of his family. His spirit is not ethereal; after life has departed from the body, when the Chinese skeleton lies ghastly, white and crumbling, the spirit which occupied it still requires food and raiment. For five generations these wants are dutifully supplied, at stated intervals, by the descendants of the departed. Thus the fear of our celestial resident is well founded. Should he not die in China, or should his bones fail to reach that sacred soil, he forfeits the luxury of proper worship to his manes, and, worse than all, will be obliged to pick up a precarious sustenance and decency after his departure from earth, in the food scattered and the paper clothing burned at special times by charitably disposed people, for the benefit of spirits uncared for and unknown.

No matter how he may crowd and jostle with his fellows during life, he regards a separate, marked grave as highly important to his contented residence in the spheres beyond. The most venomous wish that one Chinaman can express towards another, is, "May all his family be jammed into one coffin!"

III.

The cry of opposition to Chinese emigration was familiar to the Pacific coast long before its echoes reverberated through the country's legislative halls; but the sentiment which found expression in the terse assertion, "The Chinese must go," was made up from other material than the evil of their presence alone. When Denis Kearney stepped before the public, to test the readiness of speech which he had been long acquiring in lyceum halls, he did not dream of the position into which circumstances would thrust him. His words gave some definite meaning to a floating feeling of dissatisfaction, which we shall soon notice, as well as to the vagabondism of the city. He became a chieftain with a turbulent following, before he fairly realized the fact. He was by no means blind to the character and quality of his faction, but he recognized a possi-

bility of improving it. Like all demagogues—on the rostrum, in convention or in the Senate chamber—he aimed to please those strongest among his adherents. He saw power and profit in the field opened to him, and, though pecuniary motives cannot be imputed to him in his incipient notoriety, there is no doubt that he finally put up his dray in the knowledge that he would not suffer financially by the change in his vocation. Some injustice has been done him, and much injustice has been done to many of those whose support contributed towards making him a public character. He has had in his following, it is true, and as its noisiest element, the malcontents of San Francisco, the perverted minds from which no large city is free,—men who have no personal stake in the city's welfare and no regard for the humanities of life,—idlers and grumblers, affectedly scornful of all industry and frugality among the masses ;—envious of those who prosper in the working classes, —hating those favored by fortune with an intensity only possible to ignorant, fallen minds ;—with nothing to lose, and a cunning perception of the possibilities of gain, in a rupture of the public peace.

It is no slight matter to keep such men as these under control, after having supplied them with a war cry. Their capabilities for mischief, notwithstanding exertions of safety committees and police machinery, are very evident. Had their leader favored their desires in more than *words*, many of San Francisco's buildings would have been destroyed in incendiary flames. The incipient riots of July '77 and the disposition to wreck Chinese laundries, were quelled, more by his counsels than by the clubs of the citizens' patrol. Though his language tended to excite disgust and alarm, he commanded quiet and prevented acts of overt disorder.

But another class, very different from the rabble, was drawn to him. The workingmen were exercised, not so much by present evils as by those likely to arise from the apparent tendency of public affairs and the general condition of the coast. Immense wealth on the one hand, and growing poverty and "hoodlumism" on the other ; the mainsprings of industry centering into the hands of monopolists already controlling in a marked degree the political policy and patronage of the district ; valuable and extensive tracts of the public lands virtually withheld from actual settlement for speculative venture ; mining conducted with glaring dishonesty, for the benefit of "inside manipulators," and the people defrauded

by lying reports, subsidized newspapers and every species of deceit which cunning could invent and unscrupulous tools employ; chartered corporations impertinently independent of the laws which gave them existence; travel monopolies insolent, arbitrary and illiberal: a foreign element with no interest in the country or care for its welfare (save as the vampire may be said to have an interest in the victim upon whose life blood it fattens) stealing into all the channels of trade and employment. The workingman saw his sons idle, and the youth of the coast cities tumbling up into years without training; becoming neither Americans, Englishmen, Irishmen or Germans in disposition, thought and character, but, from association a conglomeration of all nationalities and, in too many instances, of the worst traits of all. His future seemed directly threatened. He had established a home and was rearing a family. His house was comfortable, his children well clad, and his table well spread. His daily labor had always afforded him sufficient return to supply his wants and allow his occasional luxuries and recreations. He had been enabled to lay aside a little each month to keep his mind generous and easy. Maybe, he owned his home and looked forward to starting his sons fairly on the road of life. But, insidiously spreading, the opposition and competition of Chinese labor loomed up before him, to darken his pleasant pictures of the future and become a bugbear of gigantic proportions.

Was he to be driven from his daily means of living, or suffer his labor to be degraded into a competition with that of men herding together like beasts, having no family ties, no responsibilities. With the labor of men content to exist upon a pound of rice daily? Men, whose expenditures for clothing during the year, would not equal the sum required by his children for shoe leather in a month? To whom a blanket and a board were "home," and whose wardrobe, in addition to the clothing on their backs, consisted of a towel? And this in his own country, in the city he had helped to build beneath the flag for which he had endangered his life? Was he also, to be ground down into a mere machine? He saw no release from the prospect! Then the ringing words reached his ear and, with far different feelings from those of the rabble who first shouted it, men, different from that rabble in thought, ambition and manhood, joined in the cry, "The Chinese must go!" Not because they affiliated in spirit with worthless men who stood beside them. No!

they hoped that the agitation, when countenanced by thinking and responsible labor, would lose the stigma which had attached to it, and grow sufficiently dignified to demand the country's serious thought and action. They were the exponents of a wide spread feeling that things were going wrong, that any change which aroused the people to a knowledge of their power, would be a change for the better.

It was this belief and hope which carried the new constitution of California. There never was cast, in any portion of this country, a more honest vote than that which accomplished this result. There was in it, it is true, a bitterness towards the possessors of great wealth, a triumphant feeling of rebuke to monopolization, and other motives more or less tinged with dissatisfaction toward individuals and corporations; but still it was, decidedly, an honest expression.

The farmers throughout the state voted for it, because it pronounced against speculation in the public lands and the gradual establishment of a land aristocracy. Workingmen voted for it, because it denounced a competitive system of slavish against free labor, and demanded that all moneys from the public purse, for necessities of government and improvements, should pass through the hands of those having an interest and responsibility in the public weal.

It was supported by those whose personal and business interests had suffered from an oppressive tariff of railroad and steamboat freights and carriage, because it put a stop to the common custom of the monopolies,—that of reducing rates to crush out dawning opposition and, that done, raising them again to exorbitant figures.

Those who had been impoverished by the fraudulent system of stock gambling voted for it, because it curtailed the possibilities of the insider to traffic upon the credulity of an easily excited public.

Those who had noticed the incompetency and unfitness of many of the civic justices, voted for it, because it made admission to practice and good standing in the Supreme Court of the state a requisite of candidacy for such positions.

Lastly, it was supported by clerks, salesmen and men of precarious livelihood, because it could do them no harm, and might possibly, by some freak of fortune, prove a benefit to them.

True, its grains of good were mixed with many grains of evil; with crude experiments; with some unjust discriminations, and

with a few, almost vicious, points of personal direction,—even with something of a spirit opposed to that of the constitution of the central government. The fact that, notwithstanding its glaring faults, the great ills were accepted for the sake of the possible good, is proof sufficient that evils demanding reform existed. Voters probably felt satisfied that time would modify the errors in the instrument, but in one view they seemed fixed. They felt that *something* should be done at all risks, to call a halt in the headlong progress of state affairs in general, and demand direct attention to the Chinese problem in particular.

In most of the points of grievance, California alone was interested. Kearney's foolish tour through the East (a journalistic enterprise), had proved this. In relation to the Chinese, however, she could not act as she pleased. The question belonged to the country, and to the country she presented all its aspects, national, political, local and moral.

Admitting the integrity of international treaties and the proud position of our country as the home of all free hearts, without reference to nationality, race, creed or color, she yet asserted the possibility of freedom's degeneration to license, and the institution by license of conditions the very opposite to those of liberty,

She protested against the political policy which allowed the degradation of the independence and manhood of the mechanic and laborer,—permitting the reduction of man's value without any augmentation of state wealth,—and which tacitly sanctioned the growth of an untrained, unskilled generation of the country's own children.

She pointed to the Chinese quarter of her great city, and begged the public to look and judge for itself.

IV.

Pacific, Jackson, Clay, Commercial and Sacramento streets, from Kearney to Stockton streets, three blocks on each, and Dupont street from California to Pacific, five blocks, form the centre of "Chinatown." We turn a corner and—presto—we step from America into China. As, in old mining parlance, locaters claimed a vein "with all its dips, spurs, angles and variations," so these streets, with all their lanes, alleys, courts and turnings, on both sides of the way, are owned or leased by our unwelcome sojourn-

ers. Some of the buildings were, at one time, large and imposing residences, others mere shanties; — they have all, large and small, substantial and tottering, acquired a peculiarly Chinese air.

Chinese balconies adorn the upper stories, and Chinese railings make an additional apartment on the roof. Chinese lanterns hang across the streets, in front of doors and long dark entries and alleys. Chinese signs, gorgeous reds and yellows, with heavy tassels and gigantic gilt characters, dangle over the footways.

The streets are crowded and bustling; blouse and pig-tails, here, there and everywhere. Chinese pedlars rush up and down, calling out their wares in their harsh, jarring tongue. Friend salutes friend, and dealer calls to dealer in loud tones across the street. The discordant sounds of Chinese musical (!) instruments in Joss house and theatre, or from some enraptured amateur, aid in making a babel which quiets only in the early morning hours.

On every floor, in every room of each building, some separate industry or employment is followed;—from barbering and cue dressing in the cellars, to raising chickens on the roofs. Not an inch of space is wasted. The old homesteads of immense rooms and wide entries have been sadly transformed. Dark, narrow alleyways replace the spacious vestibules where hospitable welcome was so often spoken in the early days. The Chinese are not fond of brilliancy in their habitations, and there is scarce a building in the district which has not its own especial reasons for shunning an illumination. A murky oil lamp may, perhaps, be hanging back by the stairway, or resting on a bracket nailed to the greasy wall, but at the entrance a sentinel keeps guard, to prevent any but the favored and initiated from reaching the light and the winding entries which it gloomifies. The grand old parlors and bed chambers are partitioned into veritable pigeon-holes. Some are shelved from floor to ceiling, like steerage bunk rooms, and each shelf represents a Chinaman's home. Though many Chinese factories are found in other portions of the city, the greater part of their work is performed within the precincts of Chinatown, generally upon the upper floors of the buildings, the lower floors being occupied as shops and warehouses. The most numerous of the stores are those devoted to the sale of provisions;—the foods and delicacies of the "Central Kingdom," together with the meats and vegetables of the daily market. Their restaurants are also in the upper

stories, and are interesting establishments. The fat, good-natured proprietor salutes his guests at the bottom of the stairs and indicates the way up the narrow steps, with a motion of his thumb. He is there also to receive payment for the entertainment when the customer descends, and the amount due is shouted down to him from some obscure corner overhead. The rooms are divided into classes, to suit the various castes of those frequenting the place. The most desirable saloon is immediately under the roof, with low glass doors opening on to a broad balcony wreathed in twining plants and illuminated by many colored lanterns. To stand upon one of these balconies at night and gaze down upon the moving, seething mass of quaint figures below, the noise somewhat softened by distance, is to look upon a scene at once strange and fascinating. The stores are all open, and this is their busiest time; these are also the harvest hours of the pedlars. In the wholesale establishments, where teas, rice and opium are sold in bulk, friendly knots are gathered, smoking and discussing the events of the day. In a little, railed-off space, with ornamental pillars and colored hangings, the old wrinkled clerk, busy at all hours, bends over his books of mysterious hieroglyphics, pausing now and then to make a calculation upon the round, modern beads, moving on bamboo sticks, which form the Chinaman's ready reckoner. Behind him, shaded by curtains, is the ever present platform, about three feet high, its pillows and cushions inviting those who feel so inclined to stretch at length and enjoy a few whiffs of the long, peculiar pipe which lies ready for use before the little glass opium lamp.

In little, narrow shops, here and there, the silversmiths stoop over their tables at their delicate work. Now blowing their little lamp flames into a sparkling blaze, they melt the precious metal, and hammer it into long threads of silken appearance, which they twine and shape into beautiful and curious patterns.

The theatres are open, (there are two on Jackson Street) and groups are entering and leaving during all the hours of performance, from 7 o'clock in the evening until two in the morning. Paradoxical as the statement may appear, one cannot see for the noise, on first entering a Chinese theatre. The musicians, seated upon the narrow stage, which is cumbered by no properties or scenic effects, keep up a continual clatter, during the dialogues between the char-

acters, and the long sing-songy monologues peculiar to the plays presented. None but a Chinaman could distinguish the human voice in the shrill, artificial tone used by the actors, and the din of bones, wooden drum, copper pan, and compound of fiddle, bagpipe and hand organ, which accompanies it.

Noisy as are the theatres, the Joss houses fairly rival them at times of public ceremony, when fire crackers are exploded to gain the attention of their Gods, and when Chinese music of the most vigorous character welcomes the coming of the spirits.

The fortune tellers on the corners, the maimed and blind beggars sitting on the curb, and the lively appearance of the basement barber shops, complete the general view of a main street, but we must penetrate into some of the many dark lanes, courts and alleys to finish our education upon the subject in hand.

The Chinaman comes to this country alone ; he brings no wife or family with him. The exceptions to the rule are too few to demand notice. As the Chinaman comes alone, so does the Chinese woman, but in a slavery too degrading for expression and to a life which is a disgrace to the century. Could the roofings of one of these dingy, dismal, crowded, noisome alleys, be removed but for a single night and the world allowed to take one glance in there, a cry of horror would ring throughout its length, and naught but the purification of fire could make the place endurable to the sight again.

Here leprosy, scrofula and their thousand kindred terrors seize upon the systems of reckless boys with pale faces and English tongues, sowing seeds of wretchedness and infelicity to pollute with cankerous growth, an innocent generation, yet unborn.

Here gambling houses flourish with watchful guardians at every portal, with dark doors and windows and underground exits. Lottery, tan, a hundred species of exciting games, with straws, with stones, with numbers, are in operation,—and here and there among the yellow faces looking ghastly green by the light of the murky glass lamps, a face belonging to a different race is bent in eagerness over the tables, a face in which perhaps at one time, a fond mother traced the lines of manly power and virtue.

Here, too, are the opium dens ; human beings lying like logs in little compartments under the influence of the cruel, soul-possessing drug. The stifling atmosphere causes the lungs of health to protest against such contact. Fumes ascend from curtained berths,

and occasionally the stillness is startled by a sharp cry, or unintelligible murmurings from those whose senses are slowly sinking into death.

Opium smoking is indulged in to a greater or less extent by all Chinamen. Every house of any importance, every store, has its opium couches, with pipe and drug ready. It is as common with Chinamen to offer visitors an opium pipe, as it is with some others to offer a glass of wine. That is, among those who partake of the drug in moderation, who are strong enough to defy its powers of absolute control. They who frequent the opium dens, are miserable wretches, who are in the toils beyond the hope of rescue. The pangs and pains which they suffer when deprived of the pipe cannot be described, but may be read in their wan and pinched faces, their deep sunken eyes, their vapid expression and the general hopelessness of their appearance.

The amount of money annually expended for the drug, seems fabulous. It is the most staple article of merchandise in every Chinese establishment. In addition to the quantity legally introduced into the country, there is almost an equal amount smuggled. Seizures are occasionally made, but as the goods are at once disposed of at auction, they reach their destined market.

Of late years, too, an imitation of the Chinese prepared opium has been manufactured by Chinamen in San Francisco. It is a compound of the Indian opium, (which is always smuggled, the six dollars per pound duty precluding its use legally) and the common gum opium from Turkey, in equal parts.

Opium is not smoked like tobacco. The stem of the pipe used is of the roundness and length of a flute. The bowl is curiously shaped and its opening is scarcely larger than a hole made by an ordinary awl. The opium, rolled to the size of a pea, is placed upon a long needle like steel which is inserted into the bowl. The smoker reclines upon his couch, in a position which brings the drug to the flame of a small lamp. In this it splutters and expands for a moment, and during this time the fumes are inhaled.

It would be almost impossible to estimate the number of Americans, male and female, old and young, addicted to the use of opium in the form described, and humoring the appetite with all the freedom of those from whom they learned it. The number increases daily. One leads another;—from curiosity, from natural perversity,

—from a desire of forgetfulness, for release from pain, for fun,—for any variety of reasons or want of reason, in the first place,—but from necessity and absolute slavery to a passion in a very short time.

V.

If all debates about “rights” were deferred until after palpable wrongs had been remedied, the “Chinese Question” would be speedily settled.

No American mind entertains any idea of curtailing the privileges of the universal freedom upon which the institutions of our country rest. True, there are bigots among us, and many who allow their prejudices to cloud their good sense; but the natural impulse of the great mass of our people is for the truest liberty. They believe, and reasonably, that the duty of a government is clear, should matters arise involving a decision between the welfare of its citizens and an abstract consideration; but, fortunately, we are not nearing that point.

We invite the world to our brotherhood,—not to the establishment in a free land of the contracted and illiberal ideas from which we offer them release. We have never proposed to provide for the continuance upon this soil of habits and customs opposed to our professed national polity. We treat all alike, reserving nothing save the presidency and vice-presidency to the natural heirs of our institutions. The safety and progress of a free country depend upon the moral obligations of citizenship, not upon a mere payment of taxes and regard for revenue laws. The foreigner who profits by all the safeguards of our government, assuming none of its responsibilities, is not the emigrant whose presence should be “officially” welcomed or encouraged. Let the Chinaman have his Joss house;—as Jews have their synagogues, Catholics their cathedrals, Protestants their churches, and Quakers their meeting houses. Let him have his theatre:—the Germans, French and Italians among us, all provide amusements peculiarly their own. Let him dress in the costume which best pleases his fancy, wear his pigtail or cut it off. But it is contrary to the spirit of the land to allow him to erect his home wall of exclusion and seclusion in our midst. No international law demands that we should countenance the hording together of *any* body of men in a defiant strength of race or common nativity.

All the men throughout the land can live as freemen should live.

They should not be permitted to crowd together like beasts in pens, either in the West or East. Let all those who come to live with us, come as citizens and to live as citizens of a prosperous republic should live, whether they are German, English, French or Chinese, Jews, Gentiles, Atheists or Pagans.

The civil war should forever have settled the question of slavery among us. The establishment of foreign companies, influenced by foreign capital, to bring men to our land, the result of whose labor is beforehand pledged to these companies, is a stultification of the noble assertion for which so much blood was shed. When such companies are so circumstanced as to be able to prevent any of their subjects from escaping their will, when they place laws of their own above those of our country, we violate no treaty provisions by placing them without the pale of protection.

Every country has its drones in the hive, those who, while drawing their sustenance from the land, contribute nothing to its wealth. We cannot expect to be exempt from the infliction. There will still be Chinamen here, living selfishly and sending their savings away from us,—there are very many, not Chinamen, doing the same thing. There will also be among us Chinamen who will be useful, respected and happy; but if these companies are withdrawn and the comings and goings of the race left to its own free will, the same law which brought them here will soon settle their numbers within reasonable and desirable bounds. The change will be as much to their own benefit as to ours. Thousands of misera- bles among them regret the day they left their native land. They do not lie upon roses here. They came involuntarily, and they remain because they are not able to return. Their companies stand in the way, quite as much as other circumstances.

In regard to the moral aspect of the question, there is no secret in anything here written concerning Chinatown. It is true that San Francisco would not be an immaculate city were the Chinese quarter pure. Too many of her sore spots are shielded from the public gaze by the very men whose duty it is to expose and condemn them.

It would be folly to deny the difficulty of cleaning out the cancerous growths to which we have alluded, but their abolition is not an impossibility, and it would be an immense stride towards the settlement of the vexed question. It is a matter in which the

national as well as the local welfare is concerned, and is, therefore, within the national as well as local province.

Evils must be pictured boldly to command attention, and a sincere regard for a wonderful city of grand performances and great and happy capabilities is sufficient excuse for drawing the ugly lines.

The slavery of the men is not a circumstance, compared to that of the women. Very many of the former are certainly free, following their avocations unrestrictedly; coming voluntarily and remaining because it so pleases them to do. The women, however, are bought and paid for by their masters, owned body and mind, condemned to their degrading service for life. They obey without hope or appeal, until they grow old or useless, when systematic neglect or a murderous dagger thrust ends life and suffering. The records of San Francisco's "mysterious" deaths, will tell the tale, but the writer heard it from the lips of one who trembled in fear though far from the reach of her persecutors and among those disposed to aid and redeem her.

All that the agitation of the question has yet produced has been words. Combined and determined action:—the abolishment of illegal institutions,—the return of male and female slaves to their own land,—the extirpation of gambling hells and opium dens, and the expulsion from position of those, high and low, whose eyes have been blinded with the coin of these unholy places,—will do more towards depriving demagogism of its lever and regenerating the Pacific Coast, than all the speeches of representatives, the official dawdling of committees and the Cabinet's profound deliberations. "It is criminal to wait until a patient is in the last stages of suffering, before taking measures for relief." Disease eradicated in its incipency or early stages has no permanent ill effect upon the constitution.

The Pacific coast forms to-day the land of promise of this continent. With all its drawbacks, it offers the happiest field of labor to the energetic and industrious, who appreciate the truth that success depends not upon chance, but on well directed effort. It is meant to be a land of homes and beautiful homes. Its destiny must be fulfilled.

DAVID SOLIS COHEN.

THE PRESENT POSITION AND PROSPECTS OF
POLITICAL ECONOMY.

II.

THE third prevailing error of the economists—and, with the exception of the isolation of their study, this is the most serious of all—is that of exaggerating immensely the office of deduction in their investigations.

Deduction has indisputably a real and not inconsiderable place in Sociology. We can sometimes follow the method which Mill calls the direct deductive; that is, we can, from what we know of the nature of man and the laws of the external world, see beforehand what social phenomena will result from their joint action. But, though the economists of the so-called orthodox school recognize no other method, we cannot really proceed far in this way, which is available only in simple cases. Social phenomena are in general too complex, and depend on too manifold conditions, to be capable of such *a priori* determination. In so far as the method can be used, the vital condition of its legitimate employment is the ascertainment of the consilience of the results of deduction with those of observation; and yet such verification from fact of the conclusions of theory, though essential to the admissibility of this process of inquiry, is too often entirely overlooked.

Much more commonly the function of deduction is different from what has just been described, and its relation to observation is inverted. The laws of the economic constitution and movement of society are first obtained by observation, directed whether to contemporary life or to the history of the past. The office of deduction is then to verify and control the inductions which have been arrived at, using for this purpose considerations founded on the qualities of human nature and the external conditions to which society is subjected. Results which could not have been elicited by *a priori* reasoning from the latter data, may, when inductively obtained, be in this way checked and rationalized. The pretension of the economists, formally set forth in Senior's treatise,²⁹ to deduce all the phenomena of the industrial life of communities from four propositions, is one that cannot be sustained. But con-

²⁹ *Political Economy*, p. 26.

clusions derived from observation may be placed in relation with the laws of the world and of human nature, so far at least as to show that they contradict nothing we know respecting those laws. This method, in which inductive research preponderates, and deduction takes a secondary place as means of verification, is the really normal and fruitful method of sociological inquiry.

But the method of Sociology must be not only inductive, but historical; and by the latter name it may best be characterized. By this is meant, not merely that it finds the materials for its studies in the general field of human history: we mean further that it institutes a comparison of the successive states of society in order to discover the laws of social filiation—a process similar in principle to the biological comparison of organisms of different degrees of development. If we followed exclusively the *a priori* method in (for example) economic research, and sought to infer the economic facts of life from the nature of the world and man, we could arrive only at one determinate order of things, whilst we know that in reality the economic organization and functions of society vary in time according to definite laws of succession. Mr. Lowe, indeed, will have it that “political economy is founded on the attributes of the human mind, and nothing can change it;” which means, I suppose, that its formulas must always correspond with the phenomena. But how can this view be reconciled with the now ascertained fact, that society has passed through states in which the modern economic constitution was so far from existing, that property did not belong to the individual but to the community? The *a priori* method, in fact, overlooks what is the main agency in the social movement—namely, the accumulated influence of anterior on subsequent generations of mankind; an influence too complex to be estimated deductively. Every department of social life, and amongst the rest the industrial system, undergoes transformation—not arbitrarily indeed, but in accordance with law; and if we wish to understand any of those departments, we must study its transformations, considering each successive form in relation to all the preceding and contemporary conditions.

There is, indeed, no more important philosophical theorem than this—that the nature of a social fact of any degree of complexity cannot be understood apart from its history. “Only when its genesis has been traced,” says Mr. Herbert Spencer, “only when

its antecedents of all orders have been observed in their co-operation, generation after generation, through past social states—is there reached that interpretation of a fact which makes it a part of sociological science.” To understand, for example, the true meaning of the trade societies of modern times, so important an object of economic study, “we must,” he says, “go back to the older periods when analogous causes produced analogous results.” And facts of this order, he adds, “must be studied not merely in their own successive forms, but in relation to the other phenomena of their time—the political institutions, the class distinctions, the family arrangements, the modes of distribution and degree of intercourse between localities, the amounts of knowledge, the religious beliefs, the morals, the sentiments, the customs.”³⁰ These considerations all point to the the historical method; and, I may add, they all confirm what I have already urged, that the economic phenomena of society cannot be isolated from its other aspects. When our object is not the explanation of any past or present fact, but the prevision (within possible limits) of the future, and the adoption of a policy in relation to that future, our guide must still be the historic method, conceived as indicating from the comparison of successive states, the general tendency of society with respect to the phenomenon considered, and the agencies which are in course of modifying existing systems. “Legislative action of no kind,” again says Mr. Spencer, “can be taken that is not either in agreement with or at variance with the processes of natural growth and development as naturally going on.”³¹ We can by judicious action modify in their special mode of accomplishment or in the rate of their development, but cannot alter in their fundamental nature, the changes which result from the spontaneous tendencies of humanity. An attempt to introduce any social factor which is not essentially conformable to the contemporary civilization, will result, if not in serious disturbance, at least in a mere waste of effort. Any proposal of social action, therefore, should repose on a previous analysis of those spontaneous tendencies, and this is possible only by the historic method. Let me give an example from an economic subject which happens just at present to offer a special interest. Attention has been called by Sir Henry Maine to the

³⁰ *The Study of Sociology*, pp. 131, 132.

³¹ *Ib.*, p. 71.

general law that property in land originally belongs, not to individuals, nor even to families in the modern sense, but to larger societies, and that in the progress of mankind there is a natural movement from common to separate ownership. This historical result has been elaborated by a number of independent inquirers, and M. de Laveleye in a work³³ of great research has brought together a vast mass of evidence, both establishing the main fact, and exhibiting the varied features which the common evolution has assumed in different countries. There is much that is attractive in particular sides of this early organization of territorial property, and M. de Laveleye has yielded to the charm, so far as to regret its disappearance in the developed communities of the west, though he stops short of recommending what others have suggested—namely, a return to the primitive constitution, by replacing the commune in the possession of the soil. Indeed, he himself, by establishing the progressive spontaneous tendency of society towards individual property, shows such a project to be a dream, and banishes it from the field of practical economic policy. From the general appearance of this collective ownership in an early stage of society, it is sometimes argued that it is a *natural* system; but the historic method shows that it is just as natural that it should disappear at a more advanced stage. Serving useful ends in the former period, it becomes in the latter an obstruction to progress by stereotyping agricultural art, and impeding that individual initiative which is an indispensable condition of social improvement. The safe prediction is that the Swiss *Allmend*, the Russian *Mir*, and other forms of collective ownership will disappear, and that personal appropriation will become the universal rule. The social destination of property in land, as of every species of wealth, will be increasingly acknowledged and realized in the future; but that result will be brought about, not through legal institutions, but by the establishment and diffusion of moral convictions.

There have been great differences of opinion as to the method of economic inquiry pursued by Adam Smith. Mr. Lowe insists that his method was deductive—that he had the unique merit of having raised the study of a branch of human transactions to the dignity of a deductive science. At the same celebration at which

³³ *Primitive Property*, translated by G. R. L. Marriott. London, 1878.

this opinion was put forward, Professor Thorold Rogers expressed his surprise that anyone should entertain such a view. It seemed to him clear that Adam Smith was pre-eminently an inductive philosopher. Mr. Rogers has edited the *Wealth of Nations*, and in doing so has verified all the references; and what strikes him is the extraordinary wideness of the reading from which Smith drew his inferences. The work, he says, is full of facts. It is interesting to observe that David Hume made just the same remark on the book at the time of its publication:—"It has depth," he said, "and solidity, and acuteness, and is so much illustrated with curious facts, that it must take the public attention."

Of the two views thus advanced by Mr. Lowe and Mr. Rogers, the latter seems to me much the more correct. That the master tendency of Smith's intellect was the deductive, or that it is at the deductive point of view that he habitually places himself, seems to me plainly at variance with fact. Open his book anywhere, and read a few pages; then do the same with Ricardo's principal work, and observe the impression produced. Under the guidance of Ricardo you are constantly, not without misgivings, following certain abstract assumptions to their logical results. In Smith you feel yourself in contact with real life, observing human acts and their consequences by the light of experience. Of course deduction is not wanting; but it is in the way of explanation; the facts are *interpreted* from the nature and circumstances of men in general, or particular groups of men. Sagacious observation and shrewd comment go hand in hand.

Adam Smith, besides giving generally a large place to induction, opened several lines of interesting historical investigation, as notably in his Third Book, which contains a view of the economic progress of modern Europe as shaped by political causes. But historic inquiry was neglected by his successors, with a partial exception in the case of Malthus, and the *a priori* method became dominant chiefly by the influence of Ricardo. Professor Price objects to this method as too scientific; but, as Mr. Leslie has said,³³ what ought to be alleged respecting it is that it is unscientific, because ill adapted for the successful investigation of the class of phenomena with which it deals. Setting out from propositions involving the loose abstractions of which I have spoken, it arrives at

³³ In a review of Professor Price's work in the *Academy* of June 8th, 1878.

conclusions which are seldom corrected by the consideration of conditions which were at first, for simplicity, omitted in the premises. And these conclusions can in general not be directly confronted with experience for the purpose of verification, for they are hypothetical only; they give us, not the resultant phenomenon, but only a tendency of a certain character, which will be one component of the resultant.

I am not concerned nor disposed to deny that useful general indications have been gathered by inference of this kind. But it is evidently a very unsafe process, even in purely economic matters, especially when consequences are pushed into any degree of detail. Careful thinkers have a profound distrust of lengthened deductions in economic inquiries. When it is argued that A must lead to B, and B again to C, and so on through a long chain of results, they assume in self-defence a sceptical attitude of mind, and often feel more than half convinced that what is going on is a feat of logical sleight of hand. And this suspiciousness is, I think, reasonable; for we are not here on the same ground as in mathematics, where protracted deductions are always safe, because we can be sure that we have before us at every step all the determining data, and each proposition successively used is universally true. But as the most that the economist can affirm is a set of tendencies, the certainty of his conclusions is plainly weakened in a rapidly increasing ratio by the multiplication of links, there being always a possibility that the theorems applied in the course of the demonstration may be subject to special counteractions or limitations in the case we are considering.

I observed before that Mill betrayed some uncertainty of view as to the precise relation of economic inquiries to general sociology. As to the proper method of the social science also, he appears to me not strictly consistent with himself. That method he declares,³⁴ in so many words, to be the direct deductive. Yet elsewhere³⁵ he as plainly agrees with Comte, that in the general science of society, as distinguished from its separate departments, nothing of a scientific character is possible except by the inverse deductive—as he chooses to call the historical—method. In one place³⁶ he seems

³⁴ *Logic*, vol. ii., pp. 484, 487.

³⁵ *Ib.*, p. 498.

³⁶ *Ib.*, p. 492. "Under the influence of this desire, it shows mankind," etc.

to assert that the general course of economic evolution could be predicted from the single consideration of the desire of wealth. Yet again³⁸ he admits that no one could determine *a priori* from the principles of human nature and the general circumstances of the race the order in which human development takes place. Now this involves the conclusion that the laws of economic progress—like all dynamic laws of sociology—must be ascertained by observation on the large scale, and only verified by appeal to the laws of the external world and human nature; in other words, that the right method for their study is the historical.

I hope it is not inconsistent with a profound respect for the eminent powers and high aims of Mill, to say that he appears to me never to have extricated himself completely from the vicious habits in regard to sociological method impressed on him by his education. His father had the principal part in the formation of his mind in his early years. Now, whatever were the intellectual merits of James Mill, his mode of thinking on social subjects was essentially metaphysical, as opposed to positive. Through him, as well as directly, John Mill came under the influence of Bentham, of whom, whilst fully recognizing his services, we may truly say that he was one of the most unhistorical of writers, building most, I mean, on assumed *a priori* principles, and sympathising least with the social past, in which he saw little except errors and abuses. It is strong evidence of the natural force of Mill's intellect that he more and more, as he advanced towards maturity, shook himself loose of the prejudices of his early *entourage*. On every side, not even excluding the æsthetic, he grew in comprehensiveness, and his social and historic ideas in particular became wider and more sympathetic. The publication of the letters addressed to him by Auguste Comte has revealed more fully, what could already be gathered from his writings, that the study of that eminent thinker's first great work happily concurred with and aided his spontaneous tendencies. Hence, in his economic studies he broke away in many respects from the narrow traditions of the reigning English school, and by opening larger horizons and discrediting rigid formulas, did much to prepare the public mind for a more complete as well as truly scientific handling of these subjects. But, though the interval between his father and himself represents an immense advance,

³⁸ *Ib.*, p. 509.

yet never in regard to method did he, in my opinion, attain a perfectly normal attitude. Whilst in his *Logic*³⁸ he criticised with just severity what he, not very happily, calls the geometrical mode of philosophising practised by the Benthamites in political research, he approves what is essentially the same course of proceeding in economic inquiry; and, whilst protesting against the attempt to construct a special science of the political phenomena of society apart from general sociology,³⁹ he yet, with whatever restrictions and qualifications, accepts the separate construction of a science of its industrial phenomena. His ambition in his work on political economy was, as may be seen from the preface, to replace the *Wealth of Nations*, by a treatise which, whilst more uniformly correct on points of detail, should be in harmony with contemporary social speculation in the widest sense. Amittng fully the great merits of the book, I yet must hold that, chiefly from the absence of any systematic application of the historic method, he has not succeeded in attaining this end. The presentation of what is solid and permanent in the work of the economists in relation with the largest and truest views of general sociology, is, in my judgment, a task which still remains to be accomplished.

The tendencies of the new school with respect to method are sufficiently indicated by the names of the Realistic and the Historical by which it designates itself. It declares, in the words of Brentano,⁴⁰ the description of political economy by the so-called orthodox writers as a hypothetic science, to be only a device to cloak its dissonance with reality; and affirms that much of the current doctrine is made up of hasty generalizations from insuffi-

³⁸ *Logic*, pp. 477, 482.

³⁹ *Ib.*, p. 498.

⁴⁰ "Die ältere ökonomische Schule hatte allerdings ein einheitlich zusammenhängendes Lehgebäude angeblicher volkswirtschaftlicher Wahrheiten errichtet, das jedoch seine Dissonanz mit der Wirklichkeit nur dürtig zu verschleiern vermochte, indem es durch den Mund seiner wissenschaftlichsten Vertreter sich selbst für eine lediglich 'hypothetische Wissenschaft' erklärte." . . . "jenen unwissenschaftlichen Methoden, welche den Namen der Nationalökonomie zum Beiwort hastiger Generalisationen aus ungenügenden und willkürlichen Prämissen . . . gemacht haben."—*Verhältniss von Arbeitslohn und Arbeitszeit zur Arbeitsleistung*, von Dr. L. Brentano, pp. 1, 2.

cient and arbitrary premises. It sets out, says Held,⁴¹ from observed facts, and not from definitions, which often serve to mask forgone conclusions. It aims at describing objectively existing economic relations, not as immutable necessities, but as products of a gradual historical development in the past, and susceptible of gradual modification in the future. "Its philosophical method," says Mr. Leslie, "must be historical, and must trace the connection between the economical and the other phases of national history." In these tendencies the rising school seems to me to be in harmony with all that is best in the spirit of the most advanced contemporary thought.

IV. Lastly has to be noticed the too absolute character of the theoretic and practical conclusions of the political economists. It follows (as I have already indicated) from their *a priori* and un-historic method that they arrive at results which purport to apply equally to all states of society, Neglecting the study of the social development, they tend too much to conceive the economic structure of society as fixed in type, instead of as undergoing a regular modification in process of time, in relation to the other changing elements of human condition. Similar consequences arose in other branches of sociological inquiry from the prevalence of unhistoric methods. But reforms have been largely carried into effect from the increasing recognition of the principle, that the treatment of any particular aspect of society must be dominated by the consideration of the general contemporary state of civilization. Thus, in jurisprudence there is a marked tendency to substitute for the *a priori* method of the Benthamites a historical method, the leading idea of which is to connect the whole juristic system of any epoch with the corresponding state of society; and this new method has already borne admirable fruits, especially in the hands of Sir Henry Maine. Again, the old search after the best government, which used to be the main element of political inquiry, is now seen to have been radically irrational, because the form of

⁴¹ "Die Aufgabe des Nationalökonomen ist zunächst, auszugehen von richtig und nach allen Seiten hin beobachteten Thatsachen, nicht von Definitionen, welche verkappte Axiome oder Wünsche enthalten." "Die Nationalökonomie, welche die gegenwärtigen Verhältnisse objectiv schildert, und als Produkt allmäliger historischer Entwicklung begreift, begnügt sich nicht mit starren Festhalten am Bestehenden, versteigt sich aber auch nicht zu utopischen Zukunftsplänen, sondern giebt Fingerzeige, etc."—*Sozialismus und Sozialdemokratie*, von Adolf Held, p. 69.

government must be essentially related to the stage of social development and to historic antecedents; and the question, What is the best? admits of no absolute answer.

Mill admits that there can be no separate science of government; in other words, that the study of the political phenomena of society cannot be conducted apart, but must, in his own words, stand part of the general science of society, not of any separate branch of it.⁴² And why? Because those phenomena are so closely mixed up, both as cause and effect, with the qualities of the particular people, or of the particular age. Particular age must here mean the state of general social development. But are not economic phenomena very closely bound up with the particular state of development of the society which is under consideration? Mr. Bagehot,⁴³ indeed, took up the ground that political economy is "restricted to a single kind of society, a society of competitive commerce, such as we have in England." And Mill himself, whilst stating⁴⁴ that only through the principle of competition as the exclusive regulator of economic phenomena, has political economy any claim to the character of a science, admits that competition has, only at a comparatively modern period, become in any considerable degree the governing principle of contracts; that in early periods transactions and engagements were regulated by custom, and that to this day in several countries of Europe, in large departments of human transactions, custom, not competition, is the arbiter.

The truth is, that in most enunciations of economic theorems by the English school, the practice is tacitly to presuppose the state of social development, and the general history of social conditions, to be similar to that of modern England; and when this supposition is not realized, those theorems will often be found to fail.

The absolute character of the current political economy is shown not only by this neglect of the influence of the general social state, but in the much too unlimited and unconditional form which is given to most of its conclusions. Mr. Fawcett has, in his latest

⁴² *Logic*, vol. ii., p. 498.

⁴³ "The Postulates of English Political Economy," in *Fortnightly Review* of February, 1876.

⁴⁴ *Political Economy*, i. 284, 285.

publication,⁴⁵ animadverted on this practice; thus he points to the allegation often met with, that the introduction of machines must improve the position of the workman, the element of time being left out of account; and the assertion that the abolition of protection in the United States could not injure the American manufacturer. But this lax habit cannot, I believe, be really corrected apart from a thorough change of economic method. As long as conclusions are deduced from abstract assumptions, such as the perfectly free flow of labor and capital from one employment to another, propositions which only affirm tendencies will be taken to represent facts, and theorems which would hold under certain conditions, will be announced as universally true.

The most marked example the economists have afforded of a too absolute conception and presentation of principle, both theoretic and practical, is found in the doctrine of *laissez faire*. It might be interesting, if time permitted, to follow its history in detail. First inspired by *a priori* optimistic prepossessions, it long served a useful purpose as an instrument of combat against the systematic restrictions with which a mistaken policy had everywhere fettered European industry. But, from the absolute manner in which it was understood and expressed, it tended more and more to annul all governmental intervention in the industrial world, even when intended, not to alter the spontaneous course of industry, but only to prevent or remedy the social injustices and other mischiefs arising from the uncontrolled play of private interests. Experience and reflection, however, gradually surmounted the exaggerations of theory. The community at large became impatient of *laissez faire* as an impediment and a nuisance; statesmen pushed it aside, and the economists, after long repeating it as a sacred formula, themselves at last revolted against it. So far has the reaction proceeded, that Professor Cairnes has declared⁴⁶ the doctrine implied in the phrase, namely, that the economic phenomena of society will always spontaneously arrange themselves in the way which is most for the common good, to be a pretentious sophism, destitute of scientific authority, and having no foundation in nature or fact.

Let me now recapitulate the philosophical conclusions which I have been endeavoring to enforce. They are the following:—

⁴⁵ *Free Trade and Protection*, pp. 6-7.

⁴⁶ *Essays in Political Economy*, pp 244, 252.

(1) That the study of the economic phenomena of society ought to be systematically combined with that of the other aspects of social existence; (2) That the excessive tendency to abstraction and to unreal simplifications should be checked; (3) That the *a priori* deductive method should be changed for the historical; and (4) That economic laws and the practical prescriptions founded on those laws should be conceived and expressed in a less absolute form. These are, in my opinion, the great reforms which are required both in the conduct of economic research, and in the exposition of its conclusions.

I am far from thinking that the results arrived at by the hitherto dominant economic school ought to be thrown away as valueless. They have shed important partial lights on human affairs, and afforded salutary partial guidance in public action. The task incumbent on sociologists in general, or such of them as specially devote themselves to economic inquiries, is to incorporate the truths already elicited into a more satisfactory body of doctrine, in which they will be brought into relation with the general theory of social existence,—to recast the first draughts of theory, which, however incomplete, in most cases indicate real elements of the question considered,—and to utilize the valuable materials of all kinds which their predecessors have accumulated. Viewed as provincial and preparatory, the current political economy deserves an approbation and an acceptance to which I think it is not entitled, if regarded as a final systematization of the industrial laws of society.⁴⁷

Returning now from our examination of the condition and prospects of economic study in the general field of human knowledge to the consideration of its position in this Association, what seems to follow from all I have been saying? I do not take into account at all the suggestion that that study should be removed from what professes to be a confederation of the sciences. As has been well said, the omission from the objects of this body of the whole subject of the life of man in communities, although there is a scien-

⁴⁷ " Bien que l'analyse économique proprement dite ne me semble pas devoir finalement être conçue ni cultivée, soit dogmatiquement, soit historiquement, à part de l'ensemble de analyse sociologique, soit statique, soit dynamique, cependant je n'ai jamais méconnu l'efficacité provisoire de cette sorte de métaphysique actuelle, surtout élaborée par un aussi bon cerveau que le vôtre."—*Lettres d'Auguste Comte à John Stuart Mill*, p. 231.

tific order traceable in that life, would be a degradation of the Association. If the proper study of mankind is man, the work of the Association, after the extrusion of our section, would be like the play with the part of the protagonist left out. What appears to be the reasonable suggestion, is that the field of the section should be enlarged, so as to comprehend the whole of sociology. The economic facts of society, as I have endeavored to show, cannot be scientifically considered apart, and there is no reason why the researches of Sir Henry Maine, or those of Mr. Spencer, should not be as much at home here as those of Mr. Fawcett or Professor Price. Many of the subjects, too, at present included in the artificial assemblage of heterogeneous inquiries known by the name of anthropology, really connect themselves with the laws of social development; and if our section bore the title of the Sociological, the studies of Mr. Tylor and Sir John Lubbock concerning the early history of civilization would find in it their most appropriate place. I prefer the name sociology to that of social science, which has been at once rendered indefinite and vulgarised in common use, and has come to be regarded as denoting a congeries of incoherent details respecting every practical matter bearing directly or remotely on public interests, which happens for the moment to engage attention. There are other societies in which an opportunity is afforded for discussing such current questions in a comparatively popular arena. But if we are to be associated here with the students of the other sciences, it is our duty, as well as our interest, to aim at a genuinely scientific character in our work. Our main object should be to assist in fixing theoretic ideas on the structure, functions, and development of society. Some may regard this view of the subject with impatience, as proposing to us investigations not bearing on the great and real needs of contemporary social life. But that would be a very mistaken notion. Luciferous research, in the words of Bacon, must come before fructiferous. "Effectual practice," says Mr. Spencer, "depends on superiority of ideas; methods that answer are preceded by thoughts that are true."⁴⁸ And in human affairs, it is in general impossible to solve special questions correctly without just conceptions of *ensemble*—all particular problems of government, of education, of social action of whatever

⁴⁸ *The Study of Sociology*. p. 220.

kind, connect themselves with the largest ideas concerning the fundamental constitution of society, its spontaneous tendencies, and its moral ideal.

I have as yet said nothing of statistics, with which the name of this section at first exclusively connected it, and which are still recognized as forming one of its objects. But it is plain that though statistics may be combined with sociology in the title of the section, the two cannot occupy a co-ordinate position. For it is impossible to vindicate for statistics the character of a science;⁴⁹ they constitute only one of the aids or adminicula of science. The ascertainment and systematic arrangement of numerical facts is useful in many branches of research, but, till law emerges, there is no science; and the law, when it does emerge, takes its place in the science whose function it is to deal with the particular class of phenomena to which the facts belong. We may arrange meteorological facts in this way as well as sociological; and if doing so helps us to the discovery of a law, the law belongs to meteorology; and, in the same manner, a law discovered by the aid of statistics, would belong to sociology.

But though the character of a science cannot be claimed for statistics, it is obvious that if the views I have advocated as to the true nature and conditions of economic study should prevail, the importance of statistical inquiries will rise, as the abstract and deductive method declines in estimation. Senior objected⁵⁰ to the saying that political economy is *avide de faits*, because, according to him and the school of Ricardo in general, its work was mainly one of inference from a few primary assumptions. But if the latter notion is given up, every form of careful and conscientious search after the realities of the material life of society, in the present as in the past, will regain its normal importance. This search must, of course, be regulated by definite principles, and must not degenerate into a purposeless and fortuitous accumulation of facts; for here as in every branch of inquiry, it is true that "*Prudens interrogatio est dimidium scientiæ.*"

I do not expect that the views I have put forward as to the necessity of a reform of economic studies will be immediately adopted

⁴⁹ See the remarks on this subject in the Address of Mr. G. J. Shaw-Lefevre as President of the Statistical Society of London, *Journal* of that Society for December, 1877.

⁵⁰ *Political Economy*, p. 4.

either in this section or elsewhere. They may, I am aware, whilst probably in some quarters meeting with at least partial sympathy, in others encounter determined hostility. And it is possible that I may be accused of presumption in venturing to criticize methods used in practice, and justified in principle, by many distinguished men. I should scarcely have undertaken such an office, however profoundly convinced of the urgency of reform, had I not been supported by what seemed to me the unanswered arguments of an illustrious thinker, and by the knowledge that the growing movement of philosophic Europe is in the direction he recommended as the right one. No one can feel more strongly than myself the inadequacy of my treatment of the subject. But my object has been not so much to produce conviction as to awaken attention. Our economists have undeniably been slow in observing the currents of European thought, Whilst such foreign writers as echo the doctrines of the so-called orthodox school, are read and quoted in England, the names of those who assume a different and more independent attitude are seldom heard, and their works appear to be almost entirely unknown. But the fence of self-satisfied routine within which in these countries we formerly too often entrenched ourselves, is being broken down at every point; and no really vital body of opinion can now exist abroad without speedily disturbing our insular tranquillity. The controversy, therefore, as to the methods of economic research and its relations to sociology as a whole, cannot long be postponed amongst us. It has in fact been already opened from different sides by Mr. Leslie and Mr. Harrison, and it is desirable that it should arrive as promptly as possible at a definite issue. If I have done anything to-day to assist in launching this great question on the field of general English discussion, the purpose I have set before me will have been abundantly fulfilled.

I here subjoin some further extracts, illustrative of the method and spirit of the new school.

1. From the *Geschichte der National-Oekonomik in Deutschland* (1874) of Wilhelm Roscher, §209-211. (The whole passage deserves attention.)

“The now prevailing direction of economic studies in our universities has been rightly called Realistic. It takes men, as they in fact are, influenced at once by very different motives—some of them not of an economic kind—and belonging to determinate races, states, and periods of history. Abstraction from all these, which has led many, even great, economists into serious errors is permissible only in the preparatory studies; but in the completed theory as little as in practice. . . . If this direction is consistently carried out, it must also be Historic. . . . We no longer believe in the

abstract man as he was imagined . . . by the old teachers of Natural Law . . . This realistic-historical direction may also be called Moral (*ethisch*); we must consider what is good for the whole life of the nation. . . . An economic fact can then only be regarded as scientifically explained when its inductive and deductive explanation are shown to harmonize."

2. From the *Social-Lehre* (1875) of Adolf Samter (*Vorwort*).

"Political economy, as it has developed itself since Adam Smith, is no longer adequate to the requirements of the present. The question is, in the last resort, not about wealth, but about men. Wealth must retire into the background; man must come to the front. Not only material, but immaterial interests also, must be kept in view."

3. From the *Grundriss für Vorlesungen über National-Oekonomie* (2nd ed. 1878) of Dr. Adolf Held, p. 25. (This work has come into my hands since the address was delivered).

"1. The new school opposes itself to the view, whether arising from shortsightedness or from conscious materialism, that the production and acquisition of wealth by individuals is the single or principal object of human life; wealth, on the contrary, it regards as a means used by Humanity in its struggle towards moral ideas of life, and for the furtherance of universal culture.

"2. It rejects absolute Economic 'laws of nature' (*verwirft die absolut gültigen wirtschaftlichen Natur-gesetze*); it seeks to understand present economic phenomena through the study of their historical development, and to ascertain them as accurately as possible through statistical investigations. It uses the knowledge of the nature of man's intellect and will for the rational explanation of economic facts, but does not construct those facts themselves out of one-sided assumptions respecting the nature of man.

"3. As compared with the English school, it lays greater stress on the question of the Distribution of wealth, and recognizes the right of the state to positive intervention in the economic relations of the community, for the support of the weak and the strengthening of public spirit. As the Political Economy of the last century applied itself chiefly to the liberation of the economic forces from antiquated and useless restrictions, so the new school specially meets the acknowledged need of new social arrangements, the need of social reform, in opposition to social revolution on the one hand and to rigid *laissez faire* on the other.

"4. It takes up, therefore, a less isolated position in relation to the other Moral and Political Sciences."

I do not, of course, bind myself to an acceptance of all the views of the School at large, or of any of its members; but it will be seen that I am in general agreement with it as to the right direction and method of Economic studies.

A GERMAN POET.

FREDERICK M. BODENSTEDT, who is now paying a visit to the United States, comes with the reputation of being one of the few poets *majorum gentium* left in his native country. For there also, it would seem, the poet's occupation is nearly gone, a wilderness of gentlemen, and ladies, too, writing fine verses notwithstanding. Of the second growth, the *epigonoï*, as the post-Goethean poets have sometimes been called, not many remain, since Heine, Uhland, Rückert, Beck, Grillparzer and Auersperg have been called off. Mr. Bodenstedt, who is about sixty years old, must now be counted among the foremost occupants of the German Parnassus, to which he obtained undisputed admission, like so many men of note, by a first effort. The famous Mirza Schaffy poems first appeared in 1850, in his "Thousand and one Days in the Orient," the fruit of his travels and sojourn in countries bordering on the Black Sea. While in Tiflis, Mr. Bodenstedt took up with a somewhat dissipated Oriental, Mirza Schaffy by name, a school-master, of whom he learned the Persian and other eastern languages. Upon this individual, who lived and died obscurely in his native town, Bodenstedt hung the rich and brilliant pearl strings of his own poetry, scattered through the pages of the "Thousand and one Days." These poems so racy, finished and orientally perfumed, struck the popular fancy wonderfully; they were soon republished in a separate volume, and of this upward of seventy editions have since been sold. The public at first complimented Bodenstedt merely for discovering and teutonizing so charming a poet; but gradually the truth leaked out that Bodenstedt himself was Mirza Schaffy, if not in the flesh, certainly in the spirit.

Bodenstedt's orientalizing style of poetry was not the first attempt of the kind; Goethe had set the example in his *West-östlicher Divan*; which was followed by Rückert, Platen and Daumer. None of these, however, had a personal experience among eastern people, as Bodenstadt had. In spite of their oriental flavor and costume, the Mirza Schaffy poems have so much of Western smartness, humor and irony, and between the lines *de te fabula narratur* may be so plainly read, that a mistake as to their origin ought to have been impossible. A sequel to them, somewhat sobered in hue, was published in 1874. Mr. Bodenstedt

has given many other proofs of his poetical gifts and literary capacity, though no other work of his has equalled in success the first fruit of his genius. An epic poem, *Ada, the Lcsghian*, (1853) draws upon the incidents of the insurrection against Russia in the Eastern Caucasus, and ShamyI the warrior prophet is one of the prominent figures.

Demetrius, a tragedy based on the same historical events which Schiller had chosen for the work that death interrupted, appeared in 1856. Additional volumes of poetry were published at various times, all excelling in grace and finish of form; and not a few, notably so the gnomic lines, in richness of thought. While he did *not* translate Mirza Schaffy, he has since proved himself a master in the difficult art of recasting foreign poetry in his native language, such as the works of the Russian poet, Puschkin, the Sonnets and several dramas of Shakespeare, and lately the poems of Hafis, the sweet bard of Shiraz.

The prose writings of Mr. Bodenstedt are numerous, comprising ethnography (*The Nations of the Caucasus*, 1848), literature and criticism (*Shakspeare's Co-temporaries*, *Shakspeare's Women*), and narratives. Of the latter, several are laid in the times of Elizabeth.

For some years B. was invested with the professorship of Slavonic languages in Munich. The king of Bavaria, in recognition of his high claims as a scholar and a poet, conferred upon him the patent of nobility. The memoirs of Bodenstedt's life are now in course of publication.

NEW BOOKS.

NOTES ON RAILROAD ACCIDENTS. By Charles Francis Adams, Jr.
New York: E. P. Putman's Sons, 1879. Pp. 280.

Mr. Adams is as far as possible from being a book maker and he carefully wards off even the suggestion of such a notion, by honestly avowing that his book is merely a collection of notes on railroad accidents, made by him in pursuance of his investigations as a railroad officer. Mr. Adams was for ten years member of a Board specially charged with the investigation of railroad questions in Massachusetts, and his later, as well as his earlier, volumes are due to the earnestness and zeal with which he pursued his labors. Not content with merely examining each problem that presented itself for consideration, he sought to carry his studies far

and wide and thus to bring home for use the lessons gathered out of the experience of the railroad world. He has here given his notes of some of the most memorable railroad accidents abroad and at home,—such as that which produced Mr. Huskisson's death in 1830, that which took place in Versailles in 1842, and, in connection with this, he tells the story of the dreadful accident on our own North Penn. road in 1856, the Abergale disaster of 1868, and its parallel on the Hudson River road in 1871, and he forms groups of disasters due to the same cause, drawbridges, car-couplings, rear end and other preventable accidents. He fights over again the battle of the brakes, and makes his usual compliment to the Pennsylvania railroad for its introduction of the block system, and for many other successful improvements in its working. Of course, Mr. Adams does not gather together such a mass of facts without drawing from them inferences applicable to our daily needs, and although these are, in part, highly technical, still the ordinary reader will be the better for studying the gradual advance of railroad mechanism to its present high state of efficiency. Mr. Adams works out very successfully the nice problems of the comparative loss of life under the old stage-coach system as measured against that of modern railroads, and of the expense of life and limb in foreign and American railroads. He shows that, while the dangers incident to railroad travelling in this country are materially greater than in any country in Europe, the usual exaggerations on the subject are utterly without excuse. He points out the thoroughness of government inspection in Great Britain, and emphasizes the fact that in five years, 1867-71, railroad accidents in Great Britain cost the railroad corporations eleven millions of dollars in compensation. It is to the credit of our own great railroad companies that they have secured Mr. Adams' services in the Board recently organized for their general government in all disputed questions. His experiences will henceforth be on a broader field than that of a single State, and, although his work may be in a narrower scope in one direction, there can be little doubt that he will do his best to make railroads more than ever monuments of human care, skill and foresight, as he proudly emphasizes them in his conclusion and summing up the result of all his careful studies.

ODDMENTS OF ANDEAN DIPLOMACY. By Hinton Rowan Helper. St. Louis: M. S. Bryan, 1879. Pp. 480,

Mr. Helper is an exasperating sort of person. He had a curious and short-lived reputation by reason of some early book in the first stages of the rebellion, in defence of the Union, but his name has outlived his patriotic services. Now he has gathered together all the correspondence relative to some claims against two South American republics, and has printed them in a very attractive mechanical

shape, with a title that will put bibliographers, and librarians with card catalogues, into a rage. Indeed, under the running title he has embodied an amount of useless information that can only serve one good purpose, and that is to warn off anyone who might otherwise be tempted to read his book. As to the contents of the work, nothing good can be said,—the author has gathered together all sorts of odds and ends, and has gone wool-gathering, only to come home shorn. There is an odd relic of the past in the reprint of an "Ode to the American People, on the Central American Ship Canal from the Atlantic to the Pacific," by Francis Lieber, written more than thirty years ago, and disinterred for the use of modern readers. It is not very good poetry, but it gives a certain value to the book which nothing else in it possesses, and it might be in good time for the Canal Boom.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

Di Cary. By M., Jacqueline Thornton. Sw'd. 8vo. Pp. 231. Price 75 cents. New York: D. Appleton & Co. [Porter & Coates.

A Ministry of Health and other Addresses. By Benjamin Ward Richardson. Cloth. 12mo. Pp. 354. New York: D. Appleton & Co. [Porter & Coates.

Euripides. By J. P. Mahaffy. Cloth. 16mo. Pp. 144. Price 60 cents. New York: D. Appleton & Co. [Porter & Coates.

Vivian the Beauty. By Mrs. Annie Edwards. (Handy Volume Series.) Price 30 cents. New York: D. Appleton & Co. [Porter & Coates.

Oddments of Andean Diplomacy; and other Oddments. By Hinton Rowan Helper. Cloth. 12mo. Pp. 480. St. Louis: W. S. Bryan.

Chatterbox. 1879. Edited by J. Erskine Clarke, M. A. Boston: Estes & Lauriat.

The New Departure in the Common Schools of Quincy, and other Papers on Educational Topics. By Charles Francis Adams, Jr. 8vo. Sw'd. Pp. 51. Price 25 cents. Boston: Estes & Lauriat. [J. B. Lippincott & Co.

Probation. By Jessie Fothergill. (Leisure Hour Series.) Price \$1.00. New York: Henry Holt & Co. [Claxton, Remsen & Haffelfinger.

A Fool's Errand. By one of the Fools. Cloth. 16mo. Pp. 362. Price \$1.00. New York: Fords, Howell & Hulbert. [J. B. Lippincott & Co.

The Throat and the Voice. By J. Solis Cohen, M. D. (American Health Primer.) 16mo. Cloth. Pp. 159. Price 50 cents. Philadelphia: Lindsay & Blakiston.

In Berkshire with the Wild Flowers. By Elaine and Dora Read Goodale. Cloth. Pp. 92. Price \$3.00. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. [Claxton, Remsen & Haffelfinger.

Music. From George D. Newhall & Co., Cincinnati, O.

Calm Night. By Charles Kinkel. Price 50 cents.

May Angels Heavenward bear us, Mother. By C. Webster. Price 35 cents.

Maggie Lee. By Will S. Hays. Price 35 cents.

Mint Sauce. By A. Sullivan. Price 35 cents.

There'll be a Good Time. By J. Ernest Perring. Price 40 cents.