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JANUARY, 1880.

THE MONTH.

LESLIE STEPHEN says somewhere, and very truly, that the eighteenth century lasted on till about 1830. If so, we are now entering upon the second half of the real nineteenth century; and the fact suggests an attempt to estimate the drift of the world's affairs during the half century which has passed. It has been a time more fruitful in the enunciation and the theoretical acceptance of great principles, than of their reduction to practice. The maxims of international and social equity were never so clearly proclaimed, and they have met with a seeming general acceptance in public opinion. The old, insolent assertion of might against right, of Tory obstinacy in the perpetuation of abuses, has passed away; but our practice has been very wide of the theory. There is seemingly an advance in the intellectual perception of great truths, which has not been accompanied by the formation of a staunch will to do what is perceived to be right. The lines of the transmission of force from the moral intellect to the active hand have been weakened, and we have had a half century of grand promises but miserable performances. We have had the doctrine of nationality proclaimed first by prophets in the wilderness, like Mazzini, and then made a commonplace in newspapers and international congresses; but we still see Ireland and Scotland in subjection, and every weak nation looking across the frontiers which separate it from the stronger ones. We have had philanthropists and economists

at work for fifty years, uniting to convince the world of the blessings which follow peace and righteousness: and yet 1880 finds the nations of continental Europe armed to the teeth, and each waiting for the other's spring, like so many wild beasts; it finds the fingers of the freest nation of the old world, clutched in the throats of two weak and unprovoking nationalities; it finds millions of our fellow-citizens living in fear of mob violence, if they exercise the rights and duties of citizens according to their convictions; it finds the red man of the far west stripped and robbed of the last remnants of his lands, in the name of public policy and with the sanction of cabinet officers.

When men do not live up to the truth they see, they soon lose sight of that truth. The unbelief we act out in our lives, soon finds its way into the head. And so out of our unfaithfulness has grown our atheism. Out of the materialism of living for low ends in life, has sprung the materialism of denying that there are any high and eternal ends to live for. The half century has seen a great spread of utter unbelief in all those primary truths, whose acceptance is bound up with the well being, if not the being, of society. The lines of intellectual pursuit into which men have flocked in increasing numbers, have been those of the natural sciences; and the spirit in which those sciences have been cultivated, has tended to eliminate all spiritual belief from the minds of the men engaged in them. Our Pascal, clear of head and kind of heart, and gifted far beyond his fellows, was the late Prof. Clifford, who hated the beliefs of his childhood with a passionate hatred, and passed away with no hope or outlook into any life but that of earth. And from the scientific world these passionate unbeliefs have percolated downward into the ranks of the poor and the discontented, robbing them of the last motive to acquiesce in their lot, and provoking new political fanaticisms of a purely destructive type. The Commune, the Social Democracy, the Nihilists, are among the most characteristic fruits of the half century's growth.

Not that all the signs of the times are unfavorable. Along with the tares, the wheat has grown vigorously during this half century. A purer and safer tone reigns in the circles in which philosophy is cultivated. We discuss social issues with reference to deeper principles and loftier truths. Christian zeal has gained in energy and, it is hoped, in light. The influence of the churches as a social

power is felt in every circle of national life, and questions which concern them affect national politics in a way which would have been impossible fifty or a hundred years ago. The disposition to insist on secondary issues is on the wane among them. A spirit of self-sacrifice, of wiser dealing with the defective and indigent classes is abroad. And the purpose to take every remediable wrong by the throat, to challenge its right to live, is more vigorous than ever among the reformatory intellects of the time.

The next fifty years will see many seeds come to fruit-bearing. It will see great books, which will contain the distilled essence of our recent thinking. It will see violent social changes, for which we have been working long and hard without knowing it. It will see notions which are treated as interesting and pretty theories, put in practice. It will turn our toys into swords, our jests into war-cries. It will be more logical, more practical, a time of sharper contrasts of violent extremes, and of the conflict of ideas whose antagonism we hardly realize. And then it will harden into a dull conservatism to nurse the remnants of abuses, resist change, and make trouble for the initiative minds who, fifty years hence, will usher in the true twentieth century.

MR. GLADSTONE comes to the front once more, as the man around whom the solidest and most earnest minds have clustered their hopes of better days for the English Empire. It is the Scotch who, of all British people, are the hardest to excite; but whose excitement glows with the most intense heat when once aroused. Not since 1845, when Chalmers and the Free Churchmen rose and left the Established Church's Assembly, abandoning manse and stipend for a principle, and passed down the Canongate amid the sobs and cheers of an excited nation, has there been such a stir in Auld Reekie as Mr. Gladstone's visit has caused. The *perferoidum ingenium Scotorum*, once a proverb throughout Europe, but overlaid by centuries of money getting, and shrewd attention to "the main chance," will break out now and then, and explain to us what the Scotch were two and three centuries ago in the hand of John Knox, or of Alexander Henderson. And such outbursts are of more than provincial significance; they infect the rest of the island. That of 1638, as Goldwin Smith says, saved English liberty; it was Janet Geddes who commenced the great Civil war, by hurling her

stool at the Dean's head as he began to read Laud's liturgy. From that to the scaffold where a head went off because there was a lying tongue in it, was an easy transition. And once more Scotland, with her sobriety turned fierce by the mischievous policy of an English government, her anger raised to almost Covenanter heat, gives her welcome to the leader of the opposition as she gave it to the Good Regent or to Argyle. So deep is this feeling that it has pervaded the Scotch abroad as well as at home. We have heard American Scotchmen, with whom the Land o' Cakes is a memory of the past, speak of the approach of Mr. Gladstone's visit to Edinburgh with as much feeling as if they had expected to be on the spot and to share in his ovation.

The scenes in Edinburgh, and in the adjacent places of the county for which Mr. Gladstone is to stand in the next election, are said to baffle all description. It was hero-worship on a grand scale and on a just occasion. These cautious Scots saw in him a man of unyielding principle, of staunch devotion to the best interests of Great Britain and of mankind. This Oxford graduate, this Englishman-born, though of Scottish blood and name, this High Churchman, might seem to offend their national prejudices on every point. Thirty, nay ten years ago, such a reception of him would have been impossible. But the sense of a common danger, and of the strength in this man to save them from the danger, has thrust all other considerations out of sight. And when Scotland announces thus to England that she has such a fear of the continuance of Jingo policy and Tory rule, the announcement carries weight. The English do not like the Scotch generally, while they greatly like some individual Scotchmen. But they dislike them chiefly because of the coldness of the Scotch temper, the predominance of their judgment over more genial qualities. And for the very same reason the convictions of Scotland have weight with them. Even the London clubs feel it and bow before it.

To Mr. Gladstone, his reception must have been extremely touching. It must have repaid him for the contumely and abuse with which the other end of the island so lately treated him,—

Ill fate, ill feeling, ill report lived through
 And then he heard the hisses change to cheers,
 The taunts to tribute, the abuse to praise
 And took both with the same unwavering mood.

And when we remember that the man who went through this ordeal is in his seventieth year, and has been at work in some sort of public service ever since he left college, and yet has never had his name mixed up with a job, nor has ever presented any target to his enemies, except his open and public policy, one sees that he must have walked in uprightness and washed his hands in innocence.

ON one point Mr. Gladstone took a bold step, and yet not a satisfactory one. Home Rule has become in English a term of offence, and the name *Home Ruler* is one of the most offensive in the political vocabulary. It was what *Repealer* was forty years ago; the reminder that England had in Ireland a problem she had never solved, and never would solve until she abandoned some of her most cherished maxims of public policy. But Mr. Gladstone, touching on Irish questions, declared that he would like to see the counties in both islands enjoy the same measure of Home Rule, or local self-government, as is accorded to an English municipality. In the state of English opinion, it was dangerous to go so far; but for any practical Irish purpose, the concession suggested would be altogether useless. English grievances are very largely county grievances. The aristocracy in each county are invested with the control of the finances and other executive functions. But Irish grievances are national grievances, and nothing but an Irish parliament with final power over all Irish questions will meet the case. Municipal self-government is liable at every step to parliamentary interference. It would enable the Irish to do nothing but follow out English ideas of local reform. But Ireland needs the liberty to do not only what England approves of, but what she disapproves of. She needs to cut herself loose from the maxims of that policy which has been her ruin.

The land agitation moves forward about as fast as a mill-wheel. There are the same monster meetings and violent speeches; the same arrests of the more violent; the same stubborn determination on both sides to yield nothing material. Meanwhile, famine comes on apace: in many districts of the West the people are already suffering, and the supply of food is anything but sufficient to carry them over the winter. The government are not doing anything to relieve want, but are discussing what to do. The dilatory

policy which disgraced Sir Robert Peel's administration by the needless sacrifice of hundreds of thousands of Irish lives, is again followed; and while the distress is not likely to be so great, there is no doubt that lives will again be needlessly sacrificed.

One might suppose that the recurrence of famine in a dependency so near home, and among a people who, when they emigrate from under English rule, show themselves the hardest of workers, would suggest topics for reflection to English statesmen and economists. The old and false plea that Ireland is over-populated is no longer possible. The cry against the land tenure, as the root of Irish evils, which English economists encouraged, becomes less plausible now that the Irish agitators have taken it up. Upon what will they lay the blame of perennial Irish poverty? How can they account for it that these people have nothing to fall back upon when a single crop fails, and can only prosper by leaving a land to which they are tied by the very heart-strings? For the English political economists, Ireland remains the practical refutation of their claim to have discovered the laws which govern the wealth of nations.

We know not what significance to attach to the change of ministry in France, except to see in it the indication that the political habits required for the English system of parliamentary government are of slow growth in France. Where the continuance of a ministry depends upon its command of a majority in a legislative body, there is need of a great degree of unanimity in the party it represents. Even in England, of late years, it has been difficult to secure this unanimity, on any but the Conservative side of the House. In France it is not attainable, and M. Waddington's excellent government has broken down through the necessity of riding three horses where courses are not always parallel.

France might have done worse than accept Marshall MacMahon's view that her constitution corresponded to that of the United States, and not to that of England, and that during his term of office the President and his advisers are irresponsible to legislative majorities.

OF the continental news, only the Russian is of the first importance. First came the information that the long contemplated

measures for the liberalization of the government had been definitely adopted, so far at least as the plan to create a national council through which the will and the grievances of the people might find expression. To this measure the Czarowitch is known to be devoted, and there was every reason to hope that public and free discussion of political and social questions would take the place of secret societies and assassinations, as the modification of Russian Czardom. But soon came the news of another attempt to assassinate the Czar,—an attempt whose deliberate atrocity cannot but work powerfully upon the mind of a hypochondriac ruler, and induce him to concessions in the methods of his administration.

But sooner or later the reforms must come, and will come. Not that we look for any great and immediate results of the proposed parliamentary council. Its friends urge that the local assemblies of the *Mir* (or village community) have long trained the people in the methods of self-government, and that the *moujik* is exceptionally fitted for parliamentary government. But parliamentary government means freedom of thought and of discussion, whose very elements are wanting in Russia. It is not that governmental methods are repressing the intellectual life of the Russian people; it is that no such intellectual life has ever been awakened among them, and a council which should properly represent the Russian people would be the most inert and servile body that ever exercised deliberative functions. For their experiences in the *Mir* have not prepared them for freedom of action. With all its pretence to democratic character, the *Mir*, like every other communistic society, is a hard and fast despotism. Before emancipation, the noble was the despot; since it, the elders of the village have taken his place, and the *moujiks* are not even as free as when they were serfs. Russia should take the first step before she takes the second; she should emancipate her peasants from the serfdom into which the ukase of 1862 delivered them. She should give them the liberty which Rome gave to western Europe by that grand maxim of the Civil Law—*nemo in communionem invitatus detineri potest*—"partnership must be voluntary."

But if parliamentary institutions will not for a long time relieve Russia of the pressure of a bureaucratic government, they will serve other purposes at once. They will take away the motive to Nihilism and other forms of political destructionism. They will furnish some

outlet for the discontent of the over-educated, denationalized classes, which universities, on the German model, are creating in Russia. And they will gradually awaken the dormant life of this great people, whose preparation for liberty must be the grant of liberty.

We think that Russia is entitled to the sympathy of all right-minded people in her honest efforts to deal with the great evils of her present situation. The policy of a nation, backward in its own civilization, and brought into constant contact with more advanced nationalities, is, as our Japanese friends will learn, exceedingly difficult of wise direction. Russia is now reaping the harvest of a series of blunders, which began with Peter called "the Great," and have been continued by his successors for two centuries. To judge her as we would a western European nation, is what we are tempted by the methods of her administration and by the culture of her upper class to do; but to do so we must forget the condition of the millions who live in the same circle of ideas as did their forefathers under Ivan the Terrible, and who have not been carried forward one step by all the pretentious advances and reforms inaugurated by Peter and his imitators. The Panslavists are not so far wrong in counting Czar Peter the great enemy of the Russian people.

THE English trouble in Afghanistan, as we foresaw, has not proved a simple one. With such a people, an enemy never knows when he is done. The most utter defeat only prostrates them for a time, and they will return again to the attack as if nothing had happened, as soon as they feel able to renew it. And so, as winter deepens in this mountain land, we see the English army under General Roberts shut into an encampment, with an overpowering force of native troops prowling about them on every side, and reinforcements trying to make their way through passes barely passable even in summer, while at any turn they may be cut to pieces, as were the troops who tried to escape through the same passes in 1842. The Fates have not yet joined sides with Beaconsfield, and the "spirited foreign policy," which has made England dangerous to every lesser power whose boundaries she happens to touch, has not yet reached such results as will commend its representatives to the English constituencies.

And yet, foolish as Beaconsfield's policy has been, that of his rivals, when in power, was undoubtedly ignoble. It is only neces-

sary to mention Denmark, to recall what the Liberals were capable of in the way of meanness and seeming cowardice. And in 1870 they became, through the force of circumstances, the representatives, as against Russia, of the faith of treaties, but allowed her to tear up the Treaty of 1856 without striking a blow. The yardstick and till arguments by which Bright and the Manchester school deprecate any and every war, have had by far too much weight in the Liberal councils. It is the memory of the disgrace this inflicted on England, which is the strength of Jingoism, and which has given the present Tory ministry their chance to do so much mischief. And now that power has gravitated from the middle to the working classes, the Liberals must either abandon the maxims inherited from Cobden and illustrated by Bright, or they will not permanently control the English government. We believe that Mr. Gladstone, economist though he be, is above these maxims; but we fear their prevalence in any cabinet which he or any one can form from the present Liberal leaders.

THE reassembling of Congress showed a great change of attitude on the part of the Democratic leaders since the extra session. The voice of the people in the November elections has been too clear for any misunderstanding. The disposition on their part now is to refrain from raising any vexatious issues, and to confine the session to the most ordinary business. We see few or no indications of an inclination to adopt the New York programme, by which the Tariff was to become the great issue of the session. It is true that Mr. Garfield thinks there is such a danger. We so far agree with him that we think this Congress will bear watching. But we feel hopeful that their action will take the shape of a National Commission of Inquiry into the matter, such as will lead to the adoption of a Tariff which everybody will agree to let stand for the next fifty years. That Tariff would differ in many essential respects from the one now in force. It would reduce, with the full consent of the Protectionists, many of the duties now imposed. It would introduce simplicity where there is now confusion, and certainty where there is now obscurity. But it would not be such a document as Mr. Wood's committee, acting under the inspiration of the New York importers, will be likely to devise.

The attempt to rush through Congress a measure opening our

registry to foreign-built vessels, was defeated by the opposition of many of the Free Traders themselves. In this resistance to hasty action they are quite consistent; and so they would be in maintaining our laws as they are, for our present legislation is thoroughly in harmony with Free Trade principles. We have no protective duties on the importation of ships into our waters. Unlike England in her protective days, we do not charge discriminative duties on foreign tonnage. It is true that, as a consequence, we have a decreasing merchant marine. But the ocean-carrying trade is done so well and so abundantly, that there is no complaint as to its efficiency. And, on Free Trade principles, it is not a matter for legislative interference, whether our carrying trade is sustained by foreign capital and managed to foreign profit, or is done by American ships. If we cannot make ships as cheap as other people, why, let foreigners have them and sail them. Our registry laws simply say that such ships as were built under a foreign flag shall sail under that flag.

If we want a merchant marine, we can get it as England got it, and as both she and we got our great manufactures,—by Protection. If we make it cheaper to carry goods into our ports in American bottoms, we will have American ships. Such ships can be built as excellent and as cheap on the Delaware as on the Clyde. Our builders have challenged contradiction on that point, and no one has accepted this challenge. The war vessels built for the Russian navy are a case in point. When they were taken to St. Petersburg, an Englishman, expert in such matters, asked the cost of one of them, and refused to believe the truth, on the ground that no English dockyard could have furnished it for the money.

But it is not new ships that our New York friends want to buy. It is the idle vessels of England's mercantile marine they think to get at a bargain. Many of these are worn-out tubs, which it would be no honor to put under our flag, but which it would pay to sell from under the jurisdiction of Mr. Plimsoll. We believe it would be quite safe to extend American registration to new ships, built abroad expressly for American owners. But it would be far from satisfactory to the agitators.

THE President, the Secretary of the Treasury, and some

Republican Members of Congress, are doing their best to create a reaction in favor of the Greenbackers. If there was one strong point in the Republican campaign, it was that the Republican was, in financial matters, the party of the *status quo*, desiring no change and prepared to resist any which might be proposed. Secretary Sherman distinctly strengthened it before the people by his avowal that he had always been a Greenback man, and that he wanted nothing better than the continuance of our present national money under resumption. The only point to which the Republicans did not commit themselves, was the continuance of the silver coinage. But no sooner are the elections won on this platform, than the antagonists of our national paper money demand that it be destroyed,—or at least discredited, as the first step to its destruction, by making it no longer a legal tender. We hope and believe that there is no chance of such legislation. The leaders on both sides are afraid of the effects of it. The Democrats know that they have burnt their fingers already, and the Republicans only fear that they may burn theirs. We think they will if they follow the lead of the President in this matter, and as we believe the interest of the nation calls for the election of a Republican President and Congress next year, we hope on this ground, as well as from belief in our national money, that the Republicans will have the good sense to be quiescent.

Some of the reasons advanced for the change would be amusing if the matter were not so serious.

1. "The notes are a debt, and good times are the times to pay our debts." Just as if our bonds were not debts, and as if the national bank notes which will replace the treasury notes were not debts. Besides, good and bad times affect private corporations far more than they do governments.

2. "Treasury notes are inelastic, while bank notes are elastic. The latter can accommodate themselves to the needs of business, and the former cannot." And yet we are told we have too much money in circulation, although the hundreds of millions of national bank notes go on increasing in volume. If we retain four hundred millions of "elastic" notes in circulation, we surely can well afford to retain a smaller volume of this inelastic paper, since the former will do all the contraction and expansion needed to meet the legitimate wants of business. As a matter of fact, the bank notes are

just as inelastic as the Treasury notes, and their present growth in amount beyond the needs of business, is deplored, by even Ex-Secretary McCulloch, as a serious evil. Their only elasticity is that of increase; the private corporations stand ever ready to thrust some more of them into circulation at each new chance.

3. "The advantage conferred on the banks in granting them this privilege of circulation is fully compensated by taxes imposed by the States and the General Government." Why not add "and also by the heavy grocers' bills the directors and stockholders have to pay"? There is just as much connection in this case, as in the other. The banks would pay just the taxes they now pay, if they had no circulation. They will pay no more taxes, if we withdraw the Treasury notes and allow the banks to fill up the vacuum thus made with their own notes. The old method of compensations, allowances, rebates, and the like, is now repudiated by all civilized governments, and by all sensible business firms. They insist that each transaction shall stand on its own footing. If the banks are over-taxed, abate the taxes; but do not grant them privileges they should not have in compensation for over-taxation.

Once more we remark that a piece of paper money is a loan without interest, from the community to the issuer. When Mr. Sherman made such a loan to the New York syndicate last summer, the whole country denounced the act. But every bank note issued by a private firm is the same thing on a lesser scale. Mr. Sherman then pleaded the same fallacious excuses of public convenience, the stability of the money market, and the like, and was laughed to scorn, even by our Wall Street organs. They could not be persuaded that he was serious in talking just such stuff as they now talk themselves.

AND yet there is one vicious feature of our present monetary situation, which Congress must remedy by sufficient legislation, or else they must sooner or later abolish our national paper money. We mean the discretion exercised by the Secretary of the Treasury in using the Government's money so as to make the market as easy as he or his friends want it to be, and in placing the nation's hundreds of millions "where it will do the most good" in helping presidential or other aspirations. The Jacksonian policy of sun-dering the Treasury and its branches from all relation to the banks,

and excluding all bank notes from Government business, was too rigid a rule, and in some instances it did serious mischief. But this Democratic Congress will do the nation a solid service, if they will devise some modification of the Jacksonian policy, such as will keep the Secretary of the Treasury "off the street." And they will add to our obligations if they will pass a measure—Mr. Buckner's or something stronger—to compel the country banks to keep their deposits at home instead of sending them to New York.

WE understand that it is proposed by the silver men to virtually suspend the coinage of silver dollars until the European governments come to some agreement with us on the subject of the free coinage of both metals. We think this proposal eminently wise. The sooner England, Germany, and the Latin Union are made to feel the pressure of silver depreciation the better, and anything in our own policy which tends to relieve that pressure is deplorable. We have the authority of M. Henri Cernuschi for saying that Germany is ready to enter a conference on the subject, and only demands that its time be not wasted in theoretical discussions, whose day Bismarck believes is past. He wants to see some definite proposal brought before it, by some European or American government.

THE Democrats are going on yet another wool-gathering errand, from which they will come back as they did in several recent cases. They have created a commission to investigate the causes of the exodus of colored people from the South. They have given the Republicans their chance, for if there be one subject whose discussion and investigation must hurt the Democracy, and the Democracy alone, it is this same flight of the colored people from the Solid South. Nothing has so impressed upon the country the nature of the proceedings which made the South solid, as the abandonment of their homes by these poor people, to seek a refuge in less congenial climates and among absolute strangers. We should have thought that the Democracy would have preferred to have little or nothing said on the subject, and even the better Southern papers have distinctly abandoned the theory that it owed its inception to a Northern propaganda.

The exodus now extends to the Southern Atlantic States, whose

colored people look towards Ohio and Indiana as the promised land. It is their migration to Indiana which excites Democratic sensibilities, as these Republican voters may help to carry that State into line with the rest of the Northwest. Indiana has plenty of room and plenty of land for these new comers, who cannot rank in intelligence and political capacity much below the poor whites—also from the South,—who fill up her Southern counties and give her Democratic majorities.

THE State of Colorado in its demands for the removal of the Utes, is giving us one more version of the story of Naboth's vineyard. Indeed, these modern parallels cast great light on the meagre version of the old story given us by the Jewish prophet who wrote the Books of Kings. We always did suspect that that narrow-minded old Hebrew had not done anything like justice to Ahab's side of the case. Remember, we have nothing that can be called a statement on Ahab's side,—nothing but the story as told by a man whose head was stuffed with the Ten Commandments and other old world notions, and who can think of nothing but the bare question of ownership, and of the right or wrong of the transaction. We make no doubt that the thing was first suggested to Ahab by his looking over the fence, and seeing that Naboth was making as good as no use at all of a fine piece of ground. He probably had nothing in it but a lot of old rusty vines, long past bearing, and producing little else than a big crop of caterpillars. Ahab, whose taste ran on gardening, no doubt fancied what fine cabbages he could grow on that spot; and out of pure desire for the development of the country, he opened the negotiations, which resulted so unhappily for Naboth, through his own obstinate resistance to the march of improvement. Ahab is a much misunderstood man. He only anticipated the sound modern discovery of the conflict for existence and the survival of the fittest, or, as it will be expressed in the new ethics, "the world belongs to those who can make the best use of it,"—a principle far safer and more scientific than the so-called Eighth Commandment.

The Utes have unhappily got possession of a large slice of Colorado, of which they are making as poor a use as Naboth did of his vineyard. It is, indeed, secured to them by very solemn engage-

ments on the part of the United States Government. If anything could bring ownership within the scope of the Eighth Commandment, and if that Hebraic rule of practice still retains any validity for us, it might seem as if there were nothing to do but leave them in possession. But this young State comes to the national capital and asks Uncle Sam to play the part of Jezebel, and to take measures, mild if possible, severe if necessary, to oust the owners to whom we have given every pledge of assured and perpetual possession.

THE graceful and considerate way in which Uncle Sam has played Jezebel in other cases is illustrated by the story of the Poncas. In this case it was not a State, but a number of white settlers, that coveted the vineyard, and the whole force of the United States was employed to effect the removal of the Poncas. It is true that they were civilized Indians, living by agriculture, with their schools and churches. It is true that the nation's word was pledged for their continuance where they were. It is true that the Act of Congress said they should not be removed without their consent, which they never gave. It is true that we had a Secretary of the Interior who held high ideas of purity of principle in government, and who would not let a Montana settler steal so much as a stump that the nation owned. But in spite of all, the Poncas were wrenched away from the lands they had reclaimed from the wilderness, were carried Southward by main force to a district where the very beginnings of agriculture were to be made, and where they died like sheep, from malaria. And when, in the dead of last winter, they tramped back through the snow to their old homes, General Crookes, who conscientiously hates to fight Indians, but not, it would seem, to help in robbing them, put them under arrest and carried them off to Omaha, in order to send them South again. Then the United States Court interfered, at the instance of the brave editor who has been fighting the red man's cause, and discharged them from custody. But it has not given them back their property, and now these Poncas are asking aid to bring their case before the Supreme Court, and to get such a decision of their rights to the lands they reclaimed, as will forever put an end to the practice of stealing Indian lands under pretence of law.

Mr. Schurz, who has successfully and creditably negotiated the surrender of the Utes who murdered Agent Meeker and his associates, has not gained any credit by this Ponca business. Indeed, he has shown himself surprisingly callous in his role of Jezebel. He admits that his agents, acting under his supervision, have grossly wronged the Poncas; he will see that they are fed and taken care of; but he will do nothing to redress the one great wrong of the business, because it would be merely vindicating "their right to a mere piece of ground." There is no man in the United States who has made more political capital out of his supposed attachment to "a mere piece of ground" than has Mr. Secretary Carl Schurz,—the piece of ground in this case being Germany. He should be the last man to fail in sympathy for exiles reft of their homes, and pining for a return to it. Not that Mr. Schurz himself pines very visibly for Germany or any other "mere piece of ground."

THERE is more to be said on behalf of the colored voters of Virginia who sided with the Repudiation party in that state, than we had supposed. In the break-up of the Democratic party on the Debt question, the representatives of honesty captured the party machinery, and put themselves forward as the representatives of the conservative element in the state. To the negro the word Conservative has become the synonym for a petty oppression which is nearly unendurable. Laws passed to punish minor offences with disfranchisement and other severe penalties, have been so administered by Conservative sheriffs and judges as to reach only colored offenders, and the presumption of guilt has been the practice in the county courts, whenever the charge was against a negro. In these circumstances, General Mahoney and his Re-adjusters came forward with very solid offers to the colored voters. They were promised the removal of judges who had been distinguished for partisanship, and a modification of the laws themselves. In these circumstances it was very natural that the colored people should vote as they did. To them, the great question of state politics is the removal of oppression in the administration of justice; and that of the debt, besides being too abstruse for most of these former slaves to understand, held a very minor place in their thinking.

It is, therefore, on the Conservatives themselves that the blame of this vote rests. They have created the dissatisfaction, and they have tolerated the ignorance, which have thrown the colored people into the arms of the demagogues. They must learn that it is not safe to have the colored people either discontented or ignorant, if the state is to be well governed.

GOVERNOR Garcelon of Maine and his executive council have achieved for themselves an unenviable immortality in American political history, by the manner in which they have discharged the duty of examining and passing upon the returns of the election of September last. In every instance where there was found the slightest irregularity or clerical error in the return from a Republican district, though it was but a mistake in adding up a column of figures, they have thrown out that return, and have thus succeeded in giving the Democrats and the Greenbackers a majority in both houses of the legislature. As there was no election of a Governor by the people, this enables the election of a Democrat or a Greenbacker for Governor.

The question remains to be settled, whether the Democrats thus declared elected will serve, or whether enough of them have sufficient conscience to refuse. The Democratic leaders and newspapers, with a few honorable exceptions such as the *Brooklyn Eagle* and the *N. Y. World*, are not bringing any pressure to bear to secure their refusal to accept the places to which they were not elected. They generally take the ground that this is a fair retaliation on the Republicans, "for counting in Hayes at the last presidential election." Even accepting this view of the matter, we do not think highly of the morality which believes in balancing one theft by another. But the two cases are not moral parallels. As all the evidence then showed, as a thousand confirmatory circumstances have showed since then, there was an organized system of terrorism at work in Louisiana—the only really disputable state—to overbear the will of the majority of voters by frightening them from the polls. The parishes whose votes were thrown out, were morally and grossly guilty of practicing and tolerating this terrorism, and no impartial and truthful man will claim that there was an honest vote then, or at any time since then, in that or the adjacent states. From Southern authorities, we have the outlines

of the system by which a majority of voters in those states have been permanently disfranchised.

But in Maine, as every one knows, there was a legally fair and free vote. As in every excited election, there was, probably, a great deal of social pressure, which was, perhaps, in some cases, unjustifiable in its degree; and this, some Democratic organs see fit to call "bulldozing." But not a single case of violence or the threat of violence has been even alleged, and the Governor and his council have not one such to allege in justification of their action. The people of Maine have been disfranchised, not for any fault of their own, but for trifling omissions and inaccuracies on the part of election officials. We do not see how any honest man can take a legislative seat thus secured to him.

It is broadly hinted by the *World* that Mr. Tilden is the suggestor of this political infamy. It is not out of keeping with his previous political record, and would very naturally be suggested to him by the present situation. For it is feared that the legislature thus misconstrued will proceed, in exercise of the power vested in it by the Constitution, to choose the presidential electors for 1880, instead of submitting the question to the popular vote. It is only necessary that they should repeal the law now in force to regulate that election, and should enact one like that in force in South Carolina before the war. If this conjecture be true, it imparts a national importance to the theft of power in Maine; and certainly no dependence can be placed upon a body which would accept power under the circumstances.

In that case we believe that it would not be improper for the Republicans to retaliate in those doubtful states whose legislatures they control. They need not remove the selection of presidential electors from the people, for they could defeat this manœuvre without proceeding to that extremity. It is perfectly within the power of the legislature of New York to provide that each congressional district shall choose one presidential elector, and that the state at large shall choose two. There would be nothing revolutionary in this proposal; it would really enable the people of that state to express their will as regards the President more perfectly than they can at present. The only reason for the state's voting solidly, so far as we can see, is that it increases the impor-

tance and national weight of its local politicians. The other plan would be in closer harmony with our other political methods; but in this case it would put an end to Democratic hopes of electing the next President. The vast city and country populations of the Empire State, one of which practically deprives the other of a vote in every presidential election, should have been organized as separate states long ago. This change would have removed one of the evils growing out of their present association.

OUR reception of General Grant, in Philadelphia, is admitted to have been the most hearty and the grandest in its scale of any that have greeted him since his return from the old world. In point of hugeness it was one of the finest demonstrations ever undertaken by a great city, for all parties and all classes joined in the welcome, as if moved by a single impulse. In truth, there are few finer things to see in this world, than a great city forgetting itself in its admiration of a genuine and heroic man. It surpasses all other occasions of rejoicing precisely in possessing a personal centre of enthusiastic delight.

But it is permissible to speak critically of our late demonstration. Having done the biggest thing of the sort ever done on this continent, may we not now think of improving the quality of such demonstrations, even though it were at the cost of quantity? For our civic parades are effective only through their great size. Taken in detail they are monotonous, trivial, unworthy of an inventive people. Partly this is owing to our want of taste, but much more to the want of a firm executive authority which would exclude everything inappropriate and repetitive. We should study the art of civic processions in the records of the old Italian republics, and then hold them as they did, not at irregular intervals, but on the anniversary of the founding of the city. And that reminds us that 1882 is not far distant.

AFTER such a reception, we might fairly have expected that General Grant would unbosom himself to us, and tell us whether he means to accept a nomination to the Presidency. We surely have deserved no less of him. But "the silent man," as they called him on the decorations of our Deaf and Dumb Asylum, re-

mains as silent as ever, and the politicians are still on the watch for an oracle. Some of them try to extract one from the election of Don Cameron to the Presidency of the National Republican Committee. They say that the contest in that election was between Grant's friends and his enemies, and after allowing his friends to go so far, he cannot withdraw and leave them in the lurch. We still adhere to the belief that under no *ordinary* circumstances will General Grant accept the nomination. In the presence of a great national danger, producing a great unanimity in the party and the popular choice, he might accept. But these contingencies are very remote. He can have the nomination if he chooses, but he has too much good sense to choose.

Mr. Blaine, it is said, is for Grant, and will not run against him if the use of his name is authorized. And for that reason the friends of the senator from Maine are crippled somewhat by the uncertainty. But Mr. Sherman is still opposed to any third term movement, and puts himself before the people distinctly as a candidate. We suppose his backers think that little escapade with the Syndicate has blown over enough to make it worth while to ask the public to look at his paces, and admire his style. He will probably have the support of Ohio, and of some of the Southern states where there is no Republican party to speak of. His control of executive patronage gives him a strong hold on the class of people who get up Republican delegations but cannot get up Republican votes. But, as against Sherman, the solid Republican states of the North are pretty unanimous for Grant, and heavily for Blaine. Yet who can tell how things may change before the Convention meets? We still hope for a better man than either, and think we could find him without the lamp of Diogenes.

AN over-zealous Catholic priest in Massachusetts, has been raising one of those perennial disputes, which owe their origin to the current American theory of civil Government, and will last as long as that theory lasts. Father Scully of Cambridge, has been debaring from the sacraments those of his parishoners who send their children to the public schools. In some states he might have excommunicated them with bell, book and candle, without attracting much attention. But in Massachusetts, faith in the public school system is a primary article of belief; and this ecclesiastical

action raised such a stir, that the Archbishop of Boston came forward to reassure his fellow citizens and inform them that he had no intention of preaching a crusade against the school system.

The affair is chiefly significant as showing how little genuine toleration the most enlightened community will exhibit when a favorite article of belief is touched. Col. Ingersoll's denial that there is a God, could hardly have been more fiercely resented than was this perfectly legitimate exercise of church authority on the part of a Catholic priest. The Church of Rome has the same right as any other religious communion to say on what terms she will admit persons to the privilege of her membership. Since she thinks state schools exercise a bad influence on Catholic children, she has a right to insist on their removal, and to inflict the severest church penalties if they are not. And however mistaken she may be in her estimate of the public schools, her conscientious convictions of her duties towards them deserve to be respected. It is when she fails to act up to her avowed convictions, that she deserves the censure of a sound public opinion. And Father Scully, who acts like a genuine Catholic priest, is more worthy of honor than an Archbishop who has not the courage of his convictions.

The truth is many Americans are irritated at the serious breakdown of our church and state theory on this point of public education. Here the two spheres will overlap, in spite of all our attempts to keep them separate. Our school tax is after all just what we denounced in the church taxes of Europe,—a tax to sustain an institution which religious principle debars many of our people from using, although all must pay for it. And there is a curious resemblance between the attitude of the general public and that of the state and church people in Europe. "Eventually," they say, "the Catholics will be tired of paying double school-tax; the cost of the thing will force them to give up their opposition and send the children to the public schools." So it was hoped that Dissent would be extinguished, and many a smug shop-keeper did leave the chapel for the church, in order to avoid the the necessity of supporting two places of worship. But Dissent was not thus crushed, and it would have been a pitiful outcome if it had been. We hope that Catholic consciences will be so enlightened on this subject as to allow them to cooperate with Protestants in improving our public school system; but we hope that they will act according to their consciences till they get the light.

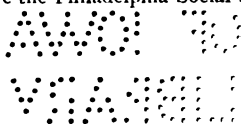
ON THE ISOLATION OF PERSONS IN HOSPITALS FOR
THE INSANE.*

WHEN a man loses his reason, it becomes necessary that the reason of others, in a greater or less degree, shall supply its place. To that extent, the movements of the person thus afflicted are subject to the control of others, and his property is taken from his management and disposal. Humanity demands this; the peace and safety of society demand it, and the ultimate good of all parties is promoted by it. Thus, of necessity, one of the hardest penalties of the criminal law is visited upon men who have not only committed no crime, but are themselves the victims of as sad a calamity as any in the long catalogue of human ills. The manner in which this consequence is determined, however, differs very much in the two cases. In the one, it follows a judicial investigation conducted according to the strictest forms of legal procedure, with all the safeguards and indulgences which, in the progress of humanity, have come to be regarded as unquestionable rights; while in the other, in most instances, it is determined by the arbitrary will of individuals proceeding under none of the ordinary formalities of law, and guided by none of its principles.

The inquiries which this first view of the subject suggests are deeply interesting, because the idea now prevails that the legislature should prescribe under what circumstances this interference with the inalienable rights of men, on the ground of insanity, is to be allowed; to whom this privilege of interference is to be entrusted; by what safeguards against abuse this trust is to be protected; by what solemnities this deprivation of liberty and property is to be accompanied and recorded. Precisely what legislation the exigencies of the case require, is one of the much vexed problems in social science. To solve it satisfactorily to all is simply impossible, because much of its difficulty proceeds from the circumstance that well-established facts and incontrovertible reasoning are deprived of their legitimate force by the influence of passion, prejudice and temperament.

In the first place, let us understand the requirements made necessary by the nature of the disease, the social and domestic relations of the patient, and those attentions that are instinctively

*Read before the Philadelphia Social Science Association, November, 1879.



prompted by the ties of blood and friendship. In the next place, we are to see how these requirements are provided for by law.

Beginning, then, with first principles, let it be observed that in the more sudden and violent forms of insanity, the patient is necessarily placed under unceasing surveillance, his wishes are disregarded, medicine and food may be forced upon him, and his limbs subjected to restraint. And yet all this—because necessary to the patient's welfare—is justified by the common sense and common feelings of mankind. No outrage is supposed to be committed, no right is trampled on, no apprehension of abuse is excited. On the contrary, the friends are regarded as under a moral obligation to interfere, as far as the circumstances require, and substitute their will for the will of the patient. So, too, nobody would question the right of a man to confine his wife in his own house, were she bent on self-destruction, or disposed to injure her children. The same position would be rightfully held by the wife towards the husband, by the parent towards the child, by the child towards the parent. No one would question the propriety of such a measure. To abstain from it, in fact, would be justly regarded as a most reprehensible neglect of duty. Now, it is not very obvious how, in the subsequent stages of the disease, this obligation can be lessened, or any different one created. Does there necessarily occur a period when society is bound to assume, in any degree, a charge for which the friends are no longer fitted? Neither does it appear how this right can become a wrong, by making the place of confinement some other than one's own home. If, in the progress of knowledge and philanthropy, institutions have become established expressly for the care of the insane, in which they are supposed to be more successfully treated than they can be at home, it would seem as if the natural right in question would be all the more heartily recognized by making choice of them for this purpose. This right has been distinctly recognized and established in this commonwealth by an act of General Assembly, passed in 1869. The act declares that insane persons may be placed in a hospital for the insane by their legal guardians, or by their relatives or friends if they have no guardians; but it also provides that the measure must be sanctioned by two physicians who shall certify under oath that the person is insane, and a fit subject for hospital treatment. The act does not require, but the hospitals do, for their own protection, that the

application shall be made in writing by some person, either a member of the family, or some responsible friend.

The question now before us is, whether upon a broad consideration of the various forms of insanity, of our social habits, of the liability to mistake, of the sacredness of private grief, and the requirements of justice, anything more than this is necessary. The inquiry will take a two-fold direction, because we must consider not only the amount of abuse which any proposed restriction is intended to prevent, but also the amount of mischief which it may itself occasion, when not really required. If we dismiss all thought of the latter result, we shall have little hesitation in adopting any restriction for which some plausible reasons may be given.

It is not denied that, for the most part, the medical certificate fulfils every requisite purpose. It is not denied that exceptional cases are, at the most, exceedingly few, and there seems, at first sight, a peculiar fitness in a measure which secures the performance of a painful duty without adding to the motives for delay, and shields the friends from all unnecessary exposure of domestic affliction. It is in accordance with our national habits and customs, and especially with the right of persons—nowhere so extensively recognized as among us—to manage their own private affairs in their own way. But, it is alleged, the physician may be biassed by his relations to the party or his family; he may be deceived by false representations, or be honestly mistaken in his opinion. The friends, too, who make the application may, from fear or a worse motive, be too ready to confound caprice, or oddity, or passion, with insanity, and thus favor isolation when not strictly necessary. The liberty of any person in the community, it is said, is at the mercy of one or two doctors who may be induced by one motive or another, to sign a certificate of insanity. Such is not an uncommon style of argument, and it sometimes makes an impression even on men whose culture might be supposed to place them beyond its reach. Hence, a prevalent idea that here is a frequent opportunity for flagrant abuses which should be met by stringent legislation. By some, it is proposed to make the isolation of the insane, in every case, the result of a legal procedure in the nature of an inquisition, to be conducted either by the municipal authorities, or some magistrate, or a board of commissioners appointed for this purpose. Now, in regard to these two courses, it is not

very obvious, at first blush, that either the possible abuses charged upon the former, or the advantages claimed for the latter, are so great as to set the question at rest. If there is to be an inquisition who so competent to make it as a physician? If he has been acquainted with the person, as is very likely, he has materials for forming his opinion, which no one else may have. If, on the contrary, he is a stranger, he is, of course, as far beyond the influence of prepossessions and biases as any functionary whom the law might designate for the purpose, while his decision would be attended with this advantage, that no unnecessary trouble or publicity is given to a domestic affliction, in the case of those of whose mental disease there can be no doubt whatever. To argue against the use of a thing from its possible abuse has always been regarded as very poor logic. It may be that the liberty of any person in the community is at the physician's mercy, and so is the life of every person who calls in a physician when he is ill; but who hesitates to employ a physician from the fear that he may be bribed by wicked relatives to poison him? In signing a certificate of insanity, a physician performs a professional service in which he is amenable to his own sense of right and wrong and responsible to the laws of his country. Under what stronger obligations and sanctions can any one act?

Under stress of these objections to the medical certificate, it has been proposed to have the measure supervised and sanctioned by some executive or judicial officer of the state or county. In Scotland, the sheriff is entrusted with this duty; and the Legislature of Massachusetts, last winter, provided that no one should be placed in a hospital for the insane without the knowledge and consent of a judge of a law court. It is not supposed that these functionaries are going into an exhaustive investigation of every case, because other duties would not permit it, so that it becomes a mere matter of form.

Whatever course be adopted, no one thinks of dispensing with the medical certificate. But its value cannot long remain, unless physicians, in the performance of this professional duty are better protected than they now are. Indeed, leading physicians in this community, to avoid the peril of a suit at law, have concluded to sign no more certificates of insanity.

Nothing evinces this distrust of any and all the known means

resorted to for the purpose of preventing abuses, than the fact that in one State—Illinois—a trial by jury is provided for deciding the fact of insanity, in every case that offers for admission into a hospital for the insane.

To remove a person from his own home at the very moment when he seems most in need of the care and attentions of his friends, and place him in the hands of strangers, is always a painful duty, to be reluctantly and hesitatingly performed. The advice of physicians, the remonstrances of friends, the failing strength of nurses and attendants, the increasing illness of the patient, are often disregarded, while the voice of affection pleads for a longer trial. To be obliged, under such circumstances, to call in a stranger to witness the private grief, or, worse still, a band of strangers, as jurors, with a following of newspaper reporters, and hear those revelations of trouble and trial and sore calamity, which the coarsest sense of delicacy would keep within the bosom of the family, would serve as an additional excuse for delaying so disagreeable a measure. The sensitiveness on this point is so strong and so natural, that it is entitled to respect. The effect on the patient himself, provided he is conscious of what is going on, and especially if, as is frequently the case, his mind is full of apprehensions and suspicion, is highly objectionable. Fresh excitement is furnished to that dread of impending evil, or bitter hostility, or some other morbid emotion, which may have possession of the mind, and thus bad impressions are made, not to be soon effaced.

But, admitting these objections to the use of any other restriction than the medical certificate to be conclusive, still, it is contended, it is not improbable that persons may be held in confinement, who either never were insane, or are detained unnecessarily long after their recovery. Many firmly believe that in every hospital for the insane may be found persons who are simply victims of outrageous wrong, torn from their customary sources of enjoyment and subjected to associations well calculated to craze the strongest intellect. To those who are practically acquainted with insanity, it is easy to see how an impression so utterly destitute of foundation has gained such currency in the world. With a large part of mankind, insanity implies noise, turbulence, confusion and incoherence of thought, folly and delusion. The more quiet and undemonstrative forms of the disease are utterly ignored, because not discernible to a super-

ficial or unpracticed observation. The coolness, coherency and good sense which often mark the conversation of the insane, and the correctness of their conduct, are supposed to preclude the existence of any mental disorder whatever. And even when some questionable traits are too prominent to be ignored, they are attributed to the common infirmities of our nature rather than to mental disease. The insane are not conscious of their insanity, and by ignoring altogether some facts, explaining some in a manner to suit themselves, and charging others with wrong-doing, they easily convince the incautious inquirer of their own mental soundness, as well as the dishonesty and malice of their friends. A story plausibly told is presumptively true ; and in the case before us, nobody troubles himself to hear the other side, unless it may be, probably, with a mind already made up. Considering the number of the insane who have been discharged from hospitals uncured, and of course with all their feelings of hostility towards those who have been instrumental in promoting their isolation unchanged, it is not strange that the impression in question should prevail extensively. Indeed, it would be more strange if it did not prevail.

Again, it is alleged that in every hospital for the insane are many who, though technically insane, are not proper subjects for confinement, neither their own welfare nor the good of society requiring it, and that some outside party should pass upon the propriety of their detention. Here, too, we see the influence of those false notions respecting the nature of insanity, just mentioned. A complete and correct account of such cases would show, with scarcely an exception, that, instead of being unjustly dealt with, they have been humanely placed where they enjoy as much of comfort, and suffer as little of discomfort, as their own mental condition will permit. Some of them, for instance, may pass for patterns of propriety and injured innocence, suffering bitterly from the abuse of those to whom they had a right to look for kindness and protection, while, in fact, they were completely destroying the peace and comfort of home by their jealousies and suspicions, their bursts of passion, their irregular ways, their disregard of domestic proprieties, their unhesitating mendacity, and even by scenes of violence. There is another class whose manifestations of disease are not very demonstrative, or are such as might pass for eccentricity or strong peculiarity. They talk sensibly, behave correctly, and may make

themselves somewhat useful. The stranger sees nothing of an abnormal character, unless it may be a proclivity to exaggeration, an excessive self-confidence, and an indescribable hurry and restlessness of movement. At home, they were careless of the little, perhaps the greater proprieties of life, were up late at night, went out regardless of weather, and, though never violent or mischievous, were prone to get into trouble, and were a source of much anxiety to their friends.

Persons belonging to one or another of these various classes easily enlist the sympathies of those whose acquaintance they happen to make. They come to be regarded as victims of domestic cruelty, and the popular wrath is kindled by charges against faithless husbands, or unfeeling wives, or heartless children. The utmost rigors of legislation are invoked to deliver them from duress, and to punish those who, under the guise of humanity, thus perpetrate a great wrong. Now all these persons, probably, have proved by actual trial, prolonged perhaps for years, and repeated again and again under different forms, to be very unfit inmates of a private family, especially when made up, in part, of children and women of a nervous temperament. To turn them adrift upon the world, where they find no welcome in those domestic circles whose peace and comfort they have persistently marred, and roam about from one boarding house to another, in a round of perpetual worry, would be no kindness to them, but rather the severest kind of cruelty. If they have no home of their own, and no claim for one upon relations or acquaintances, where can they better find the protection and care which they need, than in a hospital for the insane?

In the firm belief, however, that, after all, much wrong is actually committed by depriving of their liberty persons who are but little if at all insane, many discreet and intelligent men are of the opinion that a supervising power should be lodged somewhere for the purpose of correcting mistakes, preventing abuses, and doing justice generally in this matter of confinement. They would have a special permanent commission whose duty it should be to investigate every case of doubtful insanity in the hospitals, or of alleged unfitness for hospital treatment, and to discharge, or advise the discharge of, the patient, if they think proper. And in other respects, the interest of the insane might be confided to their oversight.

The favorite remedy just now for all the ills of hospital confinement seems to be a roving commission, with plenary powers to visit all persons wherever confined on the ground of insanity, and discharge, or cause to be discharged, all such as they may deem not insane.

The arrangement looks well and it is not strange that it should have found favor with some intelligent men. Considered, however, under the light of practical experience, and our knowledge of the ways and habits of men, it appears to be calculated to do immense harm, in the attempt to prevent an evil confessedly small. Such a commission would be led to its decisions by no fixed principles of law or science. Indeed, it is regarded, probably, as the principal merit of this provision, that it would be governed solely by an enlightened sense of honesty, justice and fair dealing. This might be a merit were the questions to be decided such as could be readily understood and appreciated by ordinary men. But here are professional points to be considered, which, even with the best intentions, cannot be decided correctly without the knowledge of an expert. A disposition to do what is right is but a poor qualification for a scientific inquiry. It may even be a dangerous one. What cares a man for the scientific bearings of a question, who looks only at its moral aspects, and is sure that he cannot be misled by his own honest intentions? In the class of cases where the interference of the commission would be most expected, there are always facts on the true significance of which the question of sanity or insanity must turn. If in any given case the conclusions of the commission coincide with those of the officers of the Hospital, the fact may inspire fresh confidence in the latter, and, to that extent, be of some service. But if, on the contrary, they differ, it is not easy to see why the decision of the commission, not one of whom may have had any practical acquaintance with insanity, can be more reliable than that of the officers whose field of observation may have embraced thousands of cases. How they are to proceed, by what course of inquiry they are to reach their object, is not very apparent. They visit a hospital containing three hundred patients, and make known to them their official character and the purpose of their visit. The patients are invited to tell them their grievances, with the assurance that if any among them are not insane, they shall be discharged forthwith. It is not overstating the matter to say that from fifty to

a hundred would declare that they are wrongfully detained, and nothing in their conduct or conversation might belie the truth of their declarations. If they entertain delusions, no clue is furnished whereby they can be reached ; if they are disposed to mischief, no opportunity is afforded by the occasion to display the propensity ; no provocation leads them to relax the self-control which many of the insane possess in a remarkable degree. In this dilemma what is to be done ? The testimony of the officers and directors is excluded by the conditions of the case, they being, it is supposed, interested parties. The minutest inquiries of the patients themselves fail to bring out anything but the same uniform tale of wrong and outrage on the part of fathers or children, husbands or wives, guardians and relations, who, to conceal their own iniquities, take this means of consigning their victims to a sort of living death. There is obviously but one course left, if they would discharge their official duty so as to procure any satisfactory results. They must summon the friends and all who have been anyways connected with the patient, to appear and show cause why he should be confined ; and, in order to secure an impartial hearing of both sides, public notice should be given, inviting all who have any knowledge of the case, to attend the inquisition and give their testimony. The hearing of each particular case would occupy not less than two days. Supposing twenty-five per cent. of the three hundred cases in the hospital to claim an inquisition, which would be a low estimate, the commission would be employed in one hospital alone, one hundred and fifty days. At this rate, the hospitals in Pennsylvania, containing about twenty-six hundred patients, would require thirteen-hundred days. True, the commission might be large enough to work by sub-committees, which would shorten the time, and, perhaps, diminish the expense ; for, of course, they must be paid, as well as the people who are summoned. And by the time they have gone the rounds of the hospital, the new comers, who have been steadily accumulating, will equally require their attention. If this simple statement of the proceedings carries with it an air of the ludicrous the fact does not proceed from any false coloring of the incidents themselves. They are given precisely as they must occur, if the commissioners are determined to satisfy themselves by reliable evidence, whether any person is detained in the hospitals of this commonwealth, who is not really insane. To hurry through a hospital

once or twice a year, listen half an hour to a few of the large number who claim their attention, and, on the strength of that conversation, decide to recommend the discharge or farther detention of the patient,—this would not be to meet the requirements of their office. A thorough judicial investigation, be it long or short, cheap or costly, in every doubtful or disputed case, is what the popular sentiment concerned in the matter, if it means anything beyond a windy sensation, implicitly demands. If this involves a practical absurdity, it ought to convince us that the present method is, with such a provision of law as I shall presently mention, under all circumstances, best calculated to prevent abuses. The officers and trustees of our hospitals have no interest in retaining patients not insane. Whether kept or discharged, their compensation remains the same. In fact, however, in doubtful cases, their natural tendency is to discharge the patient, in order to avoid the odium and annoyance which they occasion. Nothing but a strong sense of duty, supported by the most satisfactory reasons, will induce them to retain a charge which brings them into the most unpleasant relations to others.

Thus far I have gone on the supposition that there are actual abuses, however people may differ as to their extent. But the evidence in favor of the fact is far from reliable. The diseased impressions of the patients themselves and the clamors of their self-constituted friends, are not evidence; and yet upon these chiefly the current belief is founded. The observations of those who have had the most abundant opportunities to learn the real facts in the case, tell a very different story. I have never met with a patient in any hospital for the insane, who, I had good reason to suppose finally, had never been insane, but had been committed, under pretence of insanity, in order to accomplish some iniquitous purpose; and my observation embraces about three thousand persons mostly under my own charge. I have been told by other gentlemen who have had charge of hospitals for the insane, that their experience has been much like mine. In two instances that came under my care, I had strong suspicions that there was no real insanity in the case. I thought that an irritability of temper caused by bodily disease might have been provoked into violence by relatives who had some selfish purpose to serve by keeping the patient away from his home and customary pursuits. The sequel showed that my suspicions

were groundless, and that the removal from home and the scenes and persons that were connected with unpleasant associations, only kept in abeyance for a time the manifestation of a disease which had been obvious enough at home and serious enough to require the restraint of a hospital. In England there has existed for more than forty years, a Board of Commissioners of Lunacy, as they are called, appointed by the crown for the purpose of visiting all the hospitals for the insane, public and private, with this very object in view among others,—of detecting the much alleged abuse of confining people who were never insane. I have been a diligent reader of their annual reports, in which their transactions are minutely described, and I have not found that they have advised the discharge of a single individual on this ground; and, certainly, the manner in which their official duties have been discharged, has indicated no undue leniency towards the officers and directors of these institutions. The Earl of Shaftesbury, who was, for many years, a member of this commission, and who has been deeply interested in insanity and institutions for the insane, once declared in Parliament, that he had never known an instance of a sane person being held in confinement on the pretence of insanity. And this is in England, where, of all countries in the world, the abuse in question is supposed to be most frequent. This testimony would seem to be conclusive that it has no real existence, and that the safeguards already provided have been sufficient for the purpose.

But, admitting all this, it is contended that, considering the public sensitiveness on this subject, it is necessary, in order to secure the popular confidence in the management of our hospitals, that there should be a supervisory power appointed by, and responsible directly to, the government. If, as has been already shown, such a power is entirely inefficient for any practical purpose, then it must be desired only as a sort of tub thrown out to amuse the whale. The tone of feeling in England, after a trial of more than forty years, shows conclusively that it would not even have this effect. There, although the commission has been watchful and suspicious to the last degree, the whale refuses to be amused. This must be apparent to any one much conversant with the newspapers, magazines and books, of the day. It is notorious that anybody can obtain the ear of the public, who can tell a tale of false imprisonment, however improbable; and, on evidence that would not be

listened to in a court of justice, the newspaper-press is swift to pour out the vials of its wrath on the supposed offender. The horrors of the madhouse have become a favorite element in the plot of sensational novels. There is no reason to suppose that the result would be otherwise in this country. A sentiment like that in question cannot be affected by facts or arguments. The testimony of the wisest commission would avail nothing against the statements of a disordered mind still manifesting some degree of coherence and plausibility. We may as well, therefore, take things as they are—satisfied that the present safeguards are all that could be reasonably expected, and also that some popular distrust is one of the unavoidable results of all correct hospital management.

There is another view of the subject that ought not to be overlooked in considering the expediency of restrictive measures. All persons engaged in that speciality of the medical profession which is concerned with the treatment of insanity, tell us that the greatest difficulty they have to contend with is the reluctance of friends to bring the patient in the earliest stage, and the impatience which leads to a premature removal. Under the operation of these feelings, the number of recoveries is unquestionably lessened, and it cannot be doubted that they would be still farther lessened by the proposed restrictions. Their effect on the first mentioned feeling has been already alluded to, while their operation in England furnishes abundant testimony as to their effect in causing premature removals. During that period of the disease when the patient is coming to himself and, outwardly, seems free from all irrational thoughts and ways, great care is necessary, in order to conduct the process of restoration to a complete recovery, that he does not use his renewed powers too much or too soon—that he does not resume too soon the control of his own movements, nor mingle too soon in the scenes and associations of ordinary life. The patient himself, however, may see no necessity for so much caution. He never felt better in his life, to use his own expression, and he sees no propriety in being detained any longer. In this impatient, fretful frame of mind, he pours his complaints into the ears of the commissioners, who, observing no manifestations of insanity, and unable to understand the reasons which influence the physician (because they are purely a matter of professional experience) are readily induced to advise his removal.

The mischievous effects of the restrictive measures now used in England, are strikingly manifested in another class of cases, by no means a small one. The more active and obvious signs of disease have disappeared, the patient is quiet, orderly, and behaves like other people, and his remarks are shrewd and sensible, indicating neither delusion nor extravagance. But there is something in the air, manner, tone and way of the patient, imperceptible to the ordinary observer, but real enough to the expert, signifying that disease has not entirely vanished, but is only kept in abeyance—that freedom from restraint and the necessity of self-control, with opportunity to gratify a morbid impulse, would soon be followed by acts of mischief or violence. He knows, however, that his apprehensions will not be appreciated by the Commissioners, and that a delay of the patient's discharge might, probably, be followed by an action for false imprisonment, ending in a verdict of heavy damages. To obviate such a result he discharges his patient, with fearful forebodings that are too often realized. In England, some fifteen years since, a man was admitted into a private asylum, who had made, at least, two homicidal attempts. After a few month's stay, he was so far improved that no trace of disease was obvious on a casual inspection. His physician strongly suspected that the disease was only masked, not removed, but he feared to detain him longer, on grounds that could not be appreciated by ordinary observers. So he discharged him, but his apprehensions were so keen, that he sent him home in charge of an attendant, with injunctions to the family to exercise unceasing vigilance over his movements, but it was not long before he committed an atrocious homicide, without the slightest provocation. The case is a fair specimen of what may be expected where a physician in charge of an establishment for the insane is hampered in the exercise of his duty by considerations that ought to have no influence whatever on his professional conduct.

To meet this contingency of persons being kept in hospitals when no longer insane, the act of 1869 contained the following provision: "On a written statement, properly sworn to or affirmed, being addressed by some respectable person to any law judge, that a certain person then confined in a hospital for the insane is not insane, and is thus unjustly deprived of his liberty, the judge shall issue a writ of habeas corpus, commanding that the said alleged

lunatic be brought before him for a public hearing, where the question of his or her alleged lunacy may be determined, and where the onus of proving the said alleged lunatic to be insane shall rest upon such persons as are restraining him or her of his or her liberty." The bill passed through its first stages with the same provision in this case as in that of persons committed to a hospital, viz., a commission composed of three members, and this was chosen in order to avoid the publicity, exposure, trouble and excitement incident to a public trial in court, and the cause of incalculable mischief to the patient. It was thought, however, by some persons who had the power of giving their opinions the force of law, that the offence of keeping a person in confinement after his recovery should be dealt with in the swiftest, sharpest manner known to the law. And so, at the request of any one calling himself a respectable person, any judge in this city is obliged to transfer any victim of suffering from the rest and seclusion of an asylum to the repulsive scenes of the old Quarter Sessions court room, and deal with him as if he were a criminal on trial for his offence. To obtain anything like an adequate idea of this gross impropriety, we must put the case to ourselves, and conceive the subject of it to be a wife, or mother, or daughter or sister.

The fallacy so prevalent in most communities, that insanity is always something superficial, and obvious to the casual observer, and never obscure and revealed by traits that are significant only to the expert, is singularly foolish, and as mischievous as it is foolish. Some idea of its prevalence may be obtained from the frequency with which it is intimated, in every grade of society, that the man who for many years has spent his days and nights surrounded by the insane, is less qualified to give an opinion as to the existence of insanity in a given case, than those whose knowledge of the disease is confined to a few general impressions respecting it. The abundance of his experience and the thoroughness of his studies are regarded as the very things that render his opinions unreliable, although, in accordance with all analogy, it might be supposed that they would enable him to see insanity where others, without such opportunities, cannot see it. A surgeon's large experience is not supposed to render him all the more incapable of detecting a fracture or a dislocation which is unsuspected by other men. And he is no more able to give a reason for his belief, that would be any reason at all to others, than an expert in insanity sometimes is, for

his belief that a certain person is insane. In fact, it is just the most dangerous cases in which the insanity is oftentimes the most obscure. Bellingham who killed Mr. Percival, McNaughton who killed the Secretary of Sir Robert Peel, and many others, manifested no insanity before the commission of their bloody deeds. They talked and acted and seemed very much like other men, and so, no doubt, they would have seemed to a board of commissioners in lunacy. And yet, I apprehend that an expert would have been satisfied, after a little observation, that the two just mentioned were unquestionably insane. To this notion, respecting the competence of experts in insanity, the legislature of Massachusetts, at its last sessions, gave a remarkable expression, by enacting that no superintendent of a hospital for the insane should give a certificate of insanity.

There is a class of insane for whose isolation a certificate of insanity alone is not sufficient. Persons become insane who have no family or friends, or, having family and friends, they are unwilling to authorize their confinement. The patient may still be at large, engaged, apparently, in his usual pursuits, etc., and with large social and business relations. For various reasons no one is willing to assume the responsibility of ordering his arrest and depriving him of his liberty. His wife or child fears to encounter his displeasure, his partner in business is deterred from interfering one way or the other, lest he may be suspected of sinister designs, and others, perhaps, are not aware of the urgency of the case. And even if one should feel willing to interfere, the patient's social or business relations would seem to require some formal adjudication, in order to satisfy other parties of the necessity of a measure followed by such important consequences. It may lead to the dissolution of a business connection or the avoidance of a contract. It may enable him to escape a suit at law, or suspend execution of a judgment. The propriety of the measure is still more apparent when the presence of the disease is not perfectly obvious and the patient is likely, when the opportunity offers, to make use of every legal means in his power, to annoy and injure all who took any part in procuring his isolation. Under such circumstances it is peculiarly fit that the person should be committed by some process of law, whereby the family are spared the performance of a painful duty, and the public sentiment is satisfied. Accordingly, in the act of 1869, we have

the following provision: "Insane persons may be placed in a hospital by order of any court or law judge, after the following course of proceedings, viz.: On statement in writing of any respectable person, that a certain person is insane, and that the welfare of himself or of others requires his restraint, it shall be the duty of the judge to appoint immediately a commission, who shall inquire into and report upon the facts of the case. This commission shall be composed of three persons, one of whom at least shall be a physician and another a lawyer; in their inquisition they shall hear such evidence as may be offered touching the merits of the case, as well as the statements of the party complained of, or of his counsel; if in their opinion, it is a suitable case for confinement, the judge shall issue his warrant for such disposition of the insane person as will secure the object of the measure."

These then are the only requirements necessary to provide for the proper isolation of the insane, and if the law is honestly and dispassionately administered, we believe that the right of all parties will be secured.

ISAAC RAY, M. D.

THE POOR OF PARIS AND LONDON.*

M. D'HAUSSONVILLE has published in Paris a valuable contribution to the subject of reformatory and charitable work.* He wished to ascertain how far the influence of the church was an important element in the care of the poor, the friendless and the unfortunate. Good churchman as he is, his first business was to work out from a sea of figures those that best represented the comparative efficiency of the work done by the government through its multiform organs, and that done by the church through its various agencies. The best way of reproducing the salient fact of his book is to give in brief the summary of the results that he reports from his own personal observation of the great institutions in Paris and its immediate neighbourhood. His interest in the subject led him to England, and his report of the admirable working of charities there is of great use to those who are engaged in the same task here, different as are the questions to be told and the methods used.

* *L'Enfance à Paris, par le V^e Cte D'Haussonville.* Paris, 1879: Calman Levy. 8vo., pp. 473.

The number of children cared for in France in 1875 was 93,048, and of these Paris supplied 37,563. As far back as 1445, when Charles VII founded a Hospital for Children, he forbade taking in abandoned children, and for over four hundred years the question has been between increasing the number of illegitimate children or that of infanticides. As far back as 1188 there was a hospital opened for the former class in Marseilles,—and they have been experimented on ever since. In Holland to this day they wear the red costume that marks their misfortune, and by an excess of tenderness in France at the time of the Revolution they were declared children of the country and treated with greater tenderness than legitimate. Recent reforms in the case of children thus left to public charity, have effected a saving of life estimated at not less than 16,000 a year, but there has also been an increase of infanticides, from 88 in 1832 to 243 in 1872, due no doubt to the abolition of the convenient receiving-box,—yet on the other hand, the gain to the whole infant population is largely due to the more humane method of helping the mother to care for her child. In 1877, 2320 abandoned children were cared for by the city of Paris,—of these 410 were legitimate, 353 were acknowledged, and 1557 were illegitimate children. Of 8,951 children provided for in that year, 5,568 were temporarily surrendered, 576 were assisted by their parents, and 2,807 were abandoned by them, and the sum expended by the city for their care was \$26,000, while nearly \$36,000 was derived from legacies and other gifts.

There were 25,881 children provided by the city of Paris with homes in the country,—the death rate has been reduced to 40 per cent., by improving the pay of the nurses and the medical supervision,—the nurses get \$4 a month for the child until it is a year old, and this diminishes until it is \$1 for the child from 9 to 12 years old. At that age payments cease, but the child is still looked after, and this continues until the age of 21. Of the children thus raised only 2½ per cent. were found among the criminal institutions, and less than 4 per cent. on the list of registered prostitutes. The sum of \$3,500 was collected from the families of the children thus left to the city to care for, but more as a means of enforcing the claim of the children on their natural protectors than to save anything by it. The city spent \$350,000 in the care of the family thus growing up on the funds of the tax payers. The city of Paris

was formerly the victim of an ingenious system of fraud by which a great deal of money was wasted. Now it has a thorough system of visitors on whose reports the unmarried mothers who care for their own children receive sums varying from \$2 to \$6 a month for 10 months or less, or special money gifts of from \$1 to \$4, or an order which secures a wet nurse, and this is valued at from one month's payment, \$7, to ten months, \$43;—but the children thus nursed die at the rate of 50 per cent., while those nursed by the mothers die only at the rate of 30 per cent. \$25,000 were given to the relations of orphan children for taking care of them in their own homes, or to the orphan asylums of Paris, of which there are 68,—6 for children of both sexes, 8 for boys and 54 for girls. There is a Maternal Society, founded in 1788 by Marie Antoinette, which helps all married women at childbirth;—in 1877 it spent \$32,000 on 3,268 women; and there are other equally useful charities. Children's hospitals are a modern creation. The first in Paris was opened in 1802, and the second in 1853. The great hospitals, of course, have always made provision for children. The Hotel Dieu in the 16th century had seven or eight beds for twenty-five or thirty children,—in the 17th century not more than eight or nine children were allowed to sleep in the same bed,—so that there was plenty of room for reform. The Rothschilds have established a hospital with thirty-two beds for Jewish children, and the Protestants have twenty beds for children in their Deaconesses' Institute. The city provides for 500 children in the various public hospitals, nearly half of them for special treatment, but, as a rule, hospitals do not admit children. The need of Children's Hospitals in Paris is due especially to the close crowding of its poorer population,—26,000 families live each in one room, and 9,000 of them have but two beds apiece, one for the parents, the other for all the children. There are nearly 85,000 cases of children cared for at the Paris hospitals in their clinics and dispensaries, and there are 70,000 names inscribed on the list of those entitled to public medical attendance, for this as well as the free gift of medicine requires police authority. The two hospitals for children in Paris contain 863 beds,—160 for chronic cases, cared for by 44 Sisters of Charity, with servants for the rough work of the house, just as is the case in the other Paris hospitals, where more than 400 Sisters of various orders serve the cause of charity in obedience to their vows.

The hired nurse servants are paid at first \$2 a month, and after four years of service \$50 a year,—the regular nurses, not ‘Sisters,’ as for example at La Salpêtrière, receive \$100 a year, while for the ‘Sisters’ the only outlay is \$40, paid to their order, for their clothing, etc. The mortuary statistics of the Paris hospitals are by no means regular or complete;—for 1869 the rate of death in the children’s hospitals was 1 to 4 in the medical cases, and 1 to 6 including also the surgical cases,—the heaviest ratio of any of the hospitals of Paris, and due largely to the want of space for the proper separation of contagious and other cases.

M. d’Haussonville gives a very careful comparison of the working of the hospitals of London as contrasted to those of Paris. The London hospitals are very differently managed from those of Paris. There are three great endowed hospitals, St. Thomas, St. Bartholomew and Guy’s, where the patients are admitted free, and while in Paris the proportion of beds for medical cases to surgical is about four to one, in London they are nearly equal. Most of the hospitals in and near London are sustained by subscriptions, and the admission of patients is secured by a majority of votes cast by the subscribers, although cases of accidents and of special medical or surgical interest are admitted by the authority of the medical officers in charge. The out-patient treatment has grown to such proportions that it has led to abuses that now require early correction. The workhouses receive in their infirmaries very promptly cases of mere old age and of sickness, and have grown into vast extent to meet the requirements of the pauper population, but their quarters are often very poor and the medical and nursing care provided for them is not to be compared to that given in Paris. The first Children’s Hospital in London was that established in Great Ormond St., in 1851. Up to that time children had been received in the other hospitals, and especially in those for women,—but since then there have been six other children’s hospitals established, with 329 beds, receiving in 1875 over 1600 children indoors, and giving outdoor treatment to more than 65,000 cases. They are maintained by subscriptions, the subscribers having a vote on the admission of patients, and Great Ormond St. had an income in 1875, from all sources, of nearly \$100,000. The outdoor patients must have an endorsement from the Charity Organization Society, which through its 37 officers examines every case.

The nursing is largely in the hands of ladies who volunteer for the service, getting only their board and lodging, while the menial work is done by hired servants. To Miss Nightingale is due the establishment of the school for nurses at St. Thomas; which has now been imitated at the Paris La Salpêtrière, while at other hospitals the same system is being rapidly and largely introduced,—the Royal Free Hospital teaching the women sent by the British Nursing Association, Guy's those of the Women's Bible Association, and Westminster those of the National Nursing Association. There are Protestant Sisterhoods too, working in many of the London hospitals,—but while these have all added to the force of trained nurses, those employed in the workhouses are very far from being creditable to the system that still continues to use them.

In Paris there are two asylums for convalescent children, one for boys maintained at the expense of three gentlemen. The public assistance pays \$8 for a month's care,—after that the whole expense is provided by private benefaction,—there is room for 30, but there are rarely more than 250 or 300 cases in a year; the other for girls receives only 12 or 15 girls at a time, and is an outgrowth of a larger home for adult convalescent women,—while there are three Convalescent Homes in the country,—one for 40 sick and 60 convalescent children, founded by M. de la Rochefoucauld, another is a colony of the Children's Hospital, with 100 beds, for scrofulous cases, while the third, established in 1861, at the sea side, in imitation of the English Sea Side Hospital opened at Margate five years earlier,—provided for 100 children in buildings that cost \$20,000. It was so successful that six years later provision was made for 600 children at an expense of over \$100,000, and now, with the love of splendor that characterizes the administration of Paris, over \$600,000 have been spent for a magnificent hospital on the same site—grand in proportions, excellent in plan, generous in all its arrangements. It is intended for convalescent cases, and the girls are taught sewing, the boys other industries, and all go to school. It receives cases from the Children's Hospitals, from the Guardians of the Poor and from families paying about 40 cents a day, and it has a nominal capacity of 600 beds; it is under the care of the Sisters of St. Francis, whose headquarters are at Calais,—70 of them supply all the wants of the house,—even the teachers for a school of over 100 children, some of them over 15 years of age.—Along-

side of this great public charity, there is on the same sea shore a hospital for Jewish children, built and maintained by the Rothschilds, with 80 beds now, and room for an addition of 50 more hereafter. The public hospitals make it a rule, with notable exceptions, to take care only of curable cases,—for the incurable, private charity is left to provide. There is an old order, that of St. John, which before the French Revolution, had 300 establishments devoted to the care of the sick,—now it takes care of the insane and the unfortunate in eight houses in different parts of France. In Paris it provides for 200 children, divided into three classes, large, small and infirm, and to be incurable is the necessary condition. The charge for each child is from \$3 to \$4 a month, payable when and as long as possible, a grant from the city, and gifts from other sources helping to eke out the necessarily heavy outlay.

There is a similar hospital for girls, with room for 300, but having only 240,—from six to 22,—earning something by sewing, artificial flower making, etc., but dependent mainly on the gifts of the charitable and the labor of the Sisters of St. Vincent de Paul.

The deaf and dumb are cared for in Paris by three bodies, the Deaf and Dumb Asylum, the society for their support after leaving the institution, and a society for their instruction in technical schools. For the females, there are schools at Bordeaux and at Bourg la Rein, under the care of a sisterhood which admits them into its order. The blind are cared for in Paris, at a home which is a school of elementary and of technical instruction,—and at a Home of the Blind Sisters of St. Paul, where the blind are also received in the order, and of the 52 members, 18 are blind,—more than 50 blind children are cared for there,—those who can do so paying \$100 a year,—and there is a third home for homeless blind girls. In Paris there are two asylums for idiot children,—Bicêtre for the boys, Salpêtrière for the girls,—at the former there are 130,—the city pays 30 cents a day for each child, which it tries generally in vain to collect from the parents or family,—but the establishment is in every respect unsatisfactory. The quarters for girls at Salpêtrière are more so even than those at Bicêtre,—120 girls are there,—and the teacher is a woman who voluntarily and without compensation has devoted her life to the work, that she might not be separated from an idiot mother. The first asylum of the kind was opened in Paris in 1842,—and the finest fruit of its success is

in the splendid English Asylum at Earlswood for 800 children. . At Vacluse there was opened an asylum, to which 30 of the best and most hopeful cases have been sent from Bicêtre, and these with such private cases as may come, are to be taught farming, gardening and mechanical trades. A recent gift of a million of francs to the public authorities in charge of the charities of Paris, was coupled with the condition that one-half should be used in building a hospital;—for the adults there is now abundant provision,—and it is to be hoped that this new one will be for the idiot children.

Of vagabond children in Paris there is no exact census.—The ordinary estimate is 10,000,—the police records show that in 1877, 1716 were arrested, 844 vagabonds, 222 beggars, 578 for theft and 72 for other crimes. Of the 1716 children thus arrested, 346 were returned to their homes, 20 were handed over to asylums, 15 to prisons, 1354 were tried,—of these 466 were set at liberty, 888 were convicted, of these again 419 were sentenced, and the rest were sent home after a longer or shorter detention,—for in Paris as elsewhere the authorities find it impossible to resist the appeals of parents even to the detriment of the future of the children and of the city itself.

There are twenty thousand children between six and fourteen in Paris without education, and it is believed that this large number has some relation to the great number of illegitimate children, reported at over 14,000, of which 11,000 were quite unrecognized by either parent, and therefore presumably left to the very worst influences. The homes of the poor in Paris are subject to police inspection only for prevention or punishment of crime; in London the sanitary inspection anticipates perhaps much that might lead to worse results. In Paris every lodging house keeper must furnish the police with a detailed list of his lodgers, their names, occupation, nativity and length of stay; these are alphabetically arranged, so that it is here that the police first look when applied to for particulars as to any one of the great floating population, and from it the police can select the names of persons under surveillance, reported as dangerous characters, or known to be without resources, and order them to leave Paris at once. Lodgings can be had for a penny a night, or up to two, three, four, and even five dollars a month. From them come many of the children that live by begging or worse offences. Of 222 arrested in 1877, only 33 were

really held for trial and only 23 were actually convicted, an indulgence that soon strengthens the taste for professional begging. In one corner of Paris there is a Beggar's Home, where the professionals train children for their future career. A similar establishment for the Italian beggars was broken up only after a long and difficult struggle between the police and the men who found their profit in encouraging the vices that led to the worst abuses.

In Paris, of 2500 women arrested in 1877, for prostitution, 1500 were minors, the majority between fifteen and eighteen, and the police endeavor by inspection to prevent the inevitable misery they are preparing for themselves. The necessity of a license provides the opportunity for such seclusion as may save some, at least, of those who are driven to destruction by want and misery. There were 533 licenses issued to that number of those who were arrested; 326 at the request of the offenders, 227 as a result of actual examination of the cases, 378 were over age, 92 over eighteen, 63 only under it, while 500 at least were returned to their families, provided for in Homes, and put in the way of safety. Hundreds of women go annually in and out of the Hospital St. Lazare, and they are cared for by associations of good women, Catholic, Protestant and Jewish, who have provided asylums for such as show any wish to repent and be saved. There are in Paris 119 asylums for 18,000 children, under twelve, and there are 303 schools for 100,000 more, provided by the city, so that for the infant population there is abundant care, but for those between twelve and seventeen there are the greatest risks, and the fewest means of prevention. There is a school for apprentices with 80 boys; there is room for more, but parents will not give up their children for the three years requisite to complete the prescribed course, although it is free of charge. The Christian Brothers charge six dollars a month, and twenty dollars admission, and they have over 900 children under instruction in Paris, and in the country.

There is a girl's school, where the 'Christian Sisters' take girls from five up, for \$6,—against which the value of the work done is credited,—and there are between 400 and 500 children under their care. There are in all 29 schools in Paris of different sorts of technical instruction. Paris is the fostering mother of 26,500 orphans, placed in the country in the families of parents, chosen for their sobriety, industry and economy,—the public charity how-

ever provides for them only up to their twelfth year. There are 68 orphan homes in Paris, and 31 in the Department of the Seine, which receive the children after that time, as well as half-orphans;—the public charity is extended only to those who have lost both parents. Six of these Orphan Homes take both sexes, eight are for boys only, 80 provide for orphan girls, giving them a good education and a training that makes them good work-women;—but there is one fault,—they keep the girls too long, and when they go out in the world, some at twenty, they are so little fitted for it that many of them succumb to its temptations, It would be better to train them for household service and thus secure them good homes.

There are a number of Homes of Refuge for the care of vagabond children, most of them under the care of different orders;—that which has its headquarters at Angers, has 120 establishments of the kind in the different parts of the world. There are others which care for children's spiritual instruction, combining with it a provision for instruction in some trade, and there are homes for those who have been discharged from prison, several Catholic and one Protestant,—one of the former providing for 150, another for 125,—and of 1100 young women cared for in 12 years, 225 were reconciled to their families, 166 found good situations, 75 were well married. In the Latin Quarter, the home of vice, there is a Magdalen's Home which is almost unequalled for its generous liberality,—all are received and none are obliged to leave.

In Paris there are 125 Protestant Schools, 11 Orphan Homes, two Technical Schools, one of them to teach girls printing, and there is a Deaconess's House, with a hospital for women and children, a Primary School, a Nursery, a Home for girls from 10 to 21 years of age, who have been sent to prison or misbehaved.

There are 40,000 Jews in Paris, and their charities are numerous and admirably organized,—a lying-in hospital, an Orphans' Home, two Elementary Schools, a School of Apprentices, teaching trades, with one branch for boys and another for girls, 16 free scholarships in the great schools, and a Reformatory for girls. They have a Hospital, a Home for Incurables, another for old people, and an Orphan Home, all in one establishment founded and supported by the Rothschilds. There are societies for securing places for apprentices, for the care of children working for their

livelihood, and for finding them homes in the country,—and there is that endless activity of supervision and assistance for which the Jews are remarkable everywhere, and which prevents all but their poorest and worst people from becoming notorious, or a charge upon the public.

The temporary assistance granted to illegitimate children in France, where public charity cares for them until they are twenty-one, was extended to 124,896 in a population of 37,000,000. In England, under the Poor Law system, which provides only for children of the same class up to sixteen, the number was in 1877, 234,124 in a population of 24,000,000. Of these 184,524 received out-of-door relief, being left with their parents or relations; 49,600 received indoor relief, being cared for in workhouses or other asylums. In England where there are no homes provided for illegitimate children, there were in one year, 140 prosecutions for infanticide, while in France, where Foundling Hospitals seem especially created for that class, there were 203 such prosecutions, so that the two systems produce about the same result. In England the workhouses receive adults as well as children, but the latter are now being educated in good primary schools connected with the establishment,—of 647 Parishes or Workhouse prisons, more than 400 have schools for the pauper children,—60 have schools in independent quarters,—so as to avoid the mischievous contagion of young and old in the workhouse. London has 30 Unions, in which 190 Parishes are represented,—each with an average of 350 poor in its charge—and the children from all of them are sent to Redhill, where there is a national school for them. Eleven have separate schools of their own, and all but one are built in the country,—that one is a good specimen of the school as it existed before English legislation made special provision for the pauper children. The others give all kinds of examples of the prevailing fashion of overbuilding, with a degree of splendour and luxury for the benefit of the officers and the public, that adds immensely to the average cost,—this varies from \$82 to \$180, a year,—but for it the children get wholesome country air, well ventilated quarters, dormitories, school rooms and workshops, healthful to a degree quite unknown in France. At Sutton there are temporary wards for infectious cases, made cheaply, and intended to be destroyed by fire after every outbreak of disease

had been suppressed, and rebuilt in readiness for the next attack. The national taste for open air sports is consulted in the military drill and gymnastic exercises, swimming and field games being taught as the most wholesome and economical way of securing sound bodies. These schools are perfectly appointed, but they are too full and too large,—varying from 800 to 1500. The children are all taught reading, writing and arithmetic, history and geography, but there is almost no technical education for the girls and not enough to equip the boys thoroughly for their work. Many are taught tailoring and shoemaking, some are baking, many are employed as farm hands and gardeners; some are taught music mainly with a view to enlisting in the army bands;—most of the girls are fitted for household service. The change worked in England under this new system is prodigious,—the workhouse population and the outdoor paupers have diminished in 20 years from 940,000 to 719,000, and it is said that but five per cent. of the boys and nine per cent. of the girls educated in the schools turn out badly,—although of those of London it is reported that 54 per cent. of the girls do badly, 39 per cent. fairly well, and the rest are dead or have disappeared. The difference between these averages it is difficult to explain,—but certain it is that in England, prostitution, which is neither repressed nor licensed, is the terrible enemy of honest poverty and sooner or later makes victims of those who have no homes to shelter them. In France the system of putting children out to board and live with peasants in the country, saves much of the ruin that comes from congregating vast numbers of children under one roof. The boarding-out system has recently been remodeled in England, and 423 children have been entrusted to 49 local committees who will find homes for them. The English peasantry seem less inclined to increase their earnings in this way, and illegitimacy is not as common there as in France,—in the latter country it includes seven per cent. of the births,—in England only five per cent., while Paris is the fertile mother of 33 per cent. of the whole, London only supplies three per cent., Lancashire four per cent., and the agricultural counties of Westmoreland, Norfolk, and Shropshire, seven and eight per cent., as against 10 and 11 per cent. of other years. As to the methods adopted with children of the criminal class, the English system is well worth studying. In 1876, 1883

children were sent to prison, and 1087 were sentenced to be whipped. They are generally in the same prison with the adults, but in quarters of their own. At Parkhurst, in the Isle of Wight, there is the only prison for juvenile offenders. Recent legislation has been directed to compelling children to attend school, and enforcing on the parents the payment of the modest sum exacted for instruction,—nearly a hundred thousand dollars were collected in this way in 1876.

England and Scotland have sixty five reform schools, with 5,615 children, and 114 industrial schools with 12,682, children. Nearly all are private charitable institutions, and the government pays 50 cents a week for each child, not half of the absolute expense which is provided, as well as the expense of buildings, etc., out of private generosity, that unlimited source of benefactions of all kinds in England.

The school at Red Hill was established in imitation of Mettray, and M. Demetz was especially invited to lay the corner stone. The children are divided in five houses, are mostly employed on the farms, but are also taught carpentering, blacksmithing, and baking, and are put to work at trades in the country, either at home or in the colonies. Of 222 children discharged during the last three years, only 26 were sent back, about 11 per cent, and although the average in France is 14 per cent., at Mettray, of 412 children discharged during the last three years, only 18 were sent back. Feltham has 800, governed by a strict military discipline, taught farming, shoemaking, military music, and trained for the sea on a skeleton ship, set up in its yard. In three years the percentage of boys sent back was only 8 per cent, a very remarkable result, when it is borne in mind that once liberated, these boys are subject to the influence of their families, the worst of the London poor. Of 4,074 boys and girls discharged last year from reform schools in England, 590 were enlisted in the navy, 68 in the army as musicians, 134 emigrated, 1823 were bound out, the rest returned to their homes.

In England and in France it is this last class that suffer most, and to guard against this, in England, the reform school is required to look after the children for three years after their discharge, and to report their condition to the government inspectors. The results are 72 per cent. of the boys' doing well, 14 per cent. badly; of the

girls, 74 per cent. doing well, 6 per cent badly, the rest not heard from,—in the reform schools;—while in the industrial schools, the proportions are 79 per cent. of boys doing well, 5 per cent badly, of the girls 81 per cent. well, 3 per cent. badly, the rest disappeared. While the criminals, judging by the prosecutions, have increased in ten years from 100,000 to 152,000, the proportion of minors has diminished one fourth, the number of children sent to reform schools, has diminished from 10,000 to 7,200.

English legislation aims at distinguishing between the children that belong to the criminal class and even in their youth have shown precocious perversity, from those who are simply ill behaved; the latter are sent to the industrial school, the former to the reform school which corresponds to the French Correctional Colony, of which Mettray is the best type. In Paris the vagabond children to the number of twelve or thirteen hundred are released rather than treated as prisoners, and those that are sent to reform schools are scattered through 44 institutions in different parts of the country, and of all degrees of excellence,—Mettray the best,—the others may be good, but in England the magistrate fixes the school to which the child is to go, while in France that is determined by accident or chance.

Belgium has borrowed from England the system of charitable schools open to destitute children, and thus distinguishing between them and the criminal class. This system also relieves the courts from the formal consideration of many cases that belong to the domain of benevolence and not to that of law. That the courts have plenty of criminal minors to look after is a sad fact. In the last seven years over 2,000 of them have been tried in the courts of Paris, for all sorts of offences, assassination, counterfeiting, poisoning, larceny, theft in every form, and that endless variety of crime which seems to be the curse of a great city full of the elements of modern civilization. The thieves of Paris have their clubs, their bands, their associations,—at least 60 such establishments are known to the police. Their first experience of criminal life is in the prison at Poissy, where about one-fourth of the prisoners, between 16 and 21 are sent for any sentence over a year. For less, they are sent to La Santé, Ste. Pelagie, and La Grande Roquette. The first is an expensive prison that cost a million and a half dollars and has very few modern improvements, where

half of the inmates work together, and where the young in years soon learn all the vice that is known to their older companions. Of 1600 prisoners, 352 were under 25,—yet these at least have their own cells to sleep in at night. At Ste. Palagie, from eight to ten sleep together, and of the 65 young criminals there, 40 were put by themselves;—the prison itself is so badly suited to the purpose that it ought to be destroyed.

Those who are sentenced for over a year go first to La Grande Roquette before they are transferred to the prison or colony where the term is to be served. During the night they sleep in separate cells,—during the day they work in shops and take their meals and their recess in common,—with large liberty for walking, talking, smoking, playing, and every sort of license. Even in their cells they can talk for three hours, between the end of the day's work and bed time,—freely with one another. All this is immensely injurious for the young prisoners, and 120 young convicts were forced to go through this dangerous treatment last year. At Poissy there is a special treatment for the young prisoners, 50 in number, with their own workshop, school, dining room and yard,—each has his own cell,—but these quarters are not large enough for those who are entitled to this sort of treatment, and the rest are scattered among the old convicts. Besides being taught elementary subjects, the education is carried as far as possible, and many of the prisoners are capable of very great advance in knowledge;—they are all taught something of military drill, and as far as possible a trade by which they can learn a livelihood, and their average earning a year of \$20 is carefully set aside to be ready for them when their term is over. The results are thoroughly unsatisfactory, for these young prisoners are mostly old in crime and vice, learned in that cloaca of morals, Paris, and their prison life is but a long hypocrisy, from which they learn new lessons to be of use to them in a larger and more successful career of crime. Although the most of the young offenders are those between 16 and 21, there are those under the former age who have been guilty of very serious crimes;—there were 992 in the last census of Reformatories, in France, guilty of assassination, incendiarism, counterfeiting, larceny and other aggravated offences. To secure to this class correctional education Paris has provided La Petite Roquette,—opposite the Grande Roquette;—it was first a prison for women, then for young offenders sentenced

for less than six months, then after much discussion as to the treatment of the inmates and some legislation, the cellular system was formally abandoned, and under the new faith that sending the young thieves and vagabonds of the great cities to live in the farm reformatories would make them all honest and peaceful countrymen, all that could be sent to Mettray and the other establishments were handed over to family life and special training, but for those whose short terms did not give much hope for that sort of thing doing any good, La Petite Roquette is still profitably employed. As soon as a crowd of visitors were attracted to Versailles by the sitting of the legislature there, they were followed by such droves of beggar children from all the country round, that the town established a Reformatory where they were sent and taught some livelihood by which they could earn something when they were again released. This was done on the initiative of a Prison Society of Versailles, just as the education of the boys at La Petite Roquette is the result of the activity of the Prison Society of Paris. That prison also receives boys under 16 sent by their parents for bad conduct beyond parental control, and the number of these cases has diminished in 15 years from 500 to 150, so that there must be some virtue in this kind of discipline.

A visit to La Petite Roquette is very sad,—the children working in solitude in their cells with only an outlook over the sombre court-yard,—with insufficient light, heat and ventilation,—an exercising ground too small for play and where silence is enforced by the presence of an officer,—but yet with good food, cleanly habits and plenty of sleep, these scourings of Paris fatten and strengthen, while their solitude prevents the destructive influence that living together would produce, and enables the officers to preach reform and to secure its adoption at least in part. A child of nine who had been arrested nine times was nearly a hopeless case, and others at ten were assassins, forgers, and even chiefs of bands older than themselves, whose life cannot be passed free from crime.

For girls there is a prison at St. Lazare. The disproportion of crime between men and women is very striking,—16 or 17 women to 83 or 84 men, and it is a rule that holds good in nearly all Europe. In Russia and Sweden the proportion changed to 15 to 20 women to 80 to 85 men. A sixth of the women charged with crime in France come from Paris, averaging about 550 a year, one-

half under, the other over sixteen,—of 1638 women between 16 and 21 sent to St. Lazare, 35 were married,—so that the others were an outgrowth of the criminal vices of the great city.

At St. Lazare are found all convict women over 16 sentenced for less than a year, and all under that age sentenced for less than six months;—after that the latter are sent to a Reform School, the former to a prison. There were 25 untried and 57 convicted women between 16 and 21 at St. Lazare,—not separated in any way, while at Mazas, the corresponding prison for men, the cellular system gives them abundant safety and protection, but St. Lazare is an old Convent utterly unfit for its present use.

The women sleep in the old cells, three or four in each bed, and no precautions are taken after the Sisters, who have the charge of the house, have gone to bed. Women nursing their own children are allowed to keep them, and for this class, there is a room in which decent order is maintained;—they are allowed to keep them until they are three years old, and hard as is the parting then, the motherly affection is so thoroughly awakened that however long the separation, the mother almost always seeks her child on her release. For the girls under sixteen the arrangements are somewhat better;—there were but seventeen, so that good quarters were easily found for them on the fourth floor;—in their workroom they sit far enough apart not to talk, while the two Sisters and two teachers watch them pretty closely;—their dining room is also their school room;—their cells are cold, badly lighted and get air only from a long close corridor; in each cell there are two beds,—and their hour of play and exercise is in the same yard, but at different hours from that of the grown women. The Sisters say that they are not there long enough to be reformed, while the situation of the prison in a busy part of Paris, prevents any possibility of making them forget their old habits and resorts. The sooner it is rebuilt in the country the better. There is a convent in Paris which takes girls sent by the parents who find them beyond their control, on the payment of twenty-five cents a day, —and even a stay of three or four months often works wonderful results. For the children of families of means, there are better quarters, easier work, and care is taken not to allow any girl sent here for correction to take vows in the house;—she must return to her family again. The different Homes for Girls are

all managed by Sisters of various orders. In Paris there is a Correctional House of Education under the care of the Prisoners' Aid Society, founded by Mme. de Lamartine, and managed by the Sisters of St. Joseph,—in an old convent, more than large enough for its hundred inmates, who are sharply divided according as their offences have been such as are easily curable, and such as cannot but have left a deep moral scar. Plenty of work, plenty of rewards, soon make them docile and amenable to reform;—those whose cases give least hope of improvement are such as are taken home by their families, while such as secure places as servants are watched closely both by their employers and by the Sisters, as well as by the members of the society which cares for them. Of 60 discharged within the last three years, but three are known to have succumbed to the thousand temptations that make Paris the moral maelstrom. The Prison for women in Paris is made to include all classes of offenders and all grades of sentences; the proportion of re-committments among those who work in common is 76 per cent., while of those condemned to close and solitary confinement at hard labor it is only 11 per cent. Of 264 women at Clermont, 22 were under 21, 39 under 25;—all are subject to a very strict discipline, under the care of 22 Sisters, who receive their board and lodgings and \$130 a year, and \$90 for the servants,—there are seven Sisters serving without pay. All under 35 go to school, where music, history, geography, and arithmetic are taught, but the actual work of the inmates is so so diligently pursued that it pays the expenses of the house and a small daily *per capita* profit besides. Shoemaking is the chief occupation, but corset-making pays better,—as much as 25 cents a day; one prisoner after 36 years of imprisonment, received \$1200 as her share, besides spending something on food and other things. There is a Prisoners' Aid Society, founded in 1833, which takes care of the boys discharged from the different prisons in Paris;—when it began its work, the re-commitments were 75 per cent. It was dissolved at one time, owing to the difficulty of securing places for the boys, but it was soon re-organized on a better plan,—that of caring for the boys as soon as they are sent to prison, getting their discharge as soon as they are entitled to it, work is found for them, and they are looked after when they go home, where often the worst temptations would lead them back to crime, they come every

Sunday to the office, where they can put away their earnings, get some instruction, plenty of advice, and a good romp or play. Of 235 boys looked after in 1878, 167 behaved well, 27 badly, and 27 were sent back to prison,—the rest were lost sight of. Another society has recently been established to assist the same class of boys to enlist in the army.

Such, in brief, is an abstract of the principal facts gathered in this book, the result of thorough personal examination of the actual state of the prisons in and near Paris. It is no doubt largely inspired by a sympathy with the religious element, and particularly a desire to prevent legislation unfavorable to what the author thinks the great and redeeming influence of clerical management upon public charity. The study was carefully made and it is one well worth examining with a view to securing a similar intelligent and humane analysis of the condition of our own Reformatories. The completeness of the organizations abroad, making Public Schools, Orphan Homes, Workhouses, and all other public institutions, supplement one another, may well be contrasted with the absolute independence of our system, or want of system.

J. G. ROSENGARTEN.

A WORD ON LEGAL TENDERS.

THE material strength of a nation lies in its resources in men and money. The latter is the more indispensable. The politician ignorant of the science of money may lay his country prostrate at the feet of any petty foe that might insult or attack it.

The people of the United States have sustained their credit and have conquered in the great commercial war between nations, and money as well as men are now coming to us. Any nation, with ample credit can fully command its own resources and also, in great measure, the resources of the world. The credit of a nation is far more sensitive than that of individuals, because it cannot be coerced to pay, and the mere suspicion that it may refuse or evade payment, and trifle with its honor, is destructive of its financial ability.

An insidious attempt is now being made to destroy the credit upon which our power and our rank among nations must always depend.

It is speciously argued that the law does not stipulate that the United States Legal Tender notes, when paid, must be cancelled. But it is within the power of the Secretary of the Treasury, and some think it his duty, to prevent the re-issue of these notes when they have been once paid in coin. The Secretary may hold as lawful money such notes as may have been paid, and hold them as cash on hand, until Congress orders their cancellation.

The United States, having an undoubted right to issue paper money and to declare it legal tender for all debts, public and private, whensoever the public welfare makes it necessary to do so, is bound to redeem its promises to pay money at as early a time as possible; and having named January 1st, 1879 as the time, and having already paid of these notes, in the aggregate, many millions, whether at the Treasury, Sub-treasuries, or Custom Houses it matters not, it surely is a breach of contract to re-issue them without the authority of Congress and the President, the makers of the notes. In the cases in which the government stipulated to redeem one promise by giving another promise bearing interest, the holders raised no question. So long as there was a real or supposed deficiency of coin, the people were very ready to accept promises of coin in the future, with interest, and these promises were a proper basis of circulation. The promises without interest being always convertible into promises with interest, the evils of an inflation are avoided. The government should redeem and cancel its obligations as fast as possible, and as every paper dollar would be replaced by coin, no contraction of the currency would be possible, and no hardship be done to any class of citizens. To meet the proper and legitimate demands of trade, the paper currency can be increased under the present law until the whole funded debt of the United States is deposited with the Comptroller of the Currency as security for the note holder. No one can say that this basis is not safe and that the supply of United States Bonds is not fully adequate to every possible demand, and as the notes of the National Banks are payable in lawful money of the United States and are secured by the interest-paying promises of the nation, they would in practice be legal tender for all debts.

When the notes return more rapidly than is convenient to the banks, they can in turn surrender their circulation and take up the bonds deposited with the Comptroller, which in turn could be sold at market rates, thus putting the banks in funds again. The fear of loss on such forced sales would guard against excessive issues by the banks.

A paper currency increased in this manner could not cause an excessive supply at any one place, and thus would not encourage a spirit of speculation, as is the case where the public moneys are deposited with favored banks in favored cities.

Those who live by speculating upon the fluctuating values of property, and those who are in debt, have a special pecuniary interest in continuing a fluctuating currency. The speculative classes, notably of New York, are, of course, very much opposed to the cancellation of the United States notes when paid.

W. B.

RUSSIAN SUPERSTITIONS.

NOTE—The following account of some of the strange superstitions and customs prevailing among the Russian peasantry, is no fancy sketch. It is drawn partly from the observation of the writer, but principally from the authoritative works of Wallace and Ralston. These writers in turn have described what they have seen themselves, or derived from the best Russian authorities.

THE Russian peasant's house as a rule contains but one room. Here he sleeps and cooks, and eats and smokes. On the right as you enter is the "Front" or "Upper Corner". Here hangs against the wall the "Sacred Picture" of the Saviour, or of the Mother and Child. Opposite is the stove, a huge mass of brick and mortar, which once heated retains its warmth for a long time, for a valve closes the chimney when there is no longer any smoke to escape, and prevents the cold air from descending the flue. From the top of the stove to the wall are laid a number of planks. These and the stove itself form the bedstead, and here the family huddle together to sleep, without regard to age or sex.

Behind the stove dwells the Domovoy, or house-spirit, inseparably associated with every Russian peasant's house. He is a half-friendly, half malignant spirit. His vocation is to watch over the house when the inmates are asleep. All day long he hides behind

the stove, but at night he comes out, and eagerly devours the food set out for him. If the food is good and abundant, he is friendly. He passes his hand over the sleeper's face, and under the soft and soothing touch he sleeps more soundly. He wakes the master of the house if there is danger from fire, or other cause. He makes his rounds in the stable, and sees that all is safe there, feeds the horses and cattle, and in short is a well-mannered spirit. But should the peasant forget to leave out the food, or should the bread be mouldy, he will soon have reason to repent it. The Domovoy passes a rough and bristly hand over the sleeper's face, and he suffers from night-mare. He steals the forage from the cattle. He rides the horses furiously in the night, and they are found smoking and exhausted in the morning, the owner considering himself fortunate if he suffers from no worse tricks than these.

Then he must be appeased. The most approved method of doing this is through his stomach, as an indulgent mother appeases an angry child. The peasant sets out a cake made especially for him, or a pot of stewed grain, of which he is particularly fond. If these fail the village wizard must be called in, who kills a cock and sprinkles the corners of the hut with its blood, muttering incantations the while. This, it is said, never fails.

But sometimes the Domovoy, without being angry or malicious, takes to playing practical jokes. He has been known to catch the cat by the tail and hold her suspended in mid-air. An energetic scolding from the mistress of the house, the peasants say, is generally sufficient to meet this difficulty, "You're a pretty Domovoy! you ought to be ashamed of yourself! The cat is a useful member of the family, and you treat her so. Don't you do it again!" The Domovoy, when thus addressed, generally listens to the voice of reason.

The Demovoy is not handsome. Those who have been fortunate enough to see him, and he is visible only on Easter Eve, describe him as a short, crooked, ugly, little man, covered all over with long hair. Indeed his tracks, which are said to be seen in the snow, clearly prove that his feet are shaggy.

When a Russian peasant moves from one house to another he always takes his Domovoy with him; but this is not so easily done, for the Domovoy hates to move, and must be properly invited, and treated with much ceremonial. The peasants, among their many

superstitions, believe that on moving into a new house a death will soon occur in the family, and that it will be that of the first person who enters the house. Generally therefore the oldest member of the family enters it first. To avoid this anticipated death, they kill a cock, and sprinkle its blood upon its threshold, in the belief that this will prevent death from entering. Is it possible that this custom can have any connection with the sprinkling of the door posts with the blood of a lamb, by the Israelites before their flight out of Egypt?

But to return to the Domovoy, for, as I have said, he does not like to be neglected. When the removal from one house to another is decided upon, after all the furniture has been removed an old woman of the family rakes together the coals in the stove. At noon precisely, she takes a new jar, and, having deposited the embers in it, covers them with a clean towel, and carries them to the new house. Here the master and mistress of the house await her on the threshold with an offering of bread and salt. She strikes the door posts and says, "Are the visitors welcome"? The hosts bow low and reply, "Welcome Grandfather Domovoy to the new house." Then the old woman enters, places the jar on the stove, takes off the towel and shakes it towards the four corners of cottage, and empties the burning embers into the stove. She then breaks the jar, and buries its fragments under the "Upper Corner".

The Domovoy is a capricious spirit, and very sensitive about color. He is fond of horses, but attaches far more importance to the color, than to speed, or strength, or soundness. Once upon a time a peasant had some excellent horses and choice cattle. The horses went lame, the oxen died, and the cows gave no milk. At length the poor peasant was compelled to buy a miserable old hack, for he had no money wherewith to pay for a better one. He had hardly led this Rosinante home, and recommended him to the Domovoy by tying his halter to the stove, as is the approved custom, when a voice was heard to exclaim, "Ah! this is something like a horse! Not like those other miserable brutes!" From that time everything went well in the stable.

But what is the color the Domovoy prefers? Naturally, that of his own hide. And how is the peasant to discover what this color is, when he is invisible but once a year, and then only to a favored few? Nothing is simpler. He has only to wrap a piece of cake

in a rag, and hang it up in the stable. In a few weeks it will breed maggots. He examines the color of these maggots, and he has the color his Domovoy prefers.

Sometimes there is a fight between two Domovoyes. A Domovoy does not love his master's neighbor, and frequently tries to steal from him for the benefit of his own master. If the neighbor's Domovoy catches him at it, there is a row, and a terrible upsetting of chairs and tables at night in the house, and a fracas in the stable. Now the women come to the aid of their household spirit. They take brooms and strike the walls and enclosures, exclaiming, "Stranger Domovoy, go away home!" The stranger must go. But should he unfortunately have got the better of the rightful Domovoy, and driven him out, the next step is to induce the latter to return. For this purpose the women put on their holiday dresses, and, going into the yard, utter the following invocation, "Grandfather Domovoy, come home and take care of the house and cattle." Thus affectionately adjured, he returns at once.

I have spoken of the "yard." This is a necessary appendage to every peasant's house. All the buildings are enclosed with a high plank or log fence; a board fence would not be strong enough. This is done to keep out the wolves, the bane of the peasant's life. The number of domestic animals destroyed by the wolves annually in Russia, is something enormous. When driven by hunger, they come into the streets of the villages, and even into the cities. It is but a few years since a wolf was killed on the streets of St. Petersburg, and only a few days ago they entered the streets of Tsarky-Zelo, the summer residence of the Emperor, about ten miles from the capital. Dogs are no match for them, for the wolves have more strength and endurance, and their jaws have a grip that no dog can equal. In winter the dogs are all kept indoors at night, and woe to him who shows his head out for a moment, for he is instantly snapped up.

Next to the "Upper Corner" in importance, comes the threshold. A sort of semi-sanctity has been attached to the threshold from classic times down to our own. At Pompeii we have the "Salve, viator," in mosaic on the threshold, and in our own day we inscribe it on the door mat. But the Russians attach not only sanctity to it, but superstition also. It is unlucky to sit down upon the threshold. A cross is drawn upon it to keep away the witches.

Still-born children are buried under it. A newly-baptized child is held over it, that he may be placed under the protection of the household divinities. The peasant crosses himself as he passes it, and children afflicted with certain diseases are washed on it, with the expectation that the disease will be driven out of doors.

In the Domovoy and the Spirit of the threshold the reader readily recognizes something of the Lares and Penates of pagan times. But how altered! Christianity has driven out the old worship, but has been powerless to change many of the rites with which it was associated. In some "governments" of Russia the last sheaf of the new wheat is offered in sacrifice to the Virgin Mary! A strange blending of the Mother of Christ with the goddess Ceres! And certainly the old rites have not gained in simplicity or dignity, in their transfer to modern times and Russian soil. Imagine the old Lares Familiares of our schoolboy days degraded into a Domovoy!

After the domestic spirits come those of the fields and streams. A very different being from the Domovoy is the Rusalka, or water nymph. A sweet pale face, shapely bust, and well rounded limbs, characterize the Rusalka. But her strength is like Samson's, in her hair. Unfortunately it is green, but it is long and thick and moist. Should it become dry she dies. Therefore she never goes far from the water courses, though if she carry her magic comb with her, she need fear no danger from this source. She has but to comb and water trickles from her tresses. The Rusalka haunts the streams and water courses. The ripple of the water is her dancing feet. She clings to the water-wheel and turns round with it, and the splash that is heard is her playing in the water. But do not be enticed by her beauty or her playfulness, for if you enter the stream, allured by her blandishments, she tickles you to death.

She dresses in green leaves, or in a long white garment without a girdle. It is a curious fact that ghosts and fairies and disembodied spirits, never wear belts. You cannot point to an instance. When clad at all, it is always in loose, flowing robes. No doubt there is something in the sense of confinement repulsive to their ethereal nature.

During the long, cold winter, when the streams are frozen over, of course the Rusalka is not to be seen. At this time she dwells

in crystal halls at the bottom of the streams and lakes. But at Whitsuntide she appears. The great question of course then is how is she to be propitiated? The peasant girls go into the woods, and hang linen garments and rags and threads on the trees. The Rusalkas appear to have a lively sense of their want of clothing, and are grateful to those who supply it. At this time their call and shouts are heard in the wind, and when the grain bends and sways in the breeze, it is the Rusalkas swinging upon the stalks.

But as the summer advances they acquire a bad habit of stealing the grain, and it becomes necessary then to expel them from the fields. For this purpose the girls make a straw figure, and dress it in woman's clothes. They take it to the grain fields, and dividing into two parties, one party assails and the other defends it. In the end it is torn to pieces, and the straw scattered to the winds. This expels the Rusalkas. At least there are peasants who confidently affirm that they have seen them running from the fields to the woods, and heard their sobs and cries.

And how many of my readers are aware that the fireflies we see so abundantly in summer in damp spots, are the souls of unbaptized children, doomed to remain fireflies for seven long years, unless some one baptizes them? If not baptized within that time they become Rusalkas. Or that the glow-worms we find in the woods are fires lighted by these sprites to allure us from our path and lose us in the forest.

Need I point out to my readers the resemblance between the Rusalkas and the classic Naiads?

After the Naiads naturally come the Dryads, or Lyeshys. But alas! we have no lovely Nymphs here combing their silken hair, for the Lyeshy is a monster with horns and hoofs and shaggy hair, a Cyclops with one eye, and without eyebrows or eyelashes,—more of a Satyr than a Nymph. They are malicious spirits, and do far more harm than good. They are quarrelsome too, and their fights often disturb the silence of the woods. When the hurricane tears through the forest and uproots the trees, the peasants say that there is a battle among the Lyeshys, and they are tearing up the trees to be used as weapons. The roar of the wind is their cries of rage and defiance.

All the beasts and birds of the forest are under the dominion of the Lyeshy. It behooves the hunter therefore to propitiate him if

he wishes to be successful. In this purpose the cautious sportsman takes a piece of bread, or a pan-cake sprinkled with salt, and leaves it upon a stump in the forest as an offering to the Lyeshy; or he gives him a leaf of tobacco, of which he is very fond. For I grieve to state that the Lyeshy smokes and drinks and plays cards. He is very particular, however, about the pack he plays with and neither he or any other demon ever uses a pack with clubs. The club resembles too closely a cross.

The Lyeshy is a great gambler. As his property consists principally in the animals of the forest, it is this that he stakes. When he loses, he pays honorably and promptly. At times the field mice and squirrels, and other small animals are seen migrating in immense numbers from one "government" to another. They have been staked and lost at play by one Lyeshy to another, and the loser is driving them to their new master.

All these superstitions are amusing and harmless. It strikes us as strange that they should exist in a Christian country, and in the 19th century; but this is all. We now come to a class of superstitions not so harmless—the class of spells.

Very many of the villages of Russia still have their witches—formerly all had them. These witches are practitioners of medicine, and are generally more employed than the doctor himself. The peasants look upon diseases as evil spirits, who are to be exercised and driven out by spells and incantations. When taken ill the peasant generally sends for the local witch. These old women by no means neglect medicines, and they have a considerable knowledge of the effects of the more powerful kinds, mercury for instance. When called in they sprinkle the patient, perform various magic rites, and utter incantations to drive out the evil spirit; not neglecting, however, to administer powerful medicines. The more there is of it, and the nastier it tastes, the better the patient is satisfied, and the larger the fee.

But when an epidemic is threatened, or has broken out in the village, then the witch is in her glory. All faith in science among the peasants then disappears, and the doctor is fortunate if, in the general distrust, suspicion is not turned against him as the author of the disease. Among the striking monuments of St. Petersburg, there is one to the Emperor Nicholas. One of the bas-reliefs represents him dispersing a crowd of peasants who had attacked a

cholera hospital, and were starving the doctors, who would have been killed, had the emperor not come to their rescue.

If cholera or the cattle plague visits a village, this is the witch's time. Under her direction the women form a procession at night, very lightly clad in their night-dresses only. The men remain carefully indoors, and woe to any Peeping Tom among them. He will be set upon and most unmercifully beaten. Carrying a picture of St. Vlas, upon whom the mantle of the old pagan divinity, Valos, protector of cattle, has fallen, and dragging a plough with them, they make the circuit of the village three times. The demon cannot cross the line drawn by the plough.

If it be the "Cattle Death" they have met to expel, they sing the following incantation :

" Death, oh thou low Death,
Depart from our village.
From the stable, from the court.
Through our village goes holy Ilasy,
With incense, with taper,
With burning embers.
We will consume thee with fire,
We will rake thee with the stove-rakes,
We will sweep thee up with the broom,
And we will stuff thee with ashes."

And then follows a delicious bit of description, that would have delighted the heart of old father Virgil—

" Come not to our village !
Meddle not with our cows !
Nut-brown, chestnut, star-browed,
White-teated, white-uddered,
Crumpled-horned, one-horned."

The poet should have added "short-horned" to his catalogue.

More serious are some of the peasants' practices about cholera. There are "governments" where they hold that if the first cholera patient is buried alive, the epidemic will be stayed. In others, an old woman suspected of magic is seized and buried alive, or flung into the river with a cock, a dog, and a black cat. We were shocked last summer by the account of the killing of an old woman in Russia, supposed to be a witch. It was probably by the peasants, in the full faith that it would keep away the Astrakan plague. Voluntary sacrifices are not unknown, too. Men and women have been known to draw lots, and the person on whom the lot fell was buried alive with the inevitable cock and black cat.

The Russian peasant's view of vaccination, too, is not calculated to prevent the spread of small-pox. They look upon vaccination as setting the seal of Antichrist upon the child, and believe that whoever dies of small-pox will go immediately to heaven, and walk in the other world in golden robes. With these views among them, it is not surprising that one meets so many peasants in the streets of St. Petersburg pitted with the small-pox.

I have touched very lightly upon the spells of the Russian peasants. They have innumerable others, as for instance to secure rich husbands, to procure rain, to stop the hiccough and St. Vitus' dance, etc., etc. But what must strike all my readers, I think, in this brief sketch of Russian superstitions, is the vein of poetry that runs through so many of them. I have already referred to the rippling of the stream as the dancing feet of the Rusalkas, and to the swaying of the grain in the breeze, as their swinging upon the stalks. A star appears in the heavens upon the birth of every child, and when the child dies the star disappears. And so, gentle reader, when you hear the storm roaring in the forest, do not think of Professor Espy and the Meteorological Bureau at Washington, but believe it is the voice of the Lyesky doing battle with his fellows. When you listen to the music of the echo, do not tell me of waves of sound, and reverberation and re-percussion, but turn resolutely away, for it is the voice of the wood-demon luring you to your destruction. And when you catch a glimpse of a shooting star on a clear autumn night, do not dwell upon the cause of light, and heat, and electricity, but believe, with the Russian peasant, that it is an angel descending from heaven to bear aloft a departing soul.

THE SILVER QUESTION IN ENGLAND.*

WHEN *The Times* bade Mr. Welsh its farewell, on his resignation of the American embassy to England, it expressed its hope that his successor would come prepared to urge upon English

* THE DECLINE OF PROSPERITY: Its insidious Cause and obvious Remedy. By Ernest Seyd, F. S. S. London: Edward Stanford, 1879.

THREE LETTERS ON THE SILVER QUESTION. By Samuel Smith, President of the Liverpool Chamber of Commerce. Liverpool: 1876.

BIMETALLISM IN ENGLAND AND ABROAD. An answer to a Letter from Henry Hucks Gibbs, Esq., (formerly Governor of the bank of England) by Henri Cernuschi. London: P. S. King, 1879.

economists the reasons for the remonetization of silver. When the English farmers presented to Lord Beaconsfield their remonstrance against the Free Trade policy from whose effects they were suffering, the answer he gave them pointed to the demonetization of silver as the true cause of the commercial depression, from which the world was suffering. When the Indian authorities proposed to escape their heavy losses in exchange on India, by forcing a gold coinage on the Hindoo people, the proposal excited general reprobation among the very newspapers which denounced the coinage of silver in America as dishonest; and after a brief period of discussion it was emphatically vetoed by the English ministry.

These straws show the tendency of the wind in the country which has been distinguished as the champion of the gold basis for coinage, and which for over half a century held that position alone among the nations. So long as England made no converts, she could maintain her position. She had assumed it in 1816, during the period of violent contraction which attended the resumption of specie payments in 1818-22; and as she was then passing from a paper to a metallic currency, the choice of either coin for her own use could but slightly affect the price of the other. But the English school of economists got the upper hand in Germany. Herr Delbrück became Finance Minister, and not only abolished the protective features of the Zollverein Tariff in 1864, but proposed to follow England still farther in substituting gold for silver in 1872. The five milliards in gold coin and negotiable bills of exchange which were exacted from France as a war indemnity in 1870, more than supplied the material for calling in all the German coinage except the small change; and Germany found herself with some \$280,000,000 of silver on hand, for which she had paid gold, and which she must sell in the markets of the world to recoup herself. All at once she discovered how shortsighted she had been in this attempt at a monetary revolution. She had discredited silver by retiring it from her circulation, and yet must sell silver to refill her treasury. Even had no general moral effect been produced by this procedure, the knowledge that such a mass of silver was on hand, absolutely useless to the holders until it could be sold, and ready to be thrown upon the market as soon as there was a fair price to be had, could not but force the price down. Her demonetization of silver began in 1872; and by

1874 the States of the Latin Union (France, Belgium, Italy and Switzerland) were obliged to restrict greatly their coinage of that metal, and to extend their restrictions in subsequent years until a virtual suspension has been reached. Holland has followed the same policy. In the mean time the three Scandinavian kingdoms, in 1873, had followed the example of Germany, adopting by treaty an exclusively gold coinage. As they had no great amount of coin in circulation, and were not in a position to withdraw it, as Germany did, they did not so directly affect the silver market. But their action, as well as that of the Latin Union and of Holland, has helped still further to discredit silver and depreciate its value. Nor is it believed that the Latin Union can stop where it is. It must go on, if the depreciation of silver continues, and must demonetize that metal, for it cannot float its present silver coinage at an unreal valuation, and the depreciation continues and is intensified by its own nature. Every channel for the employment of silver that is closed, helps to close yet other channels, by making silver less desirable for other purposes through its loss of value. The present value of silver, as of gold, is the result of an equation of demand and supply, and the demand arises out of the international convention for its use in coinage. Destroy that convention, and the demand is immensely reduced, and the price falls. And with the fall of its price, other uses disappear; for instance, the employment of silver in plate. People do not desire silver as a household treasure, when it is, or threatens to become, worth little more than pewter or nickel or brass. In this way the depreciation gains in intensity at every step, like the velocity of the fall of a body, which is proportional to the square of the distance. Hence it is that the price went on falling in 1878, although the mines yielded less and Germany sold but a small quantity.

The special interest of America in the question arises from the fact that we produce vast quantities of the precious metals, and that when either of them is discredited in the markets of the world, we suffer in consequence. In the earlier period of our history we had no interest of this sort. At the beginning of our coinage we fixed the ratio of the value of gold to silver as 15 : 1, that of Europe being then, as now, 15.5 : 1. Afterwards, at the instance of the Southern States, the ratio was changed to 16 : 1, so as to drive silver out of circulation and establish a gold coinage which would

harmonize with their Free Trade policy. During the period 1810-40, the production of both the precious metals was checked throughout the world, but that of gold more so, and the first term of the ratio increased. With the great gold discoveries of 1840, 1848, and 1854, the tendency set in the other direction and the ratio fell as low as 15.21 : 1 in 1859. But after the discovery of our rich silver mines, the tendency changed again. Yet, up to 1872, the date of the German legislation against silver, the vibration in price was fully within manageable limits, and was indeed much smaller than that produced by the variation in gold during the previous decades. It might have been expected that under these circumstances our government would follow a purely conservative policy. On the contrary, in 1867 we sent to Europe, to the International Conference on monetary legislation, a commissioner, who represented our government as devoted to the single gold standard; and in 1873 we demonetized silver in a casual, incidental fashion, which attracted no one's attention at the time, but did a great deal to intensify the wrong tendencies at work in Europe. Yet, to America also is due the credit of making the first earnest effort to stem the tide of silver depreciation. We refer to what is called the Bland Bill, passed in 1878. But the result shows that isolated national action will not avail to correct this evil, unless there can be a concert of legislation with Europe: and to secure this concert our government is addressing itself. The first conference, that held in 1878, was a predestined failure, because the delegates came pledged to do nothing except defend the policy of their own countries. A second, however, is now proposed, and it is hoped that they will be more open to reason than they were in 1878.

Germany is the pivot of the situation, for it is her prestige, and her stock of silver for sale, which keeps silver down in price. She is not a rich country, and has a comparatively small supply of coin in proportion to her population. If the recent tariff and her Zollverein with Austria-Hungary should cause a vigorous development of her home industries, her stock of silver might be gradually added to her circulation, without making the currency excessive. She would have even then less coin *per capita* than France. On the other hand, she has been taught a severe lesson in the heavy losses she has undergone in her sales of silver, and must now see that the only way to escape still greater losses is to restore her

silver to circulation. Of still better promise is the removal of Herr Delbrück and the other Anglicizing statesmen, who introduced Free Trade and Monometallism into the Empire, and the occupancy of their places by men who are open to the teachings of experience.

As the Scandinavian Union is of no more importance in this connection than Greece or Spain, the Latin Union is the only other Continental power whom it is necessary to persuade. The fear is widely expressed that these nations will demonetize silver, but they can only do so at a cost which would be appalling to the richest of them. Their present policy is avowedly an expectant one, and there is nothing they would welcome more heartily than such a solution as would restore monetary matters to the footing they held ten years ago.

It is to England, however, that we must look for such action as will make the remonetization of silver a complete success. To retrieve the mischiefs which her example has inflicted on the world, we need her abandonment of her isolated and unnatural attitude. And we really believe that there is good ground to expect that England will retrace her steps, will make silver a legal tender for all amounts, and will throw open her mints to it as freely as to gold. There are many signs of a change of English opinion on this question. To some of these we have alluded. But none is more significant than the change of attitude announced by Mr. H. H. Gibbs, formerly Governor of the Bank of England, and a delegate to the Silver Conference of 1878. In truth, England is feeling the difficulties of the situation as much as any other country. Her vast dependency, India, is bound to her by many ties, but especially by the debts created in England for the execution of public works in India. How to pay interest on these debts in London in gold without bankrupting the Treasury of India, is a problem which more than one ministry has been called upon to solve. It was felt as early as 1864, and Mr. Gladstone, then Chancellor of the Exchequer, sanctioned a measure for a gold coinage in India, actually fixing the ratio at 14.6 : 1; but the measure proved futile. In the Conference of 1878, the English delegates claimed that England pursued a bi-metallic policy, since she maintained a gold standard in England and a silver standard in India. But they are actually experiencing all the disadvantages of both policies, without the advantage of either; and were silver restored to its old

ratio and legal tender in London, one of the hardest problems of English finance would be solved. To solve it at the other end, by forcing gold on India, where the natives have never used it, and where even the banks will not take it as collateral, would be the height of folly, especially as the quantity obtainable for such a revolution is far below the amount needed, for the two hundred and forty millions of India, with their imperfectly developed system of payment, need and possess a much larger amount of coin than do the thirty five millions in the British Islands. Mr. Seyd estimates the two circulations at £200,000,000 and £136,000,000, in 1870.

In these circumstances it becomes a matter of general interest to observe how the bi-metallic cause is sustained by its English advocates. Mr. Ernest Seyd is the most eminent of these, and the most persistent. All his earlier works on this subject, however, are now superseded by his *Decline of Prosperity* which has just appeared in London, summing up the results of years of the study of this question.

Mr. Seyd's book contains two leading arguments, one of universal force, and the other addressed more specifically to England.

(1) The gold and silver coin of the world in 1878 reached a total of £1,570,000,000, of which £720,000,000 was silver. The present demonetization of silver cannot stop where it is, and cannot be prevented from becoming complete by any isolated action of America or the Latin Union. It must go on until the metal is used only for subsidiary coinage, and the gold basis is universally adopted, unless it be stopped by an international agreement between the great commercial nations of the world. And its effect will be to reduce the money of the world by £631,000,000, leaving in circulation £850,000,000 in gold, and £89,000,000 in subsidiary silver coinage.

The first effect of this will be to check the growth of international trade, by destroying a large part of the money in which international balances are paid. England's position, as depending upon other countries for a supply of food, and for a market for her manufactures, Mr. Seyd accepts as altogether right and natural. He describes it in language which would provoke the derisive laughter of half the human race. But that position is seriously imperilled by silver demonetization. The people upon whom she depends for a market will cease to have the power to pay for the goods. Their loss of that power he regards as the main reason of the

tendency to Protection which he sees to prevail in all quarters. Hence, also, the decline of £135,000,000 in English exports.

The second evil result is the check it puts upon resumption of specie payments in countries which have now a depreciated paper currency. These are Austria-Hungary, Italy, Russia, Greece, Turkey, Brazil, Columbia, Central America, Bolivia, Equador, Peru, Uruguay, Paraguay, and the Argentine Confederation; and they contain 188,400,000 people. These countries will not attempt to resume in silver, as that would be the mockery of exchanging one depreciated currency for another. Nor can they resume in gold, for the supply of that metal is so inadequate, that only the wealthy nations will be able to afford the use of coin. What the value of gold will be, it is hard to predict. The late M. Prevost-Paradol said a five franc piece under the new system would be a spangle!

The third evil is one upon which Mr. Seyd does not dwell adequately, partly because of his English position, and partly because of the adherence of his understanding to the ordinary teachings of the English economists as regards the functions of money. Seeing in it only the instrument of exchange, and not the instrument of association, he has no sufficient conception of the miseries inflicted upon a people by its destruction or removal. Upon a people who have been deprived of its services, there falls a paralysis of industrial efforts, so complete as to sunder all the ordinary ties of industrial association. "Commerce," says Mr. H. C. Carey, "would be at an end, except so far as it might be possible to effect direct exchange, food being given for labor, or wool for cloth. These, however, could be few in number; and men, women and children would perish by millions, because of the inability to obtain food and clothing. Large cities would soon exhibit blocks of unoccupied buildings, and the grass would grow in the streets. . . . Society as at present constituted could have no existence." "Of all the labor-saving machinery in use among men, there is none that so much economizes human power and facilitates combination, as that known by the name of money. Wealth, or the power to command nature's services, grows with every increase in the facility of combination; and this latter grows with the ability to command the aid of the precious metals." This would be the end of the current depreciation of silver, if it be allowed to go on unchecked by an international convention. In some countries it would cause the destruction of their

coinage, and permanent adoption of a promissory currency, where value and volume would be at the mercy of every political party. In all the rest it would restrict the facilities for industrial enterprise, to an extent which would involve little less than a perpetuity of hard times.

2. Mr. Seyd's second argument is addressed to England, and is derived from the special relations existing between that country and India. After carefully reading all that he says on this head, we are not able to comprehend all his points, nor do we always agree with him in what we do understand.

In his discussion of the East Indian monetary situation, we think that Mr. Seyd is prejudiced by his disposition to lay the whole depreciation of silver to the charge of Germany. Let us look at the facts. Up to a recent date there were on our continent a group of silver-producing nations, and on the Asiatic continent a group of silver-absorbing nations. Of these latter the chief were India and China. But there was no channel of direct transmission through which American silver flowed to Asia; on the contrary, we employed England to make to India our payments for such merchandise as we took from her. In an appendix to his valuable work, *The Money Market and its Crises*, (1865), Prof. Emile Laveleye of Liege calls attention to our use of English agency in this respect, and to the vast absorptive power, as regards silver, which the Asiatic populations show. He traces the latter back to the days of the Roman Empire, when Pliny estimated that fifty millions of sesterces had been exported to India; and he shows that it had suffered no interruption since that period. During the years 1851-1862, he shows an export through the Isthmus of Suez of \$552,288,000 in silver, an average of \$46,024,000 each year. But 1862 was but four years subsequent to the assumption of the Indian Government by the English Crown, and the abolition of the rule of John Company. This change of rulers was the beginning of a change of policy, to which most of the present disasters of the East Indian Government are due. The English set about improving India according to their ideas of improvement. They raised loans in England, to build irrigation works, canals and railways, charging the Indian budget with the payment of the interest on these in gold in London. They spent large parts of these loans in the purchase of iron rails and rolling stock, tools and implements in England,

instead of setting the Hindoos to make these for themselves. They also increased the number and the proportion of English employes in the government service, and the consequent drain of salaries and savings from India into England. As a consequence, the power of India to absorb silver has been all but annihilated. Exchange has fallen from the normal two shillings to the rupee, to one shilling and seven pence; the drafts made by the Council on India, and sold in London as bills of exchange on Calcutta, have risen from six to sixty millions of dollars; and the shipments of silver have stopped. In fine, the wrong-headed policy of English improvements for India, a policy carried out in the most short-sighted and selfish fashion, has resulted in choking the channel by which the silver-producing countries supplied those which demanded further supplies of that metal. The English are quite aware of this themselves. It is one reason why they are now anything but zealous in the advocacy of the gold standard. The Committee of Parliament, to whom the question of the fall of silver was referred, report that six causes have co-operated to this result. Four of the six represent the demonetization of silver and the restriction of its coinage in Europe; the fifth is the excessive yield of our Nevada silver mines; the sixth the decline in the export of silver to India. And Mr. Seyd, in his eagerness to lay the whole burden on the shoulders of the demonetizers, has to answer those who point to the vast amount of the Council Bills drawn by the Indian Office in London.

One result has been most embarrassing to England. The loss of the Indian treasury, through being obliged to sell their revenue at a depreciated rate to get gold to pay their English creditors, amounts to from twelve to fifteen millions of dollars a year, and is a serious embarrassment to the Indian Government. But houses in the East India trade have suffered even more than the Government. Imports from India can still be made to advantage, but with exchange on Calcutta ruling as it does in London, there is no inducement to export anything to India. It would come to much the same thing if there were a duty of four shillings and two pence on every pound's worth of English goods imported into India. Hence the general collapse of the East Indian trade, carrying down the Glasgow Bank. Hence, also, that rapid growth of native manufactures in Bengal, which the Manchester men persist in ascribing to the paltry Indian Tariff. In these circumstances,

it becomes the policy and duty of America to open direct trade with India. To do so will help to effect that collapse of Indian finances, which has been impending for years, by making the rupee worth still less than it has rated. But we owe this step to ourselves. The great agent, who hitherto served the world, has signally failed in serving us, through a narrow-minded, over-reaching policy; and we have no choice but to dispense with such services as this agent is likely to render.

All this Indian embarrassment Mr. Seyd seems to regard as a consequence of English and German demonetization of silver, and in its remonetization he sees a sufficient remedy. He regards the relation of India to England for the past sixty years as one of monetary conflict, through the persistence of each in its peculiar monometallism, and holds that France has had to bear the brunt of their struggle. For both he wishes to see the double standard established. To this there is the objection that in the eyes of the population of Asia gold is not money, any more than diamonds are. It is, in their view of it, a very valuable substance, admirably adapted for ornamentation; and such gold coin as they can get they use as they might precious stones. But the convention to use gold as currency they have never accepted, nor do they seem likely to accept. But even were this not so, the mischiefs inflicted by England's Indian policy would not be at an end with remonetization. The export to the East of our surplus silver would still be checked or stopped by the Anglo-Indian debt, and the present local congestion of that metal in Europe and America would continue. For this reason we think that Mr. Seyd and the other advocates of remonetization have not cleared up the whole difficulty, which the present depreciation of silver presents.

Mr. Seyd proposes that Europe and America shall agree to throw open their mints for the free coinage of both metals, at the old European rate—15.5 : 1. In this, he believes, will be found the complete remedy for the present unnatural depression of silver. He believes that the price of the metal depends upon the convention for its use as money; that anything which interferes with that convention tends to the depreciation of the metal concerned; and that without the restoration of silver to its former place in the world's coinage, we can have no resumption of general prosperity and of international trade.

Some of Mr. Seyd's critics will answer that the facts have already refuted him; that they can afford to leave his arguments unanswered so long as the present resumption of business activity distracts the minds of the community from the Silver Question and every other theoretical issue. It remains to be seen whether our present revival of trade is a permanent and general revival, or whether it is not due to temporary causes whose disappearance will leave us where they found us. We are beginning to argue and act in America as if Europe were never to have a good harvest again,—as if the present dependence of her breadstuff-markets upon our agriculture were to continue forever,—as if the price we now command, in view of the shortness of the supply, were to be the rule for the future. It remains to be seen what truth there is in such prognostications. Of one thing we are sure,—the day will come when attention to the Silver Question will be forced upon the civilized nations, and that question will be found more difficult than it would be if we were to attempt its settlement now.

ROBERT ELLIS THOMPSON.

NEW BOOKS.

CHEQUER WORK. By Thomas G. Appleton, author of *A Sheaf of Papers*, *A Nile Journal*, *Syrian Sunshine*, *Windfalls*. Boston: Roberts Brothers, 1879. 8 vo., pp. 385.

Mr. Appleton is best known as a wise and witty man, who has said so many clever things that he is honored with the pater-nity of all the smart phrases of the day, and he has done so many generous things that his name and his fame are on record in every public institution of his native town. The Boston Public Library has his fine collection of engravings, the Boston Museum of Art has his last gift, that of the Tanagra figurines, but, fortunately, what he has written and printed is the common property of all who read. His present volume is fitly named, for in it he has gathered together sketches and essays of many kinds, many of them full of the sprightly humor and play of fancy that have made his reputation in two continents, some of them recalling his large and happy experience of life of the best kind in the best houses in England and France, some of them are strong and vigorous protests against the political and financial policies of the day. Bostonian as he is, he belongs by his habits of thought and study to the good old fashioned school of hard money and protection, and while he fights the

battle of native industry in earnest words that may well arouse his free-trade townsmen and show them the error of their ways, he laughs to scorn the transparent fallacies of the Greenbackers.

His essay on Free Trade is one of the most compact and effective arguments in behalf of protection that has lately been printed, and it reaches the sound sense and lofty patriotism that marked the men and the times when New England was a sturdy champion of a high tariff, and Webster was its great spokesman. Mr. Appleton defends the wisdom of protection to our home industries, and praises the courage of the men who have withstood the tempting flattery of the English free-traders. He advocates the enlightened selfishness which makes our workmen prosperous and our country rich, by a tariff that secures abundant home competition and guards against ruinous wages and helpless poverty. He points out the advantage of over production, by a brief summary of the immense increase in our articles of export, and he shows that free trade is merely another name for an over-importation of an excess of inferior European productions. He appeals to the lessons of experience as against the vaunted promises of theorists, and draws his teachings from the sound common sense of our people, their inventive genius, their restless activity, their conquest over vast territories, and their love of industrial as well as political independence. He tells the tale of the success of protection, as a means of making England what it is to day, and points to Lawrence and Lowell as the fruits that have ripened on the same tree of wisdom in the sterile soil of New England.

He urges the same policy on the West and the South, predicting the same rich harvest of industrial wealth as a complement to their broad wealth of grain, and their vast treasures of cotton and sugar. He contrasts the American citizen, well clothed, well fed, with good wages, and independent through self respect, as the result of protection, and the ragged, hungry, poverty-stricken, helplessly dependent millions of Europe and Asia, made so by free trade, in spite of the high sounding boast of universal philanthropy urged by its advocates abroad and at home. In this essay, we see Mr. Appleton at his best, and much as there is to enjoy and admire in his clever hits at society, his happy strokes of description of scenery, his mastery of art, his witty satire on the follies of modern schools of thought in politics and in materialism, we are most of all glad to welcome him as an advocate of protection, and to urge a diligent study of the reasons he gives in logical sequence for the faith that he has inherited and still piously cherishes. His New England is that which has grown to greatness and power, to wealth and influence, under wise tariff legislation, and he sets the seal of condemnation on those of his countrymen who think that because New England can get along without protection, therefore the rest of the

country shall have none of it. He believes that what has given the people of New England their control of the markets of the world, will enrich the whole American Continent, and therefore he advocates protection.

A MINISTRY OF HEALTH, AND OTHER ADDRESSES. By Benjamin Ward Richardson, M. D., etc., etc. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1879. Pp. 354.

Dr. Richardson has gathered together with the address that gives a title to the volume, other earlier papers, one on Harvey and the two hundred and fiftieth celebration of his birthday; a Clerico-Medical Homily, read before an association of clergymen, and emphasizing the points of sympathy common to the two professions; others on Learning and Health; on Vitality, Individual and National; on *The World of Physic*, an inaugural to one of the sessions of the St. Andrew's Graduates' Association; on *Burial, Embalming and Cremation*; on *Registration of Disease*, delivered in 1862 before the Social Science Association; and on *Ether Drinking and Extra-Alcoholic Intoxication*. Like his earlier volume on *Diseases of Modern Life*, the main purpose of this collection of essays is to point out the causes which lead to disease, and to prevent its occurrence, by observing the physical laws which are the condition, of health. In each and all of them the aim is to emphasize a new suggestion that may be of practical service, or to bring into notice, in plain and simple language, some matter of information that has not as yet become knowledge in common. There is a marked force in the way in which new truths and old axioms are stated, that cannot but impress itself on the mind of even the lay-reader, which must encourage professional men to repeat the author's example of energetic endeavor to bring home to the official mind the necessity of sanitary knowledge, and that ought to give a permanent value to essays that have each a special value, and that taken together are full of instruction.

THE ALPENSTOCK: a Book about the Alps and Alpine Adventure.

Edited by W. H. Rideing. Appleton's New Handy-Volume Series, New York: D. Appleton & Co.,

LIFE IN THE ROCKY MOUNTAINS: by Isabella L. Bird: G. P. Putman's Sons, New York, 1879.

These two books are much about mountains, and may, therefore, be properly noticed together. Miss Bird's lively and graphic accounts of her, for a woman, remarkable experiences in the Colorado mountain regions, form a decidedly novel contribution to current literature. The most credulous reader must be occasionally staggered by this independent female's quite matter-of-fact recital of startling and perilous adventures; and it is only human nature to

mildly doubt some things that are told in these fascinating pages—not that we would deliberately insinuate that Miss Bird is a female Mandeville or Münchhausen; but, with the full knowledge of the performances of some of her courageous sisters in similar directions, we do not hesitate to characterize this undaunted Englishwoman, riding astraddle and unattended, in her "Hawaian riding dress", (whatever that may be) up and down mountains, wandering, unguided, over trackless snow-fields, or over measureless extents of western prairies, and dwelling with equanimity in haunts that even a hardened frontiersman only would occupy under the pressure of dire necessity, as the most "unsexed" female whose notes of travel have thus far found their way into print. It must be admitted that what she relates is for the most part pleasantly told, and there can be no doubt whatever about the accuracy of her frequent enthusiastic references to the phenomenally beautiful scenery which has already made the vicinity of the Rocky Mountains so famous. There is an account of the ascent of Long's Peak, which the writer rather extravagantly calls the "American Matterhorn," which may well cause her weaker sisters to blush and despair.

Mr. Rideing's little *brochure* is, as plainly intimated on the title page, made up of other more celebrated works. Whymper, Tyn-dall, Schütz, Wilson, Grohmann, Baedeker, and so on, are freely employed, and with much success; the result being an attractive *resumé* of interesting Alpine experiences, which those who are unable to command or purchase the rather expensive volumes of the writers mentioned, will be glad to find so cheaply accessible as they are here presented. The cheapness of the book does not, however, entirely justify some atrocious proof-reading in which "Dome de Gonté" is repeatedly allowed to stand for "Dôme du Gôuter," "Mont Maudet", for "Mont Maudit", "Col d' Auterne" for "Col d' Anterne", and so on. The book is valuable, among other reasons, for its account, condensed from Whymper's engrossing narrative, of that most courageous of all Alpine Clubmen's sixth and finally successful attempt at conquering the awful "Matterhorn," in 1865, with its dreadful episode and the death of four of his party of six. It is the most thrilling chapter in all the history of Alpine exploration.

PROBATION; by Jessie Fothergill. Leisure Hour Series. Henry Holt & Co., New York.

Miss Fothergill's clever story is to be cheerfully and unreservedly commended. It is a well told, thoroughly healthy novel, abounding in effective and sympathetic touches, such as only an amiable and intelligent student of one's kind can command. The scene of this pleasant tale is laid in the Lancashire cotton manufacturing district during the "panic" incident to our rebellion. The distress

and suffering of that melancholy period form a darker background to the homely and romantic experiences of the several artistically individualized characters that figure in the interesting drama here unfolded. By the way, it will be news to many American, not less than English, readers, no doubt, that, as we are told by this graceful writer, sympathy for the North was the dominant sentiment in Lancashire during our recent civil struggle.

A SYSTEM OF WATER COLOR PAINTING, being a complete Exposition of the present advanced state of the art, as exhibited in the works of the modern Water Color School, by Aaron Penley, author of "English School of Painting in Water Colors," "The Elements of Perspective," etc., etc. From the 38th London Edition. New York; G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1879. [Putnam's Art Hand-Books, edited by Susan N. Carter, Principal of The Women's Art Schools, Cooper Union.]

Mr. Penley is an acknowledged authority on Water Color Painting, and his little essay on the subject is likely to meet the same popular approval in this country that it has found at home. In England water color painting is diligently pursued, and with a great degree of success, by amateurs who have before them constantly the wonderful work of some of the best masters in that branch of art. In this country, much less attention has been paid to the subject by the artists themselves, and, naturally enough, there are fewer pupils working on this, one of the most facile and most attractive of modern art growths. W. T. Richards has won great praise, both at home and abroad, for his wonderfully effective water colors, but these are in a broad style of *gouache* or wash work, in which he contrives to use the strong tones of oil painting on a paper specially chosen to help secure the highest effects with the least labor. In England the Water Color painters have brought their work up to a standard of excellence that has been attempted nowhere else, and their productions have been made known, in this city especially, by a small band of amateur workers, whose judgment was seconded by a skill that often made their own copies difficult to distinguish from the handiwork of the master.

Penley's name, as water color painter and teacher, is so well known that his writing on the subject is sure to be, in the highest degree, effective and useful. It is hardly fair to him, or to his readers, that his essay should be published as one of Putnam's Art Hand-Books, edited by somebody, when, in point of fact, neither editor nor publisher had done anything but "convey" it into an American reprint,—and bibliographical honesty would be better served by telling the truth on the cover as well as on the title page. Penley lays down the law that the great charm of water color painting lies in the beauty and truthfulness of its aerial tones, and its peculiar

power of adaptation to the representation of skies and distances. Then he points out the precise relations of form, composition, invention, light, shadow, and color to the whole effect sought, and his definitions are clear, precise, and easily remembered. He explains the different kinds of colors, and their uses, giving a table for different effects and the power which results from their proper combination and contrasts. His study of the management of natural objects, sky, water, shipping and boats, rocks, foliage, is made doubly effective by the fact that his own handiwork has proved the success of his rules, and the chromo-lithographs of some of his best sketches from open-air work are within easy reach, so that the student can test the master's lessons by his actual practice. He closes by an urgent appeal to study nature, as the true rule that must lead to success, and, indeed, the beauty of Water Color painting is mainly due to the fact that it represents nature, and eschews the violent effects that are so often characteristic of the painter in oils of the same landscape that is so much more truthfully rendered by the water color artist.

American Health Primers, No. III and IV. THE SUMMER AND ITS DISEASES, by Dr. J. C. Wilson. EYESIGHT AND HOW TO CARE FOR IT, by Dr. Geo. C. Harlan. Philada., Lindsay & Blakiston

Dr. Wilson's book came too late to be of service in the present year, but its valuable medical advice, can be perused at leisure and applied in succeeding summers, which will doubtless be sufficiently unhealthy to require all the aid that this book can give. The principal defect in the work is its style, which is florid, or rather turgid, instead of being plain and simple. Many of the sentences are long and confused, and the real substance of the treatise might have been given in much less space than is actually occupied.

The essay upon the eyesight is, like Dr. Burnett's volume on the ear, a valuable contribution to the popular literature upon special organs. It is true, the eye has been pretty exhaustively written upon, but many of the works are purely technical and in the main useless to the general public. The usual explanations of the anatomy and physiology are given in Dr. Harlan's book and then follow chapters upon such important topics as "Spectacles," and the "Effects of School Life upon the Eyes." The style seems easy and correct. The illustrations are mostly quite good, but the "artificial eye," on page 53, might, with a little modification, do duty for a distant view of Mt. Vesuvius.

DI CARY. Appleton's Library of American Fiction. By M. Jacqueline Thornton.

To read such a book as this is to mock time. It is a novel of the reconstruction of the South, in which are given, as types, all

that is weakest in north and south, and much that is impossible anywhere. The hero "does a wooing go" much in the spirit of the Laird o' Cockpen, and his conversations, though entirely wanting in the humility that distinguishes their Grandisons, are like pages from the *Elegant Extracts* beloved of our grandmothers. In all the two hundred pages there is not one touch of natural character.

Appleton's New Handy Volume Series. THE DISTRACTED YOUNG PREACHER. By Thomas Hardy. HESTER. By Beatrice May Butt.

This book calls for two separate judgments, the first story coming under the condemnation of great vulgarity, low and mean sentiment; while the second one, Hester, is one of the happiest little sketches of the French war, in the chronicle of a faithful love crossed and a burden patiently borne. The style has vivacity and charm, and the story deserved a better introduction than that of being issued as a pendant to Mr. Hardy's very inferior work.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

Solar Light and Heat. By Zachariah Allen, LL.D. Cloth. 8vo. Pp. 241. New York: D. Appleton & Co. [Porter & Coates.

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THE MONTH.

ALL the indications point to a Liberal victory in the coming elections in England. Wherever a vacancy has been filled the past three months, the Liberals have carried it; and with every victory the spirit of the party has risen, until it is ready to contest every seat, and is disposed to show no mercy to its own weaker brethren, who gave the Tories some support in foreign policy. Even the Lake district, long carried in the pockets of a single Tory family, shows signs of revolt, and is to be contested warmly. The breach between the Dissenters and those Liberals who oppose Disestablishment has been healed by an agreement to give each other hearty support; and Mr. Gladstone's declaration that as soon as the Scotch, *i. e.* the Scottish Liberals, ask for Disestablishment in Scotland, he is ready to second their demand, has had a good effect in rallying the Dissenters to his support. The Kirk of Scotland is decidedly in the minority, and only the adherence of the Free Kirk to the *principle* of Establishment has prevented its overthrow ere this. To show its comparative strength, a census of its adherents was recently taken by parishes. But the returns were in many instances notoriously false; and their authors in a few cases were put on trial by their own Presbyteries for the offence of lying.

The question of Mr. Gladstone's resumption of the leadership of the Liberals is again mooted, and has caused an unhappy di-

vision in their ranks. The old Whig element raises the Whig war-cry: "Measures, not Men." But the party now includes a great many elements which are not Whiggish and give no adherence to that maxim. The principle of loyalty to leadership is more acceptable to people generally since Mr. Carlyle's gospel of hero-worship was preached, and the younger generation of Liberals are by no means ready to reverence institutions and measures to the exclusion of persons. They point to the origin of representative institutions, showing that they sprang from the root of Teutonic loyalty to leaders; they urge that the classic peoples had, and could have, no representative institutions, because personal loyalty, although it existed in the earliest age of Greek history, died out early. And they ask how long representative institutions will survive the extinction of the root from which they grow.

The question is not one to be settled by popular discussion; it rests with the leaders of the party. Whatever Mr. Gladstone's official relation to the party may be, the Queen will send, if the Earl of Beaconsfield retires, for any other Liberal leader rather than Mr. Gladstone. If the Liberal chiefs want Mr. Gladstone as premier, they will decline positions under Lord Hartington or any other lord; and the Queen will be forced to send for Mr. Gladstone. If they do not want him, they will not be driven to this line of action by any popular or newspaper agitation of his claims. It rests with them, and they will do as they think best.

THE latest British idea, and the one which excites in some quarters the most hope as to the financial future of the Empire, is the formation of a grand Imperial Customs Union, with free trade between the mother country and its dependencies, and protection against every one else. The suggestion of this plan seems to have come from the one-sided Canadian Tariff, by which the people of the Dominion are allowed to purchase the manufactures of England at cheaper rates than those of America, while the whole is called "Protection" or "National Policy." The result of that Tariff has been to throw a larger proportion of Canadian trade into English hands. Except in solitary instances, it has not produced the effect of developing Canadian industries. It has raised the price of some articles, without relieving the pressure on the labor market.

For these reasons it occurs to some English politicians of the Conservative school, that the Canadian Tariff, so far from being a thing to cry out against, points to the most feasible solution of England's present difficulties. Were the Canadian Tariff made a little more favorable to England, might it not be extended to the whole Empire? This was what the Prime Minister of England meant when he pointed to Manitoba as the wheat field from which he would have his countrymen expect their future supplies of grain.

With a corn law imposing duties on all grain grown outside the British Empire,—with an ever growing agricultural population in America, loyal to England and buying freely of English wares,—with a similar compact extended to the other colonies, granting them protection for their raw materials in exchange for free trade in English manufactures, and with an Imperial protective tariff against both the manufacturers and the producers of raw materials who live outside the Empire, it is thought that England might resume her old rôle, and find an adequate market for her over-grown manufactures. As the dream of Free Trade throughout the world has been cruelly shocked, it might be realized on a smaller scale in that lesser world the British Empire. An article in *The Quarterly Review* of October last, believed to have been “inspired” in high quarters, points in this direction, ridiculing the Cobden school for the unfulfilled promises with which they have deluded England for over thirty years. The appointment of Sir Alexander Galt to the newly invented position of a Canadian Minister resident in London, is believed to point in the same direction.

Lord Beaconsfield is feeling the English pulse. If he finds the way open, we will soon see unfolded the brilliant programme of Imperial Commercial Confederation. He will restore the Corn Laws and yet silence those who put down Corn Laws, by the offer of a larger field for the sale of British manufactures than they have had for decades past. He will turn the current of English emigration to the loyal territories of Manitoba, and give the loyal farmers the free entry of the English grain markets, on condition that they buy only English wares. The whole plan is one of those large, plausible and impracticable things, which have such a fascination for his Lordship's understanding.

The difficulties of the plan are simply insuperable. The opposition at home, from the theoretical free traders, would be the first.

The manufacturers would oppose it only if they thought themselves not likely to get the best of the bargain. But the theorists to whom free trade has become a sort of religion would present a solid front of opposition. Then the demand made by the plan on the colonies would be incapable of practical adjustment. The free trading colonies, like New South Wales, Queensland and the Cape, would be required to become at one jump Protectionist against every one outside the artificial congeries of dissimilar countries called the Empire, and to sunder commercial relations of a nearer kind for the sake of others remote and doubtful. The Protectionist colonies like Victoria and Canada, would have to sacrifice the beginnings of their industrial development for the sake of an open market in England for their raw materials. Every natural line of commercial intercourse would be given up for the sake of others of merely political origin. And to this change there would be no motive except the sentimental feeling of patriotism towards a country which has never sacrificed any interest for the sake of any colony.

How Canada feels towards such a plan is of some interest to us. It is certainly not the matter which is uppermost in her thinking at this present moment. She is much more concerned as to her future relations to the rest of the continent, than to the political fiction called the British Empire. Her Tariff has failed to force us into Reciprocity, and she begins to know the reason why we are not eager for such a step. It is true that a few interested traders in New York and Boston keep up some talk about it, and that a bill on the subject lies in some Washington pigeon-hole. But it is plainly to be seen that there is no general or popular enthusiasm on the subject, and that the opponents of the measure are as solid in opposition as when Mr. George Brown tried to bluster it through Congress some years ago. Even were this Democratic congress to pass it,—were the representatives of the farming states of the West fools enough thus to throw open the markets of New England to Canadian farmers, and were the President to be brought by Mr. Evarts's entreaties to sign it,—it would be terminated by the Republican majority in the next Congress at the earliest possible date provided in the Treaty. And what Canada needs is some solid and permanent settlement of her relations to us, not a temporary arrangement whose repeal would be as certain as the coming of Christmas.

Americans cannot but feel much interest in the fate and condition of Ireland. Even those who most distrust Irish influence in our politics, cannot but be concerned at the approach of a situation which will bring the Irish hither by the hundreds of thousands, as did the famine of 1846 and the following years. In the years 1846-54, one million and three-quarters of the Irish people left the island, chiefly for the United States. And although the emigration has of late comparatively ceased, a famine would revive it in still larger dimensions, because the Irish in America are now in a position to spend much more money in bringing their friends across the ocean. Not that the extension of Irish influence in our country has declined equally with the diminution of immigration. While, for various reasons, natural and artificial, the older white population of parts of our country is fast becoming sterile, no stock more fertile than the Irish has ever been transplanted to our shores. Hence the growth of Roman Catholicism and of the Democratic vote in Boston and throughout Eastern Massachusetts, which at the present rate will at no distant day be an Irish Catholic district. Whether we like it or dislike it, it seems certain that no country of Europe is to be so closely connected with us as Ireland; and every new calamity she suffers under English rule will add to the Irish element and its influence in America.

And English rule will continue to inflict calamities on Ireland, until some way is found of creating in Ireland other occupations and employments besides agriculture. So long as the Irishman must compete with his neighbors for a piece of land, in order to escape starvation, Irish rents will be oppressive, and the Irish people will be at the mercy of the minority who own the land. "The disproportion of the opportunities of employment to population," says Lord Dufferin, "has resulted in competition in the land market, only to be relieved by the application to more profitable occupations of so much of the productive energies of the nation as may be in excess of the requirements of agriculture." "Chiefly from the absence of alternative employments," says *The Spectator*, "the poorer tenants in Ireland are not free; at least half the adult population are compelled by the coercion of hunger to agree to any terms which will secure them the use of the soil." Messrs. Gladstone and Fortescue saw this, but their Irish Land Bill of 1870 attempted the solution by beginning at the wrong end; they tried

to restrict the excessive competition of the Irish land market, instead of removing the necessity for it. Messrs. Parnell and Davitt, with their associates in the present agitation, we regret to say, are going to work in the same superficial way; they are attacking the symptoms of the Irish troubles and leaving the cause untouched. The late Councillor Butt, Lord Dufferin, and some of the Irish Catholic hierarchy who have visited the continent and compared country with country, are agreed in suggesting the proper remedy.

Were the Irish Land League to succeed, they would substitute a great multitude of small holdings in place of the present estates. But they would not bestow prosperity upon the freeholders; they would at best have only alleviated the misery of the small farming class. And they would in many cases have substituted small landlords for great ones. For the ambition of the Irish peasant does not end with having land of his own. He wants to be a landlord himself. He will sublet, and re-sublet, unless forbidden, until at times there have been seven tenants and sub-tenants on a single field, each of them making some trifle of profit out of the poor wretch who came last in the line and actually did the work. Lord Dufferin, in his book on Irish Land Tenure, gives a map of a farm, and its subdivisions, which remind one of the marvellous cloaks sometimes seen on poor Irish women, where patch upon patch has completely hidden the original texture of the garment. Is an Ireland, thus patched and blotched, in testimony of the poverty and slavery of her people, the ideal Ireland which her Home-rulers and Nationalists desire?

The exact proposals of the Land League we find on closer comparison of views, are neither extravagant nor unpractical. (1.) They want the government to buy up the waste lands of Ireland, and distribute them in small allotments to freeholders, who will pay for them by instalments. (2.) They want such a law for Ireland as the English Liberals say must be passed for the protection of even English tenants,—a law requiring every landlord to give his tenant a lease for a legal term of years, and to pay him on eviction for unexhausted improvements. (3.) And they want the Bright clauses of the Irish Land Act amended so as to give every Irish tenant the same facilities for the purchase of his land, as were given to the tenants of the Irish Church lands by the Disestablishment Act.

This last proposal requires some explanation. In the Dis-

tablishment Act it was provided that any tenant on the Church lands might secure a title to his land by paying one-fourth of its appraised value at once, and paying five per cent. a year of the balance for thirty-three years to the Board of Public Works. The Government advanced this balance, borrowing it at three per cent., and recouping itself by charging five per cent. for the time specified. As a result of this law, over four-fifths of those tenants have become proprietors, and the Board of Works report that they have not had to wait a single day for any payment thus made due to them. When the Irish Land Bill was under consideration, Mr. Bright proposed that the same privileges be extended to every Irish tenant, and *the principle* was accepted. Just as every ground-rent incurred since 1852 in this city, can be commuted by the house-owner even without the consent of the original owner of the ground, so some classes of Irish tenants can get possession of their land by paying its fair value. But the Bright clauses did not extend as great facilities as did those of the Disestablishment Law. For one thing, they required the immediate payment of *one-third* the price of the land. As a consequence, these clauses have produced no result; and their failure as compared with the success of similar legislation in regard to the Church lands, has been a matter of inquiry and discussion. The Land League say that it is only necessary to equalize the facilities extended, and the results will be the same.

LEO XIII, with the best will in the world, has not succeeded in re-adjusting those relations of Church and State which his predecessor's policy did so much to disturb. Ecclesiastical traditions when once fixed, are hard to dissolve; and human obstinacy in his inferior clerical brethren, may be too much for even an infallible Pope. When a man has fought for a point for thirty years, and has worked himself up into such an excitement about it that he verily believes the continuance of God's rule in the world depends upon his carrying that point, it is not easy for him all at once to bring himself to regard it as quite a secondary matter. Even the voice of an authority which he regards as infallible will not always make it possible for him. Some may do it in a sublime spirit of self-renunciation, as Lacordaire and Montalembert renounced the doctrines of *L' Avenir* at the bidding of Gregory XVI.; but human nature was shown most clearly in their master De la Mennais, who

went out from the church rather than give the lie to what he had been asserting with all his might.

The present hierarchy of Belgium in theory approve of the conduct of Lacordaire and Montalembert; in practice they are much more like the Breton who questioned the Pope's right to demand their submission. The almost revolution by which the Liberals carried the legislature in Belgium, has reopened the school dispute in its most aggravated form. After the clergy have had control of education for many years, it is voted to despoil them of this power. That they should resist this with all their might, and use their authority, as Father Scully tried to use his in Cambridge, against those who sent their children to "godless schools," was to be expected. That the Papal court, with such a Pope as Leo XIII. at its head, should seek to prevent extreme measures of resistance, is equally natural. Leo knows Belgium; he lived there as Papal nuncio for years. He probably acquired no very flattering opinion of the clergy during his residence. He well knows the faults they have in common with the whole Belgian people—a nation that Lord Grey made out of a mob. He has not shown much respect for them in his attitude during this controversy, for some dignitaries have had to resign their sees because of their stiff-neckedness, and others have been driven to calling in question the Pope's right to pronounce upon the dispute in an informal way. In so doing, they have not, as several of our contemporaries allege, gone over to the "minimizers," who nine years ago showed so much readiness to detract from the extent of Papal infallibility. The strongest of the infallibilist theologians,—for instance Bishop Fessler the Secretary of the Vatican Council, have always limited the Pope's infallibility to decisions given *ex cathedrâ* on questions of faith and morals. What is implied in the limitation *ex cathedrâ* neither Pope nor Council have ever decided, and the theological schools are not agreed. But it is held to involve an official investigation of the point at issue by the theologians of the Papal court, and the solemn confirmation of their conclusions by the Pope. The notion that the Pope talks infallibly to the barber who shaves him every morning, is maintained by a few fanatics; but it is not the view of any respectable body of theologians.

The Pope must especially object to these Belgian explosions, in view of the delicate and difficult negotiations he is carrying on in

Germany. For Belgium is watched by the Germans with considerable jealousy. The attempted suppression of the old Flemish language, by the substitution of French, has excited angry comment among the Teutons in more than one instance; and the policy of the Church towards the Belgian school-system is taken as another Belgian straw to show which way the wind blows. If Leo can control the extremists in the Belgian hierarchy, and secure an effectual peace with the Liberals, he will have gained a great advantage in his negotiations with Bismarck. He will have shown his readiness to be reasonable in such a way as to inspire confidence.

Those who pay much attention to the course of South American politics, must have read with nearly unmixed satisfaction of the result of the war waging between Chili and her neighbor republics, Bolivia and Peru. The matter at stake, the control of the guano beds which Chilians claim to have leased, is of little importance. But the conflict between two political systems and the complete triumph of the more orderly of the two, has a significance which should not be lost to the whole continent. Chili alone, of all the South American republics, has fulfilled, in any degree, the promise of her earlier history, and the hopes felt, not by Canning alone, that by the abolition of Spanish rule in America he had "called into existence a new world to redress the inequalities of the old." She has created a steady, unshaken government on the basis of a restricted popular suffrage, has diffused popular education, has developed a popular literature, and has dispensed with both despotism and anarchy since she became independent. The country is no Utopia. She comes short of our ideal of free government in many essential respects, especially as regards religious liberty. But she has been, with Brazil, a perpetual witness to the value of stability in government and political order, in a continent in which there is great need of such witnesses. If she knows where and when to stop her career of conquest, she will have taught the West Coast Republics a much needed lesson, without endangering her own political future, or injuring the character of her people.

THE advocates of the repeal of our Navigation Laws, and of the admission of foreign-built ships to American registration, would do

well to take to heart the facts given in a pamphlet* by Mr. Henry Hall of the *Tribune*. He shows that so long as sailing vessels built of wood constituted the mercantile marine of the world, we gained rapidly on England, and were about to contest her marine supremacy as no nation had done since the middle of the last century. But with the application of steam to ocean navigation, and still more with the substitution of iron for wood, England saw her chance and seized it most promptly. She stimulated the manufacture and employment of such ships by immense bounties, till she drove our inimitable clippers off the ocean and brought the carrying trade into the hands of the British ship-owners. Even now she is paying \$3,800,000 a year in subsidies. Other governments had to follow her example if they were not to be driven from the ocean. France is now paying about \$4,800,000 a year in subsidies. Italy, Austria, and Spain have adopted the same policy; even China has not only taken the steam-coasting trade into her hands, but is contemplating a subsidized line to the Sandwich Islands, and thence to San Francisco.

America at first retaliated by the grant of subsidies. Two patriotic Southerners took the lead in the advocacy of the aggressive policy. Beginning with one steamer in 1847, we had in 1851 seven ocean steamships plying with Europe, those of the Collins Line being the largest, swiftest, and most comfortable on the ocean. In 1852, we were running five lines, and paying them nearly two million dollars, something more than England was paying a single line. In 1853, the South, led by Jefferson Davis and Judah P. Benjamin, began its opposition to the subsidizing policy. They succeeded first in stopping the increase of subsidies, then in reducing them, lastly in withdrawing them altogether in 1857, a year in which England paid \$5,300,000 in subsidies. We made a present of our foreign carrying trade to Europe. And England, with all her professions of Free Trade, has spared neither money nor pains to get possession of it. We are now paying something between \$50,000,000 and \$100,000,000 a year to foreign ship-owners. We have voted, from time to time, 183,000,000 acres of the public domain to promote the construction of railroads; but the very mention of a subsidy to a steamship line causes a shudder which is focussed in New York, but runs from the Gulf to the St. Lawrence.

* AMERICAN NAVIGATION, with some account of the Cause of its recent Decay, and of the Means by which its Prosperity may be restored. New York: D. Appleton & Company.

Mr. Hall agrees with Senator Blaine that the policy of the nation must change. We cannot afford to go on "saving at the spigot and wasting at the bung." He shows that the future of commerce is with steamships built of iron; that we have ample facilities for constructing them; that if there were no foreign subsidy system to compete with, we might easily secure the trade of this continent to our own marine. We pay \$20,000,000 a year to keep up a useless navy, but will give nothing to develop the mercantile marine which should be our chief dependence even in case of war. If our government would but relinquish the profits it now makes from the foreign mail service, and pay the ships all that is paid it for carrying letters across the ocean, that would be enough to support several lines in profitable business.

The cry for the admission of foreign-built ships to American registration is based on a delusion. The cry, of course, refers only to iron steamships; in any other class we can compete in prices with the world. But if our registration were opened, it would not make it possible to buy and sail American steamers in the face of an unfair competition. The only effects of the change of the law would be to enable the importation of old hulks, duty free, for sale as scrap iron, and the sham transfer of English vessels temporarily to our flag and our protection, in case England went to war with any power that had a navy. "It is the opinion of most observers that England would have become involved in hostilities with Russia two years ago, except for fear of depredations on her commerce, and that this fear alone restrains her now." A physician of this city was in London at the time when the news came of the building of the Russian ships on the Delaware. He says that it evidently produced a profound impression in that city, and led to a distinctly more pacific tone in the utterances of the Jingo press. Are we to be made the partners of the British Empire in any wicked war it may undertake for the perpetuation of Moslem rule and the enslavement of the Eastern Christians?

IN the recent English discussions of our Tariff, one element of our population has been regarded with especial hopefulness by the Free Traders. They say that with such an extensive agricultural population as "the States" possess, they will not always submit to a tariff imposed in the interests of the manufacturing classes. Mr.

Gladstone suggested this in his Midlothian speeches. Mr. Potter spoke of it as the only hopeful element in the American situation, when he went home. Even the American papers which agree with them in principle, repeat the statement as incapable of contradiction.

This is one more illustration of the way in which the lesser is put before the greater in economic reasoning, because the lesser is so massed as to attract more attention. Thus when people speak of American Commerce, they mean the petty percentage of it which is intercourse with other nations, and ignore the vaster and more important volume of interchange of services between our own people. And, for a like reason, they always think of the grain which crosses the ocean as the quantity of his crop the American farmer has to sell, and of the European purchasers as his chief customers. But what are the facts? Even in this exceptional year, the American farmer will not sell one-third of his grain to Europe. This year shows what can be made of the European market under the most favorable conditions. The quantity sent over salt water will be greater than ever before, and much greater than it will be again, until we have another very exceptional year of good harvests here and bad weather yonder. In an ordinary year, of all the wheat and corn that crosses the Allegheny water-shed, not one-fifth ever touches the salt water. 'And yet that one-fifth is made to look bigger than do the four-fifths which feed the people of the Eastern States. In the English this blunder is excusable. It is but natural that they should think of themselves as the chief customers of the American farmer. It is their national habit to exaggerate their importance to other people. But that their loose talk should find people to repeat it in America, is at least surprising.

These facts show where the interest of the American farmer lies. He is surely better off, the more people there are in the country who are not engaged in farming. We once put that question to an intelligent farmer, who was also an avowed Free Trader. "Well" said he, "there must be a fallacy in that somewhere, but I cannot put my finger on it." We have not yet found anyone who has been able to put his finger on that fallacy. When we do, we shall set him to hunt out the fallacies in the multiplication table.

Free Trade could only effect a great diversion of Eastern capital and population from manufactures to agriculture. It did so in 1816, in 1835-7, and in 1857, because of the reduction of duties.

It would mean the conversion of the farmer's customers into his competitors. It would mean the resumption of tillage on millions of acres of idle lands in the Atlantic States, the restoration of Pennsylvania to her former rank as the chief wheat State of the Union, and a large drift of population into the Mississippi valley in search of farms. It would mean the selling Europe her *one-fifth* at any price she chose to offer, in return for the privilege of buying English goods a trifle cheaper than they are.

THE Charity Organization Society of Philadelphia is encountering the usual run of fair and unfair criticism which attacks movements that set themselves counter to deeply rooted tendencies in society. Four papers in our city—we are sorry to specify *The North American* as one of these—have led off in this work, and have found a willing supporter in *The Tribune*, of New York. On the other hand *The World* of New York, *The Transcript* and *The Christian Register* of Boston, and *The Springfield Republican*, besides *The Times*, *The Bulletin* and *The Ledger* at home, have given the movement their support. While all the critics of the Society have had the opportunity of learning the facts at first hand, not one of them has ever visited the officers of the Society for the purpose, and several of them, especially *The Tribune*, have shown a determination to allow of no reply to their injurious criticisms.

Of course cheapness in charitable administration is the ideal of wisdom in charity held up by these critics. We are surprised to find that none of these newspapers favor that method proposed by Mr. Charles G. Ames of Boston, as the ideal of cheap administration, viz: That baskets be set down in the public squares into which all charitable people shall pour their gifts, and out of which the needy or those who hold themselves to be such shall help themselves. As Mr. Ames says, the difference between that and sixteen thousand beneficiaries to one superintendent, is only that the superintendent can insist on an equal division and no scuffling.

We hold that wise charity can hardly ever be cheaply administered. It implies thorough investigation of every case, and thorough investigation costs money. It implies refusal of aid to so large a proportion of claimants that the distribution to the remainder will compare unfavorably with the cost of administration. But

it is worth all it costs. Our soup-houses have generally been very cheaply managed; and they have done, and some of them are still doing, a frightful amount of mischief in pauperizing the poor. There is one of them at work in the ward in which the present writer resides. Last year the Ward Association offered to investigate the claims of all who applied from the ward. The application was refused. The Association followed up several cases. It showed the soup-house, for instance, that it was supplying a family who owned several carts and were doing a profitable business. But the children of that family continued their tramp to the soup-house throughout the winter. In other cases people confessed "they did not need to apply for soup, but they went for it because it was good. They might as well have it while it was to be got for asking." The soup furnished by another of these cheaply managed establishments supplies the free lunches which are furnished by some of the low saloons in the southeast of the city. At the end of the year, these two soup-houses will have what some newspapers think a good record. But an up-town soup-house, which, like the other, opened January 5th, will have a bad record, for it has begun to investigate for itself. At the end of the first day of investigation, the managers had on hand sixty of the eighty gallons of soup they had prepared as usual for opening day, and the same proportion of bread. The cost of giving out those twenty gallons will be found to be just as great as if they had dispensed eighty gallons. But which of the two will have done its duty by the city?

Of course, the expenses of the Central Office of the Society have furnished the readiest target for its cheap critics. Last year that office paid the expense of organizing twenty-four wards. It paid the expense of publications, meetings, monthly conferences, central registration, the collection of needed books and papers, and a thousand other things. It did so out of a fund contributed expressly for the purpose of making the Central Office an efficient bureau of inspection and registration, to keep the Ward Associations up to their work. It was stated as a secondary object of this fund, that poorer wards should be helped out of it and special cases cared for by means of it. Except in these two directions the Office makes no pretense of giving relief. All the demands from these two quarters were fully met. They amounted to some \$320. "Be-

hold," cry our newspaper critics, "it took thousands of dollars to pay for distributing that amount to the poor."

The Tribune when driven from its first line of attack, made no corrections of its mistatements, but called attention to the undoubted fact that of the \$29,000 contributed to the Ward Associations, \$18,000 only was expended in relief, and the rest went to the expenses of administration. The first fallacy in this statement is the assumption that a Charity Organization Society exists only to distribute the funds contributed to its own treasury. The Buffalo Society distributes nothing. Some of our wards pretty nearly follow its example. They find funds already available in the ward for the purpose, and they make use of these. The Twenty-seventh Ward, for instance,—which *The Tribune* holds up to public scorn, and in which a former member of its own staff is the most prominent director,—got control of the outdoor relief of the city and found it all but sufficient for their purpose. Their chief outlay in that ward was for registration, investigation, and office appliances. But they took ample care of all the real and needy poor of their ward at about half the cost of previous years; and the people of that ward voted at the annual meeting that the work was worth all that it had cost. In other wards exactly the same arrangement was made; in others still, such as the Fourth and Fifth, agreements for co-operation were entered into with societies, whose funds were sufficient for the relief. But our published accounts cover only the sums actually expended from the ward treasuries in relief. The other ward of the two to which the *Tribune* especially refers, was managed without a due regard to economy. Its directors began their work out of harmony with the central authorities, and incurred many needless expenses in printing their own blanks and registration-books. At the end of the first year the people of the ward made a change in the direction to correct this evil; and the accounts for the present year will tell a very different story. This was the only ward in which there was any such wastefulness.

The second fallacy is the assumption that more than \$18,000 was needed for the relief of the needy poor in the field covered by the Society, and that it was withheld from them to pay for other things. The Society *could* have both raised and laid out a far larger sum, if it had thought it wise to do so. The city has been pouring nearly three times as much every year into the yawning

gulf of professional pauperism, and doing no good but much harm. If the Society had not paid for investigation and registration, twice the sum it actually used would not have covered the *prima facie* cases of poverty and need, which would have applied to it. But while doing its duty to the city and to its constituents, it could give no more than it did. And as a consequence of its efficiency in taking care of the real poor, the city is now able to reduce its \$50,000 a year for out-door relief to the \$7,000 needed for the *medical* service. And yet there are people who think it bad policy to spend \$11,000 to effect such a saving.

The sum expended by the Ward Associations in administration is larger than the central authorities would like it to be. They have from the start suggested methods for its reduction by the union of adjacent wards in one office, with a common superintendent. In this they have had some success, as there is one such union and others are contemplated. But in most localities those authorities are met by the answer that the cost is not excessive,—that each ward of the city is itself a small city with from twenty to thirty thousand inhabitants, and that the employment of one official to look after the poor of such a district is a reasonable outlay.

A ward of Philadelphia contains on an average over a dozen churches and as many public schools, maintained at the cost of the salaries of pastors, sextons and teachers. Is it quite unreasonable to propose that it support a single office and a single superintendent to look after its poor?

The personal side of the work, discussed elsewhere in this magazine by Mrs. Lesley, it should never be forgotten, is the greater of the two. The Society has over four hundred business men, lawyers, doctors and clergymen engaged in the Ward Boards of Directors, studying the best methods of helping the poor without hurting them. And it has over a thousand of the best women of Philadelphia engaged in visiting the poor, bringing all good social influences to bear upon them, to lift them out of thriftless, shiftless, and hopeless ways of living, and to make them useful and independent members of society.

SPIRITUALISM IN GERMANY.

THE group of grotesque but puzzling phenomena which the nineteenth century agrees to call Spiritualism, has at last managed to secure the attention of some of those who profess to approach all phenomena in a spirit of impartiality,—the representatives of the exact sciences. It is true that Dr. Hare, the eminent chemist, risked his reputation for sanity by his ardent adoption of the ordinary theories as to the nature and the cause of these phenomena; but he acted in the spirit of a disciple, not of a pure investigator. The inventor of the blowpipe did nothing to give us the assurance that these spiritual manifestations had been subjected to any such tests as he would have applied in the case of a new chemical theory. Of very different significance is the attention recently paid to the subject by scientific men of varied eminence in England and in Germany. These gentlemen have set themselves to inquire, in a scientific spirit, whether there is anything but jugglery and deceit in Spiritualism, and to subject the phenomena to such scientific tests as they seem capable of.

It is undeniable that scientific men, in general, have shrunk from such investigations to an extent which, on general grounds, we might pronounce inconsistent with their duty to the public. With phenomena which confine themselves to the sphere of mind and will, they may very properly busy themselves just as much or as little as they choose. But in this instance *physical* effects are produced by means alleged to be altogether insufficient, or even in the absence of means. A very large body of persons, many of them worthy of confidence, declare their conviction of the truth of these effects. A belief as to their possibility is widely diffused, and is but slightly shaken by the detection of fraud in the conduct of *some* of those who profess to act as the media of their production. It might fairly be expected that our scientific men would show public spirit enough to take up this question, to confirm or to refute these statements. It would seem as much within their sphere even as Mr. Lockyer's experiments with the spectroscope, or Prof. Coilletet's exploit in the freezing of oxygen. They do take interest enough in it to entertain very decided and unfavorable opinions in regard to the whole pretensions of the spiritualists.

But the latter are able to challenge their opponents for the production of evidence that their alleged facts of experience have ever been fairly and candidly investigated by any of those who pronounce sweeping judgments upon them. It is true that Prof. Tyndall and some others have professed to satisfy themselves, in a quarter of an hour, that Spiritualism is a tissue of impostures. We think it quite likely that they have discovered imposture in individual pretenders to the power of mediumship. But they have not undertaken any such investigation of the matter as they would have made of an alleged group of tangible facts, more ordinary in their nature, and confirmed by an equal amount of testimony. They have dealt with it casually and lightly, without realizing how important to society at large their negative or confirmatory testimony might be.

This reluctance to investigate Spiritualism is not unnatural. It is one of the many instances of what we might call the *grooviness* of the human mind,—its disposition to keep in beaten tracks and to shun contact with ideas which are alien to those with which it is habitually conversant. We have all felt it, more or less, in ourselves. The indisposition to read a newspaper which represents a political party or a religious body with which we are out of sympathy, is one of the simplest instances. But scientific men are impartial investigators by *profession*, whatever their *practice* may be; it is their business to get at the meaning of facts without reference to prepossessions of any kind. However, "there is a good deal of human nature" in even scientific men, and they are as liable to distortions of judgment, through secret preferences, as are any other class of persons. This may seem a bold thing to say in this age of the world. Every age has its infallibilities, to save it the trouble of thinking for itself. One age has a Council, another a Pope, another a Confession of Faith, another an Encyclopedia. Our age depends upon its Herbert Spencers, its Huxleys and its Tyndalls to fill this important *rôle*; and it is apt to feel toward those who impugn their authority as might a good Catholic towards a critic of the Holy See.

Scientific men are repelled from the investigation of Spiritualism by the complete antithesis of all its ideas to those of natural science. The first assumption of merely natural science is the uniformity of natural operations. Associated with this is the conviction

that the universe is a complex of definite forces, whose number and quantity are alike incapable of increase. To give up either of these two assumptions, to admit that there are operations for which the natural forces cannot account, or that other forces than these may prove to be at work in a tangible way, is to destroy that conception of the universe which is characteristic of the sciences of nature, and to degrade science to the rank of a fragmentary expositor of parts instead of the great whole. It is true that both these assumptions are already impugned by the moralist and the theologian. The former in asserting the freedom of the human will, the latter in maintaining the possibility and reality of miracle, place themselves in sharp antagonism to these primary assumptions of natural science.* For each, however, the scientific man has his answer—satisfactory to himself, at least. The moralist and the theologian are embarrassed in the controversy by the difficulty of presenting the facts on which they rest their case in a concrete shape which is open to no cavil. The freedom of the will is chiefly proved by intuitions, whose evidence may be of universal validity, but which are probably very feeble in the minds of those who have busied themselves exclusively with the concatenation of natural causes and effects. The possibility of miracle, including all answers to prayer, cannot be shown by any experiment, such as the man of science demands in evidence. One cannot get up a miracle for his satisfaction any more than the astronomer could repeat the eclipse for the ladies who came too late to see it. And those who hold themselves free from the obligation to investigate any truth unless it presents itself in laboratory shape, may also hold that they are not obliged to believe in either free will or miracle.

The Spiritualist, however, seems to meet the scientific man on

* In the last analysis it will be found that the moralist and the theologian are fighting for exactly the same principle, viz.: That there exists that which is *spirit*, because *free*—a principle which natural science cannot accept without giving up its false assumption that it can furnish an adequate account of the universe, or, in other words, its assumption that *nature* and *universe* are coextensive terms. For even miracle is no more than the exercise of the divine free will in restoring order to a disordered world. It is not a suspension of order, but the breaking through (*durchbruch*) of the divine order into the world's disorder. At least this is the Christian conception of miracle, as illustrated by the events of the Gospel; for the monkish notion of it we do not hold ourselves responsible.

his own ground,—to put the evidences of spiritual existence into a shape in which even the tests of the laboratory can be applied to them. He presents tangible facts, such as can be made the subject of exact observation by the senses. He challenges the world to come and look into these facts; and the scientific world turns its back upon both him and his facts! Even those who do not attach any great value to the evidential force of these facts, and who do not accept the Spiritualist's own explanation of them, cannot but feel that this shrinking from investigation is exceedingly significant. It discloses a habit of mind the reverse of impartial,—a habit of mind which has unfitted scientific men in general for weighing the evidence for *any* group of facts outside of the ordinary routine of scientific inquiry.

Still more forcible does this inference become when this attitude is retained, even after a few scientific men have ventured upon the investigation, and have declared their conviction that the facts are as had been reported. When naturalists like Wallace and Max Perty, chemists like Crookes and Hare, a physiologist like Weber, physicists like Varley, Zoellner and Fechner, mathematicians like De Morgan and Scheibner, to say nothing of metaphysicians like J. H. Fichte and Ulrici, unite in declaring that there is something in Spiritualism, the case for investigation becomes much more urgent than when the witnesses on that side were such as Andrew Jackson Davis, Emma Hardinge, and Messrs. Home and Slade. If the evidence of those ten men of science does not create a presumptive case in its favor, it does much more than justify a claim for a full hearing before the scientific world; and nothing but an unscientific and unfair prepossession can now prevent that hearing.

These thoughts have been suggested by a series of publications in regard to Spiritualism, which have recently appeared in Germany, and which have attracted much attention in scientific and philosophical circles. The first of these is *Modern Spiritualism: its Value and its Delusions*,* by the venerable philosopher J. H. Fichte, who has died since its publication. The subject is one which Prof. Fichte must have found in the line of his own philosophical investigations. He first appeared before the public forty years ago, as the leader of the great revolt against Hegel's philosophical dic-

* DER NEUERE SPIRITUALISMUS, sein Werth und seine Täuschungen. Ein anthropologische Studie. Leipzig: 1878.

tatorship. That revolt was much associated with the discovery that the Hegelian philosophy had no room for the doctrine of a future life in its elaborate fabric; and years before Strauss divided its ranks on the question of its relation to Christianity, Ludwig Feuerbach (1831), Friedrich Richter of Madgeburg (1833), began the work of dissolution, by showing that a consistent Hegelian could not believe in immortality. To this question, thus early impressed upon his attention, the younger Fichte devoted much of his most earnest thought. To him Philosophy is the study of man's relation to the universe, and not to this planet of it only. In his view, the belief in an endless life must precede the capacity for self-sacrifice and for the higher civilization. In his previous discussions of this great question, he shrank from the examination of no evidence that had ever been alleged in proof of the immateriality and deathlessness of the soul, and discussed such subjects as ecstasy, clairvoyance, pre-existence, and ghost-seeing, with a candid avowal of his readiness to accept any well authenticated fact. As to the possibility of the re-appearance of spirits from another world, he always maintained that attitude of mental openness and indecision which characterized Lessing, Kant and Schopenhauer, holding that the decidedly negative belief of the educated world was no better than a prejudice, and found ample contradiction in the family traditions of every land, and in beliefs which are as old as the history of the world.

Prof. Fichte had the opportunity of seeing the exercise of spiritualistic power by two wealthy adherents of the doctrine, a brother and sister named Von Guldenstube, who are well known to the adherents of the new faith in both France and Germany. Without dwelling upon details* we may say that he was fully con-

* On one point Herr Fichte has been very grossly misled by his American authorities. We mean as to the number of Spiritualists in America. He speaks of three hundred circles being formed in Philadelphia alone, even in the earlier years of the movement, and of the adherence of several millions, chiefly of educated Americans (eight millions in 1870, eleven millions in 1879,) who are Spiritualists. We do not believe there was any such number of circles in Philadelphia; there is certainly not one tenth of that number now. In the first days of the excitement, nearly everybody tried table moving and rapping without any serious purpose, but as the novelty wore off they ceased to give it any attention. As for the *eleven millions* of Americans who believe in Spiritualism, they exist only in the excited imagination of Spiritualist authors. There are no trustworthy statistics on the subject obtainable, and nothing but loose estimates can be had from the Spiritualists themselves. In such cases sectarian statistics are

vinced that while the uncontrolled phantasies of the mediums and their friends have involved the facts of the case in a multitude of delusions, yet there is a kernel of fact and value underlying these. He draws three inferences from the phenomena; (1) the perpetuity and continuity of human life beyond death; (2) the reality of a personal intercourse between the dead and the living; (3) the solidarity of all spiritual existences throughout the universe, and the gradual elevation of all spiritual existences from plane to plane into unity and likeness to the Primal Spirit. The first inference he regards as the extension of Leibnitz's great law, *nil per saltum*, to the future life,—an application, we may remark, already insisted upon by Swedenborg and by many orthodox writers. The second he confirms by the all but universal belief of mankind, insisting that Spiritualism has merely made the discovery that there are persons through whom this communication is more easily made than through others. Upon the third he lays much stress, and yet concedes that it is the least certain of the three; for it rests on statements made by the spirits themselves, and he believes that they are both liable to ignorance and capable of wilful deception. To this deception he ascribes the bad poetry which the spirits ascribe to the great poets, and the generally wishy-washy character of the "revelations" which are sent us from the other world.

The second work is that of Prof. Zöllner of Leipzig. This gentleman has discontinued the publication of his essays in the periodicals devoted to physics, and begun the issue of a series of *Scientific Discussions*, of which two volumes have appeared. He is something of an Ishmaelite in science. He reminds his readers of Lichtenberg's saying:—"When a book and a head come into collision, and a hollow sound is produced, is it always the book's fault?" Taking his stand on the philosophy of Plato and Kant, he speaks his mind with great candor as to the dominant materialist tendencies in German natural science.

In the second part of his second volume, pages 313-395 are always exaggerated. But judging from the indirect evidence, such as the quantity of books and periodical literature, the number gathered to their camp-meetings and other assemblies, we should estimate the number of American Spiritualists at about *one hundred thousand*, chiefly of the half or quarter educated classes. If eleven millions of Americans, especially of the educated class, held their doctrines, it would have been simply impossible to have expelled the superintendent of public schools in New York, almost without opposition, because he had embraced those doctrines.

devoted to a discussion of " Doctor " Henry Slade's achievements as a spiritualist medium, during a visit to Leipzig, and further illustrated by several plates at the end of the book. Mr. Slade's visit to Leipzig was very soon after the exhibition of his peculiar power in London, and the charge brought against him by Prof. Ray Lancaster that he had detected him in writing on a slate in the ordinary way the messages supposed to be indited by spirit hands. The prosecution which followed broke down on technical grounds; and the unfair spirit displayed by Prof. Lancaster in his letter, including his confession that, before getting an evidence of deception on Slade's part he had practiced deception in order to put Slade off his guard, deprived his testimony of convincing power, while it suggested new precautions against any such deception as was suggested. Under these circumstances, Prof. Zöllner invited Mr. Slade from Berlin to Leipzig, and subjected his pretensions to a series of tests, which were applied in the presence of various members of the University faculties. To specify a few of the resultant phenomena—

1. A magnetic needle was made to deflect through an arc of from forty to sixty degrees by Mr. Slade's proximity, without his coming into contact with it. We are not told that he had been searched to ascertain whether or not he had a magnet on his person.

2. A nail selected by Prof. Zöllner, from a number furnished by Prof. Weber, and found free from magnetic character, was strongly magnetized at one end by Slade's holding it some four minutes under the table on a slate, while one of his hands rested on the table.

3. Various messages were written on slates and with slate pencils, both furnished by the Professors, and held in positions which made deception, in their opinion, impossible. Sometimes Slade held the slate, as in London, under the table. In others it was held above the table, and even in one instance above the head of one of the Professors. Especial precautions were taken to prevent the trick charged by Prof. Ray Lancaster, viz. the writing the message in the ordinary way before the slate was brought into position.

4. After the ends of a hempen string had been tied together and sealed, close to the knot, on a piece of paper, the paper was hung around Prof. Zöllner's neck, but with the seal full in view, and Slade was watched to see that he did not touch it. In this position a loop-knot was tied loosely on the string. This was repeated with long strips of soft leather.

5. A heavy bedstead situated fully four feet from where Slade sat, was moved out from the wall; and

6. A china vessel filled with flour was placed under the table, together with a piece of blackened paper. Upon the latter, while both were invisible, the impression was made of a human foot which had been dipped in the flour. The foot was too small to be Slade's, and of a shape which indicated cramping in a tight shoe, while Slade's feet had been covered all the while, and on immediate examination were found free from traces of flour.

These are but a few of the experiments recorded, but they are the most characteristic and striking. In attempting to account for them, Prof. Zöllner accepts a suggestion from his friend Prof. Scheibner the mathematician, who was present at many of these experiments, and was convinced that they gave evidence of something extraordinary at work. It is an opinion of some of our speculative mathematicians that space as known to us and as limited to three dimensions,—length, breadth and height,—is not the only possible or conceivable sort of space, but that there may be spaces of four, five or even an indefinite number of dimensions. Supposing that space of four dimensions exists, they think it would be possible to effect many things in such space,—the tying of loops on an endless string, for instance,—which are not possible in space of three dimensions. And beings whose proper habitat is in this four-dimensioned space, might be able to make themselves tangible or intangible, visible or invisible, at pleasure to those who, like ourselves, are confined to this gross, three-dimensioned world. For, to state the case conversely, if we conceive of our possible relation to beings which exist in space of only two dimensions, that is surface space only, we shall find that it would be easy for us to vanish from the perceptions of such *less* gifted beings into our third dimension, either above or below their mere surface space. And a similar use might be made of their additional dimension by the beings *more* gifted than ourselves. These more gifted beings, these inhabitants of four-dimensioned space, Professors Scheibner and Zöllner identify with the spirits who produce the phenomena of Spiritualism. But they regard this view as no more than a hypothesis, and Zöllner, who is not destitute of the irony of his master Plato, seems at times to be jesting with his hypothesis.

Zöllner's publication of his experiments naturally excited a good

deal of attention in Germany. The venerable Dr. Hermann Ulrici, Professor of Philosophy at Halle, took up the subject in an article which he reprinted as a pamphlet—“*Spiritism*”, a *Scientific Problem*.* He claims that Zöllner has at last raised it to this dignity, and that no master of natural or philosophical science can now afford to ignore it, and that the higher his eminence the more urgent its claim on his attention. Professor Fichte's work he hails as a good beginning of the investigation from the philosophical side. For himself he proposes to do no more than emphasize the position taken in the title of his pamphlet, and will not, like Fichte, assume that the phenomena are produced by spirits, as commonly supposed. That he will leave an open question. He proceeds to rehearse the experiments made by Zöllner with Slade, to which he gives full credence, maintaining that in the presence of such testimony the facts can only be doubted by those who hold the material and mechanical view of nature, with which these facts will not harmonize. He proceeds with a discussion of the meaning of the phenomena. Zöllner's hypothesis, that these are the inhabitants of a four-dimensioned space, he rejects on the ground that such a space is unthinkable, and that space itself is, as Kant has proven, not an objective reality but a form of thought. For himself, he does not claim to have found an explanation, in the ordinary sense of that word. As regards the ordinary explanation, he raises the previous question: “What do you mean by ‘spirits’?” For the phenomena with which we are concerned—with the exceptions of very insignificant “messages”, are not spiritual but physical phenomena. Physical force is required for their performance, and even if Mr. Crooke be right in maintaining that the gravity of bodies is diminished in these experiments, yet as it is not abolished the necessity for physical energy remains. Prof. Ulrici first suggests that this energy may be that of the Medium himself, and that he differs from ordinary men in being able to set in operation those more subtle but irresistible forces of the electro-magnetic order, of whose nature we still know so little. He thinks that even the appearance and disappearance of bodies might be thus explained; for the electro-magnetic forces seem especially related to the atomic structure of bodies; and just as electricity can cause water to vanish from our sight by converting it into two gases, so these forces

* *Der sogenannte Spiritismus. Eine wissenschaftliche Frage. Halle, 1879.*

might so affect the relation of the atoms in other substances as to make them alternately palpable and impalpable. And yet Prof. Ulrici does not make his stand on this ingenious hypothesis. He cannot reconcile it with some of the points in the Zöllner-Slade experiments. For he notes that in some cases, what occurred did so apart from the will and intentions of Slade. In more numerous instances he could not tell whether what was proposed could be done, and was as much astonished and delighted at the result as were Zöllner and his friends. And yet in these very cases the evidence of an intelligence at work was unmistakable. And some of the proceedings, such as the writing messages in German, French and Russian, while he speaks only English, Prof. Ulrici regards as beyond Slade's power. "We cannot therefore", he concludes, "very well help acceding to the generally received hypothesis of the spirit origin of the phenomena in question." Of this he asserts no more than a strong probability. But these "spirits" are not incorporeal; they must possess a higher corporeality than we have, and yet not unlike our own, as is evident from the vision of hands and limbs. He is puzzled by the fact that in Germany they exhibit only detached limbs, while in America it is reported that the materialization extends to whole bodies. Equally puzzling he admits is the character of the messages transmitted to us from "the spirit world". Philosophic Germany is favored with only insignificant and trifling remarks, while in America a whole spirit philosophy has been revealed by talkative spirits. This revelation he discredits as the product of mediumistic fancy, while he thinks the German messages normal. He suggests (1) that these spirits have not learnt a great deal about theoretical matters as yet, although they have already acquired a practical control of natural forces which is more than human; and (2) that what they have learnt, they are not able to express in our form of thought and of speech.

Finally, he suggests that a providential purpose lies behind the appearance of Spiritualism at this period of the world's history. Our civilization and our progress are threatened by the predominance of materialistic views and tendencies, and the consequent indifference towards whatever is supersensual and ideal. We are falling into a self-seeking, a love of pleasure, a covetousness, which must result in coarseness and savagery if unchecked. Once before, towards the end of the Roman Empire, the world seemed to be running the

same course; but young and vigorous nationalities were brought upon the scene out of the forests of Germany, to supplant effete and sensualized races. But there are now no such resources to fall back upon, and our civilization must be saved from within. In the proof of the spirit's immortality, which Spiritualism furnishes—a proof, not a demonstration,—he sees and welcomes a check to the evil drift of the age. If Spiritualism can revive and strengthen that belief in the minds of those for whom the Christian evidences of it have lost their force, it will thereby restore to the modern world one of the great pillars of faith in a moral government of the world by God, and in the moral vocation of man.

In a note to his pamphlet, Prof. Ulrich calls attention to the fact that several Leipzig Professors, who had been present at some of Slade's sittings, had as yet expressed no opinion in regard to what they saw and heard there; and he expressed the hope that they would state their inferences, whether favorable or unfavorable. Among others, he mentioned Prof. W. Wundt, like himself, a Professor of Philosophy, and widely known in Germany as a man of ability in his own department. This challenge led Prof. Wundt to break his silence in a pamphlet: *Spiritism "a Scientific Question." An open Letter to Prof. Ulrich in Halle,** which further elicited a reply from Ulrich in, *Concerning Spiritism as a Scientific Question. A Reply to the open Letter of Prof. Wundt.†* Wundt's answer is a strong one on secondary points, but very weak in the main line of his argument, which is to show that on general grounds the untruth of the alleged effects may be assumed. He pleads that the universal validity of the law of causation is the very first assumption of natural science. But the very significance of the spiritualistic phenomena is owing to the supposed suspension of this law, and the production of effects without any natural cause. For this reason he regards them as under the gravest suspicion of fraud, and declines to accept the account given of them by Prof. Zöllner as he would an observation of the same Professor in regard to any ordinary fact of Physics. For in this matter Prof. Zöllner is not an expert—not an authority. What Wundt himself saw of the phenom-

* *Der Spiritismus. Ein sogenannte Wissenschaftliche Frage. Offener Brief an Herrn Prof. Dr. Hermann Ulrich in Halle. Leipzig, 1879.*

† *Über den Spiritismus als Wissenschaftliche Frage. Antwortschreiben an den offenen Brief des Herrn, Professor Dr. W. Wundt, Halle, 1879.*

ena he cannot explain; but none of the more remarkable occurred in his presence or in that of any other unbeliever. What he did see,—chiefly slate-writing and the sudden jerking upward of the table,—as well as what he read about them, reminded him at every step of the tricks of a conjurer. And not a professor of physics, but a conjurer, who is also a man of science, would be competent to pronounce upon these appearances. He admits that Signor Bellachini, the Court conjurer of Berlin, has pronounced them incapable of reproduction by sleight of hand; but a young man of science in that city,* who was an amateur in conjuring, had imitated some and pronounced the rest capable of imitation. Prof. Wundt very properly insists that so long as the mediums and their spirits insist upon the usual conditions for these experiments they cannot expect scientific men to satisfy themselves as to the truth or falsehood of their claims. Where the spectators have to sit around a table with their hands on it, and no one is allowed to stand outside the circle, or to use his hands freely during an experiment, the scientific conditions of observation are not complied with. It is like observing a magnet through a keyhole, or an eclipse through a cellar window. As things now go on in Spiritualist sittings, the medium is the experimenter and the rest are spectators, who may suggest what is to be tried, but never make the trial. This objection has great force and should lead to the acceptance of scientific conditions on the part of the mediums, if they wish to be tested by scientific tests. If we mistake not, Mr. Home did accept those conditions in the investigations made by Messrs. Crookes and Wallace in London. A machine invented by themselves was brought into-requisition, to test the question whether the gravity of a body was affected by spiritualistic influences. But we remember no other instance in which the test submitted to was satisfactory.

In the second part of his pamphlet, Prof. Wundt discusses the explanations given of the phenomena, supposing them to be genuine. He agrees with Prof. Ulrici in rejecting the hypothesis that they are the product of purely natural forces. He does not even

* Dr. Christiani, the gentleman referred to, has been challenged to do the things he was said to claim the power to perform—to imitate Slade's slate-writing, tying loops on endless strings, etc.;—but in his reply he confines himself to safe generalities as to the difference between conjuring and scientific experiment. There seem to be nothing but assertions in this quarter.

allude to that of a special and unusual exercise of power by the medium. He thinks there is no difference between Zöllner's hypothesis of a four-dimensioned space inhabited by intelligent beings, and Ulrici's assumption that they are spirits, or rather, since they are not bodiless, ghosts. He thinks the former a happy mathematical expression for what people call ghosts. If he held, with Ulrici, that it is dead people that are making all this disturbance, he would use the mathematical expression.

He then proceeds to discuss this last hypothesis in a half-sarcastic, half-serious way. From the legs and arms visible under or around the table at Leipzig, he thinks it an easy transition to the entire bodies shown in American dark circles; the one implies the other. But he is disturbed by the report of the impression of a foot made on a flour-besprinkled board—a foot distorted from its natural shape by tight foot-gear. Maybe the injury was done in this life and carried into the other; but what if hard-hearted cobblers, even in the other world, continue their attempts to improve on the anatomical structure of our feet? On the former supposition, he suggests that experts might have been called in to decide to what country and to what age of the world we might trace the shoe capable of effecting this particular distortion.

As to Prof. Ulrici's suggestion that these phenomena are providentially permitted to meet a special want of our own age, he reminds the professor that similar phenomena have occurred in all ages, and in very different stages of civilization. The closest analogy to Spiritualism he finds in the Shamanism of northern Asia, whose priests or Shamans are invested with mediumistic powers, and effect results which resemble the Spiritualistic phenomena down to their very details. Next to this he places the witchcraft of Christian Europe, during the thirteenth century and onwards. The witches seem to have, however, the peculiarities of both mediums and spirits; and no one who believes in the reality of Spiritualistic phenomena has any right to reject the stories about witchcraft as a superstition. In some points the resemblance is very close, and it is the recorded testimony of several persons of judicial rank that witches on trial were found to weigh sometimes *half an ounce*, sometimes nothing. If we accept the phenomena of Spiritualism as real, our whole view of those occurrences is altered.

As to the assurance which Prof. Ulrici derives from the phenomena, concerning the reality of a life beyond the grave, Prof. Wundt thinks its value depends upon the character of the life thus disclosed to us. Prof. Ulrici admits that we find no signs of any great progress in those spirits of the dead, who are supposed to speak to us in these messages. Prof. Wundt thinks there are shocking signs of their retrogression. (1) Physically the souls of our deceased friends seem to have fallen into slavery to a limited number of persons, chiefly of American nationality, who command them to undertake certain mechanical exploits, whose common character is that of utter uselessness. (2) Intellectually, to judge from the slate messages, their condition is lamentable, being that of imbecility. (3) Morally they seem to make the best exhibit, being at any rate utterly inoffensive, a fact which suggests still better things. [Herr Prof. Wundt does not push his advantage, for lying is not harmless, and it is admitted by Prof. Fichte, at least, that many of the "spirits" are abominable liars, passing themselves off as Shakespeare, Byron, etc., and retailing bad poetry in their names.]

Prof. Wundt concludes with a discussion of the relation of Philosophy to Spiritualism. He thinks it possible that the respect due to Philosophy may be withheld, when one of its respected representatives, who has treated nearly all its themes, but has been especially occupied with logical studies, is seen to cast overboard all the principles of scientific research, to find in the revelations of spirit-rappers the means to a better insight into the order of the universe. It is permitted to specialists to be one-sided; but what will be said of Philosophy when she surrenders those universal principles of knowledge, which it is her duty to enforce upon the separate sciences? Still worse were it if these views obtained any general currency among scientific men, and they were tempted to throw aside the patience of scientific research, and go to ask oracles of the spirits in regard to scientific problems. Even this, however, would be compensated for, if the moral and religious elevation of the race, which Ulrici expects from Spiritualism, were to be attained. But all experience shows that religion has grown purer and more ethical, just in proportion as the sensualization of spiritual things has been got rid of. Next to shallow unbelief, superstition has always been the worst enemy of morality. Nor are these new beliefs to be distinguished *in this regard* from the mis-

chievous superstitions of the past, by any pretended or real genuineness of the phenomena on which they rest. The moral savagery produced by the superstition of witchcraft, would have been just the same if there had been real witches. It is not whether people believe, but the character of the objects in which they believe, which is the main thing. And a faith in Spiritualism would be morally mischievous to mankind. Not only would it discourage earnest scientific investigation, but it would cherish unworthy notions of the state of the spirit after death, such as are found among the rudest savages. Worst of all, he thinks, is its caricature of the moral order of the universe, in the elevation of men of at least extremely ordinary powers of mind and heart, to the dignity of possessing supernatural power, and acting as the instruments of Providence. In these points, and above all, in its "materialization" of "spirits," it betrays a grossly materialistic tendency, of which most of the German Spiritualists display no consciousness. They are, however, only the lamentable victims of foreign Schamans, who have transplanted to Europe the Animism which has not yet disappeared from America. Nothing so surprises Prof. Wundt as that Prof. Ulrici should have seen in Spiritualism an antagonist to materialism. He, on the contrary, sees in it a sign of the materialism and civilized barbarism of our age. The most ancient form of materialism is not that which denies spirit, but that which materializes it. It is this which reigns in the primitive superstitions of barbarous people, and it is this which Spiritualism has revived.

In Prof. Ulrici's reply to Prof. Wundt, he occupies himself chiefly with the general question as to the universality of the principle of causality in nature. He shows that science knows, by its observation of nature, nothing about causation. It has therefore no right to refuse its attention to any group of phenomena on the ground that they contradict a known principle of the uniform and regular operation of natural causes. From this he passes into metaphysical discussion, into which we need not follow him, as we find him at the close claiming that the spiritualistic phenomena do not set aside, but merely modify, the action of natural laws, just as do the free volitions of ordinary human beings.

After some natural replies to Prof. Wundt's objections to the competence of the authorities appealed to, he replies to Wundt's

charge of imbecility in the spirits, that acts useless in themselves, may have both use and meaning in a special connection. As to the parallel drawn between these phenomena and others of past ages, it is true that the belief in spirits who meddle with human affairs, sometimes beneficently and sometimes mischievously, is a very old one, perhaps as old as the human race. But hitherto it has always been assumed that this belief, whether in good and bad demons, or in the immortality of the human soul, was traceable partly to our natural love of life and the consequent desire for an existence extending beyond death, and partly to the fact that in the first beginnings of human culture, extraordinary occurrences induced men to explain them, not as they did the usual oft-repeated and permanent phenomena of nature, viz., by the forces of nature personified as gods, but because of their departure from the general course of nature, by the interference of isolated peculiar powers, whom they personified in the same way. Shamanism, i. e., the appearance of individuals who pretended or perhaps believed, that they had the power to banish these spirits, and to direct their actions and their omissions, and who used their supposed power to obtain for themselves respect, influence and dominion, has hitherto been traced to the natural selfishness of mankind, and its ramifications, ambition and the love of rule. How far they employed natural resources unknown to other people, we cannot say. But none of those who have made it their business to study the history of civilization, have ever been struck by the resemblance of Shamanism to Spiritualism, and it remains to be proved that their achievements, even in their details, resemble those of the spirits acting through the mediums. If so, it would prove, on Prof. Wundt's assumption, that in sleight of hand these Shamans far surpass our professed conjurers. For the same reason, he rejects the parallel with witchcraft, as he cannot suppose that such multitudes of old and ignorant women could have attained such expertness in sleight of hand. He further insists on the difference between the confessed harmlessness of the "spirits," and the professional mischief-making of those who dabbled in the "black art," and also on the diabolism of the older belief. In conclusion, he distinctly repudiates any disposition to depend on the utterances of the "spirits" for the discovery of new truth in either science or philosophy. It is not the contents of their messages, but the fact

that such messages have come, which seems to him significant. From Spiritualism we derive no help to farther insight into the order of the universe; and he has said nothing which, by a fair construction, could encourage either young or old to abandon scientific research, and betake themselves to table-rapping.

Such is the pith of the discussion between these eminent Germans on a topic which has been more abundantly discussed in America than in Germany. With us, however, the chief antagonists of Spiritualism have been those who had the least of real interest in it, and who only abandoned their own safe and legitimate position in touching the matter at all. We mean the theologians. To one who believes that the spiritual world is in actual and living contact with this human world, not in the persons of a few specially endowed mediums, but in the heart of every child of Adam, mediumship can be of little importance. To one who holds that the Spirit of God speaks to the spirits of men with inspirations more precious and helpful than would be any revelations to our curiosity concerning the future world, there is slight reason for running after table-rapping or any other deviltry. To one who holds that we are in fellowship with all faithful and just spirits, living and dead, through communion with the Father of our spirits, it is of no importance whether lesser beings, of whatever character, have spoken back to us out of their limited knowledge and imperfect understanding. Even if Spiritualism be all that its champions claim for it, it has no importance for any one who holds the Christian faith, either scientifically as a theologian, or with simple belief as a Christian. In one of the few readable poems by P. J. Bailey (author of *Festus*), there is the account of a little girl who is carried off into Fairyland, lives an age amidst its glammers without losing her youth, and narrates on a high day of feasting her exploits in fighting the enemies of the fairies:—

How with hosts of fire she fought, and how the first of foes she quelled;

How, she said, in God she trusted; at that word the banquet ceased;
Shrieked and banished all the faërie, save the king who bade feast.

Silent sat the maid and monarch many a moment, till, quoth he,
“ Knowest thou not, unhappy child, the woe thou hast wrought in faërie ?

Knowest thou not that by that name which elfin tongue hath never passed,
Whenso uttered, we are scattered, dust-like by the tempest's blast.”

And so it is with this new land of unrealities. The name of God is the name which scatters all that dwell there. He who

heartily believes in God, as a God at hand and not afar off, has no concern with its dwellers. "And when they shall say unto you, 'Seek unto them that have familiar spirits, and unto wizards that peep and mutter;' Should not a people seek unto their God? Should the living seek the dead?"

The attention which Spiritualism has received from Christian theologians and believers is the outcome of unfaithfulness to their own position; and they have been unfaithful because they have been narrow-minded. Instead of teaching that the spirit of God is given to every man to profit withal (1 Cor. xii, 7), and that the worst men are simply those who most resist Him (Acts vii, 7), they have taught that He imparted Himself to a few prepared and gracious hearts, in which He made His presence felt by subtle and strange influences. Out of this denial of half the Bible teaching has come a doubt of the other half; and out of the doubt the tampering with notions and the condescension to discussions with which no Christian believer has any business.

Not but that Spiritualism has great significance for theologians. It shows that the human heart forever yearns after some real contact with the unseen world, a contact not of notions and opinions, but of personal relations. It shows that the scepticism of this age, as of every age, is sowing the seed of superstitions innumerable, and that those who have not found God speaking in their hearts, will yearn and hanker after any voice that may promise to break the dreadful, oppressive silence which reigns for them between the life that now is and that which is to come. It is the cry of a soul in the darkness, inarticulate and unreasoning, but it moans in His ear, be sure, "My soul thirsteth for God, for the living God." That in the midst of this busy, money-getting, materialistic age such a belief could have sprung up, that it should have attracted the attention and commanded the assent of hundreds of thousands of plain people, that it should at last have forced men of science to listen to its claims, is a world of comment upon the tendencies of the times. It is one more illustration of Novalis' profound saying,— "Where the gods are not, the ghosts bear rule."

For the mere man of science, for the man who holds that nature and the universe are co-extensive terms, that natural science

furnishes the only organ for a correct estimate of the universe, these phenomena have far greater significance than they can have for the theologian, and far more claim upon his attention. He has banished spirit out of the universe. He has resolved even the inward powers and affections of man into the necessary operation of natural causes. He has resolved all morality into obedience to natural laws, and all responsibility into exposure to the consequences of those laws. But here are facts which challenge his theories, and present evidence of spiritual existence of a sort which he can test for himself. It is nothing but suicidal for him to refuse to investigate them. In so doing he casts legitimate doubt upon the tenability of every position he at present occupies. He has undertaken the responsibility of this investigation, and of many another besides, in claiming that from scientific facts and by scientific methods he can form an adequate theory of the universe,—a philosophy in fact. He cannot say, as the theologian can, and as Prof. Huxley tries to say,—“Supposing these phenomena to be genuine, they have no interest for me.” They may be altogether genuine, without having any claim to the theologian’s attention; there cannot be even a weak probability of their truth that does not involve a challenge of all the leading assumptions of materialized science.

Let us not be supposed to expect from the scientific investigation of Spiritualism, any such conclusions as Profs. Zöllner, Fichte and Ulrici have inclined to adopt as the explanation of these phenomena. But, first of all, we are convinced that investigators will find that there is something in Spiritualism,—that it is not mere imposture or self-deception, however much imposture there may have been in some instances, and however much self-deception in all; and the kernel of truth,—of extraordinary and unexpected truth,—which is in it, will be found, as we expect, to cast great light upon the superstitions, mysteries, and misbeliefs of past ages, and to give us reason for a milder judgment of the people who have been misled by these. And we are also convinced that it will serve all the purposes sought for by Prof. Ulrici, in the refutation of materialism, through the evidence it will furnish of the freedom and the responsibility of the human spirit, without the danger anticipated by Prof. Wundt, of sending people to ask divine revelation through the legs of a table, instead of pursuing truth by patient scientific research.

We anticipate these results from the *partial* insight we have into the puzzling phenomena of Spiritualism. There are things in it which we cannot explain, but they are in themselves no more extraordinary than others whose clue we have found, and we see no reason to believe that the whole may not be disentangled in time. The clue is twofold; it consists in the rejection of two assumptions with which every one seems to approach the subject. These assumptions seem warranted by all our ordinary experience; they are so warranted, and yet there is abundant evidence that there are persons for whom, and conditions of mind in which, these assumptions are not true. The assumptions in question are:

(1) That the human will can act directly only upon particles of matter contained in the human body; and indirectly upon other particles only through their being brought into contact with some part of the body.

(2) That the mind can become conscious of what passes in other minds only through some external manifestation of the thought or emotion, by sound or gesture.

Now conceive of a person for whom neither of these limitations is valid. Conceive, further, of a long discipline of those unusual powers, until their possessor became as expert in their use as any of us is in reading a book without waiting to identify a single letter, or a musician is in playing the piano without consciously identifying a single key. In other words, suppose such an expertness that the processes become automatic or nearly so. To such a person the *ordinary* feats of mediumship would be mere child's play. We do not claim that he would, by virtue of these special gifts, be able to do everything that Slade, Home and their congeners do. But neither do we admit that these gifts are insufficient to explain everything. If they are insufficient, the very existence of these two points to the possibility of others still, which are not more supernatural than these, or rather which are in the same sense supernatural as every exercise of will is supernatural.

But are there such persons? There certainly are *persons who by direct exercise of will can move material objects which they are not touching, and who, without the intervention of words and signs, can master any piece of knowledge which is in the mind of any person in their company.* They are found among those who have no faith in Spiritualism, as well as among the mediums. The late

Count Agenor de Gasparin, who wrote against Spiritualism, was an eminent example. We have met with others, especially mind-readers, who have told us things as strange as those which are commonly retailed in Spiritualistic seances; and where two such special gifts exist together, their combination may be quite sufficient to produce those delusions of the sense which are called materialization.

But this explanation of the phenomena of Spiritualism detracts nothing from their value as evidence against scientific materialism. On the contrary, it puts that evidence upon a much firmer and more satisfactory basis. It puts the characters of mind and will in such clear light, that their resolution into the operation of material causes is made much more difficult to the materialist, if not impossible. It deals, indeed, with mind and will in an abnormal and morbid state, but it justifies conclusions as to their normal capacities.

ROBERT ELLIS THOMPSON.

TWO ENGLISH CRAZES.

THIS is in England *par excellence* the Age of Crazes. Probably the facility of transmission and inter-communication of bodies and minds, that multiplication of railways and telegrams, and trains and postal deliveries has brought about, is at the bottom of it. The epigram attack in the House of Commons in the smallest hours of the morning is carried down by the newspaper train in time to enlighten the Birmingham manufacturer's breakfast. The progress of the day's racing, or cricket, or walking match is obtruded upon one's notice in the windows of post offices, sporting journal offices, and taverns, with such an assured assumption of the general interest in such particulars, that one dares not, for fear of being out of the fashion, not be interested. One stimulus is enough to set the whole metropolis throbbing, and in a twinkling the pulsations vibrating along a thousand lines make the remotest counties metropolitan! and the unanimity of the throbbing is as wonderful as that of Mr. Puff's performers, and as transient. It is not yet long since, in both instances from the other side of the Atlantic, a line of novelties, the Spelling Bee, and the Skating Rink, arrived, almost

simultaneously, in London. Each at once became the object of that modern form of idolatry, a Craze; which in the case of each ran its annual course of being fashionable, common, vulgar, tiresome, and abandoned. And now, for a change, everyone has gone crazy on a couple of social utilities, one for neighbor and one for self—I mean the Coffee Tavern and co-operative movements. In sober historical truth there is, of course, nothing new in either of these notions; but that is no matter when a Craze is started. It is, for the nonce, the burning question, the universal topic, the centre of interest; and one only marvels that the world could have neglected it till now. There have been Coffee-houses in London for two centuries and more; but in that time the name has stood for vastly different things. The earliest ones became the homes of cliques and coteries, developed into clubs, and vanished; and to their name, but not their nature, succeeded a species of frowsy, comfortless shops, depressing even to the passer-by in the dinginess of their doors and windows, and within unspeakably sordid in fittings, and miserable in the quality of the food and drinks supplied, places of which the world is indeed weary, which are at length being superseded by the modern Coffee Taverns. These last are the outcome of a deliberate experiment of a knot of practical philanthropists, who, while the Legislature was tinkering at the impossible job of making folk sober by act of Parliament, determined to fight strong drink with the fair weapon of competition. Workingmen's Clubs are all very well in their way; but in the nature of the thing, they cannot supply the needs of the general public; and too often they are overshadowed by some well-meaning but officious patron whose purse and enterprise sap the wholesome feelings of independence and responsibility in the members. So in 1874 the People's Café Company came out, godfathered by the philanthropic Earl of Shaftesbury, and opened several large Tea and Dining Rooms in the City of London. These, through being leased to a firm of Scotch confectioners, and selling at prices which, while relatively moderate, were above the means of the workingmen, did not catch quite the class for which their founders intended them. They have been pounced upon appreciatively, instead, by the vast city population of clerks, shopmen and such like, who can afford about a shilling for their mid-day dinner, and are alive to the merits of a place where for that sum, can be obtained a plate

of hot meat and potatoes, a block of satisfying pudding, and a cup of coffee; and where 'intoxicants' and fees to waitresses are alike tabooed. But these People's Cafés, with their simple but excellent viands, their cleanliness, and orderliness, were a long step in the right direction; and soon the happy thought of a Coffee Palace (the name importing a deliberate challenge to the Gin-palace) was struck out and realized. In the east and west end of London the same plan was pursued. The actual site and buildings of an established and well known gin-palace were acquired, and with the least possible change of the exterior and fittings, the old "sign," the dazzling mirrors and tiers of colored (but now non-alcoholic) bottles and glasses, the mahogany counters, and the brilliant gas-jets being retained, the transformed house re-opened its doors to bid for public favor on its own merits.—Very soon it was apparent, as had indeed long been prophesied, that the artisan, the cabman, and the laboring classes generally had frequented the gin-palace more for its warmth and brilliancy than from sheer love of doctored gin; and that they really preferred a neat and orderly place where they might sit as long as they pleased over a halfpenny cup of cocoa to one where they must either keep on ordering unneeded and unwholesome 'goes' of gin and pints of beer or give place to others who would. But some of the well-meaning persons, who found the funds for setting up these Coffee Palaces, made a mistake in trying to oblige their customers to swallow a dose of religion along with their coffee. They hung the walls of their public bars with texts and announcements of Mission Services to be held on the premises. Their method savoured of Methodism, and their good things of goodness;—all which is apt to arouse suspicion in the minds of the ignorant and the unregenerate, who hate nothing more cordially than the idea of being consciously instructed and converted. Luckily there was common sense enough astir to perceive this, and the establishment of the Coffee Tavern company was the consequence.

The average human being of a civilized community prefers to have the grounds of his coffee kept clear from the grounds of his religion. So, at any rate, the founders of the Tavern Company believed; and, further, that it was, or soon might be, statistically demonstrable that their enterprise not only need not be bolstered up as a charity, but might be made a genuine commercial success

—an investment profitable to the investor as well as beneficent to the company's customers. Their first house, the "Glasshouse Tavern," was opened in the Edgeware Road, in May, 1877, and they have now a round dozen:—The Cross Keys, The Red Boot, The Chequers, The Tom Hughes (for, of course, T. H. is to the fore, as a director of the company, in such a practical social improvement), The Cocoa Tree, and so on, in full swing in various parts of London. The houses of the company do not hide their lights, which are as bright and abundant as those of their most garish rivals, under bushels. Situate, mostly in conspicuous places, at street-corners, and glowing externally with vermilion paint, the most heedless wayfarer can hardly pass one of them without having his attention arrested by it. In the windows are suspended and pasted sundry notices cunningly worded and printed to catch the eye of the public-house-hunter. "FINE NUT BROWN coffee," "MILD HOME-BREWED cocoa," "DOUBLE STOUT chocolate," are among the invitations. Let us push through the swing-doors into the bar. It is a large, irregular-shaped room with plenty of windows. Two-thirds of the floor-space is occupied by tables, plain clean-scrubbed deal-chairs and benches, and the rest is cut off by the sweep of a large counter, on which stand a nest of three huge cylindrical urns full of tea, coffee and cocoa, all ready sugared (the laboring classes still "take" sugar), milked and steaming, and several large dishes heaped with inch-thick slices of jammed and buttered bread and substantial lumps of cake. There is room, too, in any one corner for a ham and sundry plates of corned beef ready for any one who may happen to be meat-hungry. Here is the tariff:

Cocoa, or coffee, per small cup,	½d.
" " " large "	1d.
Tea, per small cup,	1d.
" " large "	2d.
Small plate of beef or ham,	2d.
Large " " "	4d.
Slice of bread and butter, or bread and ham,	½d.
" plum or seed cake,	1d.

These are the staples, but eggs, sausages, lemonade, ginger beer, cigars, and, in winter time, mince pies (about the size of saucers, price one penny each,) may also be had for the asking and paying, for it is a strictly ready-money business that is done. The

public house is farther competed with by the workingman being allowed here, as in the "pub," to bring his own selected half-pound of steak in from the butcher's and have it cooked before his eyes; and he is welcome to stay in the tavern as long as he can and will. That this policy pays is apparent from the fast-growing popularity and consequent receipts of the coffee taverns. The first promoters of the movement pleaded that if it didn't clear large profits it would at any rate clear consciences. But the company is already far on the way towards vindicating its existence as a commercial success. Already it pays its shareholders four per cent., and this year it anticipates a dividend of five; and every day the machine of management gains in smoothness and economy, and fresh grist is brought to the mill. At present the boys are about the most troublesome problems. Welcome the newspaper boy, the horse-holding boy and the *omnium-gatherum* of town boydom by all means. Granted that it's a positive duty to cater for their needs and accept their coppers. But it is, also, of the nature and essence of boys to make themselves a nuisance to their elders; and the plagueyness of street Arabs is of so pronounced a type that average adults simply can't and won't stand it. The plague of boys was positively threatening to drive away the men from the coffee taverns altogether, when some one struck at the happy thought of appropriating in each tavern a separate room for boys alone; and this simple expedient appears to have mostly removed the difficulty. The separate room plan has also, in one instance at least, been successfully tried by two practically philanthropic ladies, who have opened, in Bigmore street, a coffee tavern of their own, for attracting the working *women* of London, who have hitherto formed only a very small proportion—about 5 per cent.—of the company's customers. There are in London multitudes of shop girls and seamstresses, to say nothing of lower grades, who have no regular dining place, and very scanty means of getting food in the very scanty time that is allowed them for getting it. To these the woman's room of a coffee tavern, with its orderly, civilized and civilizing ways and almost incredibly low prices, is a sheer godsend; and the experiment, following the usual law of supply and demand, will no doubt soon result in the permanent establishment of many such harbors of refuge for laboring womankind. Even Coffee Music Halls are now being

started for the non-alcoholic entertainment of the working millions.

Meanwhile let us turn to another prominent, or one may almost say obtrusive, social movement that is going on in the England of to-day,—I mean the great co-operative craze. This affords a notable instance of that tendency of which I have spoken, to respond to any suggestion of "Let us do [this or that]," by a multitudinous and universal "O, let's ——." Co-operative stores are in truth no novelty. Ever since a few cotton spinners at Rochdale, in Lancashire, combined to buy and divide a hogshead of sugar, the principle of co-operative distribution has been actively and practically at work and visible to all who chose to look its way. But till comparatively recently the vast majority of the middle and upper classes did not look that way, and so went on, in happy ignorance, buying their groceries and other everyday requisites from countless retailers, at prices so different from those of the wholesale dealers, that only the sheer blindness of the customer could maintain such a state of things. Gradually eyes began to be opened. Facts became too substantial to be overlooked. The rank and file of the civil service, a class whose limited salaries and social obligations to respectability compel them to an exceeding carefulness of sixpences, had founded for their own particular benefit, and, supported by the custom of sundry of their friends, were carrying on with obvious and increasing success a couple of co-operative stores. Co-operative in a fairly true sense these stores originally were; that is to say, the shareholders in each association clubbed their money to buy goods; and though they did not personally do the work of distribution, the common interest of all concerned was cared for by applying profits in reduction of the prices of the articles sold.

The army and navy were the next to adopt and idea and set up a store for supplying themselves and their friends with household goods at what had already come to be called "coöperative" prices. In England, as elsewhere, the pay of "the services" is not excessive, and the uniforms and such-like gilt on the gingerbread, to say nothing of the demands of society and appearances, leave but a scanty margin for such vulgar requisites as

"butter and eggs and a pound of cheese."

But why stop here? It was soon seen that the Stores' principle of distribution, if good for anything, was applicable to an indefinite

number of kinds of wares. So to the original groceries department was added a wine department, and a tobacco department, and a linen-drapery department, and to these were joined further departments for the sale of books, music and stationery, drugs, iron-mongery, jewelry and electro-plate, china, glass, hats and boots. Such an extension of business naturally necessitated an extension of the business-premises. New stores, specially constructed for their speciality of carrying on the business of a dozen shops under one roof, challenged attention in conspicuous places; reports of the amounts of the sales and profits in ever larger and larger figures caught the eye of the public in general, and the company-promoter in particular, in the newspapers; it was quite the correct thing to be a member of the Stores, as the rows of carriages and knots of footmen visible any afternoon at their doors attested; and there seemed to be no limit to the applicability of the system or the amount of money to be made and saved by the simple machinery of strictly cash payments, no matter how small the profit on any single sale, with a large and rapid turnover. The craze was, in fact, fairly started. Companies were incorporated by dozens under the Limited Liabilities acts to struggle for a finger apiece in the attractive pie which the Civil Service and Army and Navy Stores had made. Several tried to float themselves by adopting some catch-penny name, including the supposedly magic words "Civil Service," but found to their cost that the name without the thing was not enough to bring them customers and help them out of liquidation. However, though every store practically allows anybody and everybody who has decent clothes, and the half-crown claimed annually for the ticket of membership, to become one of its member-customers, some class-speciality of title is deemed essential; and so we have coöperative associations styled the "Junior Army and Navy," the "Nonconformists," and the "Universities." This last originally came into existence as the "Clergy" C. A., but inquiring persons began asking whether, under divers old statutes, clergymen of the established church were not liable to penalties for engaging in any trade; whereupon the exclusively clerical style was promptly dropped. No wonder, perhaps, if speculators' mouths water when their eyes behold the potent prosperity of the oldest class-stores. The rows of carriages that every day and all day line the adjacent streets; the crowd and positive strain of

business at every counter; the enormous takings that the half-yearly reports disclose; the increasing predilection of the public for lowered prices in exchange for cash payments; and the evident irritation of the retail shop-keepers,—all tend to magnify the craze. So Coöperative Wine, Forage, Laundry, Family Beer, and Ladies' Dress Associations are devised, and the postmen groan under tons of coöperative prospectuses. Meanwhile, the tradesmen's fury has gathered strength enough to induce the House of Commons to appoint a select committee to examine into their alleged grievances against the Civil Service Stores; but the result has only been to advertise the latter most efficiently, and to increase the craze for them. The tradesmen, when they came as witnesses before the committee, took the line of disavowing hostility to coöperation in the abstract, but protesting against stores being carried on by persons in the employ and pay of the crown, and enjoying (as was said) an unfair prestige accordingly. It was further charged that the Directors of the Civil Service stores neglected their official work in the public service in order to attend to these private commercial enterprises. The attack, however, broke down and collapsed ignominiously. It was demonstrated that the Civil Servants of the Crown were employed and paid only for a definite number of hours daily, and must be allowed to dispose of the balance of their time as freely as other members of the community; that as they in truth and in fact were Civil Servants, there could be no objection to their so styling themselves, and if their fellow-servants and friends preferred dealing with them rather than at the shops, the obvious reason was that they found themselves better treated by the former; while the insinuation of neglect of duties was simply rebutted and absolutely disposed of as soon as it was put to the test.

How much further, and with what effects upon the retail trades of the country, the coöperative system of trading can and will develop itself, rests at present in the region of prediction:

“Don't never prophesy unless you know,”

is a maxim to be honored and obeyed. This much, however, seems thoroughly certain, that here in England, the same tendency that is seen in the swallowing up of small farms into estates large enough to repay the expense of the steam implements and machinery that our high pressure agriculture demands, will operate to absorb the plethora of petty retailers into a far smaller number

of large centralized concerns, carrying on the business of distributing the every day necessities of life direct from the producer to the consumer without the intervention of other middlemen. And if this is the result, England will probably be able hereafter to look back on the Coöperative craze, no less than on the Coffee Tavern craze as distinct gain to the cause of her national progress.

W. D. RAWLINS.

THE LAND QUESTION IN THE SCOTTISH HIGHLANDS.

[FIRST PAPER.]

FROM the paucity of reference in speech and paper, to the subject, the people of this country are left to suppose that there is no tenant grievance, no "Land Question," among the Highlanders. Nothing could be further from the fact. It may safely be said that there have been wrongs endured in the Highlands of Scotland which have not been equalled in Ireland since the "Cromwellian Settlement," so providentially chronicled by state officials, and so faithfully given to the public by John P. Prendergast, Esq.

Various things have concurred to ensure for the wrong-doers in the Highlands a very unfortunate immunity from public criticism. The want of an organ of public opinion left the Highlanders at all times at the mercy of those who had it largely in their power to do the wrong and suppress the truth. Professor Blackie, of the Edinburgh University has over and over again deplored that *The Highlander* newspaper had not been started a hundred years ago. Almost anything might be said about the Highlanders without a word of correction appearing in a Scotch or English newspaper, excepting what appeared occasionally in *The Northern Ensign*, published in the fishing town of Wick, and edited by the late John Mackie. As an illustration of what is here stated, we may give a case which occurred so recently as 1860:

The great organ of the English farmers, *The Mark Lane Express*, contained a leading article lauding the Duke and Duchess of Sutherland for the great "improvements" effected by them on their estates in the far north of Scotland. This article was made up, as was shown in a subsequent one, from Chambers' *Gazeteer* of Scot-

land; the London General Gazetteer; the Encyclopædia Britannica the "Statistical Accounts" of the different parishes of Sutherlandshire, compiled by the thirteen parish ministers of the county; and from the work of M. de Lavergne on the Agricultural condition of Great Britain. When all these authorities were examined by a subsequent writer, it was found that they were simply so many repetitions of the statements of one man, and that the Duke of Sutherland's manager in chief, the late Mr. Loch. Whereas the article thus made up was, as has been stated, highly commendatory of what was done with the land and towards the native people, the facts were, that in the process the best lands were given to a few strangers; such of the people as did not escape to America were sent to portions of the estate which were not deemed worthy of being coveted by the favored few; and a large number of those, who were thus removed were compelled to go by the houses being set on fire over their heads.

That this statement is correct can be proved by the testimony of men now living on this continent. Moreover, Donald MacLeod, an eye-witness of the heart-rending scenes, gave an account of the matter, under the title of "Gloomy Memories in the Highlands of Scotland." This work was printed in Toronto in 1857, and was intended as a refutation of that portion of Mrs. Stowe's "Sunny Memories," in which she tried to clear the Sutherland family from the odium which attached to them for their share in the notorious "Sutherland Clearances." It is well to state here that the "Gloomy Memories," which were really intended largely for circulation in the United States, were scarcely out of the hands of the printer when the author died, and the business of pushing the work into circulation fell to the ground. During the last few weeks we have heard that a car-load of copies of this book was lying somewhere in or about Woodstock, Ontario, at the same time that hundreds of Highlanders and others were eagerly asking for it. Then, in 1845 a blue book was laid before parliament, containing the results of an inquiry into the condition of the poor in Scotland, preparatory to the passing of the Scotch Poor Law. On the presentation of this report, the case of Sutherland came up, and a large number of statements made by Mr. Loch were shown to have been gross misrepresentations; the whole scheme of the so-called "improvements" was proved to have been a fraud upon

the public, and the carrying out of it a proceeding such as would not have been attempted in the worst days of Southern slavery. It will place the verification of these statements, perhaps, more nearly within the reach of many, if we mention the fact that the subject was largely discussed in the columns of the London *Times* of May, June and July 1845, when the above report was laid before parliament. The question of the Sutherland management was treated of in speeches in parliament and in the letters of a special correspondent sent by the *Times* to Sutherlandshire at the time.

We have been thus particular regarding this case, because we want to show two things—the system of misrepresentation in which the falsehood had had so long a start of the truth; and the fact that evidence is available to enable any man to satisfy himself on the subject. Thus Mr. Loch's book was published in 1820, and had just a quarter of a century of a start of the afore-said blue book; and notwithstanding this counter evidence, the statements of Mr. Loch's book were still accepted as facts, and were being made use of for the old purpose in 1860, when the writer in *The Mark Lane Express* took up the cause of the oppressor. No doubt, the statements in Mr. Loch's book are still serving their original purpose in the gazeteers and cyclopædias to which he had influence enough to gain access. And this is only a sample of the system of persistent misrepresentation which has been pursued.

We might enlarge on the positive results of this system, but there is a negative one very closely at hand just now in the curious obliviousness of the Highland Land Question which is to be noticed in the writings and speeches of the advocates of the claims of the Irish. We are very sure that nothing would be more in accordance with Mr. Parnell's feelings than to express his indignation at the system of violence and fraud under which the kindred people of the Highlands suffer. He has not for the Highlanders that sympathy which he is fitted by nature to entertain for them, and the apparent narrowness of his sympathies goes, undoubtedly, to make some Highlanders withhold their sympathy from the Irish. "It is a sham, (say those Scottish Celts) this holding up the Irish as the only sufferers under the British Land Laws; we suffer at least as much as they do, and are deserving of as much sympathy." It is just another example of how those who should have

been working together in a common cause have been led away into separate, if not antagonistic, camps, and how both suffer from the estrangement. The Irish would be the better of the co-operation of the Highlanders, and the latter would be greatly the better of the co-operation of the former.

One palpable result of this misrepresentation now felt is that there are so few in the United States or in Canada who are prepared to believe that there really is any land grievance in Scotland. The Scotch are in great favor with the Queen, their country has been glorified by Sir Walter Scott, their sons have gained victories for Britain, and won for themselves renown as soldiers; numbers of Scotsmen have been very prosperous in business in every city in the known world, while at home Scotch farmers have gained the highest reputation for skill and enterprise in their own line of business; and no one heard a word of complaint from them.

But all this applies to but a small portion of the Scottish people. Five hundred homes were broken up in Sutherlandshire by fire and crowbar to make room for twenty-nine of those favored farmers whose flocks of sheep were deemed of more value in the eye of the law-makers than the lives of the native Highlanders. These favored nine-and-twenty, in common with the occupiers of large farms in other parts of the country, being in possession of wealth, being in favor with the proprietors, and having the ear of the press, were heard. They were well pleased with the way things were going, and what did it matter to them or to their organs of opinion, although thousands of "crofters" and cottars and fishermen complained that they were excluded from the lands which their forefathers held as their own! What has just been stated here had a striking illustration two years ago. *The Scotsman* newspaper, published in Edinburgh, and conducted with great editorial and commercial ability, and always having an eye to the paying aspect of a question—sent a special reporter to the Highlands. From first to last, he wrote up those extensive farmers and simply and sweepingly wrote the doom of the native peasant farmers or "crofters" as they are called. These should be swept away as cumberers of the ground, and their lands should be given to those who had the lion's share of the land already. There was no one who had any acquaintance with the country who did not see through this imposture; but no one expected the exposure which facts have since

then made of the recommendations of the *Scotsman's*. American beef, mutton, wool and other products, have brought down the price of the prime products of those great sheep farms to such a degree, that the occupiers of the thousand and ten thousand acre farms are going to ruin more rapidly than the crofters who have only a few acres of land and who take a part of their livelihood out of the sea and out of what they earn by working for other men.

We have deemed it advisable to be thus particular at the entrance upon our subject, seeing that it so difficult to understand how the world at large should be so little acquainted with the grievances of a people like the Highlanders, in regard to whom there is reason to suppose that there exists on all hands a disposition to feel and think favorably. There is a kindly, poetical sort of feeling cherished towards Highlanders everywhere ; and we cannot help saying that they have only to put their case before the world, in order to command all the practical sympathy which is necessary to the redress of their grievances. We shall then briefly explain their case, and indicate how they can best be helped to attain to that economic and social position which their moral character, their bravery and their chivalry entitle them to occupy.

Like the Irish, and indeed like all the other peoples whose communities and nations have grown up without the intervention of violence and great frauds, the Highlanders lived in communities bound together by family ties, and so were called "clans." *Clann* is the Gaelic word for the children in a family. The father, patriarch or chief, was the head of this *clann* or family. Hence the system which existed among them was known from below, as the clan system, and from above as the patriarchal system. The territory belonged to the clan, which in time, of course, came to consist of many literal families ; and although the chief must, according to the customs and traditions of the clans, be taken from the stock of chiefs, he must also be *the* man who has given proof of his *fitness* to unite and lead the people, and administer wisely and well. The chief was thus the best man in the best family in the community of families ; and when he failed to discharge his duties it was competent for the clan to depose him and choose another. So that he was to all intents and purposes the chosen head of his people, much more truly than any member of the present British Parliament is the choice of the constituency which returns him.

We need not wait to explain how a people so well organized allowed themselves to be defrauded of their rights and robbed of their lands—further than this: that by degrees the feudal system established in England by the Norman Conquest spread into Scotland. And when we speak of the “feudal system” we are careful to observe that as it thus spread and became more fully established, it lost the most of its redeeming qualities and picked up and assimilated to itself some of the worst elements which have sprung out of a vicious system of trade. But it retained its leading feature of keeping the land in the hands of the few and subjecting the many to the necessity of begging and paying for permission to till the soil.

Queen Margaret, the pious queen of Malcolm *Ccannor*, carried her English predilections so far that she thought she was doing the best for the country of her adoption when she laid as many as she could of the Scottish people under the feudal yoke, and introduced English barons to rule over them. A trustful people were worked upon by various means to give up their rights to the soil. Numbers of the chiefs went through the ceremony of giving up to the crown the lands over which they ranged with their clans, and got charters constituting themselves the feudal superiors. Much of this was done unknown to the people; and when they made the discovery there was no immediate redress. The yoke was objectionable, but the rents were so light that it was hardly worth while making a noise about them. It was not until the young chiefs had tasted of the luxuries of England and felt the necessity of exacting heavy rents, that the clansmen began to feel how the two classes were drawing apart, and how serious an item the tribute to the chief had become. Absenteeism followed, and the chasm widened until all sympathy was dried up; and the chief question with proprietor and factor came to be one of money, to keep up the life which became a feudal proprietor of land. Thus, the land came to be regarded as a mercantile commodity, the same as if it had been of human manufacture; and the man who held it under this kind of feudal tenure, was not slow to “do what he liked with his own.”

The confiscations which took place after the battle of Culloden—and previously—afforded convenient opportunities of consolidating this system in the Highlands; and ever since then, with but

little sign of the old life, the people have ceased entirely to be clansmen and have, though rather reluctantly, borne the yoke. There have been flashes of the old character, deeds of bravery and traits of chivalry which poets and the lovers of romance have delighted to dwell upon. Sentiment and song, legend and tradition have lived on in the glens of the mainland and in the islands of the Atlantic, and no one with the true susceptibilities of humanity has come in contact with the Highlanders without being warmed and brightened and moved by the embers of the old poetic fire which shed such magic lights over the landscape. Scott and Burns, and Alexander Smith and William Black—and above them all, Professor Blackie—have, not to be too particular about the similitudes, lighted their lamps at the fire, and the trading world has been the better of the results which have reached it in such works as “Waverley,” “A Highland Welcome,” “A Summer in Skye,” “The Princess of Thule,” and “Lays of the Highlands and Islands of Scotland.” Even Dr. Johnson yielded to the influence when he said, in his very ungracious “Journal of a Journey in the Hebrides :”—“It affords a generous and manly pleasure to conceive a little nation gathering its fruits and tending its herds with fearless confidence, though it lies open on every side to invasion, where in contempt of walls and trenches, every man sleeps securely with his sword beside him; where all, on the first approach of hostility, come together at the call to battle as at the summons to a festive show; and committing their cattle to those whom age or nature has disabled, engage the enemy with that competition for honor and glory which operate on men that fight under the eye of those whose dislike or kindness they have always considered as the greatest evil or the greatest good. This was, in the beginning of the present century, the state of the Highlands. Every man was a soldier who partook of national confidence, and interested himself in national honor. To lose this spirit is to lose what no small advantage will compensate.”

It were endless to go into the details of the wrongs which have been inflicted upon the Highlanders under the landlord system. Perhaps the best way of conveying an idea of the matter in a short space will be to mention the leading features of that system. We must never forget the fact that this ownership of the land by a few was established by wholesale violence and fraud. This system did

not grow, as is apt to be assumed by some ; it was forced upon the people all over the three kingdoms ; and after all, what we are about to describe are merely some of the artificial barriers raised to prevent the land from being re-distributed among the people.

Natural affection itself is disregarded so far under this system, in what is supposed to be the interest of a class, that even where estates consist of hundreds of thousands of acres, the inheritance passes to the eldest son, and the other members of the family hang about as becomes them,—large numbers in the enjoyment of pay as military and naval officers, and some pushing on the work of conquest and increasing the taxes and other troubles of the nation. This primogeniture is very absurd in the eyes of Americans ; but it is utterly so in eyes of the descendants of the clansmen who chose their chiefs for their fitness to rule over them. Thus large estates and large numbers of people fall into the hands of men in no way qualified by nature or education for the charge. This itself ought to be enough to account for the follies and crimes which have been committed in the Highlands in the administration of estates. A young man who has never done anything more sane than shoot grouse and track deer for a few weeks in the Highlands, succeeds to a large estate. The idea of his managing it never enters his head. The management is left to a factor, or perhaps to two factors, one in Edinburgh and another in Perth, Aberdeen or Inverness. If they manage to collect the rents, the proprietor manages to spend the money. This “management” becomes a matter of some consideration to the factor. It is a difficult thing for him to look after two or three hundred tenants, keep their houses, their roads, their fences and the like in repair ; and he naturally thinks that it is an easier matter to let all the houses go down, build one house and barns in their place, and collect the entire rental in one sum of a thousand pounds, instead of in three hundred small sums. The proprietor thinks of his enjoyment, and the factor thinks of his ease ; and the people go to the wall in thousands as a natural consequence—or they go to the shore, to the moor, or to the emigrant ship. Thus it was that the best lands and widest farms in Kildonan, in Farr, and in Strathnaver were cleared, and the people sent to a miserable margin of land on the rocky west and to the mere gravel which bounds the east of the Sutherland estate. The crofters on the east side are now in the

enjoyment of comparative comfort; but they are so as the result of labor such as no human beings should have been doomed to perform. Here, they were able to make land because there was nothing harder than gravel to operate upon; but on the west coast the toilers had to operate on the rocks, and the best they could do in the way of improvement was to gather such scrapings of earth as they could find and carry them in baskets on their backs and lay them on the rocks to form mould in which to plant potatoes. These people have gone on thus ever since the removals of 1814-20 in a state of chronic poverty, and in consequent despair and apathy which are worse than poverty itself. This is the state of matters on the Sutherland estate.

In Skye, that glorious "Island of Mist," which yielded such bands of brave soldiers for the Napoleonic wars, and which contains still a population classic for its tone and manners, things are much the same. You travel miles along the fertile straths, and see the land on which the brave men referred to were reared, lying under mere pasture and in the occupation of a few men. The fine lands of Fleodigary and Duntulm, stretching for miles in every direction, are in the hands of John Stewart, a splendid man, himself, it is true, a prince of hospitality, and the breeder of some of the finest West Highland cattle sent to Falkirk; while around the skirts of this great combination of farms are miserable huts with small patches of land, held from year to year, and subject every now and again to an increase of rent. The patches of land are such that the tenants merely remain during spring to put in seed, and return from their fishing engagements in the east or from their labors in the foundries or ship-building yards of the south, to reap their harvests. The case of these crofters has been aggravated by the constant terror in which they are kept of having their rents increased, the proprietor having already operated thus three times since he purchased the estate, some twenty-five years ago. He seldom sees the people or the land; the entire management is in the hands of a lawyer, who has the agency of a bank and the factorship of several other estates, besides a small estate of his own to manage. There is a great deal to be said about this estate, but the worst feature of the case is the reign of terror and distrust under which the people are afraid even to be seen speaking to any one who may be supposed to be independent enough to publish

the facts of the case to the world. This is a sample of the state of matters in the north of Skye. In the southwest,—the “MacLeod country,”—the same system of distribution prevails, *minus* the reign of terror. In this case the present proprietor, when he came into possession, found the estate under a heavy burden of debt. Like a man, he determined to redeem his inheritance. He accepted a government situation, and has lived in London for a quarter of a century, with the exception of a few weeks every year, leaving the large estate to be administered by a factor. Here, also, the fertile lands are nearly, if not entirely, in the hands of a few men; and again, you can travel a whole day and then not come to the end of one man's farm; and again, the land is lying under such grass as it will yield without labor. You come out of these rich straths upon wretched scraps of land at the spurs of mountains, where nothing is to be seen in spring or winter but stones. Here you find the people of the island again in hovels. In spring they are busy carrying seaweed on their backs from the shore and spreading it out along with the cow-dung, if they have any, so as to have some oats and potatoes for the next winter. These are the remnants of the people with whom one meets in the counties of Victoria, Ontario, Gray, Bruce, Huron and Wellington, in Canada, and in several parts of the United States. There are still large numbers of people in Skye, but they have not access to the soil. There is plenty land, but it is utterly out of the question to think of the large farms being cultivated. Supposing the tenants to begin, they could not manage it. More than half the crops would be lost in the course of being harvested.

No one says anything bad of MacLeod personally, and so loyal are the people that they are always ready to show how glad they would be to have him in their midst. Indeed, all over the Highlands, this feeling is so strong that the people are willing to believe that if the proprietors would live on their estates things would not be so bad. The victims of the Sutherland clearances held all through that the Countess did not know of the cruelties that were being committed.

On the MacLeod estate there is an influence at work, although it is only an influence, which it is a pleasure to dwell upon. The law of primogeniture, under which the estates go to the eldest sons without regard to fitness, placed the MacLeod estate, as a

matter of course, in the possession of the eldest son, making no provision that he should even do the best he could for land and people. He laid himself out for economy, and left the estate and the people to be made use of to that end. There was no thought of duty, or influence, or labor. The estate and what the labor of the people could take out of it, were the property of the "laird," and the chief concern was "how to make the thing pay." It is not often that a daughter can succeed under the British system, and for her to succeed whilst there is a male to do so is out of all question. The reason why we dwell upon this is that the influence for good emanates from Miss MacLeod of MacLeod, the proprietor's sister. Miss MacLeod is a lady in every sense of the word. She is intelligent, patriotic, and all that sort of thing, and she is lovely, although now an old woman: but what we have to do with her is that she is kind and tender, and solicitous about the condition of the people whom the proprietor practically neglects. She remains on the estate, rules at Dunvegan, and reigns in the hearts of the people. She is devoted to their good and they love her in return. The only good one sees done on the property is what emanates from her. Houses are cleaner, dresses are neater, gardens exist, comforts and remedies are distributed among the poor and suffering,—all from her influence and her bounty. If utility had been regarded Miss MacLeod should have inherited the estate, if there must be a large estate; and MacLeod should have been allowed to earn his bread at Somerset House or in South Kensington.

But where there is not a Miss MacLeod to soften the force of this evil system, what is to be expected! This law of primogeniture entails upon many estates the evil not merely of men such as this absentee MacLeod, who has the will and the brains to work, but of men who are absolutely incapable of earning a living at any calling that can be conceived. There is an estate in Ross-shire which has been owned for a generation by a man who is not capable of keeping his own person clean, and who requires to be constantly watched that he has not his room infested with dead rabbits, fowls and other decaying substances. The management is in the hands of a factor who simply administers for his own gain, excepting so far as his doings are checked by a *parvenue* who has married the imbecile, and who has to face a host of prejudices which originate

in "caste." Hundreds of families are under this vicious rule, and not very long ago a poor man and his family were turned out of house and home which he had built on a common upon which the factor had laid hands; and one of the results was that a child died from exposure to the rigors of a northern early spring,—and no lawyer can be got to take the case up, through fear of the powers that be! Around this one centre there is a whole series of incidents such as Mrs. Stowe might use in a work such as she owes to the Highland People for the evil she did in espousing the cause of the Sutherland exterminators.

There is another family who own estates in the counties of Fife, Moray, Perth and Inverness, who have not for generations had a man at the head of affairs fit to be trusted with the care of a costermonger's ass. These proprietors have to be looked after the same as if they were lunatics. Numbers who might be able to do something if they tried, are so carried away by fashion and sport and pride, that they do not feel the force of duty, and they make no claim to either skill or ability to administer the trusts which they have undertaken, so that it hardly matters whether it is from imbecility or from habit and fashion, that these men who inherit under this law of primogeniture are incapable. The fact is there, and the country mourns under it.

One naturally thinks that in the hands of such men these estates would be so grossly mismanaged that they would get into the market and be distributed. Here the laws of entail come in and bar what ought to be the natural consequence, the sale and subdivision of the land; and it is only by accident that such lands do get into the market. Besides, the masses have been so disorganized, if not actually demoralized, that they are not, or at least have not been prepared to take advantage of the land being for sale. We shall give an illustration from the south-west Highlands because it brings out this and one or two other points. The proprietor was a fine, intelligent man, possessing all the elements of popularity, and the estate was worth £19,000 a year. Here was a splendid population, all living in a rough and ready sort of way, and numbering about 20,000 souls. There were no paupers, partly because there were few who needed charity, and partly because they and their friends were too proud to accept of pauper relief. The estate was in the hands of factors, two on the spot, and

one great legal one in Edinburgh. One of the local factors took to farming, while his chief took to parliament. The population began to fall off; farms, quite large enough previously, were thrown together and excessively large holdings made of them. This factor came in for the lion's share of the cleared land, in so much that even before he had attained to the height of his acquisitions it was ascertained that he had in his own solitary occupation the farms of no fewer than thirty-seven comfortable, respectable tenants! While this process of consolidation and misappropriation was going on, the laird was rapidly reaching a precipice whence he fell, showing pecuniary liabilities to the amount of £800,000 Sterling.

In this case, everything seemed favorable to good management and prosperity, but a vicious system would not allow it. Whole townships of this splendid people were swept away, the land was laid out for mere grazing; the men who took the land after the clearing away of the people came to grief; and as we have seen, the proprietor himself went to wreck and ruin. All the good elements present could not save people or proprietor from the inevitable fruits of a vicious system—seeing that the bar of entail had not been put on. Through some slip the deed of entail had not been completed; and so the whole mass tumbled to pieces; but the estate was only divided into four. The writer was present at the catastrophe, and printed a plan by which the whole estate should be laid out in peasant properties, time being allowed to pay up. It was shown that not only would the debts be all paid, but that there would be a very respectable margin of the property left to break the fall of the laird. But the trustees carried the case on for a great number of years, drawing their commission; and when the whole was sold there was barely what paid the debts, leaving not one acre for the ruined family. In the time during which the estate was thus in the hands of the trustees, the whole peasant proprietary scheme could have been carried out, and instead of eight thousand, to which the population has been reduced, there might be thirty thousand independent, comfortable and happy people in the enjoyment of their own homesteads, no one making them afraid. Every one who reads that proposal now says it was the right thing, and there is this hope encouraged by the admission, that if the laws which bind up the land in a few hands were removed, the masses are better prepared in mind, if not in funds, to take advantage of any sales which may take place.

But there is no use denying the fact, that the British public want a great deal of educating yet in this matter ; and one of the many services which America can render to the people of Great Britain is to encourage them to move in this direction, by keeping before them the great fact that the primary advantage which the people of this continent have over those of Britain is the accessibility of the land to the man of honest industry ; and we shall not be satisfied if the Scotch, especially, on this continent do not awaken to a sense of the duty which devolves upon them in this respect. They may command a measure of respect for their great industry and plodding business habits ; but they can never rise above the charge preferred against them of being animated by mere selfishness, until they do take this matter up and raise their societies from being mere dining and supping and drinking clubs for mutual glorification. Let them remember, that if they are prosperous here, their brethren are still in very unnecessary bondage in that land which is so often the subject of eulogy at Scottish festivals. Let them remember that it was not by such whole-skinned self-seeking that Scotchmen earned the reputation of which the " Scot Abroad " boasts ; it was by brave deeds, self-sacrifice and devotion to the cause of national freedom ; and all the wealth acquired by all the Scotchmen that ever were, was and is nothing in relation to the character of Scotland—unless it be a drawback—compared with the sufferings and privations and struggles of the men who, in poverty and obloquy, stood by the cause of man and the truth of God. Better a thousand times die with these, than feast and shout and prate of past glory with the full-pursed and prosperous men, who bask in the glory shed upon their country by the martyrs and heroes of former ages, but who will not help a struggling cause lest they should lose a customer or bring the frown of the mighty ones of the earth upon themselves.

JOHN MURDOCH,

THE DUTIES OF VISITORS TO THE POOR APART FROM
ALMSGIVING.*

IF I understand rightly what I am requested to do, it is to suggest to our visitors what duties are expected of them, other than Almsgiving.

If I do not quite misapprehend the meaning of the founders of our Society, they expect the visitors to look after cases of need, to recommend food to the hungry, clothes to the naked, and material relief of various kinds wherever the need has been carefully investigated and ascertained. But they wish this food, this clothing, and this relief, to be *in most cases* a merely temporary aid, and quite subservient to a much higher end which they have in view.

It is a difficult thing to define this higher end, and these other duties of visitors.

A few days ago I listened to a delightful lecture on the study of Shakespeare, in which the speaker said that the cultivation of the imagination was all important to the development of sympathy. One who had neither imagination nor dramatic power, could not readily put himself in the place of others, and without that power we cannot help our fellows in the surest ways. I feel this to be true.

Now I can conceive that when the Sermon on the Mount was given, nineteen centuries ago, there were those who said, "This is all very fine thinking, beautiful theories, but they cannot be carried out." There are people who say it to-day.

And I can conceive that when the Declaration of Independence was announced more than a century ago, we were almost a laughing stock to the other nations of the earth, with our theories of equal rights for all men.

The Sermon on the Mount does not yet begin to be carried out in the hearts and lives of men, after all these nineteen centuries; yet there it stands, a beacon light whose pure flame is burning brighter and brighter unto the perfect day.

The Declaration of Independence has not yet taken possession of us in the highest and broadest meaning of our forefathers, but no

* A paper read at the January meeting of the Assembly of the Philadelphia Society for Organizing Charity.

one ever dreams of lowering its ideal standard, or of preventing it from being read aloud to inspired crowds every fourth of July.

Now the modern idea of Organized Charity is not a human device, but it is of God, as were those God-given ideas of past times. It is as providential as any idea ever promulgated. It comes as all our best gifts of Heaven come, just when the world most needs it, and when society is ripe for it. But, like all other grand theories, it has to be put in practice by imperfect and inexperienced human beings, more or less persuaded of the value of the idea, and more or less prejudiced in favor of their old practices and habits of indiscriminate almsgiving.

How can I describe, how can any one tell, what are the duties of visitors apart from almsgiving? I know them, I feel them, I see them going on around me. I may give you instances to help you to define them to yourselves, but I cannot do it for you—no one can.

I know one District Chairman in this city who recommends very little relief—almost nothing. What *does* she do? you ask. Why! She spends certain hours every week religiously, in walking about her District and encouraging other visitors to do the same. She has imagination, she has sympathy, she has good judgment and practical benevolence as well. Her heart is in the work, her intelligence is in it. If she sits down in a house ten minutes she sees something to be suggested or improved—or kindly advised. She takes an interest in the children, and if they don't want to go to schools, or their parents do not feel the necessity, she induces both to desire it;—she visits the teachers—she goes with the children.

Is any member of a family ill, or laboring under chronic ill-health or deformity, she kindly points out alleviations—more healthful diet—more healthful occupation—any mental resource of which the patient is capable. She points out the country retreat or the sea-side home in summer, and shows them how to earn or gain these privileges, if possible. She is their friend, their medium of communication between the best of Heaven's influences and their depressed lives. The time has already come when the families under her charge would dread to disappoint their devoted, disinterested friend. She is living and working among you, but I shall not tell her name. Doubtless, you know of others like her,

I have heard another instance of the kind of charity we want carried out in our Association. It occurred in another city. A lady whom I knew, in her walks among the poor, met a woman so wholly incapable and inefficient that it seemed almost hopeless to try to help her. She had a large family—a husband and eight children—and there was not one thing which she knew how to do well, or even decently. She seemed a well-disposed person, and cried when she told the visitor that she had married at sixteen, but no one had ever taught her anything. “And I don’t know how to cut out, or make, or mend a single garment,” she said; “if I did, my children need not look so forlorn, for my husband makes good wages.” The visitor took this case into earnest consideration, and then said, “Will you come to my house every day for a half hour and try to learn, if I will teach you?” The poor woman gladly consented, and faithfully went every day at the appointed time. But her hands were stiff and awkward, and the task learned so readily by little pliant fingers of children of six years, seemed a Herculean labor to her; and to women less persistent and devoted than the visitor and her seamstress this would have seemed a hopeless case.

To make a long story short, it took more than two years to do this good work; but it was perfectly done, and the good woman was proud to feel that she could cut out, make or repair any garment her family could wear.

Then my friend lost sight of her, being a woman of many cares. But one day some years later, an accident brought her near the present home of the former pupil, and she saw her standing on the doorstep, neat and clean and cheerful, her children coming in from school, all well dressed and comfortable. And as the mother greeted her former visitor warmly, she said, “Oh, ma’am, your coming to me, and taking me to your house and teaching me to sew, has made all the difference in my life that you see. At the time it made all the difference between my wanting to die and my wanting to live. For I did not know how to do anything, and every new child I had I wished it might die, for I did not know how to take care of it.” Doubtless, the personal influence of character had gone with the instructions in sewing during those two years.

The best ideas connected with organized charity to-day are not *new* ideas,—they are as old as human life,—they have been prac-

ticed by the wisest individuals in all ages. The new features of our time consist in making this ideal standard the central pivotal principle on which all society should stand in its relations between rich and poor. In earlier times, in smaller cities and less densely crowded communities, these relations existed, and there was no need of organization to bring them about.

Thorough investigation of cases, such co-operation in all work and records that there shall be no overlapping of charities, and patient painstaking care of every case coming to our notice—these are our watch-words.

Do we complain of our duties, that they are all too indefinite, that the plan cannot be formulated by any rules that our arithmetic can compass? So are all things born of the spirit.

So I thank the founders of organized charity in London, and I thank Dr. Kellogg and Prof. Thompson, and other good friends of the movement, for sending forth and perpetually reiterating “the minimum of doles and alms, and material aid, the maximum of personal influence, effort, judgment and care.”

Personal influence! How is it *defined*? And what are the rules of its operation? As a great writer has said of another idea, “Itself is road and guide and leader and march.”

It will find forms and methods when it permeates the whole community. It is like the wind that bloweth where it listeth, and we know not whence it cometh, nor whither it goeth. But very real are the effects of this unseen force, very sure to live and grow and spread all over the earth.

SUSAN J. LESLEY.

WHAT IS MONEY?

“The business of money, as in all times, so even in this our quick sighted age, hath been thought a mystery.” (*John Locke, 1692.*)

THE subtle questions, What Money? What Value? press for solution charged with more intense fatality to productive industry as humanity progresses in its “generations”.

I present to the common sense of the interested “Sovereigns”, and at the same time to Jurisprudence Official, more especially of the Supreme Court, some ideas upon the question, (both Scientific and Constitutional) of credit-debt money in *necessary* volume, *legal-*

tender at all times, *with silver and gold*, and with no inelastic, statute limit either as to issues or function. That is, with no *fixed* volume except as automatically regulated by *value* interacting with "*supply and demand*" :—and with no debts public or private, privilege-class or special contract, that it will not liquidate equally with, and at *the par* of, gold and silver. Which credit-debt "Money" must be Government paper, *i. e.* "Greenbacks", and with which silver and gold coins at the world's ratio, *now* 15½ : 1, *must* also circulate, and all be kept at one, and the same par of value, *viz*: Labor-Value: and must be all equally full legal money, and the only "currency" permitted to exist, except small metallic "token" coins not of silver.

This system of finance can be worked successfully, with no *pretence* of specie payment on demand, with neither specie reserve in Treasuries, nor pretence of specie in bank-vaults,—as "the basis" of all credit. It is the only system that can be made to work without frequent inflations and revulsions, in which all honest industries suffer; while it is constitutional because conserving natural inalienable rights, and because scientific.

Indeed, there is not a power given to, nor a *duty* imposed upon, Congress and the Executive by the people of the United States, contained in plainer and more *direct* words, rightly interpreted, than is the money-power. And all argument founded on C. J. Marshall's clear utterance of the Supreme Court's sound and broad decision as to "powers necessary and not forbidden"—or drawn from any other clause or decision as to "substantive, specified, defined powers, one, two, or more . . . combined, from which may be deducible by necessity and implication ancillary, auxiliary, or resultant powers",—is the merest surplusage; all such studied ingenuity of "deep" deduction, a waste of time, of brain, of nerves, of patience, in view of the true, the only meaning of *two words*!

But the right language being there, though without any specific or scientific intention, save to do justly and to conserve so far as possible the "free, equal, inalienable rights of all men," it will be a mere waste of time to argue that Court, Government, and People are bound by the highest, truest sense of the words, by that sense which reconciles the science of Law with the science of Value,—the value of human labor, of the rights of Labor; albeit capital or privilege, may prefer to adhere to the more narrow, nescient, strict

construction which has obtained until now, except in the stress of the great civil-war! Strange, that what is good and necessary to salvation in the direst calamities, English French, American, should be so bad, so destructive in peaceful and more (*or less?*) prosperous times. But by a still more "strict construction" of the monetary power contained in the United States Constitution it will be found that what is necessary, wholesome and manageable in war, is so likewise in peace; and is much more so in both events, when full scope, with full, open and safe control, is given to this right principle.

1. The whole money-power of the United States Constitution, all the power over, or in, money that any Government requires is in these words:—"To *coin money* and REGULATE the VALUE thereof." 2. The granting of the power to Congress and the President imposes the duty to thus regulate the value of all money permitted to circulate at any time anywhere under the Constitution. 3. To "regulate the value," means to keep the purchasing power as steady as possible, as unvarying as are the wholesome, life-and-strength-giving cycles of *natural* processes and forces, in place of the destructive financial cataclysms which the world is but too well acquainted with. 4. The paper-*fiat* is just as necessary to (cause) steadiness in value of the metallic "measure-and-medium," as the metallic *fiat* is to (test) steadiness in value of the paper or credit-"measure-and-medium." 5. Labor can thus be surely protected from the interregnums of production and consumption, from the ups and downs of price-values, by which only the most hard-faced, hard-hearted, fearful creatures always "make money"—by "*coining*" the life's-blood, the health and happiness of their fellowmen into privilege and usury. Precious metal-money without paper-money, or paper-money without gold and silver money, is an impossibility in any *modern* system of finance;—for even in ancient times they had to use auxiliary money, of wood, leather, iron, shells, skins, bark, etc., and now, with the vastly increased production, and exchanges, by the minute division of labor, by the use of machinery, and the harnessing of wind, water, steam and electricity, of sun-force, with the abolition of the old universal chattel slavery, a "proletariatism" which had little use for a money medium; although another kind of slavery has been substituted, and is rapidly increasing, having no *responsible* masters except the wardens of prisons, work-houses, alms-houses, etc., which, however much it

may *need* such a medium, cannot find the work to get it. Now, with all these modern conditions,—the demand for, and the uses of a money-medium have so inestimably increased, that money of both gold and silver without money of paper to about tenfold the volume of the metal-money,—or money of paper without money of metal in the reverse proportion,—is infinitely impossible in constituting a sound and safe monetary system.

England and Europe, with whose theories of money we try to square our law and conduct, although their finance cannot be called safe or sound, as the situation proves, are more wise than we in their *practice*, for they do know the need of credit-money, and they have it, such and so much as it is, by providing for a sort of spasmodic, bogus legal-tender, despite their theories; and they work it by a convenient, privy council, back-door escape from the dire consequences of an impossible exaction,—by “raising the bank rate,”—by “suspension of the act,”—by “restriction of cash payments,” or by in other ways providing for *the inevitable in their methods*, the alternate excessive and insufficient issues of paper-money circulation, but at highest rates of *usury* when most needful to be plenty and low: and under penalty of paying all excessive “use” to the Government (*German Imp. Bank Act.*) etc., etc. None but the United States hard-money men think it necessary to make the nation commit financial *hari-kari*. But under the right system, neither “raising the rate” nor “suspending the Act,” neither “restricting cash payments” nor *pretence* of “specie redemption,” will ever be necessary in any country that has it.

Of all the “Opinions” that have been pronounced, *pro et con* in all the “legal-tender cases” that have been decided, the true force of this determining clause of the United States Constitution, which settles this question beyond any controversy, has been altogether overlooked and neglected by those judges who favored “the legality of the existing (*limited*) volume of United States Notes, (*partially*) legal-tender, issued as a (*war*) necessity only,” while the very same clause has been taken and emphasized, in those opinions which held to the “more strict” interpretation, as concluding the case *absolutely* against any form of credit legal-tender!

The great bulk of “opinion” is occupied in the effort to establish or to refute arguments on either side, founded in other clauses of the Constitution, construing its “general and implied powers”

consistently with "the letter and spirit;" as, "to establish justice,"—"to promote the general welfare,"—no "law impairing the obligation of contracts,"—"nor shall any person be deprived of property without due process of law . . . no private property taken for public use without just compensation," "no prohibition implied *against* the power to enact [credit] legal-tender laws in the power 'to coin money and regulate the value thereof,' though the court *docs not* rest the legal-tender money power of Congress there!" That is as far as the court could see its way to go on the only right road in 1871:—the last decision made, which (5 to 4) sustained the constitutionality of the existing "greenbacks" as a war expedient, for debts contracted before and after their creation; but the country can have no more of them without another war, until law and science unite in the right way. And the pending questions are: can these legal-tender notes be re-issued in peace time, after being once "paid or redeemed?" Can fresh notes be issued for worn-out ones? Must a creditor take anything but the very identical note issued in war time and never since retired by the government in exchange for specie, for a bond, for excises, stamps, licences, land or income tax, etc.

The main argument of the *anti*-legal-tender side of the court, is in these words: "*a mere promise to pay money!*" It does not take much mind to see that this is a simple begging of the whole question; and yet it has been echoed and re-echoed by all the hard-money organs east and west *ad nauseam*. This catch is the very Malakoff of their position: to it, as to an impregnable centre, every dictum on that side turns and returns: while the other side treat it very gingerly, as *quasi* truth. Johnson's and Webster's big dictionaries are appealed to for authority to limit the meaning of the words "coin" and "money" to gold and silver. As to "coin" they forgot copper, bronze, nickel, platinum, tin and iron. If there is any force in this "coin" logic, all that the credit fiatists have got to do to put the gold and silver fiatists *hors du combat*, is to borrow a leaf from the book of Lycurgus, B. C. 800, and stamp (i. e. "coin") some cheap preparation of iron or of some other metal, or combination, tough and durable.

The *supposed* intentions of "The Fathers" are appealed to as sustaining this dogma: nothing is or can be real money, i. e. full-legal-tender under the constitution but gold and silver. Now to

my mind as to the *pro*-legal-tender side of the court, the Fathers can be fairly credited with not being "wise above that which is written," to determine for posterity that which might admit of question, *might* still contain some elements of the unknown, some problem for the sons to solve in their own right; and which could not be solved by going back to Abraham, as one judge does, and misinterpreting an interpolation of the word "*money*" as signifying *coined* money, when every tyro in monetary science knows that coinage was not invented until more than a thousand years after the day when Abraham bartered bullion "*money*" for land, when he "weighed to Ephron 400 shekels [*weights*] of silver, current [*standard purity*] with the merchant, for a possession of a burying place."

Please note *seriatim* some of the more flagrant inconsistencies of the "Opinions." I condense from the "Reports:" The main question arose in the first case, *i.e.* whether the U. S. notes *were money or not?* But, strange to say, the constitutionality of the Acts authorizing the issue was not deemed by either Court or Counsel to enter into this case, and the opinion of Chief Justice Chase decides that while the notes "were intended to be money, they were moreover *promises to pay* coined dollars," and so *were not true money!* In the second case, the dominating constitutional question being again ignored, it was decided that State taxes are not "debts" payable in United States legal-tender notes: *i.e.* State law is paramount on the money question! In the third and fourth cases, both coin contracts, the Constitutional question being again "waived," or "assumed," it was decided, (Opinion by Chief Justice Chase), that gold and silver are "incontestibly [*fixed*] measures of value determined by weight and purity"! Judge Miller dissented from both of these opinions, not because of their unscientific mistakes, but on the ground that Congress had the same power over a coin contract as over others. And his argument, even on that ground, is unanswerable. In the fifth case, the constitutionality of the "greenback" was denied, 5 to 3, but as to pre-existing debts only. (Opinion by Chief Justice Chase.) The Court impales itself at the outset on the horns of the cruel dilemma, which "specie basis," or hard money, as the sole legal-tender always presents; for under that system one party to every contract must be wronged whenever its insufficiency in war or crisis is to be dealt with. I

quote, "The terms of statutes are not to be interpreted in conflict with principles of justice and equity, *if* a sense consonant with those principles can be given them. But this rule cannot prevail when the intent is clear. The Courts must give effect to the clearly ascertained legislative intent if not repugnant to the Constitution"—*no matter how repugnant to "justice and equity?"* But since Mr. Lincoln's Emancipation Act and the XIV. Amendment, the United States Constitution contains no such self-stultification as that on the black-man question, and, scientifically understood, *never did* on the money question: that is, on the question of the value of all men, black, white, red or yellow. "The word of the Lord [Isaiah 13], I will make a man more precious than fine gold; even a man than the golden wedge [*key-stone, quoin, coin,*] of Ophir."

Again:—"Both gold and silver coin and United States notes derive, in different degrees, a certain additional value by national authority from the acts making them respectively a legal tender." I contrast this here with an extract from the minority opinion in the next case, by Chief Justice Chase: "The legal-tender function does not increase the value of the note. . . . the best political economists" so say, to force them "is to admit insolvency; they are hurt, not helped, by it"! Again: "The power to establish a standard of value, . . . the measure of all other values, *i.e.*, legal-tender money, is of nature and necessity and universally a governmental power, and is vested in Congress by the grant to coin money, . . . but the power to impart these qualities to promises to pay money . . . is certainly not the same power, . . . nor is it implied in the power 'to regulate the value' of coined money, . . . *i.e.* to determine the weight, purity, form, impression and denomination of the several coins and their relation to each other," etc. This "is certainly" a very inadequate idea either of *regulating* value, of *measuring* value, or of a *standard* of value; each and all of these "powers," functions, elements, misconceived, misstated, misapplied, as to nature, relation and effect; and the whole resolved into the mintage function, and the real question prestidigitated in the phrase, "promise to pay"! By a little transposition we can get one great truth out of the above, thus: "The power to establish legal-tender money, [*a*] measure of all other values, is of nature and necessity and universally a governmental power, and is vested

in Congress by the grant of the power to coin money and to regulate the value thereof."

The dissenting opinion by Judge Miller says: "Congress is expressly authorized to 'coin money and regulate the value thereof.' Many able jurists strongly argue that these clauses fairly construed confer the power to make United States notes a lawful tender . . . I am not able to see in them alone a sufficient warrant for the power." That is just what the writer proposes to show.

The majority opinion in the sixth case, by Judge Strong, which decides by its terms that the Government notes are Constitutional money, *in case of war*, for contracts before and after the act,—but which, in effect, necessarily makes them so at any and all times,—argues, "that the gift of the power to Congress 'to coin money and regulate the value thereof,' conveyed that general power over the currency [to give it] a uniform legal value in all the States, an object closely allied to the paramount sovereign one of self-preservation, else this necessary money power was annihilated, as the States had surrendered it." How this argument can be logically limited to *war emergencies* the learned Judge fails to show. This opinion also declares that "Congress may and does impair the obligation of contracts, or obliterate them entirely, under other express or implied powers . . . No subject obligation can extend to the defeat of the sovereign rightful authority," *Yes*, and Government does impair the obligation of contracts under the money power also, when it demonetizes silver or greenbacks,—thus it has robbed millions of all that they possessed. But it is not necessary to do this under the money power of the United States Constitution, nor under any other power, unless in the case of rebels and traitors, as a *just* punishment. All *lawful, equitable* contracts can be enforced when the country has a steady regulation of the measure of value, governing the medium of exchange of the country in all its various forms of credit and cash, including the legal-tender.

I next quote the closing "letting down" by Judge Bradley, of his exhaustive unanswerable argument, on the basis of "just, necessary powers, vital to government and industry, and to the safety of the capitalist and creditor, even if they should lose some gold." A stronger argument on the same theory, is, the inevitable injustice to labor and to tax-payers and entire ruin of debtor, by the certain enhancement of gold values, and consequent great enriching of

creditors and capitalists, unless the government promptly meets the new demand for legal-money which its own war action creates, by new supplies, as France was doing and did do, illegally in the existing *status* of her law, *while* our Court was considering this case; for otherwise the proverbial timidity and greed of the monied classes would aggravate the situation intolerably, But France, and England even, were too wise and just to institute two kinds of legal-tender—one for creditors and capitalists, and the other for taxpayers, and soldiers at the front! Thus they demonstrated that a just dealing with this question “impairs the (value) obligation of no contracts”.

“These views . . . show not . . . that the legal-tender power is a desirable one and ought to be assumed; . . . but is vital, . . . essential, . . . inherent, . . . national, . . . sovereign, . . . necessary to self preservation”. [It is so in peace as well as in war, and therefore *is* desirable and *must be* exercised.] “The framers of the Constitution chose to adopt it . . . without any words either of grant or restriction of power . . . to issue legal-tender bills; and it is our duty to construe the instrument by its words in the light of . . . government and . . . sovereignty . . . It is a finished document, complete in itself, and to be interpreted in the light of history, and of its own period,” [and, let me add, of monetary science and our own period.] “No one doubts the power to emit bills, . . . the incidental power to make them legal-tender follows almost as a matter of course. This power is entirely distinct from that of ‘coining money and regulating the value thereof, [*only it is'nt*] . . . It is not an attempt to coin money out of a valueless material [*only it is, and more,*] . . . it is a promise of the government to pay [*to receive*] dollars: it is not an attempt to make dollars: [*no, but a success.*] The standard of value is not changed”. But all measure of value is changed both by issuing and by withholding either greenbacks or any other currency, and both in peace or war. The periodical inflations of the “specie-basis” system *lower* the measure of the value of all money: and when war or “crisis” comes the sudden increased demand must and does *raise* the measure of the value of all money, unless the monetary system itself, or the Government on emergency, despite the system, provides a remedy, more or less scientific or judicious, as it is now conceded that all just nations must do in war. And the standard of value *is* prac-

tically changed—so far as this:—that all the varying measures of value in use represent a false standard, do *not* represent the true one. That, indeed, still exists. Labor's value unchanged; but unjust jurisprudence and ignorant science have united to hate and disgrace it, to wrong and destroy it.

The strong point of the dissenting opinion by Chief Justice Chase, is to quote the previous decision: "five judges out of eight . . . that an act making mere promises to pay dollars legal-tender as coined dollars . . . is not a means appropriate . . . and is prohibited," etc. I quote here Mr. Chase's words on another occasion:—"The greenback is simply the credit of the American people *put in the form of Money* . . . The banks wanted interest for *their credit*, did not propose to lend gold . . . No, I said, I will cut the credit of the people up into little bits of paper"—etc. Common sense knows, *malgrè* Mr. Chase's and the moiety opinions of the two Courts, that the "form of money" without the power, is an *ignis fatuus*: for instance the lack of the *full* legal-tender function, which the first House-Bill of Mr. Stevens contained, cost this Nation more than \$10,000,000,000. The late success of France, the old power of Venice, as well as reason and science prove this: a *posteriori* proof here corroborates *a priori* logic. Again, Chief Justice Chase says—"No mere paper money scheme, but a gradual and safe return to gold and silver as the only permanent basis, standard, and measure of value recognized by the Constitution . . . We assume as a fundamental proposition that it is the duty of every government to establish a standard of value . . . an universally acknowledged necessity, without it the transactions of society would be impossible. The unit of value must have certain definite value". In *what?* in itself! *How* measured? by itself! *How tested* then? "Value is a relation"—*is purchasing power of embodied labor*. Evidently the "definiteness" of weight, purity and denomination, as "—grains"—" $\frac{9}{10}$ fine"—"dollar" is vaguely confused here with definite *valuc*, yet nothing could be more distinct, for the relations of standard-money value to all other values vary with the changes in the value of other currency or medium, and of other things, all the time, everywhere. The closing sentence is: "It seems impossible to doubt that the power to coin money is a power to establish a uniform standard of value, and that no other power to do so, as by legal-tender notes, is conferred upon Congress"

Here we have *first* the usual unscientific muddle, adopted from "the best writers," of basis, standard, and measure of value, all these three very distinct economic entities jumbled into one, and the abortive function limited to metallic money! *next* to establish a *standard* of value, is the *duty* of government! But nature, or the law of God, which can scarcely be strengthened by Congressional re-enacting, has been before man's laws here and has established Labor as the standard of value, and all that is needed is, to have the measures of value in use, truly express this standard.

Judge Clifford, agreeing with this Opinion, adds, in a long appeal to authorities, this capital truth: "The power to ordain a [*measure, consonant with God's*] standard of value, and to provide a circulating medium for a legal tender, are subject to no mutations of any kind; they are the same in peace or war." Now, (except the usual misuse of the word *standard*), this is exactly, absolutely true; *but* from it the precisely opposite conclusion to that of the deductions of his side of the Court, is inevitable. Judge Field's sharp opinion on the same side concludes the legal tender cases, so far:—"It follows then logically from the majority doctrine. . . . that Congress may borrow gold coin, pledging public faith to repay gold . . . yet disregarding pledge, violating faith, may compel the lender to take its own promises [at par and no matter what the premium on gold,] and that . . . this . . . would not violate the Constitution, but would be in harmony with its letter and spirit. . . . For such acts of flagrant injustice there is no authority in any legislative body, . . . for as there are unchangeable principles of right and morality, . . . so there are fundamental principles of eternal justice, upon the existence of which all constitutional law rests." "What is this but declaring that repudiation by the United States Government of its solemn obligations would be constitutional?" Just so! is the only honest, logical answer; it would be repudiation pure and simple, as bold and cheeky as it is to enact and exact gold for contracts made in silver and greenbacks. But in both cases the degree of the wrong and guilt depends upon the right of the government to enact to contract impossibilities in one case: to enact "laws to impair the obligation of contracts" in favor of the wealthy creditor classes in the other case.

If the payment tendered has less value (tested by the right standard, scientifically applied through a sufficient and just legal tender

at par with the *natural* value of gold and silver, which is the best embodiment of labor-value that the world has got, when not enhanced nor depreciated by vicious laws),—*if* it has less value, I say, than was given by the lender or received by the borrower, or than was equitably and lawfully agreed to be paid whether so received or not, it would be as base and wicked repudiation as was the change of value in the case instanced against the debtor, and *if* the former were not better able to bear the loss out of their abundance than the latter out of their poverty, out of their thus caused ruin!

No government has any right to put itself, or the people of which it is the fiduciary servant, into the power of usurers; because every government has or ought to have,—*has*, if it knows how to exercise it—such just and equal power over the property, the credit, the lives even, of all its citizens, that any such sacrifice of its own credit and their rights is a most heinous crime. Contracting to pay in gold or in silver, or in either or both, and taxing the people to pay in, with, or by mono-metallic value-measure, or in, or by, or with bi-metallic legal tender, unmitigated by the credit-element representing average labor-value in all commodities, (the only way to justly represent it), *is such a crime*. The most that any government has the right to “pledge public faith” for, is, to pay at the par of labor-value, that is at the commodity value of gold-with-silver, when that natural value is not disturbed by any viciously, iniquitously limited legal-tender laws. It follows, as to private contracts, that no government has any right to permit or to compel any of its citizens to exact, or to contract for, anything more than such labor-value, which the right legal-tender will insure.

Judge Field closes with these words of “The Master:” “If ye love me, keep my commandments.” Which one of them favored Dives rather than Lazarus? Or “the rich man who had much goods laid up for many years,” rather than the just master of the vineyard who paid to every laborer, eleventh-hour men and all standing idle in the market-place, a full day’s wages? Or the priest and levite who passed by the man who “fell among thieves,” rather than the good Samaritan who had compassion on him? Or is it the “The golden rule” that is meant? When the chief priests and scribes tempted the Christ, “feigning themselves just men,” and seeking to entrap him with a money-question: he taught them

and all to whom his words should come in after ages, that the "true inwardness" of coined money as sole legal-tender, and "all that it implies," is solely as the attribute and instrument of absolutism and privilege:—"The things that are Cæsar's." Why was the coin that was shown to him, and which He would not touch,—why, or how was it Cæsar's? Did it not belong to the man that then possessed it, and had worked for it? And does not your coined money—worker, and capitalist, and ruler, and judge,—belong to you if you earned it, or lawfully acquired it? Yes, do you say? No, I say, *it does not*: for it "belongs to Cæsar," every dime, franc, shilling, mark, lira, piastre, sequin, rupee, mace, of it! The revenues of the empire over man, absolute or free, so-called, in this world absorb more than all the specie. "Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's." The things of Cæsar are material, the things of God are spiritual. Faith belongs to the latter: credit is faith, trust, assured confidence. All money is either "hard" coin or "soft" faith; and the assured faith-money is preferred by the most enlightened nations, those who have the highest value ideas of honesty, honor, principle, truth, judgment, righteousness, goodness, mercy, virtue, duty, work, faith, hope, love,—of God! This text perfectly harmonizes with all the facts and truths of monetary and ethical science yet known. It may be asked by some pure fiatist, why use gold and silver money at all then, if faith-money is so much the best, and nine-tenths must be faith anyway? The particular and inductive answers can and will be given. The general and deductive answer is:—because the material and the spiritual *are* inseparably united in this life: "Faith *and* Works."

TIMOTHY WRIGHT.

NEW BOOKS.

ANNOTATED POEMS OF STANDARD ENGLISH AUTHORS. Edited by the Rev. E. T. Stevens and the Rev. D. Morris. I. Gray's *Elgy*. II. Goldsmith's *Traveller*. III. Goldsmith's *Deserted Village*. IV. Scott's *Lady of the Lake*. 16 mo. pp. 24, 76, 47, 63. Philadelphia, J. B. Lippincott & Co.

The old excuse for not teaching English at school, that no books were provided for instruction in this language, is fast becoming

wholly without foundation. Books for beginners in grammar and composition, and books for advanced classes, too, have multiplied in the last ten years. The old grammars in which English forms and constructions were reduced to so much "metapheesic", are gone,—let us hope, forever. A fresh, lively grammar is not only not impossible, but is an established fact; composition may be taught systematically, and yet not so as to make "prigs" or pedants. Last of all, in the series before us, comes the final *desideratum* for older classes,—a set of easy, modern poems properly annotated for school-use.

The Messrs. Lippincotts, in securing an American edition of these English publications, have conferred an incalculable benefit on the school course and the teacher of English. Shakspeare had been edited by Mr. Rolfe; and Spenser and Chaucer, in school-editions, were in the Clarendon Press Series, with some other not very modern poets. But even Shakspeare is too old-fashioned for the work that must be done *first* in English Literature. Writers whose diction is only poetically archaic, must be presented to boys and girls as the basis of their *coup d'essai* in analysis and verbal criticism. For this use, Scott and Goldsmith and Gray are admirably well suited.

We do not mean that the reverend editors have supplied new books of parsing. Except so far as construction is necessary to interpretation, the Editors have wholly "spued it out". They intend their most presentable little "pocket editions" to do far other work than to teach a syntax that (with certain notable exceptions) is simple enough without the eternal drilling necessary in highly inflected and much involved languages. They evidently purpose an expedition towards "England's Parnassus," a drink at the English Pieria. The books presuppose a knowledge of English Syntax: they propose a first incursion into the domain of Literature.

Should the hint thrown out by this publication be taken by our teachers, our boys will go to college, and our girls to the duties of life, with ample preparation for studies in literature, with no little power at appreciating the best things in their language, and with sharpened appetites that will no longer be contented with the husks of yellow-covered novels or the unsatisfying food (however good as dessert or sugar plums) of the picture-paper or the popular magazine.

THE LIFE AND POEMS OF EDGAR ALLAN POE. A new memoir by Eugene L. Didier, and an introductory letter by Sarah Ellen Whitman, Pp. 305, 12 mo. Three Illustrations. New York, W. J. Widdleton & Co.

THE LIGHT OF ASIA, or the great Renunciation (Mahâbhinis Kra-

mana.) Being the Life and Teachings of Gautama, Prince of India and Founder of Buddhism (as told in verse by an Indian Buddhist.) By Edwin Arnold, M. A., Pp. 249, 12 mo. Boston. Robert Bros.

IDYLLS AND POEMS, by Anna Maria Fay, Pp. 103, sq. 12 mo. New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons.

MIDSUMMER DREAMS, by Latham C. Strong, Pp. 174, sq. 12 mo. Same publishers.

The busy world still sings at its work, and the reign of fact and of industry has not stopped its ears to the voice of its songsters.

Edgar Allan Poe, the American Shelly, is, like his English compeer, the theme of fierce controversy and passionate worship. He encountered many misfortunes in his life, but his worst was in falling into the hands of "Tityrus" Griswold at his death. The first account of him given to the public was a libel. His failings were exaggerated; his sufferings ignored; his virtues neglected. The whole picture, whatever might be said in defence of each fraction of it, was false. Poe's admirers have been toiling ever since to obliterate the injurious impression thus created, and Mr. Didier is one of the latest of his champions. They have not succeeded as they deserve, partly we think because those who admire Poe enough to take the trouble to defend him, are not persons of the right temperament to make an effective defence of any one. They frequently do not accept the standard of moral judgment by which the public condemns such a character, and thus put themselves out of court. They invariably fail to conduct the defence in a manner which will command the understandings of the public. Mr. Didier's Memoir is a good one; but we close it with no exact knowledge of the charges brought, and with no clear understanding of the force of the evidence in rebuttal.

To us Poe is especially interesting because he is one of the few imaginative off-shoots of that stern, unimaginative stock, the Scotch-Irish. Henry James is another; but so far as we can recollect, they are the only two that have made a lasting mark in imaginative literature.

This edition of his poems is tasteful and well printed. There is no need to speak of the merits of the poems themselves.

We took up "The Light of Asia" with a distinct prejudice against modern Epics and against Mr. Edwin Arnold. In the days of our ignorance, starting from Sir Walter Scott's poetry, we read a good number of that class of productions. We claim to be the only living man, who has read through Cottle's *Alfred*, the author and the proof-reader being both dead. And Mr. Arnold's works on the Greek Poets, as well as some of his recent appearances in our periodical literature, seemed to show him a man of but secondary abilities. But the poem has converted us, not to Mr. Arnold's

exaggerated estimate of the most inhuman of all religious creeds, but to the acknowledgment that Mr. Arnold can write a beautiful and readable poem. He is not indeed an original poet. He belongs very distinctly to the school of Tennyson, and we catch the echoes of *The Idylls of the King* in all his best descriptions. He is most original in his reduction of the Buddhist creed to verse, especially in the closing pages of the book. We can recommend the work to our readers, with confidence that they will derive both pleasure and profit from reading it.

Miss Fay's poems give us the impression of a mind delicately organized, susceptible to subtle influences, Platonic in its sympathies, but not gifted with any high degree of poetic power. Like most modern poets, she is not so intelligible that he who runs may read. These lines "To a Summer Fleet," show her manner:—

O ye! that plough the fenceless sea,
 Nor reap of its fertility
 And leave its fields of furrows free,
 Ye ships in shadow and light displayed.
 Dearer to me the portioned land,
 The toil beneath a hard command,
 And ruin e'en by human hand,
 O ships, in shadow and light that fade.

Mr. Strong's themes are more in the line of popular liking. He shows best in his narrative poems, which make up the greater part of the volume. But none of them rise above the level of what is recognized as Magazine poetry. Readers who care to pass a pleasant summer hour in reading verse, may do much worse than take these Midsummer Dreams as their companion under the trees.

A SKETCH OF DICKINSON COLLEGE, (Carlisle, Pa.) including the List of Trustees and Faculty from the foundation, and a more particular account of the Scientific Department. By Charles F. Heines, Ph. D., Professor of Natural Science. Illustrated by Engravings and by Photographs executed in the Laboratory. Pp. 155. 8vo. Harrisburg: Lane S. Hart.

This is a volume of decided interest to all who desire to know the history of collegiate education in our own State. The history of Dickinson College, both in its origin and up to the time when it became a Methodist Institution, is a part of the history of Pennsylvania, and a very interesting part. It was started for the purpose of promoting the higher education in what was then the western portion of the commonwealth, and it perpetuates the name of the Pennsylvania Farmer in its title. Its situation at Carlisle, then the centre of the Scotch Irish in Pennsylvania, led to its passing virtually under the control of the Presbyterian Church, while it was in theory undenominational up to 1833. It was the internal troubles of administration, especially the attempts of the Trustees to admin-

ister the discipline of the institution, which broke down its prosperity. "The Trustees at last awake to the real difficulty too late, resolved to petition the Legislature to amend the charter so as to make the President of the college a member *ex officio* of the Board, and to commit the discipline of the college entirely into the hands of the Faculty, with exception of an appeal to the Trustees in case of expulsion,—a practically nominal exception whilst the power to dismiss was to be final with the Faculty. But the remedy was proposed too late," and the college passed under purely denominational control. One of the first steps taken by the New Board was to secure the changes in the charter mentioned above.

In its late history, Methodists will be more interested than the public generally. But it is noteworthy that one of the first effects of Church control was the establishment of the Scientific Department, in which our author holds his Professorship.

MOTIVES OF LIFE. By David Swing. Pp. 162. 12mo. Chicago: Jansen, McClurg & Co.

THE FAITH OF REASON. A Series of Discourses on the Leading Topics of Religion. By John W. Chadwick. Pp. 254. 12mo. Boston: Roberts Bros.

Mr. Swing is perhaps the most popular of Chicago preachers, a man who divests his teaching of professional technicalities of all sorts, and speaks to his generation in its own vocabulary. In this little book he discusses, as "motives of life," (1) Intellectual Progress; (2) Home; (3) A Good Name; (4) The Pursuit of Happiness; (5) Benevolence; (6) Religion. We think the arrangement of topics both significant and unhappy. It is the order in which these motives are presented in very much of our popular preaching. But it is a very bad sign for this generation, that it listens most eagerly to those teachers who put "Religion," meaning Theology, last in the series, and decline to pronounce whether this or lesser motives have had the greater influence on human history. It would have been a far truer arrangement to have omitted this last theme, as a separate one, and then to have shown how it blended with each of the others. The book has many literary merits; it is fresh, suggestive and unconventional, but not profound.

Mr. Chadwick is known to the country as a poet of some merit, and to Brooklyn as an advanced Unitarian preacher. In this volume he grapples with the tendency of our day to cut loose from the primary truths of natural religion. He confesses that he was one of those who believed, with Theodore Parker, that when once the supernatural element was stripped from religion, the great truths of deity, immortality and prayer would shine with a new power into human hearts. The Cassandras, meaning the opponents of Parkerism, predicted that all belief in what is called

natural religion would go too, and he admits that the Cassandras have proved to have been in the right. He now takes up his parable to show that "Religion" is a perennial necessity of the human spirit,—that it will survive the destruction of all the convictions which were supposed to be primary and fundamental to it, and that worship, awe and duty will continue, when men have cast off the belief in an eternal King-Father of men, and ceased to name his name. He does not for himself accept the Agnostic position; he even argues against it in a mild, vague way; but he deprecates criticism of that form of unbelief as one imperilling the highest social interests.

Mr. Chadwick confesses that he was a false prophet on the former instance, and that the Cassandras were right. Does he measure the force of that concession truly? Comte says "the power of prediction is the test of science." It is with the Cassandras then that we are to seek for what insight there is into the nature of the great drift of opinion which is going on. And the Cassandras will tell Mr. Chadwick that he is as much at fault in his new expectations as in the old. They will tell him that the pretty sayings, original and quoted, with which this volume is strewn, will make no impression upon the great masses of mankind; and that these new reasonings, subtle as those of a Dun Scotus, will be as powerless as Samson's green withes with the proletariat, who hope nothing from order and everything from chaos. They will point him to Nihilism and its related phenomena in Europe, as showing what will be the condition of mankind when the unbeliefs of the scholars, and the concessions of liberal theologians, have percolated downward to the masses, who, as Victor Hugo says, need the conviction of a life beyond the grave to compensate for the sorrowings and the sufferings of the life they are leading here.

GASPARD DE COLIGNY. By Walter Besant, M. A., Pp. 232, 16mo.
 ABRAHAM LINCOLN. By Charles Godfrey Leland. Pp. 246, 16mo.
 New York, G. Putnam's Sons.

Several years ago the writer of some articles on "Natural Education" which appeared in these pages, put forward a plea for the educational use of biographies of great men. Plutarch's *Lives* were instanced as a book which embalmed and preserved for us more of the truth and life of ancient history than is to be found in all the other books which have come down to us. And it was suggested that a similar collection of the biographies of the heroes of modern times might serve a similar use, in introducing the young reader to what is best and worthiest in our mediæval and modern history. The two books above mentioned are the beginning of a series called "The New Plutarch." The persons selected out of the army of heroes have been well chosen, although we miss some worthy

names: such as Alfred, Louis IX, Sobieski, Luther, William the Silent, George Castriot, and the Chevalier Bayard; but we hope that the success of the series will lead to its extension so as to include them and many others. Equally good has been the selection of authors, so far as we can judge from the reputation which most of them already enjoy.

Coligny and Lincoln have fallen into good hands. Mr. Besant is known in America chiefly as a novelist; Mr. Leland needs no introduction to his own countrymen. There are many points of external resemblance in the history of the two men. Both were popular leaders in a great struggle for freedom; both enjoyed unparalleled confidence among their adherents; both have written their names on the pages of American history; both died a violent death at the hand of the assassin. But the points of contrast are more real. Coligny came of a proud French stock, and enjoyed all the advantages the age could furnish; Lincoln was the child of a poor white family, and had but six months' schooling in his life. Coligny was such a man as his extraction would suggest,—a man of high sense of honor, great personal dignity, and while enthusiastic for the cause he espoused, yet one who would hold at arm's length the commonality of its adherents. Lincoln was a man of much less refinement, but far greater breadth and geniality of character,—a man of the people and for the people. Coligny's words were fit for the time and place; Lincoln's have survived him as epigrams and watchwords for the generations to follow.

Of the two narratives we give Mr. Leland's the preference. He has to tell a much more familiar story, and one for the greater part less full of adventure. But he tells the story of Lincoln's life so that we can read it as if we had never heard it before. But we can commend both to our readers as worthy narratives of worthy lives.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

Lord Macaulay. *His Life.—His Writings.* By Charles H. Jones. (Handy Volume Series.) Price, 30 cents. New York: D. Appleton & Co. [Porter & Coates.]

The Chemistry of Common Life. By the late James F. W. Johnston. A new edition, revised and brought down to the present time. By Arthur Herbert Church. Cloth, 12mo. Pp. 592. New York: D. Appleton & Co. [Porter & Coates.]

The Pathology of Mind. By Henry Maudsley, M. D. Cloth, 12mo. Pp. 550. New York: D. Appleton & Co. [Porter & Coates.]

The Art of Speech. In two volumes. Vol. I. *Studies in Poetry and Prose.* By L. T. Townsend, D. D. New York: D. Appleton & Co. [Porter & Coates.]

Great Singers: Faustina Bordoni to Henrietta Sontag. By George T. Ferris. Price, 30 cents. New York: D. Appleton & Co. [Porter & Coates.]

Sebastian Strome. A Novel. By Julian Hawthorne. 8vo. Sw'd. Price 75 cents. New York: D. Appleton & Co. [Porter & Coates.]

England: Her People, Polity, and Pursuits. By T. H. S. Escott. Cloth. 8vo. Pp. 625. New York: Henry Holt & Co. [Porter & Coates.]

Civilization: Is its Cause Natural or Supernatural? 8vo. Sw'd. Pp. 140. Philadelphia: Charles H. Marot.

THE
PENN MONTHLY.

MARCH, 1880.

THE MONTH.

MR. GLADSTONE'S letter to an officer of the Peace Congress, announcing his willingness to bring the question of a European disarmament before Parliament, may not lead to any immediate result of importance. But it is valuable as showing that one of the first of European statesmen is heartily alive to the great evil which is depressing industry, corrupting morals, and forcing emigration from the continent of Europe. The economic effects of the present system, if there were no other, would furnish a sufficient reason for its abolition. M. de Laveleye of Liege, in his famous discussion of the influence of Protestantism and Catholicism on the Liberty and the Prosperity of Nations, makes no use of the argument often drawn from the number of Church festivals whose observance is obligatory on good Catholics. Had he done so, he might have provoked the retort that modern society, as organized upon a secular basis and renouncing the authority of the Pope as arbitrator between nations, has found it necessary to devote, not a few days of each year, but several of the best years in each man's life, to the service not of celestial powers, but of infernal passions. The burden thus imposed upon national industry is oppressive in the extreme. It is one of the reasons of that large emigration from the Continent to our own country, which lasted for years and will begin again as soon as our prosperity is fully restored. The Rus-

sian Mennonites are not the only people who fly to America to escape compulsory military service; nor are religious scruples about the lawfulness of war, the only motive which inspires such flight. It shows how great a *prestige* America enjoyed at the close of the Civil War, that each of these countries acquiesced in signing a Naturalization Treaty, by which their own people after emigration can put themselves beyond the reach of conscription, even on their return to Europe. Were such Treaties to be asked to-day, there would be much more reluctance to grant them.

But the moral effects of the system are still more mischievous. Where the young men of any nationality are gathered by conscription into garrison towns, they cannot but deteriorate in character. They are isolated from all the saving influences of home and general society. They are debarred from marriage until the completion of their term of service. The best of them maintain their purity in spite of temptations encountered in the absence of those restraints which all but a few men find necessary to them. The weaker majority go in the path of the strange woman. Hence the laws for the "regulation" of the social evil on the Continent of Europe, and even in the garrison towns of England,—laws enacted to preserve the health of the troops, but which involve the nation which enacted them in complicity with a foul, unsocial sin. Hence the spread of sexual immorality among the peoples on the Continent, in contrast to the comparative purity of English and American Society. We do not mean that either of the Anglo-Saxon nations have any right to boast in this regard; but each is far purer than it would be under a conscription system, such as that of France or Germany. It is because Europe has been a country of camps and garrisons, that it suffers from this evil to an extent unknown to a less military community.

There is a germ of good in the continental system. A military drill of the whole male population, under a thorough militia system like that of Switzerland, would be a real gain to any nation. But this good could be gained without any such sacrifice of still higher interests, and without its being made an unpopular bondage, from which people fly by millions to unmilitary communities. A man who has been in the army has learnt many things which will be of permanent value to him; but there is no need to shut him up for months and years in a garrison town, in order to teach him those lessons.

But it would be too much to hope for any immediate or general disarmament on the Continent, much less for the early abolition of the conscription system. The prospect was clearer some years ago than it is now. Since Lord Beaconsfield and the Tories came into power, the disturbing influence of England's foreign policy has been felt in every corner of the Continent. It has sowed distrust and antagonism between the Great Powers, and has set each to watch the other in expectation of some offensive movement. They began this bad influence by refusing to act with the other Great Powers in effecting a peaceable termination of Turkish rule in Bulgaria; their organs, the Tory papers, now glory in the fact that Russia and Austria are each ready to spring at the other's throat, and that a conflict between Germany and Russia is among the possibilities. They have even awakened the same military spirit in the English, partly by a reaction against the long reign of the merely commercial spirit under Liberal leadership. Under the coming Liberal administration, England's influence probably will be brought to bear in a different direction; and we think it would be the duty of our own Government to second her efforts, as far as is consistent with our traditional maxims of foreign policy. A gradual and equal reduction of the continental armaments to a real peace footing, would be a gain for the whole world.

MR. JOHN BRIGHT, like most of the Manchester School, has but little sympathy with the landed interest in the United Kingdom. It is from him that we generally hear the most radical statements of belief and proposals of action in regard to this matter. He devised the famous formula,—“The land owner is a public official, who may be dismissed for failure to perform his duties to the country.” He proposed the clauses of the Irish Land Act of 1870, by which the tenants on the estates of the London Companies, and on those of non-resident landlords, may become the owners of their lands on terms of easy purchase. It is, therefore, to him especially among the English Liberals that the Irish Land League must look for some signs of encouragement and support in their new proposals,—as to being the Liberal leader who takes the most advanced view of the Land Question, and is the freest to say what he thinks.

Mr. Bright has not altogether disappointed these expectations,

and yet he has not quite come up to them. He is still willing to coerce the small number of Irish landlords specified in the Land Law, into the sale of their property, and to extend very favorable terms to their tenants, through the Board of Public Works; but he yields to English feeling in regard to the great majority of the Irish land-owners. Wherever a landlord is willing to sell and a tenant is willing to buy, he would advance three-fourths of the purchase-money, to be repaid in five per cent. instalments extending over thirty-five years. And, to this end, he would abolish all the restrictions in the way of settlement or entail which might prevent such a landlord from selling, and would make land as saleable, even by a life-tenant, as is any piece of furniture or machinery.

Mr. Bright's offer is the proverbial half-a-loaf, which the Land League people will probably accept under protest. There are a very large number of Irish land-owners who would be willing to sell their lands at any reasonable price. They are in debt and in distress. They cannot sell, because they are virtually the life-tenants on lands which are handed over by entail to the next heir, or burdened by settlements made for the support of dowagers and unmarried sisters. At present, Irish land is worth but eighteen years' purchase, and if the agitation continues it will bring even less. Rents which have to be collected in the face of the solid opposition of the people of a county, are not a desirable investment. When Mr. Parnell says, "The Landlords must go," there is many a landlord who says, "Would to God that we could go, without going out stripped and naked!" Unfortunately, the estates thus likely to be brought into the market, are generally those in which there is the least likelihood of the tenants being able to raise any considerable sum to make the first payment. They are the neglected and poverty-stricken estates, for which nothing has been done, and out of which everything has been extracted to the last possible farthing. Such a law would therefore prove applicable only to the most depressed and helpless of the Irish tenants, but, in so far as it is operative, it would relieve some of the worst of Irish misery and suffering. It would not make land-owners of the tenants of such estates as those of the Dufferins, where the landlord takes a pride in seeing his land well cared for and his tenants prosperous. To some persons, it may seem as if this exclusion of the better class

of estates from the action of the law would be far from undesirable. But if the character of the Irish people, and the constitution of society, be taken into account, it will be seen that this is a mistake. Irish discontent is not co-extensive with landlord oppression, however wide and deep that may be. The people resent their position as tenants, not merely as oppressed tenants. The instinct for land-ownership is deeply implanted in the race. And the English policy, by destroying all other means of getting a livelihood in Ireland, has fostered that instinct until it has become a passion. It is this sentiment in the Irish which the English fail to comprehend; a hard, business-like nation themselves, they cannot understand the power of a sentiment over this mercurial people. Only Mr. Gladstone has shown any just appreciation of the weight with which "sentimental grievances" may crush the spirit of a nation. And if he will but apply to Ireland the principle he has so recently enunciated, that nothing should stand in the way of creating a peasant proprietorship, in case the public interests demand it, he will go far beyond Mr. Bright in his proposals for the benefits of the Irish tenants.

A WEALTHY Frenchman, M. Pereire, offers twenty thousand dollars in prizes for the best essays on the prevention and cure of pauperism. It seems that the questions which have been pressing upon public attention in this country and in England are equally urgent for solution in France. The French people are generous givers to their own poor, and to suffering of every sort. The country which gave the world a St. Vincent de Paul, can never cease to think and care for the poor. And the religious teaching of which France hears the most, is that which insists most on the blessedness of giving and least upon its dangers. In the Catholic hierarchy of virtues, benevolence and charity hold a very distinguished rank, while self-respect, independence, and even truthfulness, occupy subordinate places; and the fear of extinguishing these latter by a lavish exercise of the former, is but little insisted upon. It seems, however, that the result of all this upon the character of the people has been most disastrous; that the more there has been given, the greater the growth of dependent and apparently helpless classes; that a sort of hereditary helplessness and shift-

lessness has been developed by the very abundance of public and private alms, until society is burdened with a mass of wretchedness which it knows not how to heal.

M. Pereire is a survivor of that brilliant group which gathered around the memory and the teachings of St. Simon in the opening year of Louis Philippe's reign, and avowed their devotion to the interests of "the most numerous classes, that is the poorest." He takes a very broad view of the subject, proposing not only the discussion of direct remedial measures, but the adaptation of public education to this purpose, the development of provident habits among the poor, and the amendment of the fiscal system so as to allow taxation to press but lightly on the poor man's resources. As he throws open these prizes to the competition of the world, we hope that he will find American writers among his competitors. Indeed, we take the liberty of entering one New York and three Philadelphia editors for four of the twenty prizes he offers. They will begin by showing M. Pereire the absurdity of spending any money in behalf of the poor that does not go to the purchase of food, fuel and clothing, to be distributed to all who ask aid, with as little cost in "salaries, rent and stationery" as may be. They will demonstrate that his hundred thousand francs should have been expended in bread, coal and woolen socks, and not in prize essays. And then, having been awarded the four first-class prizes for their championship of these advanced ideas, they will show their own sincerity by handing over their forty thousand francs to that Parisian relief society which can give them the best security that "twenty sous of every franc shall go to the poor." And the Millennium will then begin at once.

RUSSIA will give a great joy to her friends throughout the world, if the purpose expressed towards Poland in the words of the Czarewitch, and hinted at in other quarters, is executed. Her treatment of Poland has been the weak point in Russia's case before Europe,—the point on which her enemies dwelt with malicious exultation, and the danger of the Empire in case of a great European war. To sweep away the oppressive measures adopted during the irritation which followed an insurrection, to recognize the separate nationality of the people and the free use

of their own unpronounceable language, in a word to put a stop to the process of Russifying Poland, would be a grand opening for a new reign,—a reign which we predict will be most illustrious in the annals of the Empire. In the example of Austria's reconciliation with Hungary, Russia may find both encouragement for this step, and warnings against the serious blunder Austria made in constructing a double-yolked monarchy. As neither country will have an elective parliament under any system as yet proposed, the adjustment of Polish and Russian relations may be much simpler and more effective. Free institutions have great advantages, but they often cause very serious entanglements. It was their establishment in Denmark, that precipitated the Schleswig-Holstein trouble; the Duchies were out-voted in the Diet, but had always been wisely conciliated by the Danish kings. And it is the existence of Parliamentary government in Austria-Hungary, which makes it impossible for the two countries to pull together harmoniously.

Poland is one more instance, if any were needed, of the indestructibility of nationality. Just as Germany and Italy maintained their national consciousness, in spite of centuries of dislocation, so Poland maintains hers in spite of a century of dismemberment and foreign rule. These impalpable sentiments which statesmen so often despise,—the attachment to a piece of ground, a piece of colored bunting, a spelling-book—are among the most irresistible of political forces. For the root of nationality is the will to be one people, and whatever cannot bend or destroy that will cannot touch the nerve of national life. Statesmen are beginning to recognize this—thanks to the teachings of Joseph Mazzini having percolated downward as low as Cabinets and Congresses. They are beginning to know that national boundaries are fixed by sentiment and not by surveyors. Even the worst outrages on the principle in our times have been perpetrated in its name. The Savoyards were made to vote themselves into France. Elsass and Lothringen and Schleswig are claimed as properly German territory, and with the purpose of Germanizing their peoples.

It is this drift of public opinion which reunited Germany and Italy, and which gives a new significance to the Irish and Polish questions, by exciting the sympathies of the world in their behalf, and basing these sympathies upon an unchanging principle. It is no longer

of any use to plead at this bar that the subject peoples are better off than if they were independent, as they are unfit to take care of themselves; or that various providential indications point to their subjection to another country as their rightful state. All such pleadings are traversed by the simple principle, that when a people have willed to be one people, and to be independent of all other nationalities, they have a right to that position, however injurious it may be to themselves, or however inconvenient to others. You cannot sue out a writ *De lunatico inquirendo* against a nation; and in this age of the world, it is becoming every day impossible to conceal the true purpose and disposition of a nation in this regard. Every man who studies the drift of things, knows that in some shape, and in the near future, the Polish nationality will be a fact in the political situation of Europe.

THE Nihilist attempt to blow up the Winter Palace in St. Petersburg has excited a fresh horror throughout the world. The dream of the Abbé Baruel, at the time of the French Revolution, of a gigantic secret association organized for the overthrow of society, government and religion, seems at last to be realized in this organized anarchy of Nihilism. The idea of the movement is the destruction of all authority,—of God, the King, the father, and even of society itself. The wildest socialist and communist of Western Europe seeks to destroy only in order that he may replace. He would have human society not less, but more, strictly organized than heretofore, and all property centralized in the hands of the social authorities. The Nihilist destroys simply that the ground may be left clear, and free play given to the most arbitrary individualism. He would like to see children renounce their father's rule as soon as they are able to shift for themselves. He would like to have all mankind give up the idea that they are bound by any law higher than the momentary impulse which forms their dominant desire. He would like to see this earth not an "ante-room of hell," but itself a hell of unrestrained greed and contention. His idea of freedom is the purely infernal one; the impulses which move him are the purely Apollyonic instincts of destruction for destruction's sake. The angry passion which turns men, for the moment, into maniacs, and leads them to smash and destroy whatever is nearest their hands, he would elevate into the dignity of a political principle.

The roots of Nihilism are in a false intellectual culture and an un-national system of Government. Russia is a country whose development has been perverted by the importation of foreign ideas, methods and principles which the country has been unable to assimilate. The Administrative system has been assimilated to that of Germany, to the destruction of all real sympathy and understanding between the ruling classes and those which are under rule. The educational system also has been modelled after that of Germany, and the wildest ideas of that unpractical country have been spread far and wide among young people who but yesterday were praying before a winking *Ikou*, while the nation has learnt nothing of that mental discipline and self-restraint which enable other lands to bear with and smile at the absurdities of their radicals. The educated classes have been infected with the rage of keeping up with the latest ideas. They have rushed from Hegel and Schelling to Buckle, Büchner and Haeckel. The worst and most unwholesome of the more serious literature of Western Europe, together with the most immoral of its frivolous literature, finds its way into Russia, in cheap translations, while the better books are nearly unknown. Russia is the *corpus vili* upon which we are trying the effects of the drugs whose action in other lands is modified by other and antagonistic influences. For in Russia there is no intellectual Church, no clearly beneficial social order, no fixed and honored traditions of social method.

But, after all, the real people of Russia are altogether untouched by these bad influences. As our Democratic orators used to say in the days of Democratic majorities, "the great heart of the people is sound." And the sooner the Czar can bring the Moujiks into some kind of contact and coöperation with the throne and relieve his people from the weight of a crushing bureaucracy, by assimilating governmental methods to the national traditions, the sooner will there be a return of peace and quiet to this great Empire.

THE exposure of the abuses and corruptions in the Indian department, do not exhibit Mr. Schurz in an enviable light as an administrator. He was selected at the outset by the President, as a devoted representative of governmental Reform, to take charge and oversight of that branch of the public service in which the

scandals were most numerous. And while we believe he has done his very best to purge the service and to secure an honest management, he has made so many errors of judgment, and has shown so much moral incapacity for dealing with the difficult part of the problem, that his years of service as Secretary of the Interior will leave him discredited as a statesman. There was, indeed, nothing in Mr. Schurz's earlier record to justify any great expectations; but those expectations were excited by the extravagant eulogies pronounced upon him by his personal following.

On entering upon office, Mr. Schurz selected as Indian Commissioner a gentleman who had come into public notice through his share in the attacks which drove Mr. E. P. Smith from that position. From a personal acquaintance with Mr. Smith, we were satisfied of his general good intentions, and not convinced by any of the evidence alleged against him. But Mr. Hayt's share in that crusade, as it called down upon him the displeasure of President Grant, served as a strong recommendation with Mr. Schurz. The new Commissioner was forced upon the President, who knew nothing of his character and capacity, and distrusted his fitness. Under his care the business of the bureau has been managed with increasing laxity, which has had much to do with the outbreaks of the Indians against the government. Tribes were kept to their reservations, and there plundered and starved into hostility. Every instance of resistance was met, not by investigation and conciliation, but by force of arms. The outrages perpetrated on the Poncas and the Sioux were but the most striking of a long series. The faith of the agreement with the great religious bodies, which undertook the christianization and civilization of the Indians, was continually broken, until nothing remained of it. The agents they selected were constantly rejected, and others, with no better qualification than political influence, put in their place, so that the responsibility of the churches was practically abolished.

Last of all comes the disclosure that Mr. Hayt has used his office to retrieve his own business fortunes, purchasing through his son a silver mine which had been resurveyed out of a reservation, and of which the local agent was in possession. The attempts to hush up this scandal having failed, Mr. Hayt has very properly received his dismissal.

These disclosures have caused a general reconsideration of the

Indian question, and some sweeping changes have been suggested by the friends of the Red man. It is proposed to get rid of the Reservation system and the communistic land tenure of the Indians—to abolish their anomalous position as foreign powers to be negotiated with, and to vest them with the dignity and responsibility of citizens. We fear that these reformers are in too great haste. It would be quite right and proper to enable the Indian to assume this new position as fast as he desires it; but it would be eminently unwise to force it upon him. Of course it would be much better to have the land vested in individuals and not in the tribe; but if the traditions and habits of the race are closely bound up with the latter form of land tenure, it would be a mistake to effect the change more rapidly than the people concerned are prepared to ask for it. The abolition of the wretched restrictions of the Reservation system would be eminently wise and proper; but the cancelling of the existing treaties, and the reduction of the tribes to collections of individuals with no corporate rights and duties, and no privileges before the law, is another change which must be accommodated to the desires of the Indians themselves. This new status as regards land and citizenship, should be the result of an education to desire it, and not a violent revolution, by which all the hardships of the change would be inflicted without leaving them the corresponding advantages. Even their communistic land tenure, it must be remembered, guards them against the impositions by which white speculators would prey upon the ignorance and inexperience of individual land-owners.

ALL those American citizens who came under a cloud for any ill service to the Government during the War, will do well to avail themselves of this era of political indifference to relieve themselves of the odium then incurred. Lincoln, Stanton, Seward, Chase and the other chief representatives of the national authority in that trying time, are gone the way of all the earth, and can no longer utter any protest or defence of the deliberate judgments then formed and executed. A good many of the witnesses are gone also, and the mere written record of what they testified is open to ingenious and captious objections, which can no longer be cleared up by a further examination. And then, the legislative department of the Government, at least, is far from unwilling to set aside anything which was said or done by Mr. Lincoln and his associates in power.

Surgeon-General Hammond, whose case Mr. Lincoln distinctly refused to re-open, as he was fully satisfied of the justice of the sentence, has been rehabilitated quite recently. Dr. Hammond may have done his whole duty to the country in his responsible position; and the charges brought against him may have been dictated by malice and accepted by ignorance, as his friends allege. For the sake of science, of which he has become a very eminent representative, we hope that it was so. But we do not believe that a case so judged, even if decided wrongly, can be fully re-opened in this world. If Dr. Hammond has been wronged, he must find the redress of his wrongs beyond the grave. It is a fate to have been condemned by such men in such a time, and then to have seen them pass away to their account, with no retraction of that condemnation. There is not in this country, to-day, the materials for a tribunal capable of reversing that decision in the eyes of history and of a sober public opinion.

We are much clearer as to the case of General Fitz-John Porter. This officer's name is inseparably associated with one of the great disasters to our arms during the war. He was cashiered for disobedience to his superior in command, by the sentence of a tribunal whose competence he fully accepted. It was, and still is, in evidence, that he had displayed, at the time, a spirit of criticism and distrust towards that superior, which was inconsistent with proper military subordination. Mr. Lincoln and Mr. Stanton confirmed the sentence and refused to re-open the case; and whatever Mr. Lincoln's faults were, no one can charge him with harshness toward the unfortunate, or a readiness to inflict disgrace for any inadequate motive. But a new Court Martial, with far inferior advantages for getting at the whole truth, and with no additional evidence of importance, unless we can account as such the impression of some Confederate officers as to the facts, sets aside the sentence, with the concurrence of a President who, happily, has to bear none of the arduous responsibilities of a civil war, and is not daily impressed with the fatal consequences which might result from a single act of military insubordination. To General Porter, this decision may seem very valuable and important. It is not worth a tenth of the trouble he has taken to secure it. History will lay more stress upon the conclusion reached by his brother officers, and upon the severity of the great and just President, than

on any reversal of their decision, made under circumstances which prompt one to feel more keenly the sufferings of a gallant officer than to realize the injury he might have inflicted on his country. And now Congress is asked to follow up this decision by a Bill for the relief of General Porter. It will give many in this Congress an especial pleasure to vote for such a bill. They will be glad of the chance to stamp with their disapproval the decision of Mr. Lincoln and his associates. But they will pass with posterity as small men who undertook to overrule the decisions of Minos and Rhadamanthus.

THE Committee of the New York Legislature, appointed to inquire into the management of the Railroads, have concentrated so much of the public attention upon the abuses of the franchises of those corporations, that we may fairly expect remedial legislation at no distant date. We may thank the Western Grangers for this new step in legislative policy. It was they who were the first to insist that corporations created for the benefit of the public, and given the right of way to the destruction of existing rights of land-ownership, were subject to regulation by the state, and could not claim exemption from it on grounds which must be set aside in granting their charters. This new doctrine met with little but abuse among the business classes and their newspapers in the East. The Grangers were denounced as Communists, and were told that the Railroads thus hampered would stop running, as they could not afford to comply with the terms demanded. But when the courts declared the new laws constitutional, the business community discovered that it was suffering under similar grievances, which should be corrected in exactly the same way. When a Pittsburg iron manufacturer saves money by shipping his wares to New York on their way to his more Western customers, it is surely time to ask some questions as to the schedule of charges which makes this possible.

As to the remedies proposed, there is a whole scale of them, ranging from the purchase of our railroads by the Government, down to the appointment of a Governmental Commission, with power merely to let in daylight upon the subject, and exercise the pressure of public opinion upon Railway managers. This last suggestion comes from Mr. Charles F. Adams, and he claims for it

that it has proved sufficient in Massachusetts. We think it a very bold inference that the same plan would serve in the rest of the country. In a state where the social organization rests on the Town Meeting, and where there are the freest channels for public discussion as well as the widest diffusion of the intelligence needed for criticism, public opinion is a very powerful and rapidly acting force. But in the Middle States, especially in the great cities, public opinion is rarely efficacious until the accumulation of wrongs has roused the public temper. We are democratically governed only whenever the people are angry enough to make the politicians stand aside.

In England they have had a Railway Commission since 1854, with powers to put an end to unfair and discriminating charges, and to compel the Railway Companies to "afford all reasonable facilities for the receiving and forwarding and delivery of traffic." How far they have been accustomed to extend their interference may be inferred from an order which the South-Eastern Railway has successfully resisted before the courts. They had required the company to widen the bridge by which trains enter the London station, to enlarge their covered platform so that carriages may take up and set down passengers under cover, and to erect a refreshment room and four new waiting-rooms, each twice as large as any of the rooms now in use. The courts ruled that this was going too far in the exercise of their authority; but public opinion sides with the Commission. They reason that if there were two lines competing for custom, the public would receive all these accommodations; why then should they be denied because the one line has been granted a monopoly by the public, and given the right of way over private property for the public convenience. And it is not impossible that the solution of the difficulty will be found in a law giving the Railway Commission all the authority they claim.

THE critics of Mr. Edison's new electric light have shown some ingenuity in their attacks upon it. The only one of these, however, which is incapable of answer at this point is the assertion that the apparatus cannot be made to pay. It is claimed that the production of a light equalling one hundred and twenty candles to a horse-power is not remunerative, as it involves the loss of nineteen-twentieths

of the power in the production of heat, etc. The other electro-illuminating apparatuses do yield twelve hundred candles, involving a loss of one-half the power; but they are surpassed by Mr. Edison's in other important respects, which more than compensates this advantage. Especially they are incapable of being adjusted, as is Mr. Edison's, to the amount of work to be done. To keep a single lamp at work, they must be as active as though the whole multitude to be supplied were at work. And it is hoped that, by further study of the problem, the proportion of electricity converted into light will be greatly increased. Even as it is, the ratio of the light produced to the force employed is four times more favorable in the case of Edison's lamp than in that of a gas-burner.

A second objection is that the exhaustion of the Edison globe being imperfect, even the small amount of air which is left is sufficient to consume the delicate carbon horse-shoe, and to make the lamp burn dim and go out. Let us suppose that the capacity of the globe is eight cubic inches. The weight of the air in such a globe is less than two and a-half grains, of which one-fifth, or less than half a grain, is oxygen. Mr. Edison's apparatus will exhaust all but the millionth part of this. This he ascertains, not by a loose estimate, but by a mathematical measurement made during the process of exhaustion. Now oxygen combines with carbon in the ratio of about three to one. The one-millionth of half a grain of oxygen, will therefore consume one six-millionth part of a grain of the arc,—an entirely inappreciable quantity. It is true that, while some of Mr. Edison's lamps have burnt for months with no diminution of their brilliancy, the greater number have gone out through the breakage of the delicate horse-shoe of baked paper. But this is owing to imperfect adjustment creating a resistance to the flow of the electric current, and not to the consuming effect of the oxygen.

A third objection comes from London. It is that the electric light is ghastly and unpleasant, and that unless some modification of the coloring of the glass in the globe is possible, no one will endure it. This is true enough of the other electric lights, but not of Edison's. They are produced by a current passing between two points of carbon; his by the incandescence of a continuous arc of carbon. For reasons which every student of the theory of light will appreciate, the effect is very different. When the Albert

Hall in London was lighted by the Siemens' electric lamp, the English ladies, after one experiment, refused to expose their beauty to a light in which every complexion became hideous. It was found necessary, for this reason, to put salt into the carbons, so as to impart a reddish tinge to the light. But the effect of the Edison light is so similar to that of gas, that unless attention were called to it, a person might suppose the rooms of Mr. Edison's house to be lighted by gas-light. The older electric lights are open to other serious objections which do not apply to the new one. The rustling noise made by the fluid in passing from point to point was one of these. The liability of the lamp to be affected by draughts of air was another.

There will be some great collateral gains with the introduction of electric lighting into our homes. The supply of a cheap motive power to run sewing-machines and the like, will be one of these. Howe's great invention has been the ruin of the health of thousands of women, through its employment of the lower limbs in working the machine. A machine to furnish a supply of electromagnetic force at a cheap rate, and to register just the amount of that force which has been used, will meet the difficulty, as it has not been met by machines whose cost the household had to pay in the first instance.

Another collateral advantage will be the almost or quite complete disuse of matches. The number of lives, especially children's lives, lost through the abuse of the little conveniences, and the number of conflagrations caused by them, are so great as to make one wish that mankind had never got beyond the flint and steel apparatus of our forefathers; and it is not improbable that our fire insurance companies will find it worth their while to offer special rates to homes into which the electric light is introduced, especially if it be accompanied by an electric apparatus—there is a very simple and safe one—for lighting fires.

Still another advantage will be the saving of book bindings in libraries. At present our valuable russia, morocco and calf bindings steadily deteriorate in value, if kept in rooms where gas is burned. This is one reason why some of our most important public libraries are always closed at sundown, while in some private libraries candles are used to the exclusion of gas. The electric light gives out no heat, and no chemical substances. It is as cool in summer as even Philadelphia or St. Louis would wish.

THE PHILADELPHIA SOCIETY FOR ORGANIZING
CHARITABLE RELIEF AND REPRESSING
MENDICANCY.

THERE is no more prominent characteristic of human society than the unequal distribution of wealth and happiness, an inequality which has prevailed in all ages and in all lands. Every effort after a community of goods has proved limited, temporary and futile.

Of this condition of things there must be some better explanation than such as would simply refer it to accident, to human imperfection, wrong-doing or caprice, or would speak of it as an evil which, though of such long duration, and of such firmly established character, is in reality temporary and is in a process of elimination which will finally lead to its extinction. We may well conclude that that which has always been, and that, notwithstanding the suffering and sorrow and manifold evils of which it has been the fruitful source, must rest upon foundations of the deepest character. No explanation of it, will prove satisfactory but that which will refer it to a principle of the Divine Government, to the essential nature of man and to some abiding element in the constitution of human society. And if this be true, as it undoubtedly is, the unequal distribution of wealth and happiness of which we speak, is not to be regarded as a real and necessary evil. On the contrary, in itself and in its true nature, it is a good. There is no harm in the accumulation of wealth, on the part of individuals, even though it be in vast proportions, provided such accumulations be acquired in a perfectly legitimate manner and be used wisely and well under a due sense of the grave responsibilities and obligations which the possession and control of such wealth necessarily involve. There is herein an agency for an incalculable amount of good, both for the individual himself and society at large. Alas! that that which was designed for human welfare, and which in fact has so greatly contributed to it, should have so frequently, by bursting the bonds of proper control, proved itself such a terrible agency for destruction, like the gigantic forces of nature, which man has subdued to his service, when they tear asunder the bands by which they must be restrained.

There is great evil in the unequal distribution of wealth, as it now is and always has been, because of its terrible exaggeration. The trouble does not lie in the simple fact of inequality, but in the great extreme to which the inequality has been pushed, necessarily resulting not only in the over-enrichment of some and the impoverishment of others, but also in heaping upon some that to which they have no right and in depriving others of that which they need and which in equity belongs to them. This gross and harmful exaggeration in the unequal distribution of wealth has arisen from uncontrolled ambition, from immoderate greed, from all forms of corruption and dishonesty in business, from misappropriation of funds, from acts of criminality endless in variety, from wild and reckless speculation, from efforts to live at the expense of others rather than by honest toil, from idleness, from the stern demanding of mere legality instead of equity, from the cruel oppression of the poor, from thoughtless and mean spirited selfishness, from the withholding of relief from those to whom it is due, and from the pauperising of multitudes by indiscriminate and misdirected charities.

If by some mighty power all these forms of iniquity and fruitful sources of evil were entirely removed from human society, there would yet remain inequality in the distribution of wealth and happiness; for this follows from the principle of Divine Government, from the essential nature of man and from the constitution of human society. But, while yet remaining, such inequality would be changed from a curse into a blessing. Old things would pass away and all things become new; there would be a transition into a period of new prosperity, which would well deserve to be proclaimed with the ringing of happy bells; then would the poet's words be fulfilled:

"Ring out the feud of rich and poor,
Ring in redress for all mankind."

There would still be the rich and the poor, but there would not be between them the wide and stormy gulf by which they are now separated. On the one hand there would no longer be the accumulation of ill-gotten gains exciting envy and hatred, and on the other there would be no more the suffering, sorrow and despair of oppressed poverty and pauperism.

Such a golden age may seem far off in the future; it may ap-

pear chimerical to hope for the attainment of such an ideal, and yet it is not too much to say that it is this ideal which the Charity Organization Society holds up before itself and strives in some measure to realize. In no better way can the consideration of this Society be introduced than by the suggestion of some such thoughts as we have been presenting.

It grapples with the problem in its broadest aspect, the problem of wealth and poverty, or of the rich and the poor, in their mutual relations and obligations. Accepting the unequal distribution of wealth as an abiding element in the constitution of human society, it is not guilty of the absurdity of attempting to eliminate it, but it endeavors so to rectify and purify it that rich and poor shall be bound together in harmony and kindly feeling, and that their relation to one another shall be a blessing and not a curse to both. Its aim is to eliminate the evil from the inequality of wealth which is to abide permanently. It is to teach the rich not to oppress nor despise nor neglect the poor, and to teach the poor not to envy, hate, nor impose, nor prey upon the rich. It is to lead the rich into truer, deeper personal interest in the poor, and to sincere efforts to make them participators with them in the greater favors which they enjoy—and to lead the poor to help themselves, to maintain their proper self respect, to elevate their mode of life, realizing that culture, refinement and excellence of character and conduct are not necessarily connected with, nor dependent upon, the possession of riches. Such the high aim of this Society, such the problem with which it has undertaken to grapple. It is as far as possible from being a mere relieving agency. It does grant relief in all necessary cases, but it is not for this that primarily it exists, and it is not for this that it solicits funds from our citizens, but for the purpose of solving the problem of unequal wealth, of educating both the rich and the poor as to their mutual duties, and of teaching them to live together in brotherly affection as component parts of human society, for the perfection of which both are necessary. Without some such general conception of the nature and aim of this Society, we will be sure to fall into serious error in our thought of it, and into many mistakes in our attempt to cooperate with it, or to urge its claims upon others.

In regard to this Society as it exists in this city it will be well to suggest some of the causes which led to its formation here. In

the first place, as one such cause we have the widely spread presence of poverty and pauperism. Even to the most casual observer there are many and painful indications of their existence, but they reveal themselves in a heart sickening manner to those who make personal investigation. It was this world of misery, at our very doors, partly hidden, partly revealed, a world within a world, calling upon us, for humanity's sake and for the sake of our civilization, to do something for its amelioration, that prompted the effort to found this society.

It was not, however, the mere presence of poverty and pauperism that attracted the attention of the thoughtful and benevolent, and urged them on to active efforts, it was their steady and alarming growth, here and elsewhere. That the poor would increase in number with the increase of population, would naturally be expected. Philadelphia, New York, or London, would, of course, contain more poor to-day than they did a century or a half century ago. But it was observed that the increase of pauperism was greatly in excess of the growth of population, an increase not only in numbers of the poor but relatively, a larger and yet larger proportion of the city's population was becoming pauperized. The tide of human misery kept rolling in, notwithstanding all that was done to arrest it. The more that was done for the relief of the poor the greater grew the demand. The food, clothing, funds, contributed by the benevolent alleviated a certain amount of present misery, but did little towards its permanent removal, and at the same time did much to establish and increase it; the paradox appeared that poverty grew and fattened upon charity. It is doubtless true that this alarming growth was more marked elsewhere than in our own city. But that which in other places, in London for example, had already become most decided and threatening, manifested itself also seriously amongst ourselves, in less proportions indeed, and in a more backward state of development. But it was here, and, being here, it was striking its roots deeper into the soil, and the same stimulating causes were at work promoting its growth, which had given it so great a development elsewhere. The conditions remaining the same, all that was needed was *time*, and the evil would be established here, clothed with power to bid defiance to every effort to eradicate it. It was this striking *growth* of poverty and pauperism, perceived by the thoughtful in

looking beyond the old-fashioned and traditionary limits of charitable inspection, that forced upon the minds of many the conviction that some new organization was necessary to meet this thing, and to deal with it speedily, before it should become more pronounced and beyond control.

As still further reasons suggesting the formation of a new society in regard to the poor, may be mentioned the appeals made to Christian and benevolent feelings by this ever-growing world of wretchedness and suffering in the midst of us. The question could not but press itself continually upon the mind, cannot and ought not something more and better be done for the poor than that which is being done at present? Such question was not thrust aside, and could not be, by pointing to the numerous and splendid charities by which our city is distinguished. Notwithstanding these, there remained a vast and growing amount of suffering unalleviated. And still further, the conviction was gaining ground that, apart from all other considerations, the question of the poor must be dealt with in some more excellent way, out of policy and for self-protection. It was evident that this growing pauperism was not only an evil entailing suffering upon the poor themselves, but also a disease preying upon and threatening the life of the body politic. Left to itself it would assuredly produce, at length, its legitimate fruits of lawlessness, riot, pillage, communism. Interpreted according to its true nature, the contribution yearly made by the rich to the poor was, in a measure at least, the price demanded and paid for the unmolested possession by the rich of their rights and property; a price ever growing in its magnitude with the increase of the poor population and its advancing boldness and insolence. The demands made upon the rich were becoming more and more oppressive, and they were made the constant victims of most bold-faced impostors, encouraged by success and taught by experience that a life of daily falsehood was more remunerative than one of honest labor. The thought of doing something, therefore, in the way of self-protection from such dangers, from such demands and from such imposture, could not but present itself.

Another and prominent cause leading to the formation of the new Society, was the conclusions which were reached by the consideration of the existing charitable agencies of our city. They are

well nigh innumerable and are designed to meet almost every conceivable need of the poor. But, however excellent in themselves and productive of good, it was found that, *taken collectively*, they could not bear a philosophical scrutiny. Placing them over against the problem of poverty and pauperism, it appeared that they were radically unfit to cope with it. The problem presented itself as a compact, united, deep-seated, growing evil—the agencies which were to cope with it were seen to be a heterogeneous multitude, made up of excellent and valuable unities indeed, but utterly devoid of organization, of order, of singleness of aim, of concert of operation, and, moreover, characterized by independence, rivalry, cross-purposes and mutual interference. In thus speaking, the term “Charitable Agencies” is taken in its widest application, as including the various Charitable Institutions of the city, all that is done for the poor by the municipal authorities, and all forms of benevolence on the part of churches, societies, and private individuals, even to the relief given at the door and to mendicants upon the streets. In subjecting these to a scientific scrutiny, the following points, among others, revealed themselves :

The *inadequacy* of these agencies to meet the evil in question. That they must be inadequate is evident from what has been just stated ; their independence of one another, rivalry, cross-purposes, want of coöperation, and their being altogether without organization. The good accomplished under such conditions must be most unsatisfactory, with great loss of power and waste of material, and far short of the result aimed at and required. That they would be inadequate might also safely be inferred from the fact that the city by its wonderful development had in a large measure outgrown them. Charitable institutions and modes of relief which might have been sufficient when the city was very small compared to what it now is, could hardly be expected to prove adequate at present, when a great territory is to be covered and a vast population to be dealt with. Some of the existing charities are confined, by the terms of their own constitutions, to operation within the limits of the old city, and some of those which are not thus confined, realize that increased burdens have been placed upon them and that it is more difficult for them to act satisfactorily in all cases than formerly.

But the inadequacy of these agencies operating in their disorganized condition, is plainly revealed by the palpable fact of the

great amount of unrelieved and increasing want. By these agencies, so long and so actively in operation, poverty and pauperism have not been removed, have not been diminished; they have increased, and with a growth greater than that due to the mere growth of the city in size and population.

In the next place it appeared that these charities in a large measure overlapped one another in the relief which they administered. Covering, as they did, the same territory, the beneficiaries of the one were in repeated instances, the beneficiaries of another and often of several at the same time. Herein was a great source of waste, and hereby were afforded to the unscrupulous, additional facilities to live by falsehood and imposture—and to reap for their own advantage the supplies which were in reality intended for the poor who were suffering in silence and in neglect.

In the next place it was discovered that there was a fallacy in the existing agencies themselves, at least in many of them. Many of these agencies are simply almoners or dispensers of temporary relief. The principle upon which they have acted, is the simple one to relieve distress by a temporary supply of food, clothing, or perhaps even money. In many cases this was done without investigation except of a superficial nature and sufficient to show that the party was in distress. No effort was made to make work the basis of relief, to help the poor to help themselves, to discover and to remove the cause of the want and suffering which it was the aim to relieve. Long experience has proved that such procedure is productive of harm, that the mere giving of temporary relief causes more evil than it removes, because of its pauperizing tendency. It destroys the self-respect of those whom it relieves, and encourages them to live in idleness and dependence upon others rather than by earnest effort at self-support. Every charity contains within itself a fatal fallacy which is not founded upon the cardinal principles of thorough investigation, of work as the basis of relief, of helping the poor to help themselves, of seeking out and removing the causes of want and distress, and of seeking the permanent elevation of the poor.

Another fallacy discovered in many of these agencies is their one-sidedness. They look almost entirely to the poor, as though they had nothing to do with the other side of the problem. The poverty and suffering of the poor are in a large measure due to the

rich. Not simply to the uncharitable rich, but also even to the most benevolent among them. These often stand in greatest need of enlightenment and of instruction as to where and how they may give and labor most effectively in behalf of suffering humanity. The public entertain the crudest and the most erroneous thoughts as to the whole subject of poverty and the proper mode in which it should be treated, and have need to be lifted up to a higher plane both of thought and action in regard to it. Of such instruction and training there has hitherto been a great dearth; no definite provision has been made for it by existing charitable agencies, and so far as it has been attended to, it has been incidentally by the actual working of the charities themselves. There evidently was a necessity for some such society as the new one, which may be described as a scientific and educational society. Its aim is to develop the philosophy or science of poverty—its causes, its nature, its best modes of treatment—and to teach the public the science as it develops itself.

It strives to accomplish this by gathering and preserving statistics and experience from all parts of the city, by regular meetings for the comparison of views and discussions of theories, etc., by inviting eminent speakers from abroad, by proper publications, by the study and teaching of the work in other cities and places, and by every mode that will suggest itself as effective to teach and to train the public aright. And it is largely for these purposes that it invites contributions to its treasury, and not merely to enable it to give direct relief to those in want.

Yet another fallacy was found in the existing agencies, and that is, that such was their actual mode of operation, that practically they were nurturing pauperism. Millions of money were annually not only wasted, but worse than wasted. A premium was placed upon mendicancy and mendicity; multitudes of lying beggars gained a better support from a credulous and imposed upon benevolent public, than thousands of the honest children of industry. It paid better to beg than to work. And with such mode of livelihood, came its sure attendants, vice and crime in their myriad, loathsome and destructive forms. These evils were perhaps more chargeable to the relief given at the door and upon the street and to that dispensed by the municipality, but were by no means confined to them. All relieving agencies, and even Asylums and Hos-

pitals, contributed their share in augmenting the evil. There is no doubt but that all of these have been grossly imposed upon and abused and, in so far as this has been the case, their charities have been misdirected and hurtful.

There certainly was need to have this waste and worse than waste of money arrested and to have some plan adopted which would both repress mendicancy, and prevent pauperism from growing and fattening upon charity.

With these serious and painful conclusions, reached by the careful examination of our existing charitable agencies, impressed upon the mind, the effort to found the new Society was still further prompted by the knowledge of the work of organization and co-operation and its success elsewhere. The intelligent, philosophical, self-sacrificing and arduous labors of benevolent men and women in other places naturally stimulated men and women of like spirit among our own citizens. In thinking of others battling against the same evils as those confronting us, and striving after the same blessed results as those which ought to be realized here,—they could not help asking why could not the same course be pursued here? To make such an attempt would be to profit by the experience of others, and would be no novel, untried and doubtful experiment, but would be simply the inauguration in this city of a scheme which was in successful operation elsewhere; and that not only in one, but in many places, notably in London, Elberfeld, Harrisburg, Buffalo, Germantown.

Thus stimulated by the thought of the success of the work in other cities, there were those who felt themselves still further encouraged by the peculiar advantages presented for such a society in this city. Difficulties were of course foreseen, difficulties which are perhaps not to be encountered elsewhere. But what were these in view of our peculiar advantages arising from the wealth, the benevolence, the sound judgment, the public spirit of our citizens and the character and condition of the city itself,—a city not of tenements but of homes, a city so full of all kinds of charitable institutions and agencies, and so blessed with the untiring and manifold personal labors of large hearted men and women in behalf of the sick, the suffering, the outcast and the destitute? Aware of such advantages, rejoicing in our city's high rank in the sphere of benevolence, the desire could hardly help arising, to take a step in

advance and, by the adoption of better and more scientific modes, keep our city at the forefront in the noble and doubly blessed work of true charity.

Such were some of the causes leading to the formation of the new society in this city. A brief historical statement of it will be of some interest. What then were the initiatory steps which have led to that which the society has since become?

Among the first to make a move in this matter was Rev. Charles G. Ames, a Unitarian Minister residing in Germantown, who together with his wife discussed and suggested Organized Charity. In 1876 a paper was read by him before the Philadelphia Social Science Association, entitled "Wisdom in Charity" which paper was published January, 1877, in THE PENN MONTHLY. The influence thus exerted is properly to be regarded as the first out-cropping or coming to the surface of an already deeply seated and widely-spread sentiment. Thoughts similar to those expressed in the paper just mentioned were gradually developing themselves in the minds of many throughout the community. The times were growing ripe for some kind of improvement as to Charitable Relief. Spontaneously and independently, here and there, efforts in this direction were beginning to manifest themselves. For example, gentlemen connected with the Soup Societies were becoming convinced that a change for the better was greatly needed in their work; the general subject of prevalent and increasing poverty was brought before the Episcopal Convention of this Diocese; and was being freely discussed by the daily press. The true origin of the new Society is to be found in the character and temper of the times—it is the product of the thousands of influences long at work, silently and surely moulding and developing the public sentiment.

The next stage in the history is chiefly told in the Annual Report of the Central Board "On the 18th of February, 1878, a circular appeared, signed by twenty six citizens, many of whom were identified with the Soup Societies of Philadelphia, asking for a conference of citizens on Friday Evening, 1st of March, in the Board of Trade Rooms, to discuss, and, if possible, determine on a method by which idleness and beggary, now so encouraged, may be suppressed, and worthy, self-respecting poverty be discovered and relieved at the smallest cost to the benevolent." At the stated time the desired meeting was held, and a committee was appointed to prepare

a plan to carry out the object named in the call. After repeated conferences, about thirty or forty in number, held sometimes as frequently as twice a week, and often extending to mid-night, "this committee summoned the citizens of Philadelphia to hear its report, at St. George's Hall, on the evening of June 13th, following. This report, comprising a plan of organization by wards, was then and there adopted, and the work of putting its provisions into operation was entrusted to a Commission, chosen at the same time and place On the 17th of February, 1879, this Organizing Commission having called into operation a sufficient number of wards to establish the Central Board, resolved to transfer all its functions, records, assets and liabilities to the Society as fully constituted, and it then adjourned without day. Such, in outline, is the history of the steps which gave existence and form to the Philadelphia Society for Organizing Charitable Relief and Repressing Mendicancy."

The leading point in its further history is the change which was made last autumn in the name of the Society and in the constitution of the Central Body. The name was abbreviated by striking out the last clause in the title and making it simply "The Philadelphia Society for Organizing Charity." According to the original plan the Central Body was a board, composed of delegates from the Ward Associations—two in number from each ward. Two reasons led to a change: 1st. It was found that a society governed by delegates appointed by associations such as had been organized in the different wards, could not well be chartered under existing laws. 2d. It was thought that by making an Assembly, composed of all the ward directors and women visitors, there would be afforded a better opportunity for the expression of individual experience and thought, would serve to identify directors and visitors more with the cause, and enkindle within them a greater enthusiasm. For these reasons, by the almost unanimous action of the Central Board, the formation of such an Assembly was recommended to the Society at its last annual meeting, and adopted at that time. At the same meeting, the Society also elected a body of twenty-one directors to take the place of the old Board of delegates. These directors met on Monday, 24th of November, last and organized by the election of the proper officers, and the Assembly organized on the first Monday in December.

By the new plan the machinery is simplified and directors are

made immediately responsible to the Society. Honorary and corresponding members may be added to the Assembly to bring into the body the counsel of those who have devoted especial study to particular branches of social questions.

Such being the history of the Society in this city, it and its work present themselves for review and criticism. In the first place the Society being in the middle of the second season of its active operation we are in position to ask, What has it accomplished during the past year and a half? It would evidently be unreasonable to expect and demand that very striking results should have been reached in so short a time. The Society is one of so great magnitude, with aims so exalted and far reaching that at the best it can only gradually and laboriously work its way on to the accomplishment of the desired ends. And yet, short as the time is during which it has been in operation, it has already made its influence felt for good and given sure promise of what it may do in the future.

It has attracted the attention of the whole city and has secured for itself a wide-spread and most cordial reception and support, binding together as its adherents, advocates and workers, men and women of every shade of religious and political opinion, and from all professional, business, social and official ranks. Such has been its influence upon these that they have had their eyes opened to evils in connection with poverty and the prevalent modes of dealing with it, which they formerly hardly expected, or of which they had only a mere suspicion, and they have been made more intelligent, active and interested in charitable work. Through the active efforts of the Commission and Central Board two Annual Meetings of the Society have been held, one in Association Hall and the other in the Academy of Music, with most gratifying success, as to the attendance, the interesting character of the exercises, the enthusiasm engendered and manifested, and the far-reaching and abiding influence exerted.

The work of organizing the society in the various wards has been urged on with such energy and success that already twenty-nine of the thirty-one wards of the city have the society established within them for work within their own territory, and for coöperation with one another through the agency of the Central Organization by which they are all bound together as a compact unit. Thus the society already covers efficiently almost the entire city,

of 130 square miles in extent, and binds its widely separate portions together in acting upon a well digested system of beneficence; a vast gain over the former desultory, confused, conflicting and harmful modes of giving relief.

Through these ward associations a great amount of good has been accomplished. According to the report for the first fifteen months, the total number of applications, (original and renewed) at the several ward offices was 26,213. All of these cases were investigated—not, however, in the manner to so great an extent hitherto prevailing, but in a far superior mode and with a far better aim. Formerly, by investigation was practically meant simply an enquiry as to whether the case was one of real distress. If it seemed to be such, relief was granted according to the means at disposal. The 26,213 and more cases which during the fifteen months presented themselves to the ward societies have been investigated upon the new plan. Each applicant is examined by the superintendent at the Ward Office, and by him, in a large volume especially prepared for such registration, the following items are permanently recorded:—The full name of the applicant and of each member of the family, their respective ages and sex, their trade or employment, their former employers and references, their state of health, their residence, former and present and time in each, the size of their house, its rent, the amount of rent unpaid, the estimated income of the family, its sources, the help received and from what societies, churches, individuals, etc., and together with these such other useful items or remarks as are possible. Such a record is simply invaluable. Provided with it, the superintendent, or some fit person in his place, visits the applicant in his house, calls upon his neighbors, and upon his employers and references, and endeavors to gain additional information and to verify the record already made, or discover its falsehood if it be untrue.

Whatever of value is thus gained is also recorded. The writing of all these in a permanent register does away with the endless misunderstandings, and mistakes, which are sure to arise without it, and removes effectually the opportunities for imposture. Professional beggars, and all disposed to be fraudulent, find themselves helpless in the face of a *written* record; the *written* testimony of themselves, the different members of their family, their neighbors, employers and references. Such a test nothing but absolute sin-

cerity, straightforwardness and truth can stand. But the value of such a record is by no means confined to the aid it affords at the outset. Great as this is, it is followed by that which is more efficient and valuable. Notwithstanding the care which may be taken, mistakes will frequently occur at first, but such mistakes the written record stands ready to remove when the applicant makes a renewed appeal for relief, whether it be in a few weeks, or months, or the next season. Here the value of the writing especially shows itself not only by revealing whether the case has improved, or deteriorated, but also in detecting fraud. The impostor must have a well laid, well remembered and consistent story and plan of operation, not to be detected now. And still further, if, upon finding himself detected, such a one, hoping to be more successful elsewhere, go to some other part of the city, however distant, and make application for aid, he is immediately sent by the superintendent there back to his own ward office; or, if he have changed his residence, the superintendent under whose jurisdiction he has now placed himself, soon discovers his true character and past conduct through the *old written* record, no matter in what ward it may have been made; for by a regular system of weekly or monthly returns, the superintendents of the different wards report the names, residence, etc., of all cases to the Central Office, where they are permanently kept for all needed future reference.

With this superior mode of the new investigation, there is a superiority also in the aim. This is not simply to discover if the case be one needing relief, but to learn what are the causes of the distress, what may be done for their removal, and how the individual or family may be helped to self-support, and brought into sympathising relations with those who will prove to be true friends. Moreover, the aim is to gather statistics, facts, experience and material of every kind, which, being transmitted to the Central Office, shall there be preserved as material throwing light upon the number, character, temper, condition, habits, modes of life, difficulties, dangers, wants, etc., of the city's poor, and upon the great problem of wealth and poverty, helping its solution and affording a basis for a true and advanced science in regard to it.

Such being the mode of investigation and such its aims, it may readily be imagined how great an amount of work has been accomplished during fifteen months in applying it to the 26,213 cases which pre-

sented themselves to the various ward societies the past season. Incalculable and far reaching are the benefits which have thus been produced throughout the city; many an impostor has been detected, and restrained in his hitherto too successful operations; many a professional beggar has been taught that he cannot practice his profession as formerly; many individuals and families have been led to dispense with the relief which they imagined they needed, but which they were better without, and have thus been held back from taking a step into pauperism; a great amount of waste in supplies of all kinds and in money has been arrested, while at the same time many of the truly worthy and suffering poor have been sought out and aided. According to the annual report, in addition to the relief procured through the Guardians of the Poor, through Institutions and local societies and private persons, there were relieved from the funds of the ward associations, by grants of food, fuel, etc., by loans and employment 19,986 cases representing 8,419 families, comprising a population of about 25,000 souls, the reported cost of the relief thus given exclusive of the value of loans being \$18,069.88, an average of \$2.15 per family. And still further, it can readily be imagined how vast must be the accumulated material in the shape of names, statistics, facts, experience and history which must have resulted from the investigation which, with greater or less fidelity, has been made of the 26,213 cases mentioned, and which is being most carefully preserved. Let such a work as this be continued, and a most intimate and accurate knowledge of the poor population of the entire city will be acquired; the poor will all be known by name, by face and by record, and, knowing them thus, a benevolent public will be in position to deal with them in an enlightened kind and efficient manner.

That, in speaking of the good which has been already done by the new society, we are justified in mentioning the saving of waste of food, etc., and economy in dealing with the poor, as having been brought about, we may refer not only to detection of impostors and the discovery of those, who do not need the aid which they seek, but also to two or three significant facts:

1st. One of the large Soup Societies of the city reports a saving of over two-thirds in its expenditure of soup and bread during the last season, owing without doubt to the work and influence of the new society. Essentially the same thing is doubtless true of all

the soup societies and not only of them, but also of other relieving agencies, in so far as they have availed themselves of our investigations and have coöperated with us. 2d. One ward, this second season, reports that one-half of the families which were helped last winter have been made independent of further assistance. This may fairly be attributed, in part at least, to the wise manner in which they were relieved in the time of their need. Instead of being encouraged in idleness and dependence, their self-respect and efforts at self-support were maintained, and thus they were held in position to avail themselves of the returning prosperity of the country and not to cast themselves again upon charity. 3rd. There has been a large annual appropriation and expenditure by the city for outdoor relief through the Guardians of the Poor. Last year it was \$58,000. Of this amount \$8,000 were for salaries and office expenses, and \$50,000 for relief of those in want. This year this entire sum, excepting \$7,000 for medicines and sick diet, has been withdrawn, thus effecting a saving of \$51,000 in one year to the city treasury and taxpayers. The reason given for the discontinuation of the appropriation being the gross corruption which was in a large measure practised in regard to it, and *the fact that the poor throughout the city were provided for by the new society.*

Another important good the society has accomplished consists in the benefit and relief it has afforded our citizens. This has been most definite, decided and gratifying. One of the greatest annoyances to which we all have been subjected, and in some cases to an almost unendurable degree, is the application for relief by beggars at our door. The sight of want and misery, the conflict within the mind, as to whether we shall give or not give, or as it has been described "the wear and tear of conscience," the fear of being imposed upon, the equal fear of turning the worthy away to suffer, the self-reproach for giving without proper investigation, the inability to give such investigation, the thought of all the harm done by alms bestowed at the door; these have been simply excruciating to the sensitive and benevolent, all over the city. But from these the new society has proclaimed and granted universal freedom. Mendicancy has received a check. Beggars do not go from door to door as formerly; our citizens are not imposed upon as they have been; a remedy has been found for the "wear and tear of conscience;" a wise and humane way of dealing with all applicants

for relief is afforded; the danger of helping the fraudulent and of neglecting the worthy is removed. In contributing to the ward association and sending all beggars to the ward office, we have the consciousness that we are acting intelligently and in the most efficient manner in behalf of the poor; they will be relieved and in such a way as will do them the most good and the least harm. If any citizen throughout the city, so far as it is covered by our society, is now annoyed and imposed upon, it is simply his own fault. His suffering is a self-inflicted one, from which at any moment he may step forth and be perfectly free.

In endeavoring to estimate the good already accomplished by the new society, many other things might be mentioned, especially in regard to the untiring and varied labors of the Central Body and all that it has done in the complicated work of organization, of correspondence, publication, teaching training, etc. But we must forbear as we must pass rapidly on to say a few words in way of *friendly criticism*.

Notwithstanding the gratifying success which has attended the Society, *certain defects or shortcomings* have manifested themselves. In more than one respect the Society in its practical operation has fallen far below its ideal, and has not as yet worked its way to the accomplishment of its aims. To find fault with this is manifestly unjust and will be indulged in only by the narrow-minded, the prejudiced, the ill-disposed.

The explanation of these defects or shortcomings is to be found in the great difficulties with which the Society has had to contend, the short time it has been at work, the fact that such are its character and aim that its success depends largely upon a gradual process of education and training. These and other considerations must be borne in mind as we turn our attention to defects such as the following:

1st. The work of the women visitors is as yet in a backward state of development, so much so that in some instances they are in a degree discouraged. They feel that their hands are tied; they do not understand what they are expected to do, and, in a measure they have found it difficult to act in thorough accord and coöperation with the Superintendent and Board of Directors, and the rules laid down. The women themselves are to be commended now as always for their willingness, their true devotion, their peculiar

fitness for laboring among the destitute and afflicted, and in connection with the new Society their work has been abundant and blessed. Yet it must be confessed that this department of the Society has not been brought to the desired standard.

2d. The Society has largely failed to act up to one of its fundamental principles, that of making work the basis of relief, but has repeatedly given relief without securing work in return. It has not overlooked this principle, but has largely been unable to act upon it.

3rd. It has as yet accomplished but little towards the permanent elevation of the poor and the bridging over the chasm which separates them from the rich. This must be the work of time.

4th. Enough has not been done for those numerous cases from which relief has been withheld. They are designated under the following heads: vagrants, referred to other wards, not requiring relief, undeserving, ineligible, false addresses. Of these, the last escape under the cover of some mistake or falsehood; those referred to other wards may be regarded as being cared for; as also, perhaps, in a sense, those not requiring relief; some of these may have thus been persuaded to dispense with aid for which they asked and may have been prompted to greater self-respect. But the remaining classes have been practically turned adrift to practice beggary, deception, criminality. Something more should be done with these than the simply bringing to bear upon them the indirect influences of the Society. Besides these, there is another class for whom little has been done, and who are almost sure to be turned away from the ward office because they cannot give their residence; these have been designated as wayfarers. They have come to the city seeking employment, have been disappointed, have spent all their money, are without friends and have perhaps fallen in with bad company. When such apply for aid at the office, instead of being turned away, they should be sent to some temporary home and there supported by the Society, pending investigation and attempts to communicate with their friends at a distance; and then they should be helped to return home, should their story prove true. This has been done in some cases.

5th. The Society has as yet come short of reaching its aim as to organizing the various charitable agencies of the city and even of cooperating with them in a satisfactory manner. Grave and

peculiar difficulties have here been encountered, and yet something of value has been accomplished in this direction. A decided impression has been made, but it will of course require long time and persistent effort to push the work on to the desired consummation.

6th. Little has as yet been done as to the influencing of legislation and the securing of improved and proper laws in regard to the poor. How far such additional legislation may be needed in our city and state *is perhaps an open question, yet doubtless* there is great room for improvement in our poor-laws, and certainly such improvement is one of the leading aims of the Society. Moreover, there has been no inconsiderable failure in regard to the enforcement of the laws already in existence. These are probably no better enforced now than they were before the new Society was organized. There has been no practical and widely extended coöperation with the authorities and the police in dealing with vagrants, with street beggars, and with detected impostors of different kinds. The whole class of the unworthy and criminal have been simply cast adrift, instead of being sent to the House of Correction, the Alms House, or handed over to those whose office it is to care for them aright.

7th. One of the most efficient ways of aiding the poor is by loans in the shape of food and coal, and money without interest. In times of temporary distress from sickness or want of work, the poor have no credit and are obliged to sell their furniture, etc., at a shameful and ruinous sacrifice, or to go to the pawnbroker. It is the peculiar province of the new Society to step in at such emergencies and save the poor from such approaching ruin and beggary by giving them *credit*, and not alms. Loans to be repaid in small instalments, and in seasons of restored health and regained work, will be an appeal to honor and manhood, and will prove an aid of the most valuable nature. In some few instances this has been done, but these are so few as to be almost unnoticeable. According to the published reports from the wards, the disproportion between loans and alms is striking, 19,607 alms, 22 loans! Verily, the last has become first and the first has become last. This leads to the next criticism.

8th. The Society has been in too great a degree a mere relieving agency.—This is a department of its work not to be overlooked,

but it must be kept in its proper place and not permitted to overgrow and overshadow all things else.

9th. There have been in the practical working of the Society thus far wide deviations from the principles which have been laid down, and which constitute the very soul of the Society. This is true not only in regard to the one mentioned already, viz. "Work, the basis of Relief", but of others also. Such deviations have arisen from the great number of different minds and temperaments embraced within the Society, and from the crude notions which must of necessity prevail among many of those who have but newly entered upon the work.

10th. The cost of administration has been too great, and something should be done to reduce it. Let the attempt at however, economy be directed, not so much to the Central Body, but to unnecessary expenses in the ward associations.

Defects such as have now been pointed out, should awaken no prejudice against the new society, but should simply serve to stimulate all to determined effort to remove them. Such effort will be necessary, for there are peculiar difficulties with which the society has had to contend and to which the defects are to be attributed. Into the enumeration of these and the unfolding of their nature we cannot at present enter. Before leaving the head of *review and criticism*, reference may properly be made to leading popular misapprehensions and fault-findings. These are numerous, persistent and in some measure annoying; *perhaps* they may do some harm among the thoughtless. The only proper mode of treating them is "to live them down." If the new society be the outgrowth of the age, the legitimate offspring of advancing science and popular enlightenment, if it be of real worth and if it be true to itself, it may cast to the wind all fear and may quietly let all misapprehensions, fault-finding and misrepresentations drop into the oblivion into which they will soon sink. If the work be of God, as we believe it is, it cannot be overthrown; the attacks of the inimical will recoil with redoubled force upon themselves; the opposition of all honest doubters will vanish with increasing light. For the new Society to be known according to its true ideal, is for it to be admired by every right minded man and woman, and to be loved for its work's sake by every true heart touched with a feeling for the sorrows and sufferings of the poor.

What such ideal is, may be gathered from the scattered and in-

identical statements which we have made, but a better conception of it will be afforded by a brief and succinct exposition.

The aim of the Society, or ideal to be realized, is—to arouse the community to a sense of the magnitude and growth of pauperism, the amount of money wastefully expended upon it and the inadequacy of existing charities in their unorganized condition—to prevent our citizens from being annoyed and imposed upon—to enlighten the public as to the true nature of Charity; it is more than alms-giving, it is personal interest and work in behalf of the poor, it is to be our brother's keeper—to bind all men together in the bonds of unselfish sympathy, lifting the poor into fellowship with the rich in the possession of that which constitutes true manhood and prosperity—to enlist under the influence of such thoughts, feelings and aims, the liberal contribution on the part of the rich, of money, time, self-denial, sympathy, personal effort for the permanent elevation of the poor.

As to the poor themselves, the ideal aim of the Society is—to give them relief from present distress in such way as shall be most beneficial and least harmful, as far as possible providing employment,—to minister to the sick and suffering, aiding them, when thought best, to enter hospitals, homes, etc., to befriend those in trouble, affording them the services of lawyers, that they may have the benefit and protection of the law—to grant loans of supplies and of money without interest upon the security of friends and neighbors,—to form sympathetic friendship, through the lady visitors whose aim shall be, not to give alms, but to show themselves friendly, to teach and inspire the poor to live better, and economically, to be neat and clean, to lay by something for the future, to cheer and encourage them, pointing out the causes of their troubles, and how best to avoid them, to suggest how to make home more attractive, to give instruction in cooking, in the care of young children, the nursing of the sick, and sanitary arrangements—to canvass the whole city in such a way that no destitute family or person shall be left neglected and uncared for—to investigate thoroughly all cases, and to grade the various classes: the worthy, unworthy, impostors, tramps, criminals, etc., and deal with each class and each individual in the most enlightened and kind manner for their and the public good.

Nor is this all; the ideal is yet more enlarged, it is to secure

improvement in dwellings and sanitary systems, to promote the cause of temperance, to obtain proper legislation and the enforcement of the laws enacted, to gather and keep on record statistics and information, which shall aid coöperation throughout the city and with workers abroad, and shall serve as material for science and instruction, and to bring the charitable agencies of the city into proper and efficient organization. The ideal rises higher yet, and will not be fully realized, till over and beyond all these aims, there shall be developed and perfected, a science of poverty,—its causes, its amelioration, its cure, its prevention,—a science, not falsely so called, but true, which shall prove its truth and worth by solving the vexed problem of unequal wealth, by affording to all their essential rights, and teaching each one to live in happy contentment with the lot given to him in the providence of God.

This enlarged and exalted ideal may never be actually attained, but towards it the Society is working its way, by its effort, “no relief without investigation,” “help the poor to help themselves” by its workers scattered over the whole city, with well-laid constitution, by its fundamental principles of “united nuclei of concentration in the ward associations, and with the central organization harmonizing, uniting and inspiring the whole, and by the guidance and blessing of Almighty God, without whose favor no good can be done, and who has ever been mindful of the poor.

WILLIAM H. HODGE.

THE CHARACTER AND CAREER OF TIBERIUS.

FEW things can more correctly be called the common intellectual possession of modern mankind than classical history. I will not now speak at length of the common æsthetical, intellectual and political obligation which we all owe to Greece and Rome practically, however we may admit or deny it theoretically. But it seems to me that to classical history we are really more able to direct an enlightened and *fair* attention—all of us equally,—whereas hardly have we drifted by Constantine and gotten into the beginning of the middle ages, when we come across a multitude of institu-

tions and principles and historical figures, in the estimation of which large sections of the modern world are radically divided, because the diversity of political and religious convictions is in many ways so very decided.

Now it is clear that a decided check upon the universally current estimate of some prominent figure of classical history, is a result which this or that scholar may be well tempted to bring about; to make really some novel and striking argument upon an ancient if not old subject. Such an undertaking we have in the German work by the late Adolph Stahr of Berlin. He published, in 1860, and re-issued some years ago, a book of some three hundred and odd pages on the Emperor *Tiberius*. He takes his motto from Shakespeare's King Lear,—

“ I am a man
More sinned against than sinning.”

Stahr had undertaken, according to his preface, to reduce to the proper measure the world's judgment on a ruler, whose name hitherto in history had been employed to designate the worst things which, as contained in the idea of an inhuman tyrant, could ever excite the disgust of mankind. “ *Wer gegen verjährte Ungerechtigkeit und Verläumdung anzukämpfen unternimmt, hat stets ein schweres Spiel, und bei Tiberius sind beide durch eine fast zweitausendjährige Tradition geheiligt.*” In opposition to this, Stahr undertakes to give a picture of the great and noble qualities of the man, from the testimony of — Tacitus. Him, in another place [p. 155], Stahr calls the highborn aristocrat, whose history of Tiberius' administration, at bottom merely reproduces the traditions of the corrupt Roman aristocracy, which had been so severely handled by Tiberius, and their condemnation of the Emperor. A detailed criticism of Stahr's book was given by Pasch, [Altenburg, 1866,] in which most of Stahr's points are submitted to a destructive test.

Stahr's attempt really is ineffectual because he essays *too much*. Tiberius in many points is compared to Frederick the Great, and even made out to have been a prince who strove to “introduce what we would call a kind of constitutional government.”

More recently Edward Spencer Beesly has republished from English monthlies his two papers on Tiberius, in the book entitled: *Catiline, Clodius and Tiberius*, (London: Chapman and Hall, 1878). The main value of this contribution is to show just where

Mr. Beesly stands in modern English politics; his hatred of hereditary rights in politics and society, is dragged into his discourse in various ways. He is not fond of "literary men," [pp. 82, 105]; he asserts, with some violence, that history "generally is written in the interest of the rich." The proletarian class, he insists [p. 83] "has naturally a breadth of view which education, unless positive in its spirit, only tends to impair,"—and "the hereditary principle was irrevocably condemned by the immortal French revolution." Sejanus is treated by Beesly with remarkable lenity, because he was a "middle class man." The value of these abusive and immoderate harangues to the people of Bradford—for as such these papers originally were read—is simply this:—they illustrated how pernicious it is to force one's own personal political standpoint into the consideration of any historical period.

As to Stahr, his main disagreement with Tacitus is about one thing. Not that Tacitus suppresses facts; Stahr does not allege that; nay, he draws from Tacitus himself almost the whole sum of facts, which are in favor of the Emperor. It is mainly the moral estimate which Tacitus puts upon the motives, designs, etc., of Tiberius and his instruments, which Stahr impugns. The weakest point in Stahr and Beesly, on the whole, perhaps is the one to which we may aptly attach the thread of our own discussion.

It is the evidence of *Velleius Patriculus*. This man for many years was on the staff of Tiberius, serving under him in Dalmatia and Pannonia. In Velleius' *Historiæ Romanæ* we may trace the life of the Emperor, from his birth down to his 69–70th year, to the year 29 A. D., when Velleius wound up his book, bringing it down to his date of composition. By the by, the nearer Velleius draws to the end, the more he elaborates his composition into a panegyric performance, in which personal laudation, or general sketches in rose color or gray, form about equal portions. Though Velleius could not write much differently, if he wanted to write at all, at that time. His book itself, is indirectly an arraignment of the Emperor. In many ways Velleius was in a dependent position. The book is dedicated to the consul Vinicius, and is full of expressions in which deferential mention is made of Roman gentlemen of the time, men of high birth and of great office. The general tone in which Velleius speaks of the administration of Tiberius, is well shown in II, 126. "The spirit of moral obligation was called back

to the forum, that of insurrection removed from it, illegitimate office-seeking from the Campus Martius, discord from the senate hall; Justice, Fairness and Diligence, which had been buried, were restored to the commonwealth, etc.," and this at the accession of Tiberius!

This then is the earliest of our principal sources. The last of them, Dio Cassius, is especially important because he supplies the lacuna found in the MSS. of Tacitus, [Annals, V. and beginning of VI.] From Suetonius we gather a large number of valuable facts and minor traits not recorded elsewhere, especially from the earlier portion of the life of the Emperor.

His mother Livia was very handsome, and but fifteen years older than her son. Both Livia and her husband, Tiberius Claudius Nero, belonged to the ancient and proud patrician house [gens] of the Claudii. Tiberius Nero, their oldest son, was born 41 B. C. The earlier years of the boy's childhood were full of unrest. His father was on the side of the constitutionalists Brutus, Cassius, and the sons of Pompey. The insolence of one of the latter made Tiberius Claudius Nero seek the side of Marc Antony in Greece. Soon after, with his wife and son, he returned to Rome. The splendid beauty of Livia Drusilla attracted the attention of Augustus himself and she became the Empress. For Claudius Nero yielded her quietly, though his own second son was borne by Livia after she had become the wife of Augustus. Claudius Nero died not many years after, and little Tiberius, only nine years old, delivered the *laudatio funebris* according to Roman custom. Livia never bore any children, to Augustus. Though her eldest son was the Emperor's step-son, Augustus did not at all immediately design him for the succession. Augustus had a daughter, Julia, afterwards so infamous, married to the Emperor's nephew Marcellus, and after the latter's death to Agrippa, to whom she bore five children. Of these Gaius and Lucius were probably nearest to their grandfather's heart and nearest to the succession in lineal descent. In due time Tiberius was married to Agrippina, a granddaughter of that Philhellene, Cicero's friend Atticus. To her he was sincerely attached, and she bore him a son, Drusus. But Julia's husband, Agrippa, had died and the Emperor, ever intent upon consolidating his house, now bade Tiberius dismiss his wife and become the husband of the lascivious Julia. This was the first great sacrifice of

Tiberius to the exigencies of political convenience and dynastic interests. No harmony or happiness of course could spring from such a match. Tiberius very soon began to live in separation from the dissipated princess, a practice of his well protected by his extensive campaigns. Tiberius's was not a soft nor in any way exuberant nature by temper and disposition; nothing genial or hearty or attractive in his presence or manner. Still, his was not a nature incapable of affection. The enforced divorce from Agrippina gave him pain which he could never forget; and when his only brother Drusus died in Germany, in military command, he personally escorted the remains, walking before them on foot all the way. His earlier manhood was very busy and even laborious. His first military service was as *tribunus militum* in Spain; later he held the supreme command in Armenia, where he recovered the *signa* lost in the great defeat of Crassus. Afterwards he was proconsul in Gaul and, still later, commander in chief in the Tyrol, Austria, Dalmatia, as well as on the Rhine. In every way his military qualities seem to have been of a high order. While he was a rigorous disciplinarian, he preferred to achieve his end by moral effect and by showing a strong front. He husbanded his resources and preferred preserving *certain* possessions to gaining uncertain additions at a great expense. He was shrewd, but not ostentatious, as a general.

Steadily, but surely, Tiberius had come to create for himself a great place in the Roman administration, and in his thirty-fourth year he received the title of emperor and the honors of a triumph. An even greater distinction was near at hand: he was given the *Tribunicia potestas* for five years, almost the highest formal assignment of power, which the *princeps*, Augustus, could make him; almost the highest, but *adoption* was still wanting. At this point of his career Tiberius did something which appeared curious to his own contemporaries and which we, too, cannot fully explain. If Tiberius entertained serious thoughts of succession, there were two young men in his way: Gaius and Lucius, Julia's sons by Agrippa. These were of very different stamp from Tiberius: vain and mercurial, who while still mere boys coveted consulships; pampered and flattered by servile courtiers into immoderate self-conceit; and, without the discipline of serving and the authority of service, they could not invite the critical eye of the wary old emperor to make them the depositaries of high office and power. Dio Cassius even sug-

gests that Augustus, in giving the five years *Tribunicia potestas* to Tiberius, intended to check and rebuke the striplings. But to return to the peculiar step of Tiberius made at this time. He insisted upon withdrawing from active political life and leaving the capital. Did he really wish to make room for Gaius and Lucius, as he himself later alleged? Or did he wish to test his own value in the administration of the empire? Augustus was grieved and begged him, his own mother the Empress Livia entreated him, to remain. It was only when he threatened suicide by fasting and when he had gone without food for four days already, that a reluctant consent was given. He sailed to Rhodes and there remained full seven years. There he spent his time in leisure, though not in indolence. A mansion in town and a country house were his residences. Frequently he sauntered about the streets and in wrestling-schools, without any official attendants. In the pursuit of literature and lectures he deported himself as a Greek amongst Greeks, generally with great urbanity, though he never forgot a slight offered to him at that period. But he soon came to see how grave a mistake he had made in all this matter: when his five years of *Tribunicia potestas* were spent he was refused permission to return to Rome and to active life. He was told to dismiss all concern for his friends whom he had been so eager to desert. He was utterly thrust aside in the plans of Augustus; and the good offices of Livia only obtained for him some remnant of official dignity. He avoided all Roman officials going east, who generally landed at Rhodes to pay their respects to the son of the Empress. Gaius now passed east as the viceroy of the Orient and did not conceal his dislike for the disgraced prince. This was a bitter and an anxious time for Tiberius, certainly one which did not develop any sweetness or openness in his character. An ignominious and obscure private life was the sum of all that seemed in store for him at best. At the end of seven years he was permitted to return at last,—permitted by Gaius to whom deep Augustus had referred the matter. A condition however was attached: that he should have nothing whatever to do with public affairs. He came. It was his great good fortune that within the next three years there died both Gaius and Lucius, the one in Marseilles, and the other in Asia Minor, [4 A. D.]

Nothing was left to Augustus but to adopt Tiberius; for Agrippa, the only remaining one of Julius's sons, was a worthless boorish

fellow, whom his grandfather was compelled to confine on an island near Naples. Now the career of Tiberius began anew at the point where it had been cut off by himself. Again the *Tribunicia potestas* was conferred upon him for five years, and the supreme command in the Rhenish provinces given him. But thence he was called to Illyricum, where a widespread and fierce revolt engaged all his energy for the next three years. He was successful; but during that time Arminius crushed the legions of Varus in Westphalia, and so great was the public mourning that Tiberius's own triumph was deferred. Tiberius himself had to hasten to the Rhine and strain all to keep the Germans from coming west. The strictest discipline was now enforced by Tiberius; he contrived and maintained the highest excellence and efficacy of methods and materials. Each baggage cart had a limited and compact load to carry, and Tiberius satisfied himself by personal inspection, that these orders were strictly carried out. Ancient and almost antiquated forms of military punishment were restored to practice.

After two years of cautious and successful campaigns, he returned to Rome and now celebrated his triumph. The *Tribunicia potestas* was renewed for him, and in the following year he again set out for Illyricum. But while journeying thither he was hastily recalled to the bedside of the dying Emperor at Nola. He was kept closeted with Augustus for an entire day. There is no reason for assuming that Augustus appointed him his successor unwillingly. He had designated Tiberius as his successor ever since the demise of Lucius and Gaius. The accession of Tiberius was not published to the Roman world before there had been put out of the way, by secret execution, Julia's youngest son, Agrippa Posthumus; probably by a last *rescriptum* of the dying Augustus at dictation of Livia.

Tiberius was now *princeps*. He had never been popular. His was not youth, to which nations are wont to look in sanguine expectation at a new accession. He was fifty-six years old. His character was fixed. He had very few personal friends. One of his maxims is illustrated by very many measures and acts. *While zealous of the full and exclusive sway of the supreme power, he loved to realize his aims indirectly.* While he knew that he was not popular, nor could be, and while in many ways he seems to have held public opinion in silent contempt, he was morbidly sensitive of public

criticism. He cannot but have distrusted, from the very first, all the ostentatious display of loyal devotion, which was made before him by the Roman senate, by delegations from a distance, by the masses of the capital. He had himself gone through an anxious and bitter period of dependence; he probably perfectly appreciated the natural history of the attachment which subsisted between the Roman *princeps* on the one hand, and the Senate, the *Equites*, the *Plebs* of Rome, the imperial guard, the legions in the distant provinces and the provincial subjects of Rome, on the other.

His first public acts were very moderate and cautious indeed. He made a tool of the senate as much as possible, and largely assumed the modest position of an equal who merely sought advice and made a few very polite suggestions. While he did not yield a jot of the sovereignty vested in his *imperium*, he preferred to have everything as far as possible, covered by a *senatus-consultum*. The senate permitted itself to be handled with charming facility. They knew how chary he was with frank and direct expressions of his wishes. A large class of senators consequently was ever on the alert to anticipate or interpret his wishes. The same men were eager to assume by their initiative the responsibility for measures which Tiberius desired to see accomplished without compromising himself personally. This is an historical fact which always and to-day renders it difficult to do Tiberius justice. But inasmuch as he frequently refrains from overt acts and direct measures, we cannot help fixing our attention on his *aims* and *motives*. Thus in his apparent refusal to assume the full position of Augustus, this department of Tiberius, at his accession, was no doubt by him intended as a test of the senate: he made the senate legitimize his own accession in a profuse fashion without asking for it; no one could say that any violence or coercion had attended his stepping into the highest power. Thus, too, with the *lex majestatis*; he did not directly decree that indictments should be made and trials held for personal offence against the Emperor in speech, act, or even gesture; the prætor Pomponius Macro made an official inquiry whether trials *læsaræ majestatis* should be held, whereupon followed the simple reply: "that the laws should be enforced."

It should be noted that Tiberius,—while having but little faith probably in human nature, and none but a utilitarian regard for men, for a long time refrained from any wanton destruction of life

or substance. There is recorded a large number of measures which deserve to be called good and judicious. In cases of private distress he not infrequently relieved petitioners from his private purse,—as in the case of Senator Pius Aurelius, whose property had been impaired by water-works,—whereas he refrained from mere lavish liberality, and spurned popularity to be gotten by this as well as by any other means. He generally seems to have found his satisfaction in the strict severity of law and precedent, for which the Romans did not give him credit, nor could that age appreciate such a system of public deportment. For he was not fond of the extravagance of scenic and arenic display, and provided for these Roman pleasures more stintedly than the Romans liked. The factions of the theatres had become very hostile to one another, their quarrels sometimes seriously endangering the public peace; these he suppressed with promptness. The salaries of the actors were lowered, the number of gladiators cut down. The Emperor personally set the example of simplicity and frugality, and often had set before him dishes of the previous day half consumed. The loose living and profligacy of the higher classes he coerced as far as he was able, and banished from Italy those highborn women who were brazen enough to have their names registered on the lists of the police. As for the suppression of luxury in material refinement by statute, he did not approve of it because he knew it to be not feasible. He well knew that moral sentiment alone could here effect anything. As for the rest he called attention to the fact that all these matters were after all of slight importance when compared with the great economic question of the day, that Italy and all her immense consumption was utterly dependent upon the resources of the provinces.

In the year 17, A. D., twelve leading cities of Asia Minor, amongst them Philadelphia, Sardes, Kyme, were levelled to the ground by a terrific earthquake, which was all the more destructive because it fell upon them at night: a special commissioner was sent by the Emperor, and all taxes remitted for five years. In other ways he provoked and deserved the gratitude of the provincials. On the one hand, in the management of distant provinces, he avoided the waste of wars whenever he could; and on the other hand he did not save by his intercession Roman *proconsules*, *proprætore*s and *procuratores* accused of extortion. Besides, he had the fashion of

maintaining long tenure in office, a practice beneficial of course to the provincials. Tacitus himself says, [IV, 6,] in a general review of the first nine years of Tiberius's administration (14-23 A. D.), that he had a care that the provinces were not troubled with *new* burdens, and that, in levying the established ones, the officials did not proceed with avarice and cruelty. It seems even that bodily punishment and the confiscation of private property were acts not permitted to the *imperium* of provincial governors.

One of the fairest figures in the Annals of Tacitus is *Germanicus*, painted like a blessed apparition from a higher and a better world. Our present concern is about the attitude of Tiberius to Germanicus in general, and whether he sought, and through Piso wrought, the death of his nephew and adopted son. When Tiberius himself came to the throne he entrusted the highest military command (the Rhine and Gaul) to Germanicus. This prince succeeded in quelling, soon after, the formidable revolt of the Rhenish and Pannonian legions. His subsequent campaigns into Germany are pictured by Tacitus with all the literary skill at his command. At the same time it may fairly be questioned whether the military ability of Germanicus himself was really of the highest order. For nothing permanent could be gained by invading a territory offering no hostages in fixed villages or cities; but the quarrelsome tribes of Germany were merely temporarily united and strengthened; whereas by skilful diplomatic manipulation and the judicious distribution of partial favors, they could be kept disunited and wasting one another.

In the year 17, A. D., Germanicus was sent East, with a supreme and universal command as the Emperor's lieutenant. Tacitus has painted him here as a scholar and fine gentleman, fond of studying classic localities, such as Athens, the Troad, Egypt. He died, however, in the year 19, A. D., in the belief that Piso, proconsul of Syria, and Piso's consort Plancina had caused his death by slow poison. As for Tiberius himself, all the evidence before us does not, I think, justify us in considering him at all as the instigator of the crime. He had not any occasion at that time to fear for his throne as far as Germanicus was concerned, whose loyalty had been tested in trying times. Nor can we see why the dowager Livia should have hated Germanicus, who was her younger son's son. Piso's the proud patrician's enmity against Germanicus we can

more readily understand, though it is hard to see what he could have gained by the death of Germanicus. In the trial of Piso the attitude of the Emperor was that of the strictest fairness. Of the defense, Tacitus says that it was weak in most points except that it invalidated the count of poisoning alleged in the bill of indictment. The consort of Piso, Plancina, by the advice of her patroness the dowager, separated her own cause from that of her husband. Thereupon Piso took his life in his chamber at night.

Amongst the gravest features in the reign of Tiberius are the trials under the *lex majestatis*. Its original sphere under the republic had embraced as culprits, those who injured the people or army of Rome by insurrection or some other treasonable action, and thus had diminished the "majestas" of the Roman people. Augustus had by special interpretation manipulated the *lex* to keep libellers in bounds. In the reign of Tiberius it was revived very extensively, in such a way that any offense whatever against the person or the family of the *princeps* could be indicted before the senate, and the culprit accused *læsæ majestatis*. And while the legal hold upon the accused was extremely elastic and manifold, anybody could lay an information, be a *delator*; the premium paid by the statute was very attractive. Thus, a noble lady, Varilla, was accused under the law, of having spoken derisively of Augustus, and of Tiberius and the dowager. A curious case was that of the Roman knight Lutorius Priscus and his fatal performances as a poet. Drusus, the only son of the Emperor, was sick, and Lutorius anticipated the death of the prince by a funeral poem, which in his vanity, he recited to a circle of noble ladies. This cost him his life.—Unhappily for the later administration of Tiberius, *Sejanus* was his favorite and prime minister. He rose to be commander of the imperial guards (*præfectus prætorio*) when still a young man. This position he rendered much more important and weighty by concentrating all the prætorians in one common barracks built for the purpose. He attached the rank and file entirely to his person and took the appointment of all officers into his own hands. And although he was merely a Roman Knight, he brought his senatorial creatures into the highest places of profit and power, and the man who had not himself originally a seat in the *curia*, was called a *socius laborum* in official proclamations of the Emperor. But Sejanus in his heart of hearts was impatient of being a mere minister.

There were in his way :—first, Drusus, the son of Tiberius ; and second, the family of Germanicus, in which there were three sons, Nero, Drusus, and Gaius (Caligula). The crown princess was Livia, and Sejanus became her paramour. Drusus, the heir-apparent, had long been impatient of the enormous influence wielded by the commander of the guards, and once in a quarrel dealt him an angry blow in the face. The wily and polished Sejanus now managed, through the younger Livia herself, to poison her husband Drusus. People thought that he died of disease, for he was given somewhat to cups and riotous living. Tiberius maintained remarkable composure at this affliction. The fact is, he never expected much from the administrative abilities of his son. The next thing in the way of the minister was Agrippina and her sons ; but nothing would avail here, for Agrippina watched over her boys with feminine circumspection, coupled with masculine energy. Now Sejanus used all his arts to work up suspicion in the mind of the Emperor. And so well did the minister succeed in poisoning the mind of Agrippina against Tiberius, that she grossly offended the latter by the frank avowal of her suspicions. This estrangement of Tiberius from the relatives of Germanicus proved, in course of time, the destruction of most of them. Agrippina was removed to the island of Pandatoria, where subsequently she took her own life by starvation. Of her sons, Drusus and Nero found a similar death.

Sejanus seemed near the goal of his hopes ; and especially so, when, in 26 A. D., the Emperor removed to Caprea, opposite Surrentum on the fair coast of smiling Campania. As to his life there, modern criticism, as expressed *e. g.* by the excellent scholar Merivale, justly refuses to give credence to the horrible and foul reports which were circulated amongst the corrupt gossips of the aristocracy at the capital, preserved and embellished in the biography of Suetonius, and somewhat less grossly presented in the narrative of Tacitus. The greater the severity with which Tiberius forbade and punished any uninvited approach to his insular hermitage, the more the curiosity and perplexed imagination of the crouching and secretly cursing aristocracy at Rome, wrought out a detailed and sensational picture of his life and habits on the island.

Old man as Tiberius was when he made Caprea his abode, and high in power as Sejanus was, the Emperor did not propose to rule less certainly and fully than before. Three years after his depart-

ure to his hermitage, occurred the death of his mother Livia. His deportment was striking; he really did not care to conceal a certain gratification, as being freed from the influence and restraint of the one person whom, by human and divine law, he could not afford to neglect or ignore; he never had cherished the standing report that his succession to Augustus was principally the work of Livia, and that he was his mother's creature. Not only did he not attempt any special display of filial affection and veneration at her death, but did not even come to Rome in person to attend the obsequies. Nay, he even repressed or cancelled several of the decrees of honor passed by the senate. For it was not an infrequent occurrence, and very characteristic of Tiberius, that his eager servants, wishing to please and flatter him, overshot or widely missed the mark; so well did he often conceal his real sentiments.

The one mistake, above all, which he made, was in *Sejanus*. When that supple but ambitious creature of his, had dared to ask Tiberius for the hand of Livia, the widow of Drusus,—he had received his first check from the cool diplomat, his patron. No one can tell whether Tiberius really began to comprehend the designs of his minister at that point or not. Certain it seems, however, that whatever suspicions may have arisen in the ever watchful Emperor, were utterly put to rest by subsequent events, especially on one occasion, when Sejanus risked his life to save the Emperor.

Continuous and well arranged, as the system of communication was which Tiberius maintained between Caprea and the Roman Senate-chamber, and between the headquarters of the imperial guard,—he could not but feel that people at Rome were getting accustomed by degrees to look upon Sejanus as the real source and seat of power. Tiberius had really put himself at a terrible disadvantage; trusting Sejanus alone, and distrusting all the other forces and factors at Rome, he began to feel that Sejanus was preparing to mount into his own place. The way in which Tiberius checkmated the minister is eminently characteristic, and one of the most subtle feats of diplomatic strategy in all his career.

Things had come to such a pass, that Tiberius no longer dared to openly and at once depose the powerful minister. He began to vary the contents of his letters to Sejanus in this wise: Now he would speak of his poor health, and that he expected soon to die; again, that his health was excellent. In one letter he would praise

Sejanus, and fill him with the most splendid expectations, and in another he would complain and fill the minister with unpleasant forebodings. Thus he cleverly disconcerted the sentiments, plans and purposes of the minister; at the same time, the reputation of the minister's power became unsteady, and varying in the senate and on the forum. When the chess player at Caprea was sure of so much, he pushed his plans more rapidly, preparing a blow which should strike the favorite unawares. A letter from Tiberius to the senate was entrusted to the hands of Naevius Sertorius Macro, and at the same time Macro was secretly appointed the successor to Sejanus, as commander of the guards. With a trusted band of troops, Macro went to the session of the senate, that day held on the Palatinum. He first spread the report that the news from Caprea were that Sejanus speedily would receive the *Tribunicia potestas*. Joyfully, and utterly thrown off his guard, the minister took his seat in the senate. Macro quickly sent the Prætorians on guard back to their barracks, and his own men took their place. Then he read a long letter from Caprea. Slight intimations were followed by indirect attacks, complaints against creatures of Sejanus. No intimation of elevating Sejanus further. Senators began to leave the seats near the minister.

Guards of Macro now approached at the command of the consul Regulus. The minister was utterly disconcerted, dumbfounded. But his fall was accomplished. Not a voice was raised in his behalf, not an arm lifted in his defence. Soon the capital was full of the astounding news. Everywhere the statues of the erst all-powerful favorite, were hurled from their pedestals. His name everywhere resounded, coupled with curses. Not long after his body lay at the foot of the Gemonian stairs. For three days the mob of Rome mutilated it. Then the remains were thrown into the river. His children shared his fate.

The remaining seven years of the life and career of Tiberius are his worst. The friends of Sejanus fell by the score; the historian, Tacitus says, became weary of recording the roll of blood and death which went on from day to day, and which did not even pass over the most sacred holidays of the Roman calendar.

His *personal safety* seems to have been the ruling and principal object of his later years. The last remnants of affection and trust were extinguished in the breast of the Emperor.

The senate became a body, of whom some were informers; the others, the victims of their colleagues informing. Nothing suited the disposition and personal habits of the distant Emperor better than a system where a hint from him sufficed to put an end to any prominent man's life, while prosecution, examination and condemnation were carried on in the senate and by the legal responsibility of the senate, who, losing all real power and prerogative, had really become the slaves, bloodhounds and hangmen of the old man at Caprea. His personal sentiments had utterly become those of the heartless and hopeless cynic and pessimist. The modern, "After me the deluge," finds a counterpart in his saying:

"When I am gone, let fire consume the universe!"

(ἐμὸν θανάτου γαῖα νιχθήτω πυρὶ). He caused to be entered upon the public minutes of courts and senate, the foul things said against him, which came out in the examination of the accused.

The old man was now almost alone, and resembled Priam, in that he had survived nearly all his kin and offspring. Of the sons of Germanicus, there remained only young Caligula [Gaius], whom in his last years he kept about him. The young fellow had learned a lesson in dissembling and self-control, but the old man fully understood the mad and ferocious turn of his brutal nature.

To the last, Tiberius attempted to deceive his attendants about his real condition; and a few days before his death, he overdid bodily exertion and ate too heavily; this, however, hastened his last hour. When, in a villa near Misenum, he was almost gone, and the lackeys thought that he had breathed his last, he came to again and feebly called for refreshments. But the favorites of his designated successor Caligula, were tired of the old man's tenacity of life, and promptly had him choked with pillows.

Tiberius was a statesman of a high order, both in the economy of administration and in the diplomatic manipulation of things; but his personal traits show a very peculiar medley of contrasts.

Doubting and sceptic as he was with regard to the moral side of human nature, he was, like Wallenstein and Napoleon, a fatalist of the most decided type. Many persons suffered death, because his astrological enquiries had shown him that their nativity was adverse to himself. He repelled flattery, especially in the first por-

tion of his reign. While in the use and practice of the Roman tongue he was a purist to a fault, his favorite recreation, in his private circle, was discoursing with Greek *literati* on minute quibbles of Grammar and Greek mythology.

Regarding his work and career, we can, I think, in conclusion say this much:—From first to last, he loved to achieve his purposes by *indirect manipulation*. He delighted in so dissembling his real sentiments and designs, as *to force the hand* of his opponents or servants. And as for the latter, unhappily for his own reign and personal felicity, private experience and natural disposition combined to present to his mind nearly all prominent men as his real or probable or possible enemies.

ERNEST G. SIHLER, Ph.D.

THE LAND QUESTION IN THE HIGHLANDS OF SCOTLAND.

(SECOND ARTICLE.)

AS was shown in the last number, it would hardly seem to matter much, whether proprietors in the Highlands were naturally wise or foolish. There is something in the system which undoes the effects of natural goodness; and disaster may almost as readily be expected in the case of a superior man as in that of a fool. The rule is for proprietors to bring up their sons in utter ignorance of everything they ought to know regarding the management of estates, and when these young enter upon their inheritance the management is delegated to a "factor." It is no wonder that the factor loses sight of the interests of his employer, when the employer himself has lost sight of the duty which he owes to man and God, as the custodian of such a trust as an estate with its population. It is also no wonder, either, that when men have a power which no man ought to wield, they abuse it. All these things ought to be governed by moral laws; and where these are not observed, no social or political contrivance will compensate for the omission. There can be no doubt that the failure to perform the duties attached to such a trust ought to entail loss of power. But then, as

we have seen, the laws of entail help to keep the property intact somehow. Still, it will not do. The possession is far from what is aimed at; and the various other expedients resorted to for the purpose of keeping up the monopoly, are not adequate to the end in view. Estates are kept from getting into the market, it is true, but the men to inherit fail. It is thus that some of the present estates have become so very large. Within the memory of living men, the Sutherland estate, for example, has been added to the estates held by the Marquis of Stafford in Shropshire, Norfolk and Staffordshire; and since then the Cromarty estate has followed, through failure of heirs male on the part of John Hay MacKenzie, Esq., of Newhall. In a much shorter period, three estates have been added in Perthshire alone to the Norne-Drummond estate. The litigations over the Brcadalbane and Lovat estates show the difficulty there is in keeping up direct succession. The Chisholm, the Mackintosh and the Dunmaglass estates have, within a lifetime, fallen into the hands of obscure relatives discovered in Canada; and if we had ready reference to records we could give a larger number of similar cases—showing that, although the public are defrauded in some measure by this huge wrong, the men who perpetrate the fraud fail signally in their aim of keeping up great families. They sow to the flesh and they reap corruption.

The great fact with which we have to do here is, that with all the indications of a divine law favoring the redistribution of those estates, the laws of primogeniture and entail interpose. There is strong evidence, in the failures we have been noting, that if these artificial barriers were removed, the natural laws would assert themselves in a manner—not which would cure the evil,—*but which would put it in the power of an intelligent and energetic people to re-acquire the land by voluntary effort.* No good is to be had without the proper effort. From the difficulties which we thus see in the way of keeping up the families for whose glory and gain this law exists, there is the greater hope that, other things being equal, the land would find its level sooner than the origin of the monopoly would seem to justify us in expecting. The moral ruling in the case is too remarkable not to strike the thinking man. The monopolists succeed even beyond their intention in massing the land in large estates; but this success is a result of their own partial extinction. The originators of the system never thought they might

be frustrated in their design by their very success. Accumulation there is, but that is in part because the Dalhousies, and the Panmures and the Gowers, and the Sutherlands, and the Gordons, who were intended to live alone in the midst of the earth, could not keep themselves alive. Sir Bernard Burke's "Romance of the Peerage" affords numerous practical illustrations of the various ways in which the great families have been frustrated in their lordly designs, although the masses have failed to recover their own.

The landless masses have been very remiss in overlooking the great law which underlies the human laws referred to, and which is every now and again making a breach in the stronghold of the feudal system. It should at least encourage them to know that, after all that has been done to keep up the land monopoly, the men for whose good or for whose glory it is kept up miss their mark. A long list could be given of men of very recent times, who have devoted splendid talents, and sometimes even genius, to amassing wealth and building up families and associating their names with lands and mansions, yet who have already passed away, leaving nothing but their names behind. They also have been frustrated, and they may be added to the lists of the older aristocracy, to show how futile is the attempt to establish a family on any other basis than that of righteousness. So that even the landed gentry themselves, if they had not become infatuated, should have seen long ago, that they were only sowing the wind to reap the whirlwind. And we wish to say, further, that in advocating the breaking down of the enormous estates and leaving the owners to stand on the broader ground of common utility and beneficence, we are working for their good as well as for the good of the masses, and we are working in harmony with those divine laws which cannot be set aside. We urge these considerations here all the more earnestly, as we desire to develop in the minds of rich and poor a clearer perception of the irresistible force which resides thus in the great moral laws in question.

The *game laws* are in the Highlands to-day, as they were at first in England, part and parcel of the feudal system. They have operated so as to have many thousands of square miles of land,—which might be feeding sheep and cattle, and, in some notable cases, yielding excellent crops,—laid out as deer forests. In this way they have reduced the area of land available for men. Thousands

of habitations have been demolished and the adjoining lands laid waste, that the privileged few might have it in their power to pursue the amusement of killing! The people of America can hardly imagine the extent to which this low and idiotic pursuit has been developed. They cannot understand numbers of sane, educated, wealthy men, laying out themselves and all belonging to them for the purpose of having, as their highest enjoyment, a few weeks a year of chasing and killing grouse, partridges, hares, roe and deer.

There has been a new method introduced into this game madness. It is probable that public opinion has grown too strong for those gentlemen who would remove the people now out of the way of game. Not long ago we were in conversation with a gentleman who had only been a few years in possession of his estate. The subject of the presence or absence of people on the land came up several times, and always with an expression on his part of thankfulness to his predecessor for clearing the land of people! It was clear he would not himself have outraged public opinion by removing those people, but it was not that he had not the desire; and the last account we had of his doings was that he was trying to stop a path by which the inhabitants of a near village were wont to go to the sea-shore to fish. This stoppage caused the poor people a journey of three miles instead of one. The only possible harm which the people could do, in going along this track in the moor, was that they might disturb an occasional roe or hare! He will very likely follow the example of numbers of others, and allow his game to multiply so that it will render it impossible for the tenants who remain to make a living out of the land. This policy has been pursued to an extent which is almost incredible. For example, widow D. was giving up her farm in 1878, giving over the crop at valuation to the incoming tenant, as had been done to her by her predecessor in 1868. She specified one field which happened to be under oats on both occasions. When going in, it was valued to her at \$625; but so much had the game increased in the interval, and so little had the professed owner of the game cared for the interest of his tenant, that the crop was only valued at \$125 to her successor. Two other tenants on the same estate have since been sold out in a state of total bankruptcy. Over great stretches of country the game has increased so as to be a literal plague. Deer come down from the mountains, and scamper into the very gardens and stock yards, eating and destroying all before

them. The tenants dare not fire a gun or even keep a dog to frighten the deer, and they have to sit up all night to keep the deer off as quietly as possible, so as not to make them wild. Poor people have been obliged to give up the cow which supplied their children with milk, the hares and rabbits having destroyed the grass and provender. On the estate of a baronet who is chairman of one of the political parties in the county, the rabbits had got to such a head that they ate up every morsel of cabbage in the garden of one of his tenants. The game keeper was sent to kill the rabbits, and he sold them to the tenant at 60 cents a pair.

If there is not famine in these regions as well as in Ireland, it is that the hard working friends in distant employment are sending home meal and money to avert starvation. What with inferior soil, heavy rents, and the destruction by game, these people, if they escape absolute famine, are from year to year in a state of chronic poverty, which born Americans cannot realize—and the whole is due to man-made laws.

But this is not the whole, nor the worst of it. It is sad and terrible to be kept down thus in the depths of poverty; but it is still worse that so many of the sons of the brave fathers of heroic times should acquiesce in the rule which produces the poverty and degradation. Considerable numbers are employed as managers, game-keepers, grooms, footmen, waiting maids, and so forth. Thus, there is a species of gain in acting the flunkey; and considerable numbers come to be more or less interested pecuniarily in upholding the absurd and wicked system. This is a very sad affair—that an appreciable number should think that they were benefitted by bearing a hand in the work of degradation.

Nor is this yet, mean and despicable as it is, the worst of the matter. The shooting-lodges are recognized as being, in a great many cases, positive centres of sexual immorality; insomuch, that the wonder has often been expressed that the clergy have not, in General Assembly, Synod, presbytery or pulpit, felt it their duty to attack the system. There are long lamentations over Sabbath-breaking and non-attendance at church; but never a word against “killing for sport,” with all its demoralizing associations—some of them so bad that we cannot describe them in the light of day. Let it be noticed here, that so great is the tendency among the rich to pursue this wretched sporting mania, that there are numbers of proprietors who get more rent for moors than for farms.

We shall not dwell upon the *law of hypothec* further than to say that it has aided vastly in adding farm to farm, by affording protection to the proprietors against loss from letting their lands in excessive masses to men without adequate means. Thus, men who had not money enough to take a hundred acres have taken a thousand or more, the proprietor being indemnified from loss by his having the power to seize for rent anything and everything he found on the farm, although most of it may have been unpaid for to seed-merchant, cattle-dealer, carpenter and saddler.

Altogether, it will be seen that much of what is needed in the Highlands, as elsewhere, is that the several laws, which constitute the main ribs of the feudal system, should be repealed, so as to allow the laws of nature to operate in redistributing the land. Natural affection would lead parents to divide the large estates among the children, doing so much of the work of breaking down. Mismanagement and extravagance would lead in a great many cases to the sale of the lands; and this would come all the sooner, but for the high rents which the game and hypothec laws enable them to draw. There is neither destruction nor communism called for by any one whom we know to be engaged in this land movement, although it cannot be denied that there is great reason to fear that so huge a combination of long-continued wrong must come to an end by a measure of violence and retribution in keeping with its origin and with the evil which it has inflicted upon the nation. This is a very serious thing to contemplate, and it is for those who stand in the way of a peaceful and constitutional settlement, by resisting the proposals made by us, to be prepared for the consequences. We are determined that the world shall know that with them rests the responsibility of bringing the system to a violent end. We wrote and write and pray for a peaceful solution; and if a crash does come, as come it may, we tell the landlords and their supporters that the fault is entirely their own. With a view to the question being solved in an honest, straightforward manner, in the mid-day light of the world, we have carried it across the Atlantic and laid it before the great American public, on the platform, in the newspaper, and in the magazine. We have done this in reliance upon light; and if, as is, alas! too much the case, the abettors of the system will pursue us with their misrepresentations of our views, they will only be making the intelligent and moral solution all the

more difficult and distant, if they will not be laying up vengeance for themselves against the day of reckoning. What right have they to expect to escape a better end than overtook the abettors of the same system in France? Will they take warning by what is now going on on the Continent of Europe? The iniquities of the fathers are visited just now on the Emperor Alexander. He has done much in the direction of emancipation; but that work was too long deferred. The iron had entered into the flesh, aye, into the souls of the serfs; and it would seem as if it would not be undone without blood. They are to blame for this terrible work of retribution who persist in their wrongful hold until their victims are so degraded that they become instruments of vengeance.

If the buttresses of the feudal system were removed, there need be no fear but an intelligent and self-denying people would in course of time recover their own. But they ought to be helped to help themselves. And in this we need not go further than to suggest the carrying out, all over the three kingdoms, of the principle of "Bright's clauses" in the Irish Land Act of 1870. The British Government has also before it the example of Prussia, in adopting a scheme of restoration, aided by the intervention of the land banks. A measure of this kind would work itself and cost the Government no money. If we had space, we could show by examples how easy it were to solve this great question, if we once had got a willing mind. But for the present we have discharged the duty of giving a glimpse of the evil system under which the Highlanders, just as certainly as the Irish, have been defrauded of their own and held down in worse than Egyptian slavery; and of just giving a hint as to the direction in which we would move for redress. Writing to us on the subject of the state of Sutherland, the late John Mac-Donald, Free Church Minister of Brood, simply quoted Isaiah I., 7: "Your country is desolate, your cities are burned with fire; your land, strangers devour it in your presence and it is desolate, as overthrown by strangers."

We believe that so far as this story reaches the ear and the eye of the American people, they will sympathise with the sufferers and their representatives, and that when the voice of this great nation of free men is raised, demanding that Ireland shall be delivered from the man-made causes of her recurring famines, the case of the kindred people of the Highlands of Scotland will be included in the demand.

JOHN MURDOCH.

THE SEDATIVE VALUE OF EDUCATION.

EDUCATION has another value from that by which it is most popularly measured, that is, as a means of getting on in life. It has a strong sedative influence which is seldom much descanted upon, but is very important, especially at this time. Socially and politically speaking, a well-educated man is a safe, steady, conservative man. He is protected from the temptation common to ignorant or very imperfectly and one-sidedly taught men, to look at things from the point of view of his immediate interests. He is also protected against discontent, because his mind is well-stored. Time can never hang so heavy on his hands as on those of an ignorant man; the most trivial tasks can be seasoned by thought and remembrance; often the most interesting debates on abstract subjects are going on in his mind, while his hands are busy with some common work. The same is true of a woman. She need not have a vacant mind because she is engaged in this or that household task; and, no matter how low her circumstances may be, she will be contented in proportion as she is educated. By education, of course I do not mean the "education" of the majority, but the gradual ripening of faculties which comes of experience, and of the fact of having once been set in the right path to learn.

Of those whose "schooling" begins and ends in that shallow modern system that takes in two or three years of one's life and makes of them a kind of receptacle for unexplained facts and infallible but not logical *dicta*, a few only find their way out of this labyrinth and discover the way to knowledge of an intelligible and useful kind.

Some are helped by circumstances, and some not. Altogether the thoughtful and educated form a small minority, but it is possible that this may increase in the future. The personal advantage of this habit of mind is enormous. An educated man is never lonely, nor, as the French say, *desœuvré*; that is, devoid of occupation, or incapable of creating it. He cannot be, sincerely, a socialist, or a demagogue. He knows that his individual failure, if he is poor and unlikely ever to be otherwise, does not warrant his disturbing the order of society, and that other issues than mere personal comfort are involved in any sudden and violent re-action, or

change, in things as they are. He knows that personal denunciation is silly, and that each fact brought against one member of a fortunate class, can be matched by an opposite one in another member apparently as well deserving to be called a type of his order. Selfishness is at the root of every socialist upheaval; no man who could pass from the class of dependents to that of owners would care to countenance subversive plans that would rob him of his acquired property. Such selfishness is only possible in an uneducated or shallow mind. His individuality is the pivot on which an ignorant person's ideas and hopes revolve; he sees what affects him, and by instinct pushes against it in the dark,—the animal's way of protecting himself reproduced in the human being. An educated man sees further ahead, connects present with future, and personal with universal circumstances, philosophically holds his hand and stays his tongue, remembering that it is not for him to interfere with the course of events, and that evils generally right themselves through the excesses they lead to. What he can do, is to so prepare himself that these evils will hurt him less, because his mind will dwell less on them, and his imagination be better occupied than in enlarging on them. The half-education so commonly and carelessly spread abroad, which newspapers conspire to make even more unsatisfactory and permanently hurtful as life goes on,—preventing men from educating themselves by earnest thought—is a source of more political mischief than is realized. It fosters dogmatism, always the mark of ignorance. The more a man knows, the larger the field of what he does not know seems to him; the more he reads by responsible writers and about real facts, the more he feels that there is another side to everything, except the Ten Commandments.

Limitations and explanations fence in and alter most things; a judicial and calm neutrality ought, for many years, to be the learner's habit of mind. A few moral principles, chiefly summed up in the words honesty and sincerity, are the only immutable things; as to theories and even facts, there is hardly anything so certain that it cannot be seriously affected by statements of various kinds. To have one's mind always accessible to new expositions of truth, without having one's passions engaged in the triumph of any one formula, is very desirable, and this attitude brings with it its own reward, for, through it, new interests are always at hand,

and the mind is exercised in a healthy manner, itself a recreation, while present and individual troubles must be necessarily dwarfed and deadened. All this seems to belong to the field of philosophy in which so many clever men have lately thought it worth their while to utter so many truisms, concerning what is called pessimism and optimism. I am looking at life as it is, showing that education is practically the best comforter, soother and guide. Into the abstract question of whether this life is an unendurable evil, I do not enter; it seems to me a very foolish question to raise, and one which the almost universal clinging to life under the most unpleasant circumstances goes far to decide in a rational and practical way, not exactly pessimistic. But that education may have a healing and softening influence, it is necessary that it should be true and thorough, and that it should produce, in spite of the humble and receptive habit of mind, a sort of pride and joy in knowledge. Unless this knowledge is in some way efficient and useful, it is not easy to rejoice over one's possession of it, and, to make it efficient, it ought to be directed to one special aim, towering above the rest. One line of thought and action should be followed further than the rest; in fact, some speciality should be cultivated. Any hand labor, intelligently pursued, must lead to kindred labor in abstract science, and abstract science, on the other hand, generally disposes one towards practical experiment. Either or both occupy and enlarge the mind, widen the sympathies, but control the passions. The schemes for technical education so widespread in some European countries, and at present struggling to get a footing in this country, tend greatly to the diffusion of this restraining influence in society, this application of knowledge as a comfort for shortcomings of success or fortune, and as a balance to foolish and crude theories of reorganization. True education is the best leveller, as it chooses only the highest type for reproduction, and aims at what mere political or social equality can never compass, the assimilation of a lower type to a higher, through a constant improvement and exercise of the best faculties only, of the former.

LADY BLANCHE MURPHY.

OUR MERCHANT-MARINE.

THE decline of American shipping is a matter of much interest to shipowners and shipbuilders, and not to them only. It is, or should be, of interest to all good citizens; for the common carrier is the servant of all, and if he be lamed or enfeebled the consequence is loss or inconvenience to many. The matter being of such general concern, many enquiries have been made as to the cause or causes of that decline. The answers thereto have been unsatisfactory to some of us, and we will therefore inquire here once again, in the hope that increase of knowledge (if it can be had) will prevent the trial of certain measures to arrest the said decline, which would prove futile or worse; and will tend instead to the adoption of better ones.

In order to avoid confusion, we will treat of shipping under Enrolment and shipping under Register, separately; for as our foreign and our coastwise commerce are carried on under different conditions, so do the respective causes that affect their prosperity differ. But, before entering on our main inquiry, I will say that little reference, if any, will be made in it to our civil war; for its effect on our shipping was a transient one. That war was at most only an accessory after the fact; for the decline of our shipping began before that began, and it did not end when that ended. It is true that our tonnage continued to increase in amount till 1860, but the profits of it ceased some years prior to that date. It increased—progressed—after the stimulus to movement ceased, as the steamship goes ahead for some time after her motive-power becomes inactive.

Now, having cleared the way for it, we will enter on our main business. First, of our coastwise commerce, in which no foreign ship can take part, and which is therefore all our own.

Before steam, as a motive-power in transportation by sea and land, came into use, the products of our southern and south-western States,—cotton, rice, tobacco, cereals, etc.,—found their way by the inland water courses, and otherwise, to the nearest seaports, and thence, in great part, by sail-vessels coastwise to the ports of the middle and north-eastern States. In return, manufactured goods, provisions, groceries, etc., went southward along the coast,

by the same means of conveyance. But when the steam-engine appeared, with its train of cars on iron rails, the course of this commerce changed, and it went more and more, as railroads extended and increased in number, across the country by rail, instead of by sea along the coast. So, too, the trade between the Atlantic and Pacific coasts now goes to a great extent *across* the continent. This brief statement shows conclusively enough why our coastwise shipping has declined, or ceased to increase with increasing commerce, and I will say no more of it, but will now take up the foreign trade, which cannot be so easily disposed of; for in that transportation is all afloat, and we come into direct competition for it with the ships of the world.

If we would learn to know the cause of the decline of this part of our shipping, we must first inquire and understand how and why it rose to the eminence on the high seas which it attained to thirty years ago; and, in doing this, our procedure must be to some extent a historical one.

From the beginning of this century onward to the middle of it, our mercantile marine prospered and increased more rapidly than that of any other nation; and an English book tells us that in 1847 the shipowners of Liverpool, "regarded with great and natural jealousy the then triumphant progress of American shipping" * And, in fact, our ships of that time, built at home, were stronger, swifter, under better command, in all respects more seaworthy, than those of other countries, and therefore they had everywhere the preference over them for freight and passage. This statement will be corroborated by all men now living who were shipowners, or shipmasters, at that time; and indeed we have the testimony of our most formidable competitors on the ocean to that effect. In 1843 the British Foreign office, becoming aware of the fact that other nations, and especially our own, were outstripping them on the ocean, addressed a circular letter to British consuls abroad, requesting information in relation to maritime affairs. "I am particularly desirous," says the writer of the circular, "of gaining information in regard to instances which have come under your observation, of the incompetency of British shipmasters to manage their vessels and their crews, whether arising from deficiency of knowledge of practical navigation and seamanship, or of a moral

* The History of Merchant Shipping, etc., by W. S. Lindsay, London 1878, vol. III, p. 135.

character, particularly want of sobriety . . . My object is to show the necessity of more authoritative steps on the part of Her Majesty's Government, to remedy what appears to be an evil detrimental to, and seriously affecting, the character of our commercial marine, and therefore advantageous to foreign rivals whose merchant vessels are said to be exceedingly well manned and navigated." Her Majesty's Government will take "authoritative steps" in this matter: and be it noted, now and always, that the British Government is not, and has never been, a *laissez faire* one in relation to its merchant marine. The answers to the circular of the Foreign Office, many of which are now before me, show that the character of British ships, and of their masters, was at that time inferior to that of some other nations, and especially inferior to that of our own. But the letter of Mr. Baker, consul at Riga, is the most interesting of all, and I will therefore quote a part of it.

"I am sorry to say that in my opinion the British Commercial Marine is at present in a worse condition than that of any other nation. Foreign shipmasters are generally a more respectable and sober class of men than the British. I have always been convinced that while British shipowners gain by the more economical manner in which their vessels are navigated, they are great losers from the serious delays occasioned while on the voyage, and discharging and taking in their cargoes, by the incapacity of their shipmasters and their intemperate habits. I have had occasion to remark, while consul in the United States, that American vessels in particular will make three voyages to two of a British vessel; in this having an immense advantage over their competitors; and from the superior education and consequent business habits (of their masters), obtaining better freights and employment for their vessels."*

Three voyages to two: which means that though the cost of sailing an American ship was more per *month* than that of sailing a British ship, it was not more per *voyage*; and it means, too, that the greater despatch in transit gave to the American ships the fine goods—the best-paying freight—and the first-class passengers. An "immense advantage", indeed! And in fact our sail-ships held then much the same relation to other sail-ships, that steamships now hold to *all* sail-ships. Let any one interested in this matter look over files of commercial newspapers, from 1820 to 1840, and he will find there, in large type, the words:—Latest news from Europe; and the name of the ship that brought it (almost always American), and of her master too, both also prominent. These

* The History of Merchant Shipping, etc., Vol. III., pp. 41-44.

names went all over the country, and these successful sea-captains were famous men. Famous; and proud of their fame which they had fairly earned. Men born to command, and trained to it under many difficulties on the wide ocean far from help. They were, in fact, a kind of sea-kings; for a ship at sea is a little kingdom complete within itself, as none other is. But the advent of the steamship, swift and sure, going straight on its course "in the teeth of the wind," took the heart out of these men, for they could no longer bring the latest news,—which let us note as one of the causes of the decline of American shipping.

In the foregoing faint sketch of the rise to eminence of American shipping, no allusion has been made to the occasional hindrances to that rise. Some of them were in the end, beneficial—as for instance, our short war with Great Britain in 1812–15. In that war our many victories in death-struggles on the seas, gave courage and hope to our ship-masters and ship-owners in the more peaceful contest that followed, and helped us to success in that too.

We said, at the outset, that, if we would know the cause of the decline of our mercantile marine, we must first of all enquire how and why it attained to that eminence among the shipping of the world which it once had; and we may say now, that the cause of its decline has been indicated in the saying that "our sail-ships once held, to a great extent, the same relation to other sail-ships that steamships now hold to *all* sail-ships." But an indication is not sufficient; and, in order to show the special effect which steamships had on our sail-ships, we will take a notable instance of it. When the Cunard Company in 1848—after running half a dozen years or more between Liverpool and Boston via Halifax—started a direct line between New York and Liverpool, there were ten lines, employing about 150 sail-ships, plying between those ports. Some of these lines were I think, somewhat irregular, being composed of vessels chartered for the voyage, or "put on the berth" to take their chance for freight. But six of them—the *Collins*, *Black Ball*, *White Star*, *Dramatic*, *Black Star* and *Swallow-tail*—were regular packet lines sailing on fixed days from each port. American ships, staunch and swift, with good passenger accommodations, and commanded by the best seamen then afloat.

These ships had then, and had long had, the principal part of the passengers and fine freight going between this country and

England. They made a brave fight with the Cunarders, and held their business pretty well, till the competition of the Collins Line with the Cunard, in 1850 brought the rate of freight by steamer down to £4 per ton from £7 10, which the Cunarders had previously charged. The unfortunate Collins Line died out in 1858; but the Cunarders had added to their line, and continued to add to it, new steamers of greater speed and larger freight capacity; and the sail-packets, losing their passengers and freight, were soon driven out of their position. The Black Ball Line, which outlived the other lines, pulled down its signal in 1860. These ships, once so famous, had thenceforth to take place and business with the common crowd. The instance here adduced, of the effect of steamships on the business of American sail-ships, is an extreme one, and shows marked results; but that effect was everywhere to a considerable extent the same, and herein lies the real cause of the decline of our mercantile marine.

And now at last comes the interesting question: What can be done in the premises? For our shipping, by sail or steam, engaged in the coasting trade, evidently nothing, or next to nothing; for our Navigation Laws guard that trade to the utmost, against the competition of foreigners. As for our steam-marine in foreign trade—where is it? The European, or transatlantic business is altogether in the hands of foreigners; altogether, save only that bit of it done by the American Line of four ships from Philadelphia. The primary question for us therefore, is not how to *maintain* a steam-marine but how to *create* one. The Free-traders say: Repeal the Navigation Laws, admit ships built abroad to registry here, and so create an American mercantile marine. A remarkable kind of creation, certainly. Foreign-born men admitted to registry here do beget native Americans; but ships, let us remember, are of neuter gender, and a mercantile marine created in the free-trade way would have to be maintained in the same way, if at all. But we will look into navigation laws a little and see what has come of them.

In 1651, under the leadership of that sagacious man, Oliver Cromwell, England enacted the stringent laws for the protection of her commerce and shipping under which, be it noted, she became paramount on the high seas. And so, too, under the navigation laws enacted by Congress in 1792, our commercial marine prospered, and attained to such eminence in the commerce of the world

that in 1847 that the ship-owners of Liverpool "regarded with great and natural jealousy the then triumphant progress of American shipping." At this time the American clipper-ships were afloat, engaged in the California trade and the trade with China—whence they carried large and valuable cargoes even to English ports. Famous sail-ships, swiftest and beautifullest the world had ever seen. To such pre-eminence in ship-building, too, had we arrived under laws which forbid the admission to registry here of cheap ships built abroad.

The British laws, modified from time to time, and in part repealed as circumstances changed, were continued as to registry of vessels till 1849, (near two centuries), when that, too, was made free. But certainly not because the English people wanted liberty to build abroad; for at that time ships built of iron had come into use, and they, with cheap material and skilled workmen, could build at lower cost than any other people. With these advantages, they could sell ships with profit to themselves and with such consequences to the purchasers as will become apparent as we proceed.

And now let us inquire what *we* could gain by the admission of foreign-built vessels to registry and what results would follow. The whole gain would be in the cost of building, whatever that might be. For the foreign-built ship admitted to registry here would thenceforth sail at the same expense per month as the home-built, and it is mainly the greater expense of sailing our ships which makes it difficult for them to compete in freighting with those of other nations.

In regard to the apparent saving in first cost, there are manifest offsets to it; for the American ship-owner who builds abroad, builds far from home, and deals with strangers under foreign laws, and where he cannot himself oversee the work done. He builds, too, of inferior material; for as is well known, the quality of English iron is at least ten per cent. below that of American. In view of all these offsets to the small gain in first cost, we should not, I think, avail ourselves to any considerable extent of the privilege of building abroad. Nor is it probable that we should buy many foreign ready-built ships, for it is not the best of them that are for sale, but oftenest the worst; and in all cases the seller would have better knowledge of the qualities of his vessel than the purchaser

could have, and the foreign chapman would have the best of the bargain. On the whole, therefore, we can hope that the building or buying of foreign ships by our citizens would not go far. Hope, I say, for in case it did go far, what then? Then we should cease to build at home, and our mercantile marine would soon have a strange aspect. It would be with our country as with a man who, desirous of having a family, and being unwilling to take the trouble and expense of begetting one, should adopt the children of other men, and then give to the motley and mongrel crowd he had gathered around him, his family name and protection. As the years rolled on, he might chuckle, if he could, over his economical achievement. And indeed, the nation that does not build its own ships will gradually cease to have any. Nowhere in history have I read of a maritime people who were not *ship-builders*; nor can there be any such. A foreign-built mercantile marine would be simply a disgrace to us; and if the time ever come when our national flag floats, for the most part, over foreign-built ships it should have on it, combined with its stars and stripes, some sign of humiliation.

Another party, with a better forecast of the future, proposes a bounty on the articles used in ship-building, equal to the duties on such articles when imported. This would lessen the cost of an iron ship somewhat, but would have little effect on that of a wooden one.*

But, on the whole, at this time, when sea-going commerce is largely, and to an increasing extent, carried on by steamers, the only effectual means of getting hold of that commerce will be by direct subsidies for the establishment of steam lines of American built ships—continued until the lines could be maintained without such aid. Subsidies, I say; for called *mail-contracts*, or by whatever other name, money paid by Government for such purpose would be a subsidy, and it will be best to look the fact in the face and call it by its right name. Forty years ago, the British Government, seizing time by the forelock, commenced that system of subsidies which has been continued to this day—with results visible to

* It is worthy of note that the State of Maine is now paying a *bounty* of one cent per pound on beet sugar manufactured there.

all who will look.* Half a dozen millions of dollars expended annually by our Government in the same way, would be well spent—not, as is sometimes sneeringly said, for the benefit of a few ship-builders, but for the public good. For, as the complete ship has required for its completion the work of many hands in divers industries, so the ship itself, when launched into its proper element, becomes an integral part of that great industry which connects us with the commercial world. And indeed, transportation by sea and land is the indispensable servant of all other industries, for they could not otherwise develop themselves to any considerable extent. From the old-time pedler with his pack, footing it over rugged mountains and across shallow water-courses, and the waterman steering his laden canoe down the rivers, onward through the centuries, by many steps, to the locomotive and steamship of this present time, the enterprise and inventive genius of man have achieved their most signal triumphs. On the land we have availed ourselves to the utmost of these achievements; but on the ocean we are now a laggard people. When the *Great Western*, starting from Bristol Haven on the 7th of April, 1838 cast anchor in the harbor of New York on the 23d of that month, the English people, with the instinct which is deeper and more effective than any logic, seized on that fact; and their government, which, in this case, was the exponent of the national will, was ready with its aid—and now England has steamships on all the seas.

British ships have got possession then? Yes, and they will keep it, too, without active measures on our part to regain it. Active measures, not for the benefit of a few ship-builders, nor yet solely for the wider purpose of getting our proper share of the transportation by sea. But, also, that we may have a mercantile steam-

* The Cunard Line between Liverpool and Boston via Halifax, established in 1840, had a government subsidy or mail contract, of £81,000 per annum; which was increased on its extension to New York, in 1848, to £145,000; and in 1874 the Cunard Company was receiving from the government on other lines, £70,000 per annum. Another company—the Royal West India Mail Steamship Company—running between Liverpool and West India ports, had in 1842 an annual subsidy of £240,000 for ten years; increased to £270,000 per annum in 1852, when the line was extended to Brazil; continued at that figure till 1864, when another contract was made of £173,000 per annum, and this one line has received from the British Government an aggregate of over £7,000,000 equal to \$35,000,000. The whole amount hitherto paid by that government in subsidies I do not know, but it must be an immense one. At this time (1880), its subsidies amount to near \$4,000,000 per annum.

marine which could be made available for war purposes in time of need. Our navy on a peace-footing is now, and, for economy's sake, will always be, only the nucleus for a war-force; and therefore when such force is needed, we must improvise it. That can be done only by means of a commercial steam-marine, and the shipyards, skilled workmen and other appliances always in use for such marine. The naval wars of the future will be waged on open sea, not by unwieldy iron-clad monsters, but by swift and handy sea-craft, and without a commercial marine composed of such craft, we should be destitute of available means for sudden war.

If the preceding pages had been written a twelve-month ago or more, other statements would have followed; and also an urgent appeal to Congress for aid in the establishment of a commercial marine. But the recent rapid rise in the prices of material and labor precludes ship-building at this time. This rise will be followed by a fall—not so rapid, we will hope,—and we must wait awhile, wait for the right time, and then build and put afloat steamships equal to the most approved of this day, with such improvements thereon as the intervening time may produce, and so compete successfully with the inferior ships of other nations.

H. W.

NEW BOOKS.

CIVIL SERVICE IN GREAT BRITAIN, a History of Abuses and Reforms and their bearing upon American Politics, by Dorman B. Eaton. New York, Harper & Brothers, Publishers, 1880; 8 vo. pp. 469.

Mr. Eaton is the Chairman of the United States Civil Service Commission, created in 1871, and has here gathered together the results of his examination of the Civil Service Reform in England, with a hope of securing its successful adoption in this country. In an Introduction, Mr. Geo. W. Curtis heartily seconds the hope, which he and Mr. Eaton share in common, that a study of the history of English Civil Service Reform may secure some more active progress in the same direction in this country. The agitation of this subject was begun in Congress in 1868 by the Hon. Thos. A. Jenckes of Rhode Island, and to him is due the appointment, in 1871, of the Commission of which Mr. Eaton is the Chairman, so that the present volume may be said to owe its existence to the one man who almost alone in Congress urged the necessity of Civil

Service Reform. The study of the successful working of the same problem in England cannot but strengthen the belief that the only way to lift this country out of the slough of politics, and to secure both political and Congressional support of great measures for their own sake, and not for merely personal or partisan reasons, is to adopt and enforce a system that will give us a Civil Service that shall be neutral in politics, permanent, honorable, and beyond the reach of political influence. The state of the Civil Service in England fifty years ago was a great deal like ours at this time, but about that time a reform was set on foot there which, in spite of opposition and neglect, very like that of our own Congress, has ended in bringing the English Civil Service up to the very highest standard of excellence, while here it has gone on in its downward course, until even the hope of securing an efficient Civil Service by legislation or executive power, has almost faded away. In very self defence, however, some officials, such as Mr. T. L. James, the Postmaster of New York City, have introduced a measure of examination for admission and promotion, and the Department of the Interior, under Mr. Schurz, has endeavored to make an examination the condition of appointment to the offices under its gift. This is very far from being all of the Civil Service Reform as it has grown up into life throughout the British Empire, but it is at least a proof of the necessity of undertaking the same reform here, if the Government is really to do its work well. The opposition in England came from a class of men who looked on patronage as their exclusive privilege, yet silently and under the pressure of public opinion their claim has been utterly ignored, until now it has entirely ceased to exist. In this country, the men in politics maintain their control over appointments and over those who have received them, with an absolute sway which has so far been undisturbed by any thing said or done in Congress or out of it, and even the executive has vacillated in a way that leaves much of its action altogether inconsistent with the fine phrases of the platform adopted by the Republican party, or of the President in his repeated expressions of a desire for Civil Service Reform. Mr. Eaton shows that in England the Reform was made by slow and easy stages, and that to-day it is as thoroughly established, as part of the system of government, as if it were in *Magna Charta* itself.

To do this required many years of patient labor on the part of a few men, inspired by a sound and consistent regard for the public good and a real anxiety to get rid of mere place hunting and office giving as utterly inconsistent with good government. The same result might have easily been reached here, yet to-day the contrast between the Civil Service in Great Britain and that of this country is far from creditable to the superior business ability which we claim for our own. Even that great railroad cor-

poration, the Pennsylvania Railroad, with that enlightened selfishness which is the first condition of success, both in commercial and political administration, has introduced examination for admission and promotion as the best method of securing that efficiency which is necessary to make its management successful. But in public offices, state, national and municipal, the passion for making the appointments depend on political patronage, seems to be on the increase, and the result is a steady growth of the subserviency of the office-holders to the mastery of those who are leaders in the dominant party. The effect is the continual and repeated example of men sent to the penitentiary for peculation, and, worse still, of those who escape only to feed on the public, although their guilt is confessed, and thus the public service continues to be the worst, the dearest, the least satisfactory to those who are in it, and to those who have to do with it, while the reform that can cure all the faults that now mark it, is open, patent to every observer, and readily at hand. Take the statistics collected by Mr. Eaton, showing that dishonesty in the British Civil Service is utterly unknown, and see how much it costs us to keep our's open to politics.

Until lately it has been a reproach that might have been used by our politicians, that the British Civil Service was so strictly guarded that its officers were not allowed to vote, but even that restriction has been taken away, and now its members can vote as freely as they like. What political leader here could face the possibility of seeing every man in the Post-Office, the Custom House, the Tax Office, or any other department, vote as he pleased, certain that his term of office was dependent only on his own good conduct and efficiency, and not at all on the vote he gave and the number of votes he secured, and the assessment he paid in support of the party in power. Mr. Eaton's volume is full of painfully instructive lessons, and yet it may be summed up in a few brief words,—it shows that Great Britain has grown in greatness as it got a permanent Civil Service, that this service increased in efficiency and economy as it became permanent, and as it was opened to all who could meet its requirements and pass its examinations, and that this system has gradually spread throughout the British Empire, has secured a foothold in its army and navy, and is fast being made part of private as well as public business establishments. The state of affairs in this country shows a steady deterioration in the quality of our Civil Service and a rapid increase in its numbers, its expensiveness and its bad qualities of all kinds, due largely to the fact that the men who enter it do so only as a condition of subserviency to some political leader, to whose demands, for money or votes or offices, they must give instant heed. The English Civil Service is an honor to the country and to the men in it. What our's is may be easily guessed,—it is just what England had half a century ago.

Mr. Eaton traces the method by which England overcame that difficulty, showing the system that has been fitfully tried here, and that it only needs to become part and parcel of the permanent Civil Service of this country to secure results that will make it as effective as is that of Great Britain. The possibility of taking out of politics our army of civil appointments seems to those who are in politics utterly past hope, yet in England that very thing has been done, and done so well that the politicians themselves are the men most benefitted by the change and most grateful for its good results. To secure the same change here, our politicians must make up their minds to do something for the country, and to serve their fellow-citizens by an act of real public benefit, and not by mere lip service. The reward will be the gratitude of a whole country and a return to the doctrines that are at the foundation of all good government, that were enunciated by the men who established the Constitution under which we live, and that will alone enable us to return to a system that will give us lasting prosperity. It is not enough to discuss reforms, or to maintain political agitation, if the result of changes is only to shift the offices of the country from one party to another, leaving the taxpayer to bear as best he may the unnecessary and costly burthen of an inefficient Civil Service, ruinous alike to those who are in it and to those who are the victims of its ignorance and its dishonesty. The first great measure of reform for all parties is to unite on such a method of Civil Service as shall take it out of partisan politics, shall fill it with men chosen for merit, and on examination, as well as relieve them from the fear of losing their places at the next election, or of being obliged to contribute in money and votes, in political services and personal efforts, to the success of some party leader or candidate for office. It is not such a long time since public officers, and especially the subordinates in office, were known and respected for their efficiency, and that efficiency was their best claim to office. Even now there are good men in the public service, but their efficiency is sadly marred by the fact that their offices are held only so long as it pleases some political personage, great in caucuses and powerful in conventions, to keep them there. The fact is, that by taking the Civil Service out of politics Congress and the Executive would secure their own independence, would really be able to give time and labor and talents to the great questions of the day, and would win for themselves the gratitude of the country. Yet so great is the fear of party pressure and displeasure, that up to this time only a mere coquetry has been indulged in, giving the friends of Civil Service Reform the hope, at some future day, of seeing it take its proper place, and yet allowing the party leaders to distribute places for party purposes. The result has been the degradation of the tone of Congress and of the

people, until now it is hard to believe that there is any real sincere desire for Civil Service Reform. It is not denied that it has worked well elsewhere, and Mr. Eaton's volume is an irrefragable proof of what it has done in England,—but it is pretended that the American people would rather maintain the present system, with all its injurious tendencies, due to a violation of the Constitution, quite within the memory of living men, than secure the control of the government for any party coming to its help, by advocating and securing a real reform of the Civil Service.

THE LIFE OF BENEDICT ARNOLD. HIS PATRIOTISM AND HIS TREASON.
By Isaac N. Arnold, author of "Life of Abraham Lincoln."
Chicago, Jansen, McClurg & Co., 1880. 8vo. pp. 444.

This ponderous volume is written in the honest desire "to make known Arnold's patriotic services, his sufferings, heroism, and the wrongs which drove him to desperation and converted one of the most heroic men of a heroic age to the perpetration of an unpardonable crime". In doing this, the story of his life is told at great length, but it can hardly be said that there is much of novelty in the incidents of his career, for that had already been fully and fairly described by Irving and Sparks. The discussion with Bancroft and Parton is hardly worth entering into, for the one is a mere book-maker, and the other is too much of a phrase-maker to be considered an impartial or judicious historian. There is a good deal of new, although not necessarily valuable, matter drawn from the manuscript letters in the Force collection in the library of Congress, those of Arnold and his wife and sister in the Department of State at Washington, the very large collection of still unprinted Schuyler manuscripts, the Gates and Lamb papers, and the Shippen papers in this country, as well as Arnold's own papers. These were all put freely at the author's disposal, and he has labored honestly and conscientiously to solve all the knotty problems of Arnold's Life. It is to be regretted that there should be so much careless spelling, grammar and composition in a book which exhibits such anxiety to be truthful on the part of the writer, and such successful mechanical beauty on the part of the publishers, and it may be left to them and to the printer to divide the blame of the blunders and inelegancies that a good proof-reader ought to have corrected. Besides these, the book is marred by an excess of imaginary conversations, intended to reproduce the author's impressions of what Arnold and André and Beverly Robinson might have said, but these have the faults characteristic of the whole work, too much rhetoric and too little fact. The real question at issue, the extent of the palliating and exciting cause of Arnold's treason, is only imperfectly discussed, and in this, as in so many other branches of the subject, there is endless repetition, lengthening the book to a very incon-

venient size and serving very little use in strengthening the writer's arguments or establishing his positions. The sketch of Arnold's career in Philadelphia gives a very bright and pleasing picture of the social life of the colonial capital, and might have been made even more minute to advantage. The papers furnished by Arnold's descendants, both in England and Canada, possess sufficient novelty and interest to be well worth printing in full, and such a selection of unpublished MSS., might have been arranged as would serve to correct the mistakes of earlier writers and assist future historians. The question of André's fate was so effectually disposed of by Judge Biddle's capital paper on the subject, in the Publications of the Historical Society for 1858, that it is no longer open to discussion. There has been a mild revival of the interest felt in this unfortunate victim of Arnold's treason, due to the address of Dean Stanley and the monument placed on the spot where André met his fate, but there has been no good reason advanced for changing the popular judgment, that he met the proper punishment for his offence against military law, and he admitted it himself.

Mr. Arnold has fallen into the too common fault of our American biographers, that of putting no limit to his faith in the interest of the subject he has in hand, or the zeal of his readers in accompanying him in his examination of old authorities and his presentation of new facts. He never wearies of contradicting Bancroft, whose reliance on Wilkinson is certainly of the weakest, and he recurs two or three times to his legal analysis of Parton's statements, based on Davis's repetition of the hearsay in Burn's family. Once disposed of, these matters ought never to have been mooted again, and the book could have been reduced by just so many pages to much more comfortable limits. The rhetorical flourishes in which Mr. Arnold frequently indulges, remind us of the stilted fashion of the times of which he was writing, and no doubt his own, clear, even if inelegant, style has been perhaps unconsciously affected by the tone of the numerous letters and papers through which he has gone so perseveringly. Arnold's letter to Washington, written immediately after his successful escape to the British lines,—begins in a style worthy of Charles Surface.

"The heart which is conscious of its own rectitude, cannot attempt to palliate a step which the world may censure as wrong," is just one of those high sounding phrases that must set the reader on his guard against the sense and the honesty of the man who indulges in such platitudes at such a time. Indeed, Arnold seems to have been much too fond of grandiloquence, and his latest biographer has a love of western orientalism too, that leads him to reproduce long sentences signifying nothing, as if they were of any importance to his case. It would be much better to go on with the publication of the large mass of valuable contemporary original matter that still

remains in MSS., than thus to renew a discussion of questions that can lead to no result, secure no final judgment, and really make no positive addition to our stock of knowledge. The space sacrificed in just this sort of dialectic cleverness, in the attempt to rehabilitate Arnold as a patriot, might have been better used in printing in full much of the valuable material from which the biographic *advocatus diaboli* has drawn his strongest arguments. That Arnold was a gallant soldier who received but a poor return from Congress for his sacrifices, and that he was trusted and honored by Washington, are facts of familiar acceptance; but that his treachery was due largely to his own extravagance and the hope of securing his personal aggrandizement, is in no way contradicted by the new glosses on the old text. Indeed, Arnold's treatment in England is of itself pretty strong proof of the judgment passed upon him by those who were best able to determine the nature of the motives that led him to betray his country and the sacred cause of its independence. It is very clear that neither the King's favor nor Lord Lauderdale's kindness in going out to meet Arnold in a duel, rehabilitated him in the eyes of Englishmen whose good opinion was best worth having. It is to be regretted that the interest attaching to his name and to his wife's virtues, was not better attested by giving more space to their domestic life, and less to the repetition of Arnold's earlier life, which was already well known. It is plain that Arnold will always be remembered as the unsuccessful traitor, and an account of the close of a career that started so brilliantly could not fail to be full of interest and importance as a warning and a lesson. This Mr. Arnold has quite failed to give us.

SUNSHINE AND STORM IN THE EAST, OR CRUISES TO CYPRUS AND CONSTANTINOPLE. By Mrs. Brassey, author of *Around the World in the Yacht Sunbeam*; with upwards of 100 illustrations, chiefly from drawings by the Hon. A. Y. Bingham. New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1880. 8vo. Pp. 448.

Mrs. Brassey has printed here an account of a Yachting Cruise in 1874 and another in 1878, in Eastern waters, with the usual accompaniment of good maps, mediocre prints, and bad verses. Her prose is that sort of easy writing which makes difficult reading, for it is all in one steady, uniform monotone, neither rising to the dignity of good literary workmanship, nor falling to the level of many of the ordinary travelling diaries and journals of the day. The main feature that both text and illustrations leave on the memory of the reader, is the extraordinary luxury which the Yacht supplied its owners and their travelling companions, and the characteristic pluck with which they endured the discomforts of the sea for the sake of the independence of going where and as they pleased. Of course, they were received with unusual honors and distinction wherever they landed, and much of the book is

made up of the account of the handsome hospitality given and returned with liberal hand. The actual incidents of life at sea are told with great fidelity, and there is a very charming absence of any attempt to pose in a heroic or picturesque attitude in times of discomfort and danger, although these were only frequent enough to stir the current of that dull monotony which most of us associate with life at sea, and, for the most part, consist of happy escapes from collision with great ships in harbor, a risk that is run by the sailors who stick to the coast, too. There were some out-of-the-way points seen and visited by the Yacht on its cruise in the Mediterranean, but, for the most part, the account is common-place enough as to the places and people. After all, the charm to the stay-at-home reader is in the account of what English wealth and the English use of it can secure to English people like the Brassey's,—an immense amount of luxury on what most people think a very uncomfortable place, the sea. In spite of fine cabins and plenty of accessories, a great deal of discomfort and risk in doing in this way what ordinary travellers do much more safely and cheaply in the every day means of transportation. The visit to Cyprus confirms all that has been said and written about that last accession to English colonial wealth of territory,—that it is a nasty, unwholesome spot, of no sort of value, commercial or military, and only an impotent result of much vapping and great bickering. Mrs. Brassey's second visit to the East enables her to make some hopeful comparisons between her later and her earlier experiences of Turkish misrule, but her friendly auguries of the improvements promised, and perhaps intended, by the new Sultan, seem all to have had very poor fulfilment, and of course, her own judgments are thoroughly superficial, and derived only from the great officials she met.

A LANDLUBBER'S LOG OF A VOYAGE ROUND THE "HORN". A Journal kept by Morton MacMichael, III.

It is a long time since any little volume of its kind has pleased us as well as this Landlubber's Log. Partly, no doubt, because it is the work of a very young man, and partly because his taking notes reminds us of his grandfather. The log was written up for the pleasure of the author's friends, and that he did not contemplate its appearing in print, greatly adds to our confidence in it as an unaffected narrative. It displays the operations of a sound mind in a sound body, not so young as to mistake slang and vulgarity for spiciness, nor yet old enough to appreciate the metaphysics of the little world of which it made a part for several months.

There is abundant evidence that the young traveller inquired into and understood everything mechanical and scientific about the voyage, and that he initiated himself into climbing the rigging, heaving the log, and lending a hand at the sheets, as soon as possible.

The chart prefixed to, and the the tables scattered through, the volume, containing the latitude, longitude, distance travelled, weather, etc., are executed with genuine nautical enthusiasm. Whatever was to be seen with the outward eyes he saw very quickly and well. A storm off the river Platte is graphically described, and so the death and burial of one of the men, and there is a very droll account of a row on board, in which a stupid Hans, to the disadvantage of his head, got himself mistaken for a mutineer. These things are told compactly and well, and he is not tempted into speculations about the inner life and mutual relations of the officers and crew, or even of the celestial cook and steward, who would have afforded to some young writers a limitless field of disquisition. We have, instead, a very life-like picture of them all and, not least, of his fellow-passenger Mr. B., whose sole aim in taking the trip seems to have been the undisturbed perusal of old files of the *New York Weekly*. Although printed for his friends, the volume will be found, by any one who has the opportunity to read it, a thoroughly entertaining account of a long voyage.

SEBASTIAN STROME: A novel by Julian Hawthorne. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1880.

This book has one excellent character, in the father of Sebastian Strome, an English clergyman of Chaucer's type, whose purity of inmost thought and life works on the coarser material of the son's moral nature, to his ultimate redemption from the lowest depths of degradation, the unbelieving and immoral life of a candidate for orders. The heroine is many-sided; rich and beautiful, her talk is of the rotation of crops, cattle, subsoiling and stocks. In her first appearance, chased by a bull, she kills it with an axe, which weapon seems to replace the gentler parasol in her walks. Everything foredooms this woman to be the wife of a bullying husband, whom death removes to make way for Sebastian, after much and peculiarly useless expiation on his part for the sins of his youth. The studies of character tend to show the possible devil in us all, but, in this hereditary vein, fall far short of the richer and fuller investigations of his father's works.

It is a pity to put down a book, feeling contempt for the world it has brought before us, and in this, with slight exception, the good and the evil are weak alike.

IN BERKSHIRE WITH THE WILD FLOWERS. By Elaine and Dora Reed Goodale. Authors of *Apple Blossoms*. Illustrated by W. Hamilton Gibson. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1879-80.

The lives of the little authoresses of these poems seem to have been most prematurely developed, and although their work is

not distinguished by the defects in style and lack of truth characteristic of the ordinary prodigy, still phenomenal childhood is always a sad thing to contemplate. The verses display mental breadth and remarkable power of detail, recording the flowers in the order they bloom throughout the year, with strength, simplicity, dignity, repose and accurate observation, not to be found in the normal condition of childhood. There is much of the feverishness we should look for in youth which cannot have had any intellectual rest; yet there is a cheerfulness that generally comes later in life to the clever heads, which in their early years of necessity dwell apart. They have sought nature in the spirit of trustful confidence, giving here and there admirable bits of description, which show them to be faithful and loving observers of what she unfolds.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

Mind in the Lower Animals, In Health and Disease. By W. Lauder Lindsay. Cloth. 8vo. Vol. I., pp. 544.—Vol. II., pp. 571. New York: D. Appleton & Co. [Porter & Coates.

The Seamy Side. A Novel. By Walter Besant and James Rice. Sw'd. 8vo. Pp. 166. Price 50 cents. New York: D. Appleton & Co. [Porter & Coates.

The Financial History of the United States, from 1774 to 1789. By Albert S. Bolles. Cloth. 8vo. Pp. 371. Price \$2.50. New York: D. Appleton & Co. [Claxton, Remsen & Haefelinger.

A memoir of Henry C. Carey. Read before the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. By William Elder. Philadelphia American Iron and Steel Association.

Limited License in its Relation to the Liquor Traffic. By S. Leannet, Jr. 16mo. pp. 48. New York: American Temperance Publishing House.

Half a Hundred Songs for the Schoolroom and Home. By Hattie Sanford Russell. 16mo. Boards. pp. 103. Price 35 cents. Syracuse: Davis, Bardeen & Co.

The Elements of Education. By Charles J. Buell. Price 15 cents. Syracuse: Davis, Bardeen & Co.

Politics and Schools. By Sidney G. Cooke. Price 25 cents. Syracuse: Davis, Bardeen & Co.

Sunshine and Storm in the East; or, Our Cruises to Cyprus and Constantinople. By Mrs. Brassey. 8vo. Cloth. pp. 448. Price \$3.50. New York: Henry Holt & Co. [J. B. Lippincott & Co.

Naval Hygiene—Human Health and the Means of Preventing Disease, with Illustrative Incidents principally derived from Naval Experience—By Joseph Wilson, M. D. Medical Director U. S. Navy. Cloth. 8vo. pp. 274. Price \$3.00. Philadelphia: Lindsay & Blakiston.

Silver and its Relation to Industry and Trade. By William Brown. Cloth. 8 vo. pp. 134. Price 60 cents. Montreal: Lovell Printing and Publishing Co.

Brain-work and Overwork. By Dr. H. C. Wood. (American Health Primers) Price 50 cents. Cloth. 16mo. pp. 126. Philadelphia; Presley Blakiston.

Free Ships—John Codman. (Economic Monographs, No. VI.) 12mo. Sw'd. pp. 54. Price 25 cents. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

The Inter-Oceanic Canal and the Monroe Doctrine. 12mo. Cloth. pp. 118. Price \$1.00. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

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THE MONTH.

[T is just a quarter of a century since an Irishman on the staff of the London *Times* did England an inestimable service in exposing the scandalous maladministration of the Commissariat and Hospital Departments, by which the Crimean expedition was crippled, and the sufferings of the soldiers multiplied as they lay before Sebastopol. Mr. Russell's letters from the Crimea gave him at once such a position before the British public, as led them to trust him as a fearless and honest reporter of every fact which the people had a right to know; and he has always been looked to as a man who would tell the truth even under difficulties. It is this which gives great significance to his recent letters to the *Daily Telegraph* (a ministerial organ), describing the abuses in Southern Africa,—letters which the London managers of the Associated Press have managed to know nothing about. He declares that the British army serving in Zululand is largely disorganized and demoralized; that the officers showed no power to control their men, although flogging was used without mercy and in contravention of military law; that the men broke into panic at every sign of danger, firing midnight volleys of musketry, and even cannon, at imaginary enemies, and hiding under the wagons in the hour of peril; that they showed themselves as dangerous to the friendly villages and towns they passed on their way to the front, as *many* of them were useless against the enemy at the front.

These statements very naturally have produced a great sensation in England, especially because of the quarter in which they appeared. England has but a small army in proportion to her military necessities, but she has felt a complete confidence in its excellence, and commonly has used it as a spear-head to a shaft made of less disciplined troops furnished by her allies and her dependencies. Hitherto, there has been no sign of its degeneracy. In the Crimea, where everything else seemed to give way, the rank and file proved completely trustworthy; and she boasted of Inkermann as the battle won by her private soldiers, in the absence of competent leadership. Nor has there been any sign of weakness in recent wars, until now. The disasters of Isandlana, at the opening of the Zulu war, were due solely to the incapacity of the commander, while the bravery shown at Rorke's Drift would compare with the charge at Balaklava. But the regiments despatched from England to reinforce the army in Natal, displayed all the bad qualities which soldiers can show—cowardice, insubordination, panic and outrage.

The reason of this difference is to be found in part in the change made by Mr. Cardwell, who was Secretary of War during Mr. Gladstone's Administration. He carried a law reducing the term of enlistment to a mere fraction of what it had been, hoping in this way to make the service more popular, and to bring, in course of time, a very large proportion of the population under military drill. He thought that men who would not enter the service for twenty-five years could be induced to enlist for ten, and that, as the years passed by, the dismissal of these ten year soldiers and the filling their places with new recruits, would create in England a large body of men, upon whom the country might call in time of danger, and secure an English *Landwehr*, without requiring either conscription or compulsory service. It was for the same reason that the Liberals fought so strenuously against the practice of flogging. In fact, there are now in English politics, a Liberal conception of what the army ought to be, and a Conservative preference for keeping it just as it was under Wellington. The Tories believe in the purchase of commissions, long service, and severe discipline.

The Natal experiences are not favorable to the Liberal plan. The regiments sent thither consisted very largely of new recruits,

as nearly all regiments must under the new law. The men had never seen their officers; some of them had never seen any officer, except the drill-sergeant and the corporal. They had never smelt gunpowder, except on the practice ground. They had read in the newspapers every detail of the disaster at Isandlana, and had a vivid imagination of the horrors of Zulu warfare; but they were under none of the influences which make soldiers indifferent to danger. They behaved as might have been expected. It was of very different recruits that Wellington said in Spain, that they never fought better than in their first battle.

An army is essentially an illiberal institution,—one which the progress of Liberal ideas will yet abolish. To introduce those ideas into its management, to “wage war on Quaker principles”, as we used to say, is a great mistake. Wherever else Toryism must fail, it will always succeed in military administration, if given a fair chance.

THE investigation into the Tay Bridge disaster, seems to show that its primary cause is to be sought in that rage for cheapness, which has now for thirty-five years been the governing principle in English commerce. No stable and safe bridge of such a length could have been built for the cost of this bridge. Several London firms refused the contract on that ground. But by an application of the favorite British commercial principle, everything is made possible at any price. A country which can put sixty-eight per cent. of dressing into a yard of cotton, is equal to the task of running an iron bridge across a Scotch frith at one-third of the proper cost of such a structure.

The influence of ruling ideas upon the character of national industry are not adequately appreciated. Thomas Carlyle and Prof. Rouleaux were the first to point out their effect on that of England. Carlyle predicted that English Free Trade would turn out to be a race “towards cheap-and-nasty, as the likeliest winning post for all the world.” The Berlin Professor described the wretched display of German goods at our Exhibition as the result of the acceptance in Germany of the English ideal of cheapness, instead of the French and American ideal of excellence. Free Trade necessarily fixes the attention of the producer on cheapness alone. All the victories won under its regime have been won by

cheapness, and that at the expense of the other qualities of their manufacture. In all except the recently established art-manufactures, there has been a steady deterioration in the quality of their turnout. Twenty-five English consuls in the East, report simultaneously that the market for English cottons has been almost destroyed by the decline of their quality.

When once such a principle becomes dominant in the thinking of the commercial classes, it will be sure to make its presence felt in quarters where it was not looked for. It will determine the quality of public works, as well as of shop-goods. It will affect railroad bridges as well as yards of calico. He that is unfaithful in that which is least, is unfaithful also in that which is greatest. The false principle will find its condemnation in great national disasters or defeats, as well as in the exasperation of the cheated customer.

And cheapness, be it remembered, is the Free Trade ideal, to which everything else is sacrificed. No argument for that policy is ever presented, which will not be found in the last analysis to turn upon the question of cost. Not that the Free Traders are quite consistent in their devotion to it. If they were, they would hail what other people call Hard Times as an ideal condition of industry and commerce. For Hard Times are the times when cheapness reigns supreme, when all prices are adjusted in the interests of "the consumer, whose interests are those of society at large," and none in the interests of "the producer, whose interests are always class interests."

WE have always wondered how M. de Lesseps overcame the political and other difficulties which stood in the way of his Suez Canal. No account of it, that we have seen, furnished us with any adequate explanation. But when we read his telegram to Paris, explaining that President Hayes's Message to Congress was all that was needed to ensure the success of the Panama Canal, as it ensured the protection of the United States to his project, the mystery was cleared up. M. de Lesseps is one of those happily constituted individuals whom you cannot upset. He assumes that his worst enemies are his warmest friends, and that any opposition to his scheme is disguised advocacy of it. He has the agility of a cat; toss him up in any fashion, and he comes down upon his feet.

Mr. Hayes takes the ground that such a canal would be virtually a part of the coast-line of the United States, as it would revolutionize the relations of our Atlantic and Pacific Coasts toward each other. He therefore insists that it must be under such control as will ensure a proper regard for American interests. There is some strength in this position, but the President ignores the claims of other nationalities, which might be put upon the same ground. Central America and Mexico, to say nothing of the Dominion of Canada, might each claim that it formed a virtual part of their coast-line, and ask to be associated in its protection and control.

Exactly what Mr. Hayes and those in Congress who agree with him, want to have done, we do not understand. Do they desire to forbid the Frenchmen to undertake the work, or do they insist that Americans shall own a controlling interest, or do they wish the route of the canal to become American territory? The second of these proposals is easily met. America, either by private subscription or public appropriation, can secure a majority interest in the stock, and can thus transfer the property of the company by sale to any American corporation at any future date. But we see no indication of such a desire; the opponents of the canal do not talk about money, and, for that matter, neither do its friends to the extent necessary. The \$168,000,000 needed to cut a ship canal at sea-level across the Isthmus is still far from subscribed.

The third plan, that of virtually or formally annexing the Isthmus, would be very unwise. It would give us no advantages in peace, and great responsibilities in war. Our present frontier is hard enough to defend, without adopting outlying spots at a distance, with no road for reaching them by land, and no ships to get at them by sea.

We must suppose that the real aim of the Presidential and Congressional opposition is to put a damper on the plan. Some are actuated by a mistaken patriotism,—a jealousy lest this French company should come to mean another European hold upon this continent. Others are acting in the interest of the great trans-continental lines of travel, either already constructed or in course of building. We think that either of these motives is quite unworthy of the occasion. Especially, we think that it shows a very mean conception of the power and prestige of the American na-

tion, to suppose that any European government would undertake to hold the Isthmus against our wishes. The France whom we ordered out of Mexico in such terms as she dared not publish to the world, is not going to put herself into a situation where again she may receive such an indignity. And it is just this fact which makes this loose talk at Washington mischievous. Let it be well understood in Europe that America is hostile to the plan for this Panama Canal, and European capital will not be forthcoming for its construction. And then we will have lost the chance of having the Isthmus cut by one of the greatest of contractors,—the only one who has had any experience in such work,—and at the expense mainly of Europeans seeking an investment. As for ourselves, we have not the money to put into such a work, while we would derive the chief benefit from its construction.

MR. PARNELL'S return to Ireland marks the close of a rather remarkable series of popular meetings, whose significance the newspapers on both sides of the Atlantic are endeavoring to belittle by meagreness of report and hostility of comment. As a matter of simple fact, he has had a reception in America, which shows that the millions of our Irish citizens, together with a very large number of others among our people, are fully awake to *some* of the miseries inflicted on Ireland, and ready to second the Land League and the Home Rulers in seeking their removal. Very little of this success was due to any personal qualities in the man. He is about as poorly fitted for the work of an agitator, as could be imagined. He has neither an imposing presence, nor a gift of eloquence, nor a trace of the nervous energy which responds to and incites enthusiasm. Ireland has never lacked for orators to lead her. She is now following a man who is not an orator in any sense of the word, nor even an able manager. Several times the American movement would have been wrecked, but for the skill with which its friends among us saved it from Mr. Parnell's blunders. And if the organization he formed in New York before sailing does not prove the greatest blunder of all, it will not be due to any wisdom bestowed on its organization. In fine, Mr. Parnell's only elements of success are a limited insight into Irish grievances, and a real sincerity in dealing with them. He has put his sincerity beyond

question by putting himself on the side of the opponents of landlordism, while himself a landlord, and by the large personal sacrifices he has made for the good of his own tenantry.

We speak of Mr. Parnell's insight into Irish grievances as limited. He shows no statesmanlike grasp of the whole subject. His friends and sympathizers in this city tried to force upon his attention the immense importance of the other industries to the welfare of Ireland, and to show him that land-reform would be but a half-way measure, unless something were done to undo the evil effects of that English legislation for the suppression of Irish manufacturers, which was adopted in 1698 and the following years, and was renewed in substance at the Union. The last of the resolutions adopted at the great Philadelphia meeting—one of the largest assemblies ever gathered under one roof in America—had this purpose. But it was altogether of no avail. Mr. Parnell goes back to assure the Irish people that a new land-law is all that is needed to make them prosperous, when in truth any land-law that the brain of man can devise would leave them nearly as poor and discontented as they are at present.

On one point Mr. Parnell and his friends have rendered the Irish people a solid service. His criticism of the Mansion House Relief Committee helped to prevent the contributions of New York and Philadelphia from flowing in that channel, and thus secured the presence of competent and impartial American observers in Ireland, to report to America what is the real condition of the Irish people. Until the letters of Mr. Hepworth and Mr. Redpath began to reach us, most of us knew not what to believe on the subject of the famine and the evictions. But the story of the actual sufferings of the people, and of the atrocities inflicted on them by the landlord power in the very midst of the horrors of the famine, has now been told us by witnesses who have no cause to bolster up, and whose repute for veracity is of the first order. We may therefore look for a growth of American sympathy with the Irish people and the Reformers who are laboring in their behalf, but also in some quarters for new and more ingenious excuses for casting all the blame of the situation upon the Irish tenants. One such, *The Times* of New York gives us in an editorial essay on "Irish Agriculture," which has incited in some people a desire to see its author sentenced to live for ten years by cultivating an Irish farm under Irish conditions. We do not wish him any fate so cruel.

THE Supreme Court of the United States seems determined to make the Constitution mean something, and especially to enforce the War Amendments in the protection of the negro element of our population. The colored people of Virginia, the most intelligent and self-reliant of any in the South, have suffered most severely under the maladministration of justice by the "Conservative" officials for several years past. In petty cases, this could not be avoided; the local justices seem to have acted as if they had been appointed to make life a burden to the negroes, and to take a general revenge upon them for the crime of being free and having votes. But in more important cases, where the rule of trial by jury comes into operation, they thought themselves protected by the Amendment which forbids discrimination on the ground of color in the administration of State laws. Yet they found themselves shut out of the jury-box, even when persons of their own color were on trial, and this so insolently and systematically as to constitute a clear breach of that Amendment. The Supreme Court has decided that such exclusion is unconstitutional, whether enacted by a State, or openly practiced by its officers without the shelter of an enactment. We are not sure that the colored people will gain much by this decision, for there is no way of preventing evasions of the law. The sheriffs who make up the panel can be as arbitrary in Virginia as anywhere else. They cannot be compelled to summon colored men as jurors, nor will they take any risks of including them in making out the lists.

The most notable thing about these decisions is the reception they have met with in the South. Although no more than a simple enforcement of the language of the Constitution, they are denounced on theoretical grounds as altogether inconsistent with "the rights of sovereign States." This is quite true, but it is a pity that our Southern friends have but just awakened to the truth that the Constitution, at any rate as it now stands, is not reconcilable with the theory of State sovereignty, and knows of no sovereign authority except that which is vested in the nation. Even were there no constitutional obstacle to the other theory,—were the Constitution as it stood capable of Calhoun's interpretation, and were the amendments wiped out,—this talk about state sovereignty would be no better than an impertinence. If these States were sovereign once, they are now conquered sovereignties, forced to unconditional

surrender at the close of a war waged mainly to crush out every such theory of State Rights. And it is not a very honorable course for them to denounce the very amendments, whose adoption by their Legislatures was a condition of their resuming their places in the newly consolidated Union.

EQUALLY important and valuable are the Court's more recent decisions on the constitutionality of the national election laws. It declares that every election to national offices is under national control ; that the nation can enact laws for the regulation of such elections, and can provide officers for their enforcement ; or it can adopt as its own the laws enacted by the State. But in either case, the national courts can take cognizance of offences committed against the law, and of resistance offered to the officer engaged in its execution. There is but one step more required to make the Constitution adequate to the present posture of affairs. It is to protect the citizen as well as the officer, and to give the national courts cognizance of any offence whose intent can be shown to have been political intimidation.

After this decision, Congress will be all the more anxious to get rid of the Marshalls and Deputy Marshalls who represent the national authority at the polls. Mr. Hayes has shown that they can neither abolish the office of Marshall nor destroy its authority with his consent ; but the majority are evidently determined to pare down that authority to the utmost, or else to refuse an appropriation for the expenses of attendance on elections. We believe that it would be wisest for the President to veto every attempt to alter the existing election laws, even though no appropriation should pass. Men can be had to do the work for nothing, for the sake of seeing a fair election ; or if there are cases in which they cannot be had on those terms, the money to pay them can be obtained from other quarters, until the next Congress shall vote it from the National Treasury.

As the time draws nearer for the National Republican Convention, the hopes of the Independents that a good nomination will be reached, grow brighter with every week. The certainty of the defeat of one of the three objectionable candidates, the great prob-

ability that neither of the other two will enter the Convention with a majority, and the rumors of new and startling combinations as regards the more prominent of the two, all indicate that the Independents are likely to hold the future in their hands. That they will be at Chicago in strength, with united action and a definite programme, we believe is now beyond question. But the definiteness of the programme will not consist in the presence of any single name on their banner. They are ready to support either Mr. Edmunds or Mr. Garfield, or any equally good nominee upon whom the party can be united. They are not grinding private axes, in the name of Reform. They are simply desirous of having a candidate put forward, whose name will be of itself a pledge that the usual high-toned professions of the platform mean something, and that the Government will be administered for the benefit of the nation and not for that of the party. And while they do not stoop to any threats of what will or will not be done in case of an unworthy nomination, they are themselves a reminder to the party that, while in this election every vote will be needed, there is an element which cannot be marched to the polls to vote for whom or "what the party chooses."

Mr. Grant's friends evidently rely on the Southern Republican vote to carry him through. To give value to that vote they are putting in circulation the wildest estimates of their candidate's strength with both parties in the South, and profess to reckon upon the support of several Southern States in the election. They catch every straw of Southern preference for the Ex-president, and would have us believe that all but the irreconcilables are dying for the chance to vote for a Union soldier. We cannot regard this loose talk as sincere. We must believe that any man in his senses now sees that the Southern Republican party is dead for every purpose except holding federal offices and attending political conventions. And among white Southerners the preference for Mr. Grant amounts to just this,—that if they had to choose between him and Mr. Blaine, whom they regard as the alternative, they would greatly prefer the Ex-president to the Senator. But on election day they will be found to prefer any Democratic nominee to either of them.

This plan of nominating the candidate by the support of men whose suffrages at Chicago represent no electoral votes, is exciting a profound dissatisfaction, not chiefly among the Independents.

It was this feature of Mr. Sherman's canvass which first alienated those who might otherwise have supported him. And it is the avowed purpose of a good many Republican politicians to make these gentlemen understand, at Chicago, that the nomination is to be made by those States in which the Republican party is more than a man of straw on which to hang official clothes.

Such shrewd people as our professional politicians, might be expected to bear in mind that it is one thing to select a candidate, but quite another thing to elect him. It may be possible—we hope it is not—to nominate either Mr. Grant or his competitor at Chicago; but we are satisfied that neither of these gentlemen would, if thus nominated, be honored with the suffrages necessary to his elevation to the presidency. Either of them will be placed between two fires from the moment of his nomination. The day when the stalwart Republicans were strong enough, not only to control party conventions, but to command the votes of the majority, is gone,—let us hope, forever. The candidate now to be chosen is one who can command the suffrages of all sections of the party. In the steps thus far taken towards his selection, we have heard chiefly the voices of those who will vote for any candidate the party may choose to put in nomination, which is, after all, although the largest section of the party, the least important in its councils.

The least of the objections to General Grant is that which regards the Third Term. If he had shown himself an unexceptionable President during the eight years he was in office, we might bear with the violation of the unwritten tradition which requires our chief statesman to become a nobody just about the time when his hands have become used to the reins of power. But Mr. Grant was very far from being an unexceptionable President. Through the mellowing influences of time, his faults, like the sins of the Rebellion, have been hidden under a charitable oblivion; but his candidacy, if secured by the support of the most objectionable and unscrupulous men in the party, will bring everything back into the hard, stern light of day. It will be remembered that his mismanagement forced a large section of the party into revolt at the end of his first administration, when the party was still strong enough to ignore such re-

volts. (The Southern Republican vote was a reality in those days, and Northern States which have long been reckoned doubtful were solidly on the Republican side.) During his second term of office he continued and intensified all the faults of the first. He associated the name of the President with those of such worthies as Belknap and Murphy. He stood stolidly in the way of every measure of political reform. He broke down the prestige of the party even in the North, until the 763,000 popular majority in 1872 became a Democratic popular majority of 251,000 in 1876. It is true that there has been a turn in the tide since 1876; but it is not so great and so decided as to warrant the Republicans in taking any risks. General Grant, as the nominee of the Conklings and the Camerons, cannot command the undivided support of the party. Mr. Blaine cannot; Mr. Sherman cannot. And the candidate chosen in Chicago should be one who can.

WE must believe that all honest Democrats read with satisfaction the reports of the election of local officers in Maine, and the evidence they furnish of a deep popular disgust with Governor Garcelon and his council. It is certainly to the Democrats and the Greenbackers of the State that the credit of the Republican victories is due. It is impossible to suppose either that the unattached voters of the towns are so numerous as to turn the scale in this way, or that the Republicans have received from the other parties any such accession of permanent adherents, as is represented by these majorities. There arrive situations when a true man feels a solid satisfaction in voting against the party to which he is solidly and permanently attached. And such a situation Governor Garcelon has managed to create for hundreds of voters, who were on his side during the previous election.

Throughout the country, the heat of indignation has been on the decrease. We have almost forgotten Mr. Garcelon and his legislature. But in Maine there have been continuous disclosures in regard to his proceedings, which have not permitted any popular amnesty of his offence. The examination of the papers which were before the late Governor and his Council, furnishes *prima facie* evidence of offences, far more gross than any with which they had been charged heretofore. It appears that returns made properly

and at the proper time, were set aside, and others substituted for them, in order to vitiate the result. It is charged that the name of a Republican candidate has been changed, both on the original returns, and on the tabulated returns made out by the Council, in order to set aside his claim to a seat. Among the correspondence discovered, are letters from Democratic managers suggesting alterations in the returns, which were made. The more the matter is looked into, the worse it looks for Dr. Garcelon and his friends. It is, therefore, no wonder that the honest men of the party were anxious to repudiate his doings when they went to the polls.

On the other hand, the Republicans, instead of smothering the charges of attempts to buy up candidates who held false certificates of election, have shown their determination to probe the matter to the bottom. They have investigated it as thoroughly as though the person to whom the bribe was offered, had been a real member of the legislature; and while there is and can be no legal penalty for the offence, they have not shielded its authors from the moral blame which justly belongs to them.

THE returns of the taxation levied on our City by the State show that the income from licenses to sell liquors reaches an aggregate of \$140,000. As there are about five thousand establishments for the sale of liquors in Philadelphia, this gives an average of less than thirty dollars from each. This is by far too small a revenue for these gentlemen to pay to the State, and there is an imperative need for an improved license law, which shall at once reduce the number of such places, and increase their contribution to the public burdens. Such a law they themselves proposed when the Local Option Law was up for consideration, but our Temperance people very unwisely refused it. They secured what they thought a much more sweeping reform, but it has proved all but worthless. Its adoption in Germantown seems to have meant little more than that a majority of the voters thought it would raise the value of their real estate to have the liquor saloons of the borough transferred to the city. There was at once an increase of such establishments in the neighborhood of the Germantown depot, and on points on the way to the business centres. And even in Germantown the illicit sale of liquor to the classes who do not come into town to

business, goes on vigorously. In other places, as in Chester, it transferred the business from respectable innkeepers, to low grogeries on the back streets, which pay no license, and sell any kind of intoxicating poison.

Neither a Local Option law nor a Prohibition law will ever meet the difficulty in this State or for this city. If there were no other reason for this belief, it would be sufficient to allege the number of our foreign-born citizens—Irish Protestants and Germans especially, as these are generally Republicans. In their eyes, such laws are an interference with the simplest natural rights. Whatever oppression they may have left behind them in their native lands, they never saw a tyrant who dared to close the public houses and the beer gardens; and their conviction that this is a free country, will rally them solidly to the defence of the liquor-dealing interest if any attempt is made by law to suppress "the traffic," as our Temperance friends are fond of calling it. But they will not unite in opposing any measure of regulation which leaves untouched the personal liberty of the citizen to purchase what he pleases. And we have confidence that they could be brought to see how unwise it is to permit the indefinite multiplication of such places, and their exemption from payment of a fair share of the public burdens. Indeed it is not they, but the professed advocates of temperance whom it would be hardest to rally to the support of such a measure. The latter have acquired such a horror of liquor and the traffic in it, that most of them regard every law for its regulation as they might a law for the regulation of "the social evil."

Our idea of what such a law should be is somewhat as follows: It should limit the number of stores and bars to the proportion of one to each thousand of the population. It should require the police to determine the districts within which each of the number assigned to a given ward should be established, with instructions to omit those districts in which vice and disorderliness most abound. It should provide that the license to open a tavern or a liquor-store in the specified district shall be sold at auction on the Exchange, after proper advertisement. It should require the purchaser to furnish heavy security for keeping his house orderly, obeying the regulations as to hours and days of sale, furnishing pure liquors, limiting the quantity sold to the reasonable capacity of the

customer, and excluding from its purchase all those persons who have received charitable relief from either the city or any benevolent society. It should forbid the placing of salt crackers, dried fish, raisins and other thirst-producers on the counters, and should require the provision of a supply of some seasonable unintoxicating drink at a reasonable price. And it should create a proper governmental inspection of such places, and punish with a heavy fine and the perpetual forfeiture of license every intentional violation of these and similar rules, besides making every liquor dealer responsible to the full for any damage done by his violation of them.

One of the advantages of such a law would be the suppression of illegal traffic. If the regular liquor dealers had to pay a high price for their licenses, they would be not only more careful to avoid the risk of forfeiting them, but they would take pains to see that those who had paid no license were not in the business. It would also diminish the amount of drunkenness, by reducing the pressure of the dealer upon his customers. The number of men now in the trade cannot make a living out of the natural and ordinary demand for liquor. They must bring all sorts of inducements to bear to get men to drink. Thus it happens that the man who slips in "just to have a glass," often comes out without a cent of money, and perhaps a score against him. The amount of misery produced by our present system is beyond all computation. The Grand Jury have just reported that nine-tenths of the crime brought to their notice is due to drink; and the Women Corps of Visitors, in the Ward Associations for Relief, tell just the same story as regards the want and suffering produced by the passion for drink.

THE figures furnished this winter by its Ward Associations to the Philadelphia Society for Organizing Charity, will be seen to be most encouraging, as regards both the general condition of the city and the success of the Society, when compared with those of the corresponding months of last year. In the month of February in each year—the month in which employment is at a minimum and distress at a maximum, the whole number of applicants was 6,265 in 1879, but only 2,558 in 1880. The number found deserving and relieved by the Wards fell from 4,789 to 2,097, and the cost from \$4,161.62 to \$1,596.57; the number for whom em-

ployment was got rose from 11 to 71. The number of vagrants fell from 123 to 36; that of "undeserving" from 215 to 40; that of "not requiring relief" from 377 to 100. Partly this is due to the improved condition of our industries. But it is also due in part to the pressure brought to bear upon the poor to make them help themselves. At thousands of doors where food and money and second-hand clothes formerly were to be had, the applicant is now met by a ticket of reference to the Ward. And while the Association will give help, if a thorough investigation shows that help is really needed, it will give it only in the simplest and least indulgent form, while it labors, where self-support is possible, to make the recipient feel that it is disgraceful to be dependent on charity. A life of unworthy dependence, instead of being the easiest and simplest life possible, is now hedged about with unpleasantness. The means to it can only be had from the Association, and only there with the condition of perpetual reminder of the recipient's duty to himself and the community. Without hurting the feelings or wounding the self-respect of really needy and helpless cases, to whose necessities the Associations feel it a privilege to minister, it is found possible to make the pauperized poor as uncomfortable as is good for them. One such briefly described a Ward Office as "that place where they ask a great many questions, and don't give you much."

In Cincinnati and Indianapolis similar societies have recently been started. Others are proposed in Detroit and other Western cities. In Buffalo, a city one-fifth the size of Philadelphia, the Society costs some \$7,000 a year in the expenses simply of administration, and gives no relief of any sort. But it has saved the City Treasury some \$48,000, and perhaps as much more to private citizens. For this reason, a number of city merchants held a spontaneous meeting to raise the entire sum needed for next year, and save the Society the trouble of asking for it. The Philadelphia Society has saved the city the whole of its outlay for out-door relief, with far less costs of administration in proportion. And yet it is met with prejudice and objection, which are sown broad-cast by many of our newspapers, until the poorer wards find great difficulty in raising the money needed for the relief of real and urgent distress.

Besides the mere relief-work, and the house visitation of the poor, the Society is branching out into secondary enterprises,

chiefly of an educational sort. Some wards have cooking-schools, others sewing-schools, and one a kindergarten for the children of the poor; and nearly all exact the attendance of the children at the public schools. Besides this, it is awakening an interest in social questions which need attention and study. The meetings of the Assembly, on the first Monday of each month, furnish an excellent school for mutual instruction. We shall be much disappointed if there do not grow out of the movement proposals for better laws in regard to public education, the care of the poor, the management of certain public institutions, and the regulation of the sale of liquor. This last subject has pressed upon the attention of the workers of the Society with especial urgency, and their experience as Directors or Visitors has made friends of the temperance cause out of many who were heretofore indifferent.

COUNT HENRI DE SAINT SIMON.

A SOCIOLOGICAL STUDY.

[FIRST PAPER.]

• **P**ERHAPS the most distinctive characteristic of modern thought as compared with that of antiquity is that the correlations of cause and effect are studied to day in every department of human interest. Even the complex problems of national life and development, which it has been considered impiously sacrilegious to investigate, have now a science of their own, sociology; and though the relations of cause and effect are not yet as accurately formulated here as in some other sciences of almost equally modern date, yet enough has been done to make the claim that politics and progress will eventually be classed among the positive sciences, sound much more reasonably in the public ear than it sounded when it was first made. So rapidly has this difference been brought about that the information concerning the beginnings of this new movement are as unfamiliar to the general public as are the events of a much earlier era in the history of mankind, and as strangely interesting to investigate as are the problems of prehistoric times. In the study, however, of the origins of modern ways of thinking upon such matters, Count Henri de Saint Simon, and the school

he left behind him, must always hold an important position. He was born in Paris in 1760, from a family that claimed a descent from Charlemagne, through the marriage of one of its early members with a daughter of the House of Vermandois, founded by one of Charlemagne's sons.

His entire name was Claude Henri de Rouvroy, Comte de Saint Simon, and it was in consequence of his father's quarrel with the Duke de Saint Simon, (whose *Memoirs* are so important for a comprehension of the last years of Louis XIV. and the regency,) and the Duke's disinheriting him in consequence, that Saint Simon tells us he lost the Dukedom and an income of a half million of francs. But, he consoles himself, "though I lost the titles and the fortune of the Duke, I inherited his passion for glory."

When about seventeen he joined the army, and is said to have given his valet orders to wake him in the morning with the formula, "Wake up! Monsieur le Comte, you have great things to do."

His conduct had previously been so dissipated and extravagant as to displease his father; but from America, where he had gone with the French army, sent to aid us in the war for independence, he wrote: "I hope, my dear Father and friend, that the arrangement which I have made in my little matters for the last year will make you forget the absurdities I have committed. The Marquis Saint Simon will also tell you the behavior he has seen me hold for the purpose of forcing you to again give me the friendship which my youth caused me to partly lose. I do not wish to regret the lost time, but to make it up as well as I can."

As one of the assisting French army, he was present at the surrender of Cornwallis, and when the French retired he was wounded in the battle of the Antilles, in 1782, where the French fleet under De Grasse was defeated by the English under Rodney. In 1785 he left the army and travelled, until 1789, through Holland first and then in Spain, when the increasing excitement of the Revolution called him back to France, where he was elected president of the commune of Falvy, in Péronne, where his property was situated. In his address to his electors, he said he considered the title of Count lower than that of citizen and announced his resolution to abandon it in his own case. Entering the canvass, he frequently addressed the people upon the advantage of liberty and equality, and is said to have refused the nomination for Mayor, lest

it might have been supposed that it was given to him on account of his rank. Associated with Mr. de Redern, who was the Prussian ambassador to England, the firm speculated largely in the purchase of the lands confiscated by the Republic, and in payment for which the *assignats* were taken.

Their operations of this kind are said to have amounted to millions, and to have finally attracted the attention of the government, then in the hands of Robespierre. Saint Simon was put into prison, where he remained eleven months, while his partner escaped by flight from France. When eventually their copartnership was settled, the division was not amicably arranged, and after much mutual crimination Saint Simon obtained only a moderate sum, some twenty five thousand dollars, as his share. He claimed that "he had sought fortune merely as a means to organize a great industrial establishment, to found an advanced scientific school,—in a word, to contribute to the progress of knowledge, and to the amelioration of the lot of mankind." This statement was made, however, sometime afterwards.

During the time he was kept in prison his mind was busy with the social and political problems which the times had made so prominent, and which his own experience had intensified for him. While so engaged, as he afterwards said, his ancestor Charlemagne appeared to him in a vision, and said, "My son, your success as a philosopher will equal mine as a soldier and statesman." Thoroughly impressed with the importance of his personal mission, he resolved to give up all speculation, made the settlement mentioned above, with his partner, and undertook to fit himself by study for the position of philosophic leader. With his inherited characteristics, however, as a "grand seigneur," his first attempt was not made through the ordinary path to knowledge, but by a royal road, by listening to the conversation of scientific men and specialists in various branches of research, whom he delighted to gather about him. At the same time, also, he undertook a gratuitous course of lectures, and generously shared his purse with artists and men of letters who needed pecuniary assistance. Among his associates at this time, are mentioned as the chief, Count Claude Louis Berthollet, the chemist, a professor in the Normal and Polytechnic schools, whose fame survives in the chemical world to day in the name *the laws of Berthollet*, given to the phenomena of double decomposition,

which he formulated; Gaspard Monge, the geometer, one of the founders of the Ecole Polytechnique, who was with Berthollet given the supervision of the manufacture of gunpowder by the Republic, was made a Count by Napoleon the First, was banished at the Restoration, died of a broken heart in 1818, and is the subject of a *Eulogy* by Arago; and Joseph Louis Lagrange, the astronomer, also a professor at the Ecole Polytechnique, and at the normal school, who was made a Count by Napoleon, and besides his various works upon celestial mechanics, took a large part in the combined labors of that band of scientists who gave to France, and the world, the priceless innovation of the metric system, which only France, among civilized nations has as yet been intelligent enough to entirely adopt.

In order to be near the Polytechnic school, St. Simon took rooms opposite it, where he remained three years, when he removed to near the Medical school, for convenience in pursuing his studies in physiology. Of some of his experimental investigations into the various pursuits of men, by which he professed to be fitting himself for his philosophic function, and by which his reputation has suffered, he says, in his works: "I maintain that my actions should not be judged by the same principles as those applied to the generality of men, because my life up to this day, has been only a course of experience. . . . If I see a man who is not interested in general science, frequent gambling houses and places of debauch, I know that I see a man who is destroying himself; but if this same man is interested in theoretic philosophy, I will say this man follows the path of vice in a direction which will lead him to the highest virtue. . . . My estimation of myself has always increased in proportion as I have injured my reputation."

Unfortunately for the continued success of this theory of experimental living, the simple law of subtraction began to tell upon the amount of money he had, and it became so evident that poverty must be the inevitable result of constantly expending from a given sum, and never adding to it, that even he could not shut his eyes to the fact. His necessary expenditures had been also increased by his marriage, in 1801. The course he adopted to meet the crisis was as singular as any of the events of his singular life. It would seem that the only plan he could conceive for replenishing his finances was to marry some woman with a fortune sufficient for

both of them; and as the fact that he was already married stood somewhat in the way of the practical realization of his scheme, he removed this slight obstacle by getting a divorce. Not that he had ceased to love his wife as much as he ever had, nor because any incompatibility of temper had been developed, "but that he might secure an alliance more suited to his poverty," is the unsatisfactory reason given by his biographer. Whether his wife was consulted in the matter, does not appear. Most probably she willingly consented, for St. Simon was undoubtedly, even at this time, as sincere a believer in the absolute equality of the sexes as he always professed himself to be. Apparently, however, he had beforehand decided upon his next step, which was nothing less than offering himself to Madame de Staël, who, as a widow with a competent income, was residing at the time at Coppet. There he went, and was of course unsuccessful. It is reported that he urged his suit in these words: "Madame, you are the most extraordinary woman in the world, while I am the most extraordinary man; our offspring should therefore be even more extraordinary." It was about this time that he published his first work, which was issued at Geneva in 1803, with the title *Lettres d'un Habitant de Genève à ses Contemporains* (Letters from an inhabitant of Geneva to his Contemporaries). It was issued in very small number, and though the majority were probably distributed, it made so slight an impression as to be unknown to his intimates and subsequent disciples, and he never spoke of it himself. A copy which he had sent with a letter to Napoleon, who was then the first consul, is said to have been bought, with the letter, some sixty years afterwards, at a public auction. His pamphlet proposes the reorganization of society, taking for a model the middle ages. At that period, according to the *Lettres*, the clergy were the supreme power because their scientific knowledge was then in full harmony with their theological belief, and through their alliance with the feudal owners of the land, the people were kept so in subjection that social order was not disturbed. In order to reinstate this condition of things in the present, he proposed an alliance between the intellectual classes, the scientists and the land owners. For the practical realization of this alliance, he proposed a council of twenty-one persons, to be the Council of Newton, or the Elect of Humanity. Newton was thus dignified because he was the discoverer of gravitation, which

Saint Simon maintained was the ultimate law of the universe. The function of this Council of Newton would be scientific enquiry and a general supervision of the religion of science. The ceremonies and forms of the new worship were to be directed by the artists and scholars. As the council of the elect should be free from all necessity for personal considerations that could bias their independence, they were ineligible to any other office, and were supported by means of a public subscription. "Humanity," he says, "should not lose sight of the fact that it ought to collectively recompense those of its torches who are luminous enough to lighten the whole earth." Women were eligible to the Council of the Elect, and subscribers, of either sex, to their support could nominate a candidate, those having the majority of votes being elected to serve a year. By this arrangement, he maintained that theology would be brought again into such complete accord with knowledge that the people would again be powerfully affected by it, and an end be put to the divisions in the spiritual power which so injure its influence to-day.

A fundamental rule of the new society was that every man should work, either with his head or his hands, for labor was a moral duty that had no exception. Society was thus to be composed of three classes: the spiritual power, in the hands of the learned, who controlled opinion; the temporal power, in the hands of the owners of the territory, who controlled the State; and supporters of the spiritual power, who held the right of electing the highest officers.

The pamphlet in which this scheme was set forth, brought the author neither reputation nor money, though its writer cared but little for either. His next appearance as an author was in 1808. Napoleon had asked for an account of the progress of science since 1789, and, as an answer, Saint Simon published this *Introduction aux Travaux Scientifiques du XIX Siècle*; though the word published can hardly be used in this connection, since he printed only one hundred copies of the work and put none of these on sale, distributing only a few copies. Since his first publication he had spent the small remainder of the money he had, in travelling in England and Germany, and returned to Paris so impecunious as to be in danger of actual starvation. A situation he managed to obtain as a copyist, in the *Mont de Pitié* saved him, though the

task for his position was nine hours a day steady work, and the salary was only a thousand francs, about two hundred dollars a year. After six months of this terrible drudgery he met with Mr. Diard, who had been his valet in his prosperous days, and who now took him to his house, supported him and furnished the money for printing his book.

This *Introduction*, was really an introduction to a work he had planned, which would have taken ten years to complete, and consisted itself of two parts. The first part treated of the scientific method to be followed, showing that the mind works alternately by the synthetic or *a priori* method, and the analytic or *a posteriori* method. "Bacon," he says, "used the synthetical method; he placed himself where he could take a scientific view of things. Descartes followed the impulse given by this innovator in general philosophy; he also proceeded by synthesis. . . . Locke and Newton took a new direction; they sought for facts and have discovered some of capital importance. . . . The school has become Newton-Lockist; for more than a century it has followed this direction given to it by these two great men; it has been occupied with seeking for facts, and has neglected theories. For the progress of science the Institute should work for the perfecting of theory, it should return to the path followed by Descartes. . . . I see that the influence exercised by the memory of Newton is very hurtful to the progress of science, and, with all my strength, I cry out to my contemporaries: It is time to change our path, it is by the *a priori* route that at this time there are discoveries to be made." The second part of the book consists of detached notes taken from his papers and put together without any attempt at order or arrangement, since he wrote, not as a professional author, but with the spirit of a grand seigneur descended from the Counts of Vermandois, and using the pen he inherited from the Duke de Saint Simon.

His conception of the early history of the race is very much that which the studies of prehistoric times has made so general to-day. He thinks that it is only a slight superiority of his physical organization over the rest of the animal creation, that man's advance in civilization is due, with the development of his moral and intellectual nature. Between reason and instinct he saw no inherent difference, and questioned whether, before the invention by man of

oral or written signs, the line of demarcation could be drawn ; while, should the human race disappear, its present place would soon be filled by the species of animals now below it. The life of each man is an epitome of the life of the race ; from his childhood, which is pleased with empty toys, he enters upon a youth of poetic dreams, passes to an early manhood that delights in war, and only in maturity finds his pleasure in the quiet repose of thought and the organizing work of industry. These phases of the individual life, the race had typified in the Egyptian epoch, with its meaningless pyramids of stone, by the poetic and artistic life of the Greeks, the warlike powers of the Romans, while Europe was just entering upon the era of the thoughtful repose of organized labor. He even pushed the analogy so far as to make a calculation of how long the race would continue to exist. It had existed, from the received chronology of the time, about eight thousand years, and was entering upon the phase which the individual reaches in about forty years ; therefore, a year in an individual life was equalled by two hundred in that of the race. The trouble with the exactness of this computation, lies in the erroneous data he was forced to accept for the life of the race upon this planet. It is since his day that archæology has learned the meaning of the data, which were then as abundant as now, and which carry back the existence of the race to a past that was almost inconceivable in Saint Simon's day. But his analogy seemed to him strong enough to overthrow Condorcet's conception of the perfectibility of man, because Condorcet had taken no account of the inevitable decrepitude of the race. Religion he defined as " the collection of the applications of general science by means of which enlightened men govern ignorant men," and after sketching its development during the past history of the race, he speaks of the religion of the future, which he names Physicism, and describes as being in such complete accord with the most recent discoveries that its catechism will in fact be an abstract of the Cyclopaedia.

At the same, time he does not believe in any premature transition from the existing state of things ; and most probably it was for this reason that he carefully guarded against the public circulation of his book, sending it only to those whom he thought competent to comprehend it. " I believe," he says, " in the necessity of a religion for the maintenance of social order ; I believe that the

system of Deism has become effete; I believe that Physicism is not yet sufficiently established to serve as the basis of a religion; I believe that two distinct doctrines must exist,—the one Physicism for the educated, the other, Deism for the ignorant.”

For some years after the printing of this work, he wrote nothing of importance. In the meantime his friend Diard died, and he was reduced to real destitution again. In this emergency he wrote to his old partner M. de Redern, “Bread and books are all that your old friend asks from you, your old friend who acknowledges that he has done much wrong to you, to his family and to the whole world, but who feels that he has in himself the means for making reparation for the wrongs he has done to you, to his family and to the whole world, if you will give him the indispensable books and bread.” After a long correspondence M. de Redern gave Saint Simon five hundred francs. His family finally agreed to give him a small pension, enough to keep him above actual want, and for a short time he held an appointment of sub-librarian of the Library of the Arsenal, which was however taken from him at the fall of Napoleon.

In 1813 he wrote his *Memoire sur la Science de l'Homme*, (Essay upon the Science of Man,) but as he could not afford to print it, he made sixty copies of it in manuscript, and distributed them to men holding eminent positions. Each copy was accompanied with a note which read: “I am dying of hunger; for the last fortnight I have eaten only bread and drank only water, I work without any fire, and I have sold even my clothes to pay for the expense of making these copies of my work.” Cuvier is said to have been the only one of the recipients of the work who encouraged him to continue; in his opinion, he said, it contained some new and important ideas.

In the *Introduction* he published in 1808, Saint Simon, in the following sentence, first used the term, *positive philosophy*. He says: “with what sagacity did Descartes direct his researches! He felt that the positive philosophy was divided into two equally important portions; the physics of unorganized, and the physics of organized bodies.” It has been disputed that Saint Simon in this connection used this expression with the meaning with which it has been applied since, but in this *Essay upon the Science of Man*, he thus explains the term: “It is seen that since the fifteenth century the

tendency of the human mind is to base all its reasoning upon facts which have been observed and discussed, and that already it has reorganized upon this positive basis, astronomy, physics and chemistry it is seen that the special sciences are the elements of Science in general ; that science in general, that is philosophy, must have been conjectural as long as the special sciences were so ; that it was partly conjectural and positive when a part of the special sciences became positive, while the rest of them still remained conjectural, and that it will become entirely positive when all the special sciences become so ; which will be the case when physiology and psychology are based upon observed and discussed facts." And again he says : " In examining the relative and positive character of science as a whole, and also of its parts, we find that as a whole and in its parts it must have commenced by having a conjectural character : that then the whole and the parts must have had a semi-conjectural and positive character ; and that finally the whole and the parts must have acquired, as much as possible, a positive character. We are now at the point that the first good *resumé* of special sciences will constitute the positive philosophy. It has been impossible, up to the present time, to make a good system of philosophy. It is possible now to succeed in this enterprise, but it is not easy to do so, it is even very difficult to do so." The important work, therefore, for this age is to rescue physiology from its conjectural basis, for then " the general system of our knowledge will be reorganized : its organization will be based upon the belief that the universe is regulated by a single law. Then all religious systems, politics, morals and civil legislation will be placed in accord with the new system of knowledge. It is this want of accord which produces the disasters of the present society. The transition from Polytheism to Deism took place amid the convulsions and disintegration of the Roman Empire, and it cannot be expected that the transition from Deism to Physicism should not be accompanied with similar social phenomena. We are justified, however, by the experience of history in the belief that the transition will lead to a more perfect order in every respect. The successful establishment of Christianity introduced a social order infinitely more moral than that it replaced, and so will be the transition to Physicism. As the materials for the raising of physiology to the rank of a positive science, had been nearly all prepared by

scientists whom he names, he, Saint Simon, will chiefly confine himself to demonstrating that social and moral phenomena are exclusively due to certain physiological causes, and therefore belong justly to physiology. This he proves by maintaining that the countless series of slight steps by which the race has advanced in civilization are due exclusively to the slight physical superiority which man enjoys over the animals.

The composition of this work is said to have occupied Saint-Simon only fifteen days, and was soon followed by another dedicated to Napoleon the First. The double title of this work is curious; its first was *Moyen de forcer les Anglais à reconnaître l'Indépendance des Pavillons*, (How to force the English to recognize the Independence of Flags,) and its second, *Travail sur la Gravitation Universelle*. (A Treatise upon Universal Gravitation.) Incongruous as these titles seem to be, yet there was a certain method in their junction, other than the simple intention of exciting the attention of Napoleon, as will appear from a brief analysis of the argument. Gravitation, he claimed, was to become the philosophical basis upon which all political organizations should in the future rest. That "the crisis in which the entire population of Europe found itself engaged had no other cause than the incoherence of general ideas." That "the organization of European society was the only philosophic purpose which was worthy to engage the attention of the learned at this time." That "science was directly useful to society only from its philosophic aspect, and that the scientists alone can form the general political corporation which is necessary for uniting the nations of Europe among themselves, and putting an end to the ambition of nationalities and kings." That "this philosophy would certainly be based on the idea of Universal Gravitation, and that from that moment all labors would have a systematic character." "The spiritual power would then pass into the hands of a pope and a clergy of physicists," and that "as soon as there should be a theory proportionate to the state of intelligence, everything would become orderly. The general institution of the European people would be re-established of itself, and a clergy with an instruction proportionate to the knowledge already acquired would promptly re-establish peace in Europe, by restraining the ambition of the nations and the kings." "The only point upon which modern historians are agreed is an error. They have all agreed to call the

ages between the ninth and the fifteenth centuries, ages of barbarism, while, in truth, it was then that the institutions were founded which now give to European society its distinctive superiority. Let us see what were the political institutions of that period. The first that presents itself to the mind is the division between the spiritual power and the temporal power; this division is so admirable that 'it admits of no further improvement.' History itself is still in its infancy, as a science. "At present it consists of more or less authentic facts collected together, but they have never yet been marshalled by any scientific theory; they have never yet been viewed as links in one vast chain of sequences. Therefore history is unable to fulfil any of the functions of a science; it has been only a record of the past, but cannot be a guide for the future. Historians have been more occupied with recording the acts of individuals than in tracing the progress of the race. They have devoted their attention to particular incidents, but not to the general laws which govern them; hence they are incompetent to act as counselors of kings, or to propound the principles which should regulate political action."

This work upon gravitation was brought to the notice of Napoleon, and was submitted to the Institute. The Emperor expressed the opinion that its author was a fool, and the Institute said nothing about it. Saint-Simon, however, began about this time to obtain a certain reputation. Though none of his books had been regularly published, and others of his writings were still in manuscript, yet a few among those to whom he had sent his works had been attracted by them. About this time Augustin Thierry, then not quite of age, left the university at which he was getting his education, to become Saint-Simon's adopted son and literary secretary. In 1814 they published an *Essay on the Re-organization of European Society*. Starting with the assertion that during the middle ages the Catholic Church furnished for Europe a Supreme Court of Appeal at Rome, to which international disputes could be referred for settlement, this work proposed a plan for the reinstatement of such a tribunal, adapted to the changed conditions of modern society. The position formerly held by the Pope, when the Catholic Church was supreme throughout Europe, was to be given to a king, who, as a royal pope, should be the king of kings. This position was to be hereditary, and an independent city should be built for

his habitation. The evident difficulty which existed for the selection from all the existing kings of this special one to become the king of kings, was met by ingeniously referring to some future occasion the statement of the method for his selection. When he, however, had been elected, he was to be a constitutional ruler, and was to be assisted by a Parliament, it being a matter of scientific demonstration that parliamentary government was the best possible. This Parliament consisted of a House of Peers, and a House of Commons. The Peers would be those persons possessing an income equal to one hundred thousand dollars a year from land. Their peerage was hereditary, and twenty of them should be chosen from those who by their achievements in science or industry had done the most eminent service to society. The Commons should be chosen from the merchants, learned men and other middle classes. Every million of men who could read and write should elect one representative, to remain in office ten years. The candidates must possess an income of five thousand dollars a year in land; but in each election twenty members can be chosen for their evident ability, without reference to their property qualification, the State giving them this in case of their election.

This body should constitute the Parliament of the world. It should arrange all difficulties that may arise between nations, without recourse to war; it should direct great works of public utility; regulate the education of Europe; supply a code of public morality; and aid in the spread of Europeans over the rest of the world. As nations would not accept such a parliament until they had themselves arrived at a parliamentary government, England and France, as the two countries which had arrived at this point of political development, should form an alliance and institute an Anglo-French Parliament, in which England, being more accustomed to this method than France, should have twice as many representatives as France, and together their united force could be brought to bear upon influencing Europe. In conclusion he writes: "A time will unquestionably come when all the nations of Europe will feel that questions of general interest should predominate over those that are simply national. The unhappiness which now oppresses society will then grow less, the causes which now trouble its peace will disappear, and wars will cease. Poets inspired with enthusiasm have placed the golden age at the cradle of humanity, amid the

ignorance and barbarism of those early times. But it would have been better to have placed the iron age in that period. The golden age of the human race lies not behind us but before us, in the perfectibility of society. Our fathers have not seen it; that is reserved for our children. Our duty is to prepare the way for it."

EDWARD HOWLAND.

FITZ JOHN PORTER.

HALF a generation of men have gone to render an account of the deeds done in the body, since a court-martial, convened in perfunctory compliance with the Articles of War, inflicted upon this officer an infamous punishment, too light if he was guilty, too heavy if he was innocent, of the heinous crime charged against him.

Men held their breath when they saw an accomplished soldier of approved skill, tried courage, and established reputation, sent forth with the mark of Cain upon him, to become, as the temporarily successful conspirators hoped, "a fugitive and a vagabond in the earth." Earnest protests were made by old men who knew the blood he inherited, and by young men, bound to him by the mystic brotherhood of the camp—the instinctive affinity of manhood—which so often outlives the ties of consanguinity.

The time was not propitious for calm consideration. Blind acceptance of current opinion was the shibboleth—a cheap, convenient offering upon the altar of country—still current, despite the silent appeal from the graves of true men, who perished in battle, bivouac and hospital, their very names forgotten outside their homes, though ostentatiously paraded on tomb stones erected by a grateful country, that loyal contractors, who had avoided imprudent exposure in war, might continue to thrive in peace.

There were strains of "primeval savagery," in the blood contributed by theretofore divergent races, to the surging tide, which ebbs and flows with the pulsations of the American heart. Napoleon had a few men shot, "*pour encourager les autres.*" "The Lord tempers the wind to the shorn lamb," but his perverted creatures turn aside the airs of heaven from the nostrils of the panting brute, caught by the horns in the thicket, for sacrifice in atonement for

the sins of others. Vicarious suffering commends itself to all but the sufferer. It has a peculiar charm for those who most ignore the precepts of its grand exemplar. Romans enjoyed it in the amphitheatre, Spaniards at the bull-fight, Englishmen in so-called courts of justice. The mirror of Anglo-Saxon equity shows, beneath its brilliant surface, dark specks of Anglo-Saxon brutality. Macaulay in his over-colored portrait of the Puritans—by no means the worst front of British character—kept nearer exact truth than usual, in saying that they denounced bear-baiting, not for the pain inflicted upon the bears, but because of the pleasure it gave the people.

Cowardice, rare there as here, is always found hand in hand with cruelty. They hunt in couples.

Admiral Byng was shot—a court-martial the convenient instrument—that an administration might not be unseated.

When the local rulers of Ireland, stimulated to frenzy in 1798, by their panic-stricken superiors, simplified their criminal code, cheapening blood, one of their first victims was William Orr, charged with administering the oath of the United Irishmen to a British soldier, sent to him by the agents of the government, for the purpose of taking that oath, and so qualifying himself as a witness. The oath was not, in itself, a hanging matter. The terrified officials would, to avoid the nightmare which infested the castle, have swallowed many such. It had been eagerly taken by more than a quarter of a million of men, in Ulster alone—Presbyterians demanding equal rights for their Roman Catholic countryman. Orr, set apart for the gallows, was convicted and condemned. Four jurors voluntarily made oath that they had no recollection of assenting to the verdict, and that if they had done so, it must have been when, stupefied with whiskey, brought into the jury room by stealth, they were unable to express their dissent. This exposure of official machinery brought a reprieve. The affidavit of the witness, whose testimony procured conviction, that his conclusive proofs had been a “sequence and succession” of perjuries, induced further delay. In Great Britain those affidavits would have given pause. In Ireland it was not so. Examples were needed. The expense of a vexatious trial had been incurred, and loyal servants of the crown demanded compensation for wear and tear of conscience and temper. The law was not to be defrauded of its fore-ordained victim, by the scruples of jurors, or the lapse of

an ill-trained witness. The memory of Orr of Carrickfergus is enshrined in the hearts of his countrymen, with that of other martyrs who, in their tender phrase, "suffered for the cause." The warm Irish heart traversed the infamous record, in the defiant words of a compatriot, who went unharmed far beyond Orr in the direction of treason.

"Cord and axe and guillotine
Make the sentence—not the sin."

An officer of yeomanry played bosom friend to the brothers Sheares, fondling Henry's only child, that he might reach the father's life through the mother's heart. The knaves who furnished the evidence necessary to give conviction the color of justice, lived till near ninety, in idleness, on the avails of infamy. Neither was made a general in the British army. Neither was sent to a foreign court.

When the crew of the *Hermione* overpowered her officers, and carried her into Gibraltar, then a Spanish port, the admiralty issued an order for the summary execution of any man found on board a national vessel, on proof that he had been one of her crew on that occasion. These men had been merciful. With their oppressors in their hands, they had abstained from retaliation. They knew their danger. They had no representation in parliament, and were too poor to fee advocates. "The fourth estate" did not exist. "The friend of the absent" could only reach the public through pamphlets, little read. Fraud or flight remained. Most of them died abroad. A few, stimulated by liquor, or want, re-entered the naval service. That service did not lack men. The press gang furnished enough, and troublesome fellows could be put out of the way, without loss to the service. A short shrift, the yard-arm, and a sudden submergence with a round shot, closed the account for earth. British appetite palls even upon roast beef. The *Hermione* was heard from too often. A resolution of inquiry was adopted, and the report showed that more *Hermione's* men had already been hanged than were on board when her crew rose. The graver mutiny of the *Nore* was dealt with differently.

The emergencies of our civil war brought scape-goats into demand. Those who furnished the sinews of war must be amused. That patriotism, which Dr. Johnson defined as "the last refuge of a scoundrel," was too acute to disgust those who furnished men and

fed them. Noah's nakedness was covered so often that Shems and Japhets were becoming perfect in the back step, and the cloak of charity threadbare, when peace relieved them from further duty.

Major General John Pope, incomparably the finest melodramatic author and actor of the war, finessed well. He showed his paces with the confident air and tricky manoeuvres of that hero of the circus who always charms the juvenile heart.

General Worth had originated the phrase, "head-quarters in the saddle" but it wilted under the chilling suggestion of a young officer, that he "had always considered the saddle, the proper place for a gentleman's hindquarters." Author and commentator were dead. General Pope appropriated the waif, and announced his intention of subsisting his army on the enemy, dispensing with bases of supply, lines of communication and other hindrances to earnest men requiring neither food nor sleep. He had read of the three hundred that lapped with the hand, and valued himself too highly to fear that the assistance so effective on that occasion, would be withheld from a Pope. Not putting his light under a bushel, or concealing it with a pitcher, he blew a sprightly prelude to Miriam's song of triumph and revealed to the eye of faith the falling walls of the Jericho of Jefferson Davis.

"Thus far into the bowels of the land have we marched on without impediment," was the lullaby that soothed public expectation, till "a day of darkness and of gloominess, a day of clouds and of thick darkness, as the morning spread upon the mountains," when General Pope was so occupied with resonant reports from the rear, as to have little leisure for pondering the report which his proper superiors on his changed front would expect at his hands. One promise was fulfilled. He had "established communication with the enemy" so thoroughly, that his head-quarters flag and papers, a vast amount of public property, and his clothes remained in their hands. When he gave his horse-tails to the wind, his vanishing head-quarters conveyed only his diminished self, his gorgeous uniform coat being held, for account of whom it might concern, by the confederate General Stuart. He knew the worth of "Atalanta's better part." Weary of hogskin resting on hard wood, and harder iron, "cabined, cribbed, confined, bound into saucy doubts and fears," he announced in special order No. 00, dated "Groveton, August 30th 1862"—his Hegira,—that "the

general head-quarters will be somewhere on the Warrenton Turnpike." That turnpike was well known for its facilities for rapid transit. Many middle-aged citizens, North and South, reflect, with more pleasure than pride, on the good time they made upon it, when they looked only for "one thing, forgetting those things which are behind, and reaching forth unto those which are before." The north-easterly exit was, for General Pope, the more cheerful. It led towards the flesh pots of Egypt, away from the wilderness and those extempore pyrotechnics which shed a baleful light on his misguided army. The dome of the Capitol was "as the shadow of a great rock in a weary land."

The John Pope of Shakespeare, said at the close of such a day: "The better part of valor is discretion; in the which better part I have saved my life." Our Falstaff used valor's better part without remark.

He had scattered his orders broad-cast through the press. The popular mind was tickled by performances not in the bills. Some variations were startling, but the ambulatory General did not quail. Reduced to the level of ordinary humanity, by the loss of his coat, he had in reserve, perennial efflorescence and a flowing well of elastic statement. His prompt action, under adverse circumstances, equalled that of Wellington at Waterloo. A triumphal march, the enemy in retreat, losing prisoners at a rate which must soon exhaust the containing power of his army, would have met public expectation, and laid a good foundation for history; but the anxiety about Washington, which had repeatedly caused such waste of blood, treasure, and strategic opportunity had made people so well acquainted with the adjacent portion of Virginia, as to embarrass him in fixing the route for a triumph. The stoppage of an army in march by the number and immobility of its prisoners had once served his purpose; but the ready wit of President Lincoln had blown the ten thousand men reported taken on that occasion into thin air.

General Pope gave the President all the facts which he did not prefer to withhold. He had been, in some sort, defeated, but it was not his fault. "The best laid plans o' men and mice gang aft agley." If his corps commanders and others had met his wishes, the war would have been closed.

General Pope and his predecessor at Bull Run, would, by their respective exhibitions on that gratuitous Aceldama, have achieved distinction for themselves and peace for the country, if somebody had done them, in turn, the kindness to hold the big boy of the other side, till the fight was over.

Whatever art was used in the selection of commanders for the Federal forces, must be sought in

—“Limbo large and broad, since called
The Paradise of Fools.”

History presents no parallel but the caprice of Henry the Eighth in the choice of wives. Blondes and brunettes, Katharines and Annes, McDowells and Popes, failing to meet the fanciful expectations of the Defender of the Faith, or of the American people, met the bowstring.

“Here yawns the sack, and yonder rolls the sea.”

The transfer of Irvin McDowell to the line, was the first of a series of exhaustive experiments whereby our people were taught a great lesson at great cost. The army exchanged one of its best staff officers for one of its least efficient generals. Graduating creditably at the Military Academy, he entered the artillery, attaining the grade of First Lieutenant before he could secure the coveted staff appointment, was breveted Captain for “gallant and meritorious conduct in the battle of Buena Vista,” while serving on the staff of General Wool, and Major on the staff in 1856. The advantage of a year’s travel on leave in Europe, his large acquaintance with volunteer troops, acquired while mustering them into service during the Mexican and Civil wars, his sonorous voice and impressive manner in administering the oath of allegiance, gave him prestige, which, decisively sustained in action, would have been invaluable.

This showy subaltern, overstepping the captaincy, not earned by service, and the several field grades, to the second rank in the army, became heir presumptive to the first. It would have been well for the country and for his reputation, if he had continued to nestle in safety under the shadow of the heroic figure of Winfield Scott. His preposterous promotion was due to his politic deference to the superannuated hero, who dearly loved a complaisant martinet. His exercise of power did not, in vigor or skill, correspond with his efforts to obtain it. The battle, arranged after many delays,

for Tuesday, July 16th, the army of the Shenandoah being directed to amuse, until that day, the rebel forces in the Valley of Virginia, was awkwardly delivered, on Sunday, July 21st, no intelligence being sent during the five precious days so wasted, to the co-operating columns. Its commander had, a month before the battle, and repeatedly afterwards, unsuccessfully sought permission to march his army to Leesburg, that it might be available against either Johnston or Beauregard. That it was not so, was due to the earnest protest of General McDowell, as stated by himself under oath before the committee on the conduct of the war, with a brevity unlike his diffuse elaboration of minor points: "In reply to some suggestion once made about bringing Patterson over to Leesburg, I said if he went there Johnston might escape, and join Beauregard, and I was not in a condition to meet all their forces combined."

On Saturday, July 20th, General Patterson telegraphed General Scott the fact of the departure of General Johnston, with a portion of his force, from Millwood on the afternoon of the 18th; and that telegram was in Mr. Lincoln's hands more than twenty-four hours before the first shot was fired at Bull Run. An intimation from the President is tantamount to a command; but the sagacious suggestion of Mr. Lincoln, enforced by the thoughtful Secretary of War, General Cameron, whose prophetic fears were verified by the result, was unheeded by men intent on personal aggrandizement. Duty was set aside for selfish purposes, which failed of accomplishment. The battle, unnecessarily deferred for five days, enabling the enemy to bring up his last available man, was not delayed for two days longer in accordance with the express request of the President and Secretary, that Patterson's army might be brought upon the field.

The date of the receipt of that telegram is fixed by the explicit statement of General Scott and other indubitable evidence. General McDowell seems to have labored under inability to state any discomposing fact. We quote the questions of the committee and the General's answers as reported. (Page 40. Part 2d)

"Q. When did you first learn that Johnston was released from Patterson and down here?

"A. I first learned it beyond all doubt on the field of battle.

"Q. Did no one tell you before?

“A. A man came to me before. But Great God! I heard every rumor in the world, and I put them all aside unless a man spoke of his own personal knowledge. Some person came to me; I did not know who he was. I had people coming to me all the time, each one with something different. All that I paid no attention to. This person came to me and said, I think, ‘The news is that Johnston has joined Beauregard.’ He might have said that somebody else had joined Beauregard. He did not know it himself; had heard it from others. Some one said: ‘We heard the cars coming in last night.’ Well, I expected that. I expected they would bring into Manassas every available man they could find. All I did expect was that General Butler would keep them engaged at Fortress Monroe, and Patterson would keep them engaged in the Valley of Virginia. That was the condition they accepted from me to go out and do this work.” * * * *

This sounds like the grumbling of a disappointed contractor, seeking to lay the foundation for a claim for damages.

General McDowell's plan of attack was good, and might have been successful if he had not been upon the field. Rich in theory, and a great master of words, he became suddenly bankrupt when the books failed him. He sent raw troops, brigaded on the march, into a country of whose topography he knew nothing, his generals being without tracings of the cross-roads by which either army could be concentrated, accompanied by members of Congress and others, as to a picnic. He sent his well-manned, admirably officered batteries, recklessly to the front on a reconnaissance, without proper supports, and they fell into the hands of men who knew how to use them.

General Griffin's lips are closed, but his reputation lives. Few can forget his sad protest, half stifled by sense of duty and professional pride: “I will obey the order; but, mark my words, those Zouaves will not support us; the battery will be lost.” Ricketts, depressed by similar apprehensions, but upheld by like determination, obeyed the order with equal intrepidity and reluctance, playing well his part in the hopeless contest, till he fell beside his guns, unconscious of the furious struggle over his body. He was brought back from the confines of another world, and borne off the field by the victorious rebels. Into the dark Valley of the

Shadow of Death, the men of their respective commands followed the path of duty.

“ Boldly they rode and well,
 Into the jaws of Death,
 Into the mouth of Hell
 Rode the ” two batteries.

McDowell's army was rich in *personnel*, as in *material* of war. The men of the long tried, little, old army were thoroughly instructed and well led. The manner in which they did their work precludes eulogy. The rank and file of the volunteers were, with few exceptions, made up of such men as no other country ever put into the field. Officers honorably accredited by faithful service in Mexico and on the frontier, many of them graduates of the Military Academy, were there to impart the one thing needful, to make these men the efficient soldiers many of them afterwards became. The necessity for that instruction which had been the great object of his own military education, and was the pressing need of the hour, was overlooked by General McDowell. Officers, misled by evil example, trod the crooked paths of politicians. The men were left to their own devices, and permitted to annoy everybody near them but the enemy. Experienced officers of the old army testified that their misconduct when the tide of battle was turning, was the result of the unrestrained orgies of the previous week.

Heroic courage was displayed at Bull Run that day, but the bravest could only mourn the inefficiency which secured no return for squandered lives. Sykes, in his quiet professional way, held his regulars up to their work, as coolly as if the other side was running away. In fact McDowell had very little the start of the confederates. Whipped as badly as he was, they held the field only because he left it. The men who fled, were as brave as those who stayed to fight. Most of them were the superiors of their better disciplined comrades, but they did not know the magic power of the touch of the elbow, and had not acquired the habit of prompt unhesitating obedience, without which the bravest men are useless.

Napoleon gave a vivid picture of such spontaneous combats as the first Bull Run: “ *C'est une affaire de têtes de colonnes où la bravoure seule décide tout.* ” The improvised Union general, unfitted by long service on the staff and the consequent enfeeblement

from disuse of some of his faculties, for the responsibilities of supreme command, came into conflict with the ablest soldier of the confederacy, and the country paid, in its best blood, the costs of action.

Thousands saw their commander for the first time as he passed them in retreat, deaf to all suggestions of retrieval. Governor Ogden had wisely put in command of a New Jersey regiment, whence he was promoted to a brigade, an old infantry officer who, after graduating, had seen thirty years of active service and had earned two brevets. General Montgomery succeeded in arresting General McDowell's headlong course, long enough to show the practicability of defeating the jubilant rebels, with his own brigade and five others, lying near him, not a man of whom had pulled trigger that day. Montgomery, recalling minor conflicts in which he had taken part, and Bonaparte's off-hand victory at Roverbello, where, retreating with forty thousand, he beat sixty thousand Austrians, striking the exultant pursuers successively, as they came up in isolated columns. General McDowell listening politely, but with evident reluctance, and raising his disencumbered arm, to emphasize his reply, said: "Too much demoralized, too much demoralized," and rode on to "cover Washington." Its inhabitants thought it sufficiently covered for some time thereafter, and would gladly have removed most of the covering.

The effective strength of McDowell's reserves, which were not handled at all, was double that of Patterson's army on that day, and equal to four-fifths of the entire rebel force upon the field.

Much of the misconduct from which the Federal army suffered in reputation, was properly chargeable upon the rabble accompanying it. See Prof. Coppee's edition *Comte de Paris* p. 251. "There had followed in the train of McDowell's army from Alexandria, members of Congress, men of all parties and professions, journalists from every country, photographers with their instruments,—all assembled to witness the defeat of the rebels. Although out of reach of cannon shot, and frequently prevented by the woods from seeing the battle, this crowd actually imagined they were participating in it, and this thought long afforded them a foolish satisfaction. It finally moved off slowly in the direction of Alexandria, on receiving the first tidings of the check experienced by the Federals. But when the fugitives came crowding into the road they were following, and the bullets began to whistle close to the ears of those men harassed by fatigue and fright, a wild panic seized both

soldiers and spectators. The most fiery street orators were seen leading the way in a rapid flight, and journalists who pretended to describe the battle from a distance, outstripped the whole senseless crowd in swiftness."

If these people had been turned back at the bridge end, and a single hour properly devoted to the use of the spade, the Federal Army might have escaped defeat, even under McDowell.

Wellington, with little time for reflection after taking the Duchess of Richmond in to supper, forced by "the volcanic incursion of Napoleon" to fight on ground he would not have chosen, made such use of the park wall of Hogoumont, the straggling houses of La Haye Sainte, and the little stream of Papillotte, that victory rested with the allies at the end of that grim fight. At Waterloo, veteran faced veteran. At Bull Run, both armies were indigenous, but General McDowell had all the disciplined men on the field, and ample time for choice of strong natural positions.

The best regular officers engaged spoke with enthusiastic pride of the good conduct of their raw countrymen. James Cameron rode to his death at the head of the 79th New York, as calmly as he would have done forty years before to a delegate election, looking, with like singleness of purpose, to victory in the end, no matter what might intervene. We know nothing of the sins of the Pennsylvania politician, but, whether few or many, the recording angel did well, in view of that last unselfish act of devotion to duty, to blot them out forever.

Corcoran, equally uninstructed, held his green Celts well in hand to the last, and they would have thought it pastime to throw up such intrenchments as might have assured victory, or a safe refuge at Centreville. The troops were too raw, upon both sides, for such fighting as characterized later conflicts. At Gettysburg, Pickett had nearly as many men shot down in one division, in twenty-five minutes, as the aggregate of killed and wounded reported by McDowell and Johnston; and Porter, with one corps, had nearly four times as many casualties at Gaines' Mill.

High encomiums are justly paid to the chivalry of the South at Bull Run, but there was equal chivalry of action on the part of the North. Unusual exposure of officers was unavoidable on both sides, and the usual consequence followed. A majority of the Confederate colonels were put hors-de-combat, Beauregard, Jack-

son, Kirby Smith and Hampton wounded, Bee and Barton killed. The relative loss of officers on the Federal side was heavy. The prestige of continuous success and the promise of victory were with that side, till the loss of Griffin's and Ricketts' batteries, thrown together and left without proper support in an exposed position, apparently for convenience of transfer, deprived the right, until then equally victorious with the left, of the means of following up its advantages, or holding the positions won by honest fighting while advancing over a mile and a half of hotly contested ground. No provision had been made by General McDowell to guard against the consequences of a temporary check, and a rout followed.

When the enemy were in full retreat at Wagram, the veteran French infantry, after winning a decisive victory, became panic-stricken and raised the cry, "*Sauve qui peut*," but Napoleon did not return to Paris. Moreau gained the battle of Engen with four companies of the 58th. The wavering fortunes of Marengo were decided by bringing up Kellerman's Cavalry and the 9th Light Infantry. McDowell had more men idle in reserve than he put in action.

Napoleon's system, as stated by himself, was "*to make ten leagues a day, to combat, and to canton afterwards in repose*." McDowell tried the effect of inversion, reposing in advance, active in retreat: "*Fortiter in modo, suaviter in re*."

Napoleon's habitual order, when threatened by cavalry in Egypt, was, to "*form square with artillery at the angles, asses and savans in the centre*." McDonald saved most of his asses and *savans*, but the enemy got his best artillery.

The plains of Manassas had long been the shooting ground of Washingtonians, and maps showing approximately all cross roads could have been easily had, but McDowell's subordinate commanders were left in ignorance of the existence of such roads, till they stumbled upon them under fire. The fat cattle of Monroe and Greenbrier, and the smaller herds of Fauquier and Loudon, better cared for than our men at Bull Run, probably because of their availability for profit after death, had for a century been driven to eastern markets, over these grassy plains. Flesh on the hoof, would have sufficed to keep McDowell's men in fighting condition, if the usual five days cooked provisions had been overlooked.

Precaution was left out of the account by General McDowell, and defeat ensued.

In his very full explanatory statements before the Committee on the Conduct of the War, General McDowell referred fairly to the fact, that we had no officer who had ever handled 20,000 men, and spoke modestly of the advantages he had enjoyed over his untravelled seniors, in seeing large bodies of foreign troops manoeuvred, but he omitted to state that it was on gala-days only. His testimony would, on that point at least, have been complete and conclusive, if he had added that he had never commanded a company on parade, or a man in action, prior to what he euphemistically calls his "somewhat rapid promotion," and assignment to the command of the largest army which had ever been embodied in America.

Jomini says, "It cannot be denied that a man come from the staff may become a great Captain as well as another, but it will not be for having grown old in the functions of a quarter-master, that he will have the capacity for supreme command; it will be because he possesses in himself the natural genius for war and the requisite character. * * * Those even of the respectable disciples of Euclid, who might be capable of commanding an army well, must, to do it with glory and success, forget a little of their trigonometry; it is at least the course that Napoleon has taken, whose most brilliant operations seem to belong much more to the domain of poetry, than to that of the exact sciences; the cause of this is simple, *it is that war is an impassioned drama*, and by no means a mathematical operation. * * * Now for one hundred battles gained by skilful manoeuvres, there are two or three gained by fortuitous accidents."

One qualified witness specified as a cause of the rout, "the want of a head-quarters somewhere on the field." There was a greater want—something wherewith to fill that head-quarters. McDowell's officers, when left to themselves, did well, driving the enemy, and winning a substantial victory, though many fought "without knowledge of war or fear of death." Two cases of interference on his part—his disposition of the batteries of Griffin and Ricketts, and his order to the N. Y. 14th to change direction, which precipitated their loss, despite the earnest, well-considered effort of General Averill to avert it—were of themselves sufficient to insure defeat.

"He dealt on lieutenantry
And nothing knew of the great squares of war."

Balzac forshadowed McDowell's Bull Run, when clothing, in *Livre Mystique*, his dreamy speculations with the imagery of the battle field: "*Il me semble que nous sommes à la veille d'une grande bataille humaine. Les forces sont là; mais je n'y vois pas de général.*"

General McDowell swore that if Johnston "had 40,000 men, I had the whole of them on me." No such smothering force was required. Johnston's little finger was thicker than McDowell's loins. If he had arrived earlier, McDowell's defeat would have been immeasurably worse than that which he secured for himself, with Johnston's best assistance at the eleventh hour. General Johnston, who combines Wellington's rapid tactical *coup d'œil* with Napoleon's intuitive genius for discovering the enemy's weak point, and bursting through it, crushing both wings in succession, or if strong enough, at the same moment, would not have been long in finding the gap, to which General Keyes referred, between his command and Sherman's, which certainly neither he nor General Sherman would have left if not controlled by superior orders.

General Keyes in reply to the question, "To what did you attribute the disaster of that day?", said: "To the want of 10,000 more troops—that is, I think if we had 10,000 more troops than we had to go into action, say at eleven o'clock in the morning, we should certainly have beaten them. I followed along down the stream, and Sherman's battery diverged from me, so that it left a wide gap between us, and 10,000 more men could have come in between me and Sherman which was the weak point in our line, and before Johnston's reserves came up it would have been won. I thought the day was won about two o'clock; but about half-past three o'clock a sudden change in the firing took place, which, to my ear, was very ominous. I sent up my aide-de-camp to find out about the matter, but he did not come back."

Many a weary union soldier writhing under humiliating defeat, bitterly recalled Sarsfield's frank offer, on realizing the emptiness of the man in whose cause he had reddened the Boyne with fraternal blood: "Only change kings, and we will fight the battle over again."

If there had been a woman near, she might have been held responsible for the disaster with as much plausibility and good conscience as Adam—the first, if not the greatest, sneak on record—transferred to his companion the odium of that first disobedience

which "brought sin into the world with all its woe." Adam only wished to save himself. The same natural desire led General McDowell into crooked paths before he knew where they would lead him. His field of selection was large. Adam was limited to one timid creature, as much out of place in strife, as were General McDowell's batteries in that exhaustive reconnaissance which left them in the hands of the enemy. He did not mean to abandon Eve without an effort, as McDowell did his guns. As soon as he gathered courage in the shelter of her *pro forma* petticoat, he came to the rescue, with that subtle implication which underlies General McDowell's official report: "The woman whom *thou* gavest with me, gave me of the tree and I did eat." He had merely eaten, as men still do, asking no questions for conscience sake, whatever a woman gives them. Adam, in the long run, came off second best, as did General McDowell.

When McDowell's legions went across the Potomac, "in gay theatric pride," nothing of the pomp and circumstance of war was wanting to make the marvellous assurance of their untried leader "double sure." The plaudits of beauty cheered them on to their great duty. When their own guns were turned upon them, and most of them were left without intelligent control, to fight or run, as might be most agreeable to them, the stragglers met prompt sympathy and succor, from the sex, "last at the cross, first at the sepulchre," for whose gentle ministrations man yearns "when pain and anguish wring the brow." The pertumed kerchiefs which had waved them on to unanticipated disaster, were saturated with eau-de-cologne, and bound around the heads of famishing men, most of whom would have preferred a little whiskey. The best instincts of the sex controlled it then, as on all occasions grave enough to demand their exercise. Its versatility was displayed as soon as the hospitals were emptied. Many, who had been most devoted by the couch of suffering, availed themselves of the facilities proverbially afforded idle hands, by an illustrious personage always in office, and went back to mischief. Some of them are at it yet. Women have brought mischief, with men, into the world, from the first to the last syllable of recorded time, and have taken the consequences, cheerfully and gracefully.

General Joseph E. Johnston did enough to defeat a dozen McDowells; but General McDowell's considerate courtesy prevented

all reference, in his report, to an obvious truth, which might have inflicted an additional pang on the self love of our people already stung to the quick. Without Adam's easy resource, and conscious that he must go beyond his lines for a scapegoat or face popular clamor in his own person, he chose his victim with characteristic ingenuity. General Patterson, though he had served as an officer of the regular army for years before General McDowell was born, was, when selected by General Scott, at the outbreak of the rebellion, for the command of a department, a mere militia officer. He was in his seventieth year and if he had fulfilled General McDowell's reasonable expectation that he should soon pass hence, there would have been an end of him, and of the odium created for him.

We do not propose to re-open the controversy as to the causes of the disaster at Bull Run. We allude to it, only because it furnishes the key to the malignant pursuit of General Porter by General McDowell. Porter was Patterson's chief of staff, cognizant of all his plans, and cordially approving his conduct of that campaign. To condemn effectually Patterson's strategy, it was necessary to dispose of Porter. He was in the full flush of early manhood, commanding the confidence and regard of his fellows. The maiden promise of brilliant service in Mexico, had been redeemed with mature judgement in Texas. His courage, capacity and professional skill, could not be gainsaid, but it was safe to let slip upon him, not "the dogs of war," but that other variety, who, avoiding unnecessary contact with the enemy, discharged their conscience by barking at the heels of every officer in the field, whose achievements were not sanguinary enough to feed their carnivorous loyalty.

This was the motive for the crime committed against General Porter. Where was the motive for the crime against himself and his country with which the conspirators sought to charge him? Those who found their account in halting between two opinions, did so at the outset or while the question of ultimate success was an open one. It was no longer so when Porter was charged with treason. Every waiter upon Providence could then see that disloyalty was at a discount.

His name impelled self-respect. He derived his blood from a gallant soldier, the brother of Commodore David Porter, and a mother who had, underlying the gentle graces of womanhood, the strong moral fibre which makes manhood, warp and woof.

His first campaign was in Mexico. He took a conspicuous part in every action on the lower line, from Vera Cruz to the Belen Gate, where he was wounded. He was brevetted "Captain, September 8th, 1847, for Gallant and Meritorious Conduct in the Battle of Molino del Rey," and Major five days afterwards, "for Gallant and Meritorious Services in the Battle of Chapultepec." His uniform good conduct attracted the regard of older soldiers, who selected him thereafter for arduous services requiring brain and nerve.

His first service in the Civil War was the bringing off, single-handed, from Texas, of the troops General Twiggs had arranged to abandon, with large material of war, to the rebels. Ordered to Washington for consultation, he prepared his own instructions, which were approved by General Scott. Foreseeing what was before us, Porter inserted discretionary authority, to take such steps, in the event of the secession of Texas, as should prevent the clothing, arms, ammunition and other public property, from falling into the hands of the rebels. Mr. Buchanan's Secretary of War, Joseph Holt, afterwards Judge Advocate General, then holding extreme State-rights opinions—the direct antipodes of his later theories of government—refused to give such authority, as "he would not indicate anything showing that he supposed any State would attempt to secede." He was fully advised as to the pending negotiation, and Twiggs effectually disposed of his time-serving theory, by surrendering troops and property to the commissioners of Texas, before the arrival of Porter with one hundred and twenty recruits, at Indianola, March 4th. With a much superior force, well-armed, and, through the courtesy of General Twiggs, provided with ample munitions, they demanded the surrender of the steamship, with all on board, including \$40,000 in gold. Porter replied that he had made arrangements to defend the ship, and would, if necessary, throw the gold overboard. The commissioners, ignorant of the strength and character of his force, temporized. Porter secured for \$13,000 the *Star of the West*, to take such troops and batteries as could not be got on board the *Webster*, and by night all were under way for the North. He rescued between four hundred and five hundred men, with Stoneman's cavalry company. Mr. Buchanan's administration wished to secure old soldiers enough to garrison Key West and Tortugas, both empty and in imminent danger of capture. Porter landed a company at each, made such other dis-

positions as he deemed necessary, and arrived at New York, with the residue, about April 5th.

General Scott, who had not altogether lost, on the down-hill of life, his tact in the selection of suitable men for service, telegraphed, in characteristic phrase, an order to General Patterson, commanding the department of Washington, which had been extended to include the States of Maryland, Delaware, New Jersey and Pennsylvania: "Absorb Fitz-John Porter if he comes within your reach." As Adjutant-General of that department, and subsequently of the Army of the Shenandoah, Porter rendered large assistance in the conversion of good raw material into patient, steady, enduring soldiers, the names of many of whom, living and dead, are cherished throughout the length and breadth of the land.

The Count de Paris thus describes Porter's first armed encounter with some of those who had stood shoulder to shoulder with him in Mexico. "On the 2d of July he (Patterson) forded the Potomac at Williamsport, and eight kilometres beyond that point, on the borders of the stream of Falling Waters, his advance met a brigade of the enemy's infantry commanded by General Jackson, who was subsequently to acquire such great celebrity, and the cavalry of Stuart, a friend of the latter, doomed to perish like him, while leaving a reputation almost equal to his own. The first feats of these two illustrious officers, in behalf of the cause they had just espoused, were not fortunate. Cut up by the Federal artillery, which was better served than their own, they were obliged, on the arrival of Abercrombie's brigade, to beat a speedy retreat, only stopping at Bunker's Hill, between Martinsburg and Winchester, where they found re-inforcements forwarded in haste by Johnston."

Many, whose heads are shot with gray, recall his marvellous ubiquity, knightly figure, and inspiriting bearing, as he sped over that field of partially cut wheat, never to be harvested, on the bright July morning when the ball was opened at Falling Waters. His superb horsemanship lifted the animal into close communion with himself, making him the base of a centaur, instinctively alive to all he had to do, while Lieutenant Perkins at the little blacksmith shop interchanged arguments, under the eye of the commanding general, with the confederate battery of rifled guns, four hundred yards down the straight, hot turnpike, under Rev. Mr. Pendleton, who did credit to his West Point training, though in error as to his proper colors. Jackson stood beside him, his curious figure in the repose of apparent indifference, awaiting the result as

calmly as at Bull Run, where, before the month was out, he earned the name which could not die with him.

A Philadelphia merchant, quarter-master of the brigade with which George H. Thomas—*Primus inter pares*, assigned to it by General Patterson, while only a junior major of cavalry,—gave bright promise of his glorious after career, will remember his reluctance to execute the order of Colonel Porter to burn the captured tents, camp equipage, etc., and his unavailing effort to save, despite the want of transportation, one tent, never used, which bore the name of “Colonel T. J. Jackson” and the inscription of its gift by “the ladies of Berkeley Co., Va.”

Mr. Speaker Randall, then a non-commissioned officer of the First Troop Philadelphia City Cavalry, (a corps whose founders learned the art of war under Washington, whose flag became the flag of the revolted colonies, and whose members never failed to uphold that flag gallantly, when the opportunity was fairly offered them), would have been a competent witness as to the conspicuous absence of treason in the outward conduct of Colonel Porter on that field. The survivors of his gallant comrades, thirty-nine of whom afterwards received commissions in the army, could have borne equally emphatic testimony.

Boys forgot their own danger—escaping the uncomfortable trepidation which visits most men on their first field,—in their admiration of his dazzling intrepidity. His only failure was in spurring his horse against a fence which the proud brute could not leap, the attempt resulting in an ugly injury to himself.

The best blood of the adhering States was there, in arms for the union—old organizations with luminous records of past service, and new ones whose rank and file would have been fit founders of commonwealths. The country would have accepted their verdict in any case, and in Porter’s it would have been one of unanimous acquittal.

Fitz-John Porter was either an honest man, or a consummate actor, endowed with powers of deception never so successfully exercised since “Lucifer, son of the morning” fell. He kept up the deception—if deception it were—on the more sanguinary fields where he won the yellow sash.

If the pertinacious pursuit of Porter by McDowell and Pope, so superior to their onslaughts on the common enemy, had proved fully

successful, and he had been shot, the men of the army of the Shenandoah, and of the Fifth Corps, would have protected the reputation and brought its assassins to justice. The rank and emoluments conferred as rewards for their inexpensive loyalty would have availed them as little as the thirty pieces of silver did the swift witness of old. Should a call be made to-morrow for volunteers for perilous service, the survivors of that corps and army would spurn the blandishments of McDowell and Pope and fall in behind their stricken victim. Lubricity rarely loses its market value with civilians, even when in obvious overstock; but soldiers, who have measured their superiors under fire, never fail, when again called upon to take their lives in their hands, to appreciate the worth of

"A soldier, fit to stand by Cæsar,
And give direction."

When Porter was stricken down, no man of his age, had rendered more—few so much—effective service. He was a soldier by inheritance, by intuition, and by education. His peculiar fitness for that profession was known of all men. He believed himself fit for no other. He loved it and expected to die in it. He had won distinction beyond the wildest dream of boyhood. What could have induced him to falsify the record of his past life, and sully a historic name which he was to transmit to children growing up at his home?

The unavoidable concession of personal courage and professional proficiency, deepened the infamy of his alleged crime. Arnold, removed from command and under arrest, did for the John Pope of Saratoga what he could not do for himself; but neither Quebec nor Saratoga can obliterate the foul record of his baffled treachery at West Point. If the charges made at the instance of General Pope by his Inspector-General, and sustained by the perilous oaths of Generals McDowell, Pope and Roberts were true, General Porter was, with less provocation, guilty of a crime of deeper dye than Arnold, a crime for which the contemplated forfeiture of his life would have been an inadequate penalty. Stripped of verbiage, they were that Fitz-John Porter, a capable soldier, distinguished by the President with the highest brevet rank he could confer, purposely evaded or delayed the execution of an order, delivered to him in season, to insure the defeat of the Federal army, that his personal friend might be reinstated in command. He was accused of

shameful gambling with the blood of men who loved him and cheerfully followed him to death, in the cause he professed to espouse.

Delay, always dangerous to those who seek bad ends by bad means, would have been fatal if time for reflection had been given when such a charge was brought against such a man. The mind of the Secretary of War had been poisoned and he had pre-judged the case. An able, dogmatic lawyer, he knew nothing of the *personnel* of the the Army, and very little of human nature. His revolutionary instincts had for a time been held in check by the conservatism of his professional education. Conscious of intellectual superiority, strong in will, and wielding power without ascertainable limit, the Carnot of the Rebellion looked to the Presidency as his right, and took the shortest road to attain it, paying small heed to law or the forms of law.

His predecessor, a gifted reader of men, blessed with a better balanced mind, was then, to the great detriment of the Union cause, in honorable exile in Russia, in obedience to the behests of a faction of his own party. His retirement from the War Office may fairly be said to have cost the nation two additional years of internecine strife, with their lavish expenditure of men and money. Whatever may have been the political sins of Simon Cameron's long and active public life—and many officials are obnoxious to criticism on on that score—it cannot be denied that he gave to every general in the field, the cordial, energetic support they sorely needed, and rarely received from other civilians. "Rich in saving common-sense," undazzled by the glamour of a nomination for the Presidency, and therefore indifferent as to the prestige of a possible drum-and-fife nominee on the other side, he measured from the outset, as neither Mr. Lincoln nor any other member of his cabinet did, the magnitude of the long-deferred conflict, and addressed himself vigorously to the work of putting down rebellion with the strong hand, deferring till a more convenient season all expression of sentimental emotion and all diplomatic palaver.

The announcement of the court before which General Porter was to be arraigned, left no doubt on the mind of any one familiar with the ductile material of which it was in part composed, and the deep-seated prejudices of its honest and able members, that it was framed for conviction. When the detail was shown by Mr. Stanton

to one of his assistant-secretaries, he said what crossed many minds, on sight of that extraordinary array: "That Court will condemn General Porter with or without evidence." The Secretary made no response. The selection had been made by "a power behind the throne, greater than the throne itself."

Fitting witnesses were not wanting.

When England crowned her centuries of cumulative crime against Ireland, hounding to death or expatriation her best and ablest sons, for the increaseful crime of their nativity, she used similar machinery. Curran, in an eloquent effort to rescue the spirit of law from the fangs of those charged with the administration of its forms, described the instruments of power pursuing a wretched felon, as he sank in the descending scale of degraded humanity, until he stood at bay in the last and lowest resorts of vice. Once in their toils, "he was immured in the lowest dungeon of the castle, till his heart festered and rotted within him, when they dug him up, an informer."

Constructive treason was conclusively established by the uncontradictable testimony of one witness, who, during a single interview of ten minutes, saw it in Porter's eye, as plainly as the snake is visible in that of the horse, recently on exhibition. Lieutenant-Colonel T. C. H. Smith, of Pope's staff, swore that Porter treated him politely, but that he was so well satisfied by an indescribable sneer in his eye, that he would "fail Pope," that he "would shoot him that night, so far as any crime before God was concerned, if the law would allow me (him) to do it." As this clairvoyant was never known to do any of the rebels a mischief, or indicted for murder by the name he bore in the army, it may be assumed that his homicidal mania exhaled through the scoriæ of that slight spasmodic eruption, and that General Porter may hereafter keep his evil eye open or shut at pleasure.

The conduct of the investigation was in keeping with the conditions under which the court was organized. The Secretary of War refused Porter permission to send his aids to Fredericksburg to find witnesses then on duty there. Letters to and from them and others, were opened and the contents withheld. Rings rarely leave behind them anything which can be used to their prejudice, or for the rescue of their victims. The files of the War Department have been thoughtfully relieved of many papers, which might

have thrown light upon history, and its opposite upon individual actors.

The order for the Court-Martial of which General David Hunter was the fit President, directed the dissolution of "the military commission convened for the trial of Major-General Porter, on charges preferred by Major-General Pope." No authority of American law can be found for the constitution of such tribunals, but Mrs. Surratt was murdered by one. Judge-Advocate General Holt sought to relieve the conspirators of inevitable odium, when he said in open court, December 3d, 1862: "The accused refers to the order appointing a military commission, in which it was recited that it was to try charges preferred by Major-General Pope. In point of fact no charges ever were preferred by him. That commission was dissolved, and this general court-martial appointed by virtue of this order." The Ring had an illegal commission—eight days old when dissolved—ready to dispose of General Porter, but could produce no charges, General Pope's heart having failed him. The cart was before the horse, like McDowell's batteries at Bull Run.

It is a task of no ordinary difficulty to reconcile General Pope's statements with each other, and the student of history may be misled by accepting either of the following emphatic assertions. General Pope swore December 5th, 1862, (P. 23. Part 1st. Last edition.): "I have not preferred charges against him. I have merely set forth the facts in my official reports which embrace the operations of everybody else connected with that army, as well as of General Porter. * * * * I do not know of my own knowledge who exhibits these charges. * * * * " On the 22d of May, 1865, he wrote Honorable B. F. Wade, Chairman of the Joint-Committee on the Conduct of the War: "I considered it a duty I owed to the country to bring Fitz-John Porter to justice, lest at another time, and with greater opportunities, he might do that which would be still more disastrous. With his conviction and punishment ended all official connection I have since had with anything that related to the operations I conducted in Virginia."

If Pope had, as was intended, brought the charges, it would have devolved on the President to order the court—securing certainly a larger body, probably a more impartial one—and his Inspector-General Roberts fathered them. Pope himself was but a soiled glove on the nervous hand of Irvin McDowell, the Mephis-

topheles of the darkest episode of that dark period of our national history.

McDowell knew when "to strike the sounding lyre." His touch was not a light one. Cremonas could be laid aside when cracked, and a full orchestra substituted, with such a vast magazine of brass and wind instruments at command. The hand of a master, without weakness of heart, or scruple of conscience, was felt throughout.

Carefully educated, as the popular mind had been, to accept reckless tyranny for loyalty, some public apology was felt to be due for the construction of that unique engine of arbitrary power. It was officially made by Major-General Halleck, in the order detailing it: "No other officers than these named can be assembled without manifest injury to the service." Two gentlemen sat as judges, who had borne arms at Bull Run, and were still smarting under the humiliation inflicted upon them by superior incompetence. The singular adaption of means to ends shown by General McDowell at the first Bull Run, was repeated at the second affair. He threw forward General Ricketts, afterwards detailed as a member of the Court-Martial, with a single division into Thoroughfare Gap, only to be roughly handled and forced back by a superior force. It had been found necessary, in order to procure the smallest number of members with which a court-martial can be lawfully organized, to take an officer better fitted for service as a witness, and the government called him from the bench to the witness stand. One old regular officer, whose inherited instincts revolted at the service required of him, was relieved and a Brigadier General, till then unknown to fame, bearing the expressive and suggestive name of Slough, was detailed in his place.

The Specification most damaging to Porter at the time, and still exercising a vague mischievous influence, imputing "unnecessary slowness," "falling back," "delays." "drawing away," charging "that he did finally so feebly fall upon the enemy's lines as to make little or no impression on the same," and asserting that "he did not make the resistance demanded by his position," was withdrawn by the Judge Advocate without permitting him to adduce ample proof, ready on the spot, to refute it, but persistently retained by that crafty lawyer as part of the record, that it might contribute to his downfall.

On the 6th of January, the following communication was read to the Court.

“ War Department, January 5th, 1863.

GENERAL: The state of the service imperatively demands that the proceedings of the Court over which you are now presiding, having been pending more than four weeks, should be brought to a close without any unnecessary delay. You are therefore directed to sit without regard to hours, and close your proceedings as speedily as may be consistent with justice and the public service.

Yours truly,

EDWIN M. STANTON,

MAJOR GENERAL HUNTER,

President, etc. etc.

Secretary of War.

The final session was held on the 10th of same month. On that day, after hearing the defense of the accused, and the remarks of the Judge-Advocate, the Court found General Porter guilty of both charges, of four specifications in whole, and of two in part, and sentenced him, “ to be cashiered, and to be forever disqualified from holding any office of trust or profit under the Government of the United States.”

The original design was to shoot Porter, but the Holy Vehme lacked vigorous iniquity to bring forth what had been conceived in sin, or their plans were modified in deference to the integrity and self-respect of a majority of the members of the Court, or to the idiosyncrasies of the extraordinary man then at the White House. The task of getting the President's approval of the sentence was assigned to Mr. Joseph Holt, who saw that he could best effect his purpose by letting him know as little as possible.

While a member of Congress, Mr. Lincoln paid little attention to the claims of society. He devoted himself to the discharge of public duties and those devolving on the “Eight Indians,” a volunteer committee raised to make General Taylor the Whig nominee for the Presidency in lieu of Mr. Clay, of which the late Vice-President of the Southern Confederacy is believed to be the only survivor. These lacked sufficient friction to reduce his sharp points. When he took the reins the pressure was greater. State Rights, of which he had been an ardent and able advocate—State Rights incarnate and run mad—had crossed the Rubicon and threatened to march on Rome. Called to govern a republic, which had for more than a quarter of a century been steadily tending to disintegration,

he took office under the forms of law, and in accordance with its spirit, while in a minority of a million of voters. Many thoughtful, and more despondent men regretted the votes cast for him, when the election fireworks were over.

The frantic fire on Sumter gave him his first real strength with the people. The masses of his growing party stood to him as one man, and the flower of the Democratic party, following the patriotic example of the War Federalists in 1812, rallied promptly in support of the Constitution and the lawfully-chosen chief magistrate. That party furnished its full share of the brain and blood which did the work of salvation. Strong thenceforward with the masses, he received little aid from those of whom he had most right to expect it. His first hour of conscious isolation was his beginning of strength. With the sad conviction forced upon him, that he could no longer lean with confidence upon man or woman, he put himself upon "God and the Country." Neither deserted him.

Men of the woods or the prairie may remain through life men of few ideas, but these will be in keeping with the grandeur of their early surroundings. Abraham Lincoln, one of the most remarkable products of virgin soil, was improved by transplantation. His mind was growing vigorously when the assassin's ball arrested sensation in his teeming brain. He was undervalued by those nearest him. He looked through most men, and enjoyed the self-sufficiency which sought to ignore him. His Secretaries, who in 1864 intrigued for the party nomination which should have been loyally yielded to their chief, were left to the quiet enjoyment of their illusions. He sometimes advertised them that he was aware of their treachery, by a trenchant witticism, better unuttered. Many who enjoyed the wit more than the taste of his jokes, little thought that he was merely amusing his audience, while choosing those with whom he might serve his own purposes or the country's needs.

Justice may be done to the dead without invoking harsh judgment upon the living. Such abstinence is commanded by the common law of humanity—the great legacy of chivalry, the greater endowment of Christianity.

Captain Pope joined the Presidential party on its way to Washington, and is credited with the boast that he would "make a ten strike." He did, and the country staggered under the blow. Birds of prey and birds of passage flocked in. "Reptiles that

crawl where man disdains to climb," swarmed around the new occupants of the White House. The large generous ears of Mr. Lincoln afforded no inlet, his honest heart no resting place for the suggestions of self-seekers. His simple nature threw off incongruity as healthy stomachs do certain poisons.

The father of lies reached Adam's heart, by promising the mother of mankind equality with God and immunity from the consequences of a violation of His law. His consummate tact selected the primeval serpent, clad in colors pleasant as a West Point uniform to the eye of budding womanhood. The lineal successors to the first tempter followed in his footsteps, each telling his own flattering tale—all singing, in sibilant chorus, the old refrain: "Ye shall not surely die." An amiable weakness was flattered into mischievous strength.

Their ends accomplished, they forsook their victim, whose butterfly existence lapsed into mental gloom, when the curtain fell on that Good Friday night, dark for the North, yearning for peace and restored union, darker for the desolated South, darkest of all for the abruptly enfranchised negroes. The pilot who had weathered the storm and had the ship well in hand, went down in the open roadstead. Nothing of the hurricane remained but distant rumbling thunder. God's bow was set in the cloud. A faint line of brightening blue pervaded the West. The heavens gave promise of a gorgeous sunset, and a serene sky on the morrow, when from a cloud no bigger than a man's hand came the bolt which closed for earth a life, whose value to the country, when her needs transcended those of the darkest hour of dubious strife, would never otherwise have been known.

Mr. Lincoln could have led, without substantial opposition or appreciable desertion, the dominant party, where it would have followed no other man. He was the Moses of the negroes, sent, as they believed, to lead them out of the wilderness. Losing him, they never again looked for the pillar of cloud by day, or of fire by night. They wandered hither and thither, seeking manna, and finding none. If it had fallen like the dew of heaven, they would not have gathered enough to have incurred the smallest risk of its spoiling on their hands. White men eat the quails. While their old masters cared for them to the extent of their diminished means, and the body of the American people wished them well, they were

in effect left to the worst elements of both sections. Equal rights before the law neither filled the stomach nor enlarged the mind. If they had had the "mule and forty acres," many would have sought guides of the superior race, to tell them when to plant and when to gather in. The traditions of bondage brought from the birthplace of slavery, and strengthened here, were nullified for a time by the implicit faith with which they transferred to one they had never seen, the child-like confidence and willing obedience yielded of old to masters who had gone to the field or the grave. Bereft of hope, by the frenzy of a new Ravailac, they lost faith. Many returned to Fetichism.

Christendom stood aghast at seeing four millions of a kindly, docile, imitative race, whose fathers had been forced, as slaves, upon the colonies, against the protests of the colonists, in pursuance of the comprehensive policy of the British government, always on the lookout for income, which, in spite of similar protests, crammed opium down Chinese throats with the bayonet—a race whose patient labor, with no return beyond clothing, subsistence and efficient care in sickness, had, under intelligent supervision, revived the garden of Eden in the South and built up the cities of the North—suddenly transmuted from chattels into American citizens and then, unprovided, turned loose to shift for themselves. If Mr. Lincoln had lived, they would not have been left uncared for, to find their way between Scylla and Charybdis, or be ground to powder between the upper and the nether millstone,—Northern greed and Southern despair.

When the President found that the personal loyalty, which had proved steadfast in poverty, was wavering in prosperity, he retired within himself, keeping faith with the offender. The fine gold in the quartz of that odd conglomerate, shone with increasing splendor in his hour of desolation. The lines of his sad face became deeper. The shadow of the end—near at hand—was upon him. He was, indeed the "Knight of the rueful countenance," but true knight-hood was there loyal to the last.

The Court disposed of, the President was to be looked to. Popular feeling, unstable as water, and dangerous in its "fierce reflux," was **not** to be cheated of a rich sacrifice. Mr. Holt proved equal to the task of deceiving the over-worked and painfully pre-occupied Executive. He lacked no requisite for the delicate service. Con-

tinuous tergiversation, in which he combined clearness of conception with rapidity of execution, had qualified him for a wide range of employment. Entering public life a disciple of the Calhoun school, he became, while Vicar of Bray, an Imperialist. Before he earned a national reputation, some indigenous St. Patrick—shall we say Beriah Magoffin?—sent him to Washington in atonement for the sins of his native State, or in punishment for those of the nation; and he flourished there with the vigor and venom of rattlesnake and copperhead, moccasin and cottonmouth. The fighting State, which sent representatives to each Congress, and whose Governor boasted that the draft did not concern him, as “Kentucky’s quota was full on both sides,” had in the Kitchen-Cabinet a non-combatant, a “Veiled Prophet.” Servile alike to Buchanan and Lincoln, he would, in the corresponding period of English history, have been the brain and tongue of church and state under successive rulers, beginning with Laud, passing through all gradations of dissent to the Fifth Monarchy men, and then rebounding through the varieties of the Restoration. He would have been equally at home complimenting Oliver on “Son Ireton’s” conduct of affairs in Ireland, and in lucid exposition of the gain to the cause at Dunbar, by force of the “word”—“The Host of the Lord,”—while the Scottish army only had “Covenant,” for countersign, in a ready exhibition of the advantages to accrue from a bold assertion of prerogative, “the right divine of kings to govern wrong,” or in the preparation of a hand-book of etiquette for the female *etat major* of Charles Second, in which “intercommunings of spirits,” should be intermingled with appropriate physical divertisements.

The paper submitted at the request of the President for a statement of the facts of the case and the law governing it, which bears internal evidence of having been prepared for the court, though not read to it, was the adroit plea of an unscrupulous prosecutor. It will be found in the proceedings of the court, (page 280, last edition,) and will repay careful study. We subjoin a paragraph which would seem to indicate that the wily politician had turned in despair to the creed of the new sect, whose only successful exemplification of its power, has been in making chairs and tables play the part of inebriates. “It is a life-long experience that souls read each other, and that there are intercommunings of spirits through instrumentalities which, while defying all human analysis,

nevertheless completely command the homage of human faith. Great crimes too, like great virtues, often reveal themselves to close observers of character and conduct as unmistakably as a flower-garden announces its presence by the odors it breathes upon the air. The witness may have misconceived this 'look,' but from the calamities likely to follow such an act of treachery, if indeed it was then contemplated, it must be admitted as altogether probable that the shadow of such a crime struggling into being would have made itself manifest." (Page 283.)

The attention of the President was not called by Mr. Holt to the insufficiency of the doom for the crime of which Porter had been convicted, or to its anomalous inclusion of civil disqualification which a military court could not inflict.

The President, whose success in life was due to genius and humor rather than learning, bowed to his *ipse dixit* and affixed his signature. The country, agonizing under the apprehension of threatened dissolution, paid little heed to violations of law or individual suffering.

Thwarted by the conspirators, deserted by time-servers, and denounced by many honest, thoughtless men, General Porter addressed himself, vigorously as he had confronted the public enemy, to the rescue of his name from the doom of perpetual infamy. He owed its deliverance to those who had borne it in honor to the grave, to her who had relinquished her own to accept it, to their children, not yet cognizant of its worth, and to those who must, without election, bear it through all time.

The blood which dyed the heather of Scotland and the turf of Ireland for freedom of opinion, asserts itself, as occasion may require, from generation to generation.

Those who had procured his condemnation, were successful under three successive administrations, in frustrating all his efforts for a rehearing. On February 21st, 1870, Senator Chandler offered a resolution, requesting the President to communicate to the Senate any recent correspondence in his possession in relation to the case of Fitz-John Porter," delivered a prepared speech "to vindicate the truth of history," and then withdrew the resolution. In that speech he asserted that Pope was put at the head of the army to rescue McClellan, by "fooling correspondents," "fooling the country," "fooling the rebels," etc. Hon. Henry Wilson, chairman

of the Senate committee on military affairs, reiterated his opinion that Porter was entitled, in the light of after discovered evidence, to a rehearing. Mr. Chandler, forgetting the example of Britain's great orator who said, in 1848 when statesmanship was exerted to avert war: "The angel of death is passing over the land. I seem even now to hear the flapping of his wings," asked tauntingly, "*what business was it to him whether he was cut to pieces or not?*" Few men entirely divest themselves of individual interest when that sort of carving becomes directly personal. Porter, even if ambitious of harikari, would have found Mr. Chandler's ethics a poor plea in mitigation, if he had suffered his corps to be "cut to pieces," leaving the army in a worse position than that in which it was placed by General Pope. He quoted as one of "the true facts of the case," an alleged assertion of General Lee's engineer in chief (not named), that Longstreet was not on the field until the morning of August 30th. It is now clearly in proof that Longstreet was there on the 29th with 25,000 men, (Anderson joining him with his division next day) before Porter arrived with 9,000 men. Porter's disposition of his inferior force on that day, when, according to the theory of the prosecution, he was sulking like Achilles in his tent, is now conceded to have held Longstreet—not a man of sedentary habits—from putting Pope's army to rout. Mr. Chandler said in the speech: "There is one other point to which I wish to allude. During the very pendency of the trial, Fitz-John Porter said, in the presence of my informant,—who is a man most of you would believe, and who is to day in the employment of Congress, and whose word I would take as soon as I would most men's, though I told him I would not use his name, but I will give sworn testimony taken down within two minutes after the utterance was made.—Fitz-John Porter said in his presence, 'I was not true to Pope and there is no use in denying it.'" General Porter in a letter published in March, 1870, characterized this statement as "false in every particular," but the affidavit was not produced.

"Our army swore terribly in Flanders." Leasing making, once an indictable offence, had become the corner-stone of a creed, and its active practitioners the chosen recipients of congressional favor. During the French Revolution it ranked among the exact sciences. Its great apostle died half a century afterwards, a pensioner of the

Bourbons, wasting no avoidable thought upon the prudish comment of Macaulay: "A man who has never been in the tropics, does not know what a thunderstorm means; a man who has never looked on Niagara, has but a faint idea of a cataract; and he who has never read Barere's memoirs, may be said not to know what it is to lie."

Mr. Chandler is no longer here to make General Porter reparation for giving credence and currency to the profitable testimony of a nameless witness, who in the light of to-day could not command belief in an asylum for the feeble-minded.

All honor to President Hayes for responding to the instincts of fair play. Honor the more, because he served under General Pope, and retains confidence in him as a soldier and a man of veracity.

General Pope had put himself on record over his own signature, in protest against a new trial, but nothing could induce him to re-affirm under peril of cross-examination, "compassed about with so great a cloud of witnesses," his theory of General Porter's treason. He had told his story often enough and with all the variations of which it was beneficially susceptible. General Porter, in selecting a Kentucky Bullitt as one of his counsel, had a keen eye for merit in the militia. General Pope knew that "every bullet has its billet," and, disliking the whole thing, *re et nomine*, kept clear of it. For the first time in their mischievous special partnership of sixteen years, his selfish instincts were more acute than those of General McDowell, whose argumentative "*non mi ricordo*" testimony before the Board yielded the reluctant admission that he had, within "fifteen minutes," discovered the truth as to an extract from General Jackson's report, repeatedly quoted by him, which the sentence immediately preceding would, if charitably given to the world, have shown to be inapplicable as used by McDowell to Porter's injury. Neither his cunningness of fence nor the technical objections skillfully interposed by the Recorder, availed to save him from that terrific impalement when he was driven back piecemeal upon truth. Mr. Choate may justify to his own conscience and the public mind, his metaphysical cruelty during that painful process, but if the Recorder had succeeded in adjourning the Board to New York, on pretence of relieving it from the prejudicial effect of partisanship alleged to exist at West Point, the best-informed community on military subjects in the United States, Mr. Bergh must have broken a lance in McDowell's behalf or abandoned the

lists as the champion of animalcular comfort. As Major Asa Bird Gardner came again and again to his rescue, General McDowell must have realized the comfort of momentary exemption from acute pain, and thought with the bard of Avon: " 'Tis sweet to list to the notes of a soft recorder."

Stonewall Jackson repeatedly spoke with a soldier's keen admiration of Porter's masterly work on August 29th, as he did of that of Franklin,—no longer, unhappily for the country, wearing the uniform of the honorable profession he adorned—who, at Frazer's Farm, with a much inferior force, by a skilful use of the shelter afforded by the natural face of the country, inflicted a rare defeat upon "the Right-arm of Lee."

His habit was to finish fighting before reporting. He seems to have regarded Pope's Bull Run as a mere incident of the campaign. The caption is: "Report of operations from 15th August to September 5th, 1862."

He introduces his account of the severe combat in which Porter with a small corps fought his army so desperately—volleys being delivered with but ten paces between the lines—as to bring Longstreet to Jackson's aid, Jackson frankly saying that he would otherwise have called for re-inforcements, the very account persistently quoted by McDowell and Pope as referring to other portions of Pope's army on the 29th, and as indubitable evidence of Porter's criminal inaction on that day, with these words: "On the following day, the 30th, my command occupied the high ground, and the divisions the same relative positions to each other and the field, which they held the day before, forming the left wing of the army. General Longstreet's command formed the right wing, and a large quantity of artillery was posted upon a commanding eminence in the centre." Here follows the stereotyped extract of McDowell and Pope: "After some desultory skirmishing and heavy cannonading," &c.

Suppressio veri, suggestio falsi. Was this singular form of color blindness, which withdrew from the public view the declaratory clause of a straightforward narrative, and the sedulous promulgation for nearly seventeen years of the garbled quotation, an unconscious error heedlessly perpetuated, or the grafted fruit of native improbity carefully cultivated throughout that long period?

In either event, I submit the propriety of retiring Major-Gen-

eral McDowell as a witness on the sufficient ground of disability from wounds received in service. When so invalided, he can ponder, at leisure, the question which perplexed another Major-General assigned to the command of a department where false-witness-bearing was the order of the day: "What is truth?"

The character of the officers composing the Advisory Board, assured General Porter a fair hearing. His unseen accusers had an equal advantage. They were no longer restricted to the residuum of one army. Skinner and cowboy came up to the work in double files, led by the most mischievous guerilla of the Confederate army, free of all restraint of principle or habit, neglecting civil duties abroad to discharge a Parthian arrow at a hated foe.

The apocrypha of the prosecution had been vivified by the reflective power of assertion. George Fourth's famous story that he led in person the charge that closed Napoleon's account at Waterloo, was not of a character to produce much impression upon his own mind when first put into circulation; but he must have come to believe it in part, before he ventured to repeat it for the information of the truth-telling Duke of Wellington. General Pope, if he could have been brought before the Board, might, with growing confidence, have re-affirmed his florid report of the intersected Battle of Bull Run: "We fought a terrible battle here, yesterday, with the combined forces of the enemy, which lasted with continuous fury from daylight to dark." And the still more remarkable P. S. to his dispatch of August 30th, 9.45 P. M.: "We have lost nothing, neither guns nor wagons." In his absence the members of the Board had to content themselves with the evidence of his chief of staff, that when the reports were dictated by General Pope, he suggested such alterations as in the P. S. should approximate to the facts of the case, he having seen some wagons and he thought some guns fall into the hands of the enemy. Colonel Ruggles was directed by General Pope to forward the report as dictated, in the purity of its virgin falsehood.

Before both bodies Porter invoked the fullest investigation, inviting and defying the most rigid scrutiny. It was at his formal request that the court-martial, after deliberation, decided to sit with open doors.

General McDowell was useless at the second as at the first Bull Run; his untiring efforts to reclaim the division of General King,

erving temporarily with Porter's corps, so exhausting his energies that his division commanders were left very much to themselves. He was quick to cover himself, as he had before been to "cover Washington." In his adroit use, on the 29th of August, of the 62d Article of War, and, for 16 years thereafter, of Jackson's account of Porter's gallant fight on the 30th, to prove his criminal supineness on the 29th, this politic military absorbent appropriated the tactics of *chevaliers d'industrie* with "the little cup and balls" at the race-course, with marked success, till his meretricious arts exhausted human credulity. General McDowell's well-considered testimony before the court-martial was "the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen. For by it the elders obtained a good report." Before the Board his genius failed him. The main force of his sworn argument lay in the recoil. That form of the disease known of old as "eternal hunger," aptly defined by General Scott as, "Pruriency of fame not earned," had become a camp epidemic. Many "walked the hospitals" successfully, and Generals McDowell and Pope were among its legacies to the country.

The morning of Pope's military life had been spent in advertising his own works, including the telescopic artesian wells of New Mexico, at the bottom of which Major Linnard sought in vain for truth. When female vanity, stimulated to the top of its bent, responded to the attraction of chemical affinity, the captain of engineers became, at a bound, brigadier general in the line of the regular army, and played the most audacious game of brag ever witnessed. Truth has been throughout life his Alexander the Coppersmith. They shrank from each other with sensitive avoidance, prompted by mutual dislike and the consciousness of a common capacity for mutual mischief. General McDowell, on the other hand, hoarded it with a miser's greed,—sometimes keeping it altogether out of sight, as he did his heavy reserves at Bull Run. A very moderate expenditure of truth in reporting the causes of his defeat there, would have rendered unnecessary the construction of that vast pyramid of subterfuges—the whited sepulchre which bids fair to become his monument. General Pope encountered an almost insuperable difficulty, in pervasive disbelief of his own planting. General McDowell suffers from the reaction consequent

on over-belief,—a too ready faith in his grandiloquent assumptions. He has advertised the world that

“Mere prattle without practice,
Is all his soldiership.”

Aware of the difficulties which prevented the court martial from giving General Porter a fair trial, in the vitiated atmosphere of Washington, while the minds of honest men had been studiously embittered against him, and technical objections, skilfully interposed by an artful advocate, shut out vital truths, and properly on their guard against undue influence, from the reaction sure to follow cruel injustice, the members of the board say :

“We have made a thorough examination of all the evidence presented and bearing in any manner upon the merits of the case. The Recorder has, under instructions from the Board, sought with great diligence for evidence in addition to that presented by the petitioner, especially such as might appear to have a bearing adverse to the claims urged by him.”

Their graphic account of the action of the Fifth Corps against overpowering odds, on the 30th of August, was an act of justice due to the dead Reynolds, the dying Sykes, the living Warren, and the brave men who followed them steadily to defeat or victory ; and it will disabuse candid minds of any lingering belief that soldiers of that school would have countenanced the shameful avoidance of duty charged against the accomplished commander who controlled that action, if he had been weak and wicked enough to invite their guilty coöperation.

“As Longstreet’s army pressed forward to strike Pope’s exposed left wing and flank, Warren, with his little brigade, sprung into the Gap and breasted the storm until but a handful of his brave men were left alive. Then Sykes, with his disciplined brigades, and Reynolds, with his gallant Pennsylvania Reserves, seized the commanding ground in rear, and, like a rock, withstood the advance of the victorious enemy, and saved the Union Army from rout.”

Thus did this gallant corps nobly and amply vindicate the character of their trusted chief, and demonstrate to all the world that “disobedience of orders” and “misbehavior in the presence of the enemy” are crimes which could not possibly find place in the head or heart of him who thus commanded the corps.

Compare Porter’s terse, vigorous English, on August 29th, the day of his alleged treachery and Pope’s suppositious victory, with

McDowell's mellifluous iteration of apochryphal services, or Pope's turgid proclamations of abortive enterprise.

"General Morell.

Tell me what is passing quickly. If the enemy is coming, hold to him, and I will come up. Post your men to repulse him.

F. J. PORTER, Major-General."

And again, in reply to advice from Morell that they had better retire, &c.: "We cannot retire while McDowell holds on."

Treachery—all falsehood—is verbose and pretentious. Porter used the short, honest words of love and anger, which go to the heart and live in the memory.

The report of the Board is so clear in statement, and so logical in conclusions, as to preclude objection and constrain dispassionate minds to choose between the honest fulfilment of an obligation equally binding upon the nation with the payment of the war debt, make full and complete the tardy reparation still possible, for a too grievous wrong to a faithful public servant or wilful adherence to an erroneous opinion, long honestly entertained on defensible grounds, now proven by conclusive evidence to be without foundation in truth.

"These charges and specifications certainly bear no discernible resemblance to the facts of the case as now established. Yet it has been our duty to carefully compare with these facts the views entertained by the Court-Martial, as shown in the findings and in the review of the case which was prepared for the information of the President by the Judge Advocate General who had conducted the prosecution, and thus to clearly perceive every error into which the Court-Martial was led. We trust it is not necessary for us to submit in detail the results of this comparison, and that it will be sufficient for us to point out the fundamental errors, and to say that all the essential facts in every instance stand out in clear and absolute contrast to those supposed facts upon which General Porter was adjudged guilty.

The fundamental errors upon which the conviction of General Porter depended may be summed up in a few words. It was maintained, and apparently established to the satisfaction of the Court-Martial, that only about one-half of the Confederate Army was on the field of Manassas on the 29th of August, while General Lee with the other half was still beyond the Bull Run Mountains; that General Pope's army, exclusive of Porter's corps, was engaged in a severe and nearly equal contest with the enemy, and only needed the aid of a flank attack which Porter was expected to make to insure the defeat and destruction or capture of the Confederate force in their front under General Jackson; that McDowell and Porter, with their joint forces, Porter's leading, had advanced toward Gainesville until the head of their column had reached a point near the Warrenton turnpike, where they found a division of Confederate troops, "seventeen regiments," which Buford had counted as they passed through Gainesville, marching along the road across Porter's front, and going toward the field of battle at Groveton; that McDowell ordered Porter to at once attack that column thus moving to join Jackson, or the flank and rear of the line if they had formed in line, while he would take his own troops by the Sudley Springs road and throw them into the enemy's centre near Groveton; that Porter, McDowell having then separated from him, disobeyed that order to attack, allowed that division of the enemy's troops to pass him unmolested, and then fell back and retreated toward Manassas Junction; that Porter then remained in the rear all the afternoon, listening to the sounds of battle and coolly contemplating

a presumed defeat of his comrades on the centre and right of the field ; that this division of the enemy having passed Porter's column and formed on the right of Jackson's line near Groveton, an order was sent to Porter to attack the right flank or rear of the enemy's line, upon which his own line of march must bring him, but that he had wilfully disobeyed, and made no attempt to execute that order ; that in this way was lost the opportunity to destroy Jackson's detached force before the other wing of General Lee's Army could join it, and that this junction having been effected during the night of the 29th, the defeat of General Pope's army on the 30th thus resulted from General Porter's neglect and disobedience.

Now, in contrast to these fundamental errors, the following all-important facts are fully established :

As Porter was advancing toward Gainesville, and while yet nearly four miles from that place and more than two miles from the nearest point of the Warrenton Turnpike, he met the right wing of the Confederate Army, twenty-five thousand strong, which had arrived on the field that morning and was already in line of battle. Not being at that moment quite fully informed of the enemy's movements, and being then under orders from Pope to push rapidly toward Gainesville, Porter was pressing forward to attack the enemy in his front, when McDowell arrived on the field with later information of the enemy and later and very different orders from Pope, assumed the command and arrested Porter's advance. This later information left no room for doubt that the main body of Lee's Army was already on the field and far in advance of Pope's Army in preparation for battle. General McDowell promptly decided not to attempt to go further to the front, but to deploy his column so as to form line in connection with General Pope's right wing, which was then engaged with Jackson. To do this General McDowell separated his corps entirely from General Porter's, and thus relinquished the command and all right to the command of Porter's corps. McDowell did not give Porter any order to attack, nor did he give him any order whatever to govern his action after their separation.

It does not appear from the testimony that he conveyed to General Porter in any way the erroneous view of the military situation which was afterward maintained before the Court-Martial, nor that he suggested to General Porter any expectation that he would make an attack. On the contrary, the testimony of all the witnesses as to what was actually said and done, the information which McDowell and Porter then had respecting the enemy, and the movement which McDowell decided to make, and did make, with his own troops, prove conclusively that there was left no room for doubt in Porter's mind that his duty was to stand on the defensive and hold his position until McDowell's movement could be completed. It would have indicated a great error of military judgment to have done or ordered the contrary, in the situation as then fully known to both McDowell and Porter.

General Pope appears from his orders and from his testimony to have been at that time wholly ignorant of the true situation. He had disapproved of the sending of Ricketts to Thoroughfare Gap to meet Longstreet on the 28th, believing that the main body of Lee's Army could not reach the field of Manassas before the night of the 30th. Hence, he sent the order to Porter dated 4:30 P. M. to attack Jackson's right flank or rear. Fortunately, that order did not reach Porter until about sunset—too late for any attack to be made. Any attack which Porter could have made at any time that afternoon must necessarily have been fruitless of any good result. Porter's faithful, subordinate and intelligent conduct that afternoon saved the Union Army from the defeat which would otherwise have resulted that day from the enemy's more speedy concentration. The only seriously critical period of that campaign, viz., between 11 A. M. and sunset of August 29, was thus safely passed. Porter had understood and appreciated the military situation, and, so far as he had acted upon his own judgment, his action had been wise and judicious. For the disaster of the succeeding day he was in no degree responsible. Whoever else may have been responsible, it did not flow from any action or inaction of his.

The judgment of the Court-Martial upon General Porter's conduct was evidently based upon greatly erroneous impressions, not only respecting what that conduct really was and the orders under which he was acting, but also respecting all the circumstances under which he acted. Especially was this true in respect to the character of the battle of the 29th of August. That battle consisted of a number of sharp and gal-

lant combats between small portions of the opposing forces. Those combats were of short duration and were separated by long intervals of simple skirmishing and Artillery duels. Until after six o'clock only a small part of the troops on either side were engaged at any time during the afternoon. Then, about sunset, one additional division on each side was engaged near Groveton. The musketry of that last contest and the yells of the Confederate troops about dark were distinctly heard by the officers of Porter's corps; but at no other time during all that afternoon was the volume of musketry such that it could be heard at the position of Porter's troops. No sound but that of Artillery was heard by them during all those hours when Porter was understood by the Court-Martial to have been listening to the sounds of a furious battle raging immediately to the right; and those sounds of Artillery were by no means such as to indicate a general battle.

The reports of the 29th and those of the 30th of August, have somehow been strangely confounded with each other. Even the Confederate reports have, since the termination of the war, been similarly misconstrued. Those of the 30th have been misquoted as referring to the 29th, thus to prove that a furious battle was going on while Porter was comparatively inactive on the 29th. The fierce and gallant struggle of his own troops on the 30th, has thus been used to sustain the original error under which he was condemned. General Porter was, in effect, condemned for not having taken any part in his own battle. Such was the error upon which General Porter was pronounced guilty of the most shameful crime known among soldiers. We believe not one among all the gallant soldiers on that bloody field was less deserving of such condemnation than he.

The evidence of bad animus in Porter's case ceases to be material in view of the evidence of his soldierly and faithful conduct. But it is our duty to say that the indignant and unkind terms in which General Porter expressed his distrust of the capacity of his superior commander cannot be defended; and to that indiscretion was due, in very great measure, the misinterpretation of both his motives and his conduct and his consequent condemnation.

Having thus given the reasons for our conclusions, we have the honor to report in accordance with the President's order, that, in our opinion, justice requires at his hands such action as may be necessary to annul and set aside the findings and sentence of the Court-Martial in the case of Major General Fitz-John Porter, and to restore him to the positions of which that sentence deprived him—such restoration to take effect from the date of his dismissal from the service.

General Porter was, in reality, punished for fighting too long on August 30th. He might have fared better if he had changed front to the rear when others did. Reputations were, during the civil war, not unfrequently distributed like hats after more agreeable pastime, those who retire early, if otherwise thoughtful, getting the best. The MacSycophant family attained high rank in the army without wasting much time in the field. The silky-eared animals who assume the lion's skin, are invaluable as fathers of the most useful beasts of burden serving humanity, but we need lions to lead where it is necessary to drive them.

The Board properly rebuked General Porter's transgression of military propriety in certain telegrams sent General Burnside, prior to the second battle of Bull Run, where his high courage and skillful dispositions averted something worse if possible than General McDowell's experimental survey of that field. In that regard, General Porter's conduct was impolitic, unsoldierlike, and unjustifiable,

though exceedingly human. Captain Pope was known to both armies; his appointment to supreme command was received with as much exultation in the rebel, as humiliation in the union, camps, and similiar opinions were freely expressed in both. The disgust General Porter shared with his comrades, could not fail to be increased by the demoralization of the fine corps he had brought to a high state of discipline. His curt, unimprovable phrases were all the more objectionable, because of their obvious accuracy. Without those unhappy telegrams, for which General Porter sought no concealment,—and it would have been well for the army and the country, if the tact which suppressed a similar impropriety on the part of another distinguished officer had let them sleep at the War Department—the public mind, though thrown off its balance by the sudden succession of small performance to large promise, and the public conscience, though stupified by daily opiates of growing falsehood, would have repudiated the monstrous verdict. His own sense of propriety, quickened, it may be, by the fearful punishment they brought upon him, must have caused General Porter to regret his unbecoming references to his inferior superior, as sincerely as General Pope does any unprofitable truth, into the utterance of which he may have been inadvertently betrayed.

Few Union Generals were entirely free from temptation to resent injury of that character; fewer still met it by turning the other cheek. The present General of the Army, and the great captain who closed the war, had their full share of such embarrassments, and both used marked emphasis in manifesting their sense of wrong. At the farewell review of his army, about to return to the body of the people, General Sherman publicly repelled the injustice done that army and himself, by refusing the proffered hand of his technical superior in the presence of the President, and the country sustained his prompt and proper action. The latent manhood of General Grant's character was never so finely brought out, as when he compelled his civil superiors to forego a cherished scheme for bringing General Lee to trial, after accepting his parole, "that treason might be made odious." In protecting his personal honor, he probably saved the honor of the nation from the stain of murder under safe conduct.

In all this, the Civil War differed little from other wars. General Jackson—ordered to disband his Tennessee volunteers at

Natchez, in order that they might be constrained, on finding themselves without money and separated from their State by hundreds of miles of unbroken wilderness, to re-enter the service as enlisted men—defied the administration, on the ground that he was bound to return the survivors to the mothers and wives who had entrusted them to him, and, procuring transportation at his own cost, cut the road through the Indian country which still bears his name, and mustered them out where he had mustered them in, within reach of their homes. Urged by the surgeon in charge to leave to die at Natchez one man whose case was considered hopeless, he refused to “abandon anything that had life in it.” Near the end of the first day’s march, the sick man, partially roused from what his comrades regarded as the stupor of approaching death, by the metallic tones of his leader’s voice as he tramped through the mud beside the wagon, having surrendered his horse to another invalid, asked that his head might be raised so that he should see him once more. His heart warmed into fresh life at the sight of that “good grey head,” glorified by the faithful discharge of daily duty. “Where are we, General?” “Safe on the way home, my dear fellow.” The pristine vigor of Jackson’s blood was transfused into his languid veins, and he lived to follow him gladly through all subsequent campaigns, worshiping him as his earthly saviour while renovated life endured.

The condemnation of General Porter on the circumstantial evidence furnished by his telegrams to General Burnside carries with it the ostracism of another faithful Union soldier. The endorser is equally responsible with the drawer. On the telegrams Burnside must stand or fall with Porter.

General Burnside, whose patriotism has never been impugned and who is honored by a seat in the Senate from a State whose sons have never wavered in loyalty to the Union, sent copies of each of the obnoxious telegrams to Generals Halleck and McClellan. He testified (P. 175) that he also sent them to the President, adding: “I did not feel myself authorized to withhold anything from him that would tend to give him a correct impression of what was doing on that line.” General Burnside evidently thought that the paper for which he thus made himself responsible as moral endorser would produce “a correct impression” on the President’s mind. In reply to the question, immediately following his history

of the telegrams in question, "From your observation of General Porter's military conduct, and from your knowledge of him as an officer, what opinion have you formed of him, touching his fidelity and attention to his duty, and his zeal in its performance?" General Burnside said: "I have never seen anything to lead me to think that he was anything but a zealous, faithful, and loyal officer."

In another case, the end was accomplished. A woman was hanged at the Federal city, under the sentence of a military commission convened to defy the law within the shadow of the Supreme Court of the United States. The case of Mrs. Surratt was one for the civil courts; but the conspirators knew that no American jury would find her guilty on such evidence, even if Jeffries or Norbury were permitted to return to earth to lay down the law. The sin for which her remnant of life was taken, was the retention of the maternal instinct after she had ceased to discharge maternal functions. She had not refused shelter to her son because of her knowledge after the fact—inferred rather than proven—that he had participated in a plot to carry off President Lincoln, and deliver him to the confederate authorities as a hostage for peace,—a plot afterwards abandoned by Booth for assassination. She had not propitiated stultified officials by voluntarily surrendering him. She would have been false to everything which exalts womanhood if she had done either.

Then, too, an honest man occupied the Presidential chair; and the only friend she had—her worthless son being in hiding, occupied only with thought for his own safety—her daughter, sought pardon or reprieve. Access to Mr. Johnson was denied. Volunteer sentries, never seen in the discharge of military duty elsewhere, stood guard outside his door, repelling the fainting woman, until her mother was launched into eternity. Their self-imposed task accomplished, remorse claimed its prey, and they successively sought forgetfulness in self-murder. Their sin found them out unerringly in distant Kansas, as in the crowded harbor of New York.

Meanwhile, flushed by their triumph over a friendless woman, they laid Jefferson Davis in hold, and kept him long enough to invest the most unpopular man in the States lately in revolt, with the halo of martyrdom, and endow him with the sympathies of a gallant people, apparently doomed to see one an unwilling sufferer for the sins of all. The people of the North who had furnished the

blood and treasure which bought success, counted all as nothing for the love they bore the Union. Fratricide had done its worst. No smoke of human sacrifice should be permitted to sully the flag of their idolatry while it waved over unresisting foes. Nearer in wisdom to the corner-stone rejected by the builders than their vainglorious leaders, they sought to purge the Temple of Liberty of those who had well-nigh made it a den of thieves. The righteous anger which drove the money-changers from the Courts of the Lord, used no unnecessary violence. The tables were overturned, the base coin scattered on the polluted floor, but Hebrew ringsters found time, in the midst of fluttering doves and lowing oxen, with divine vengeance hovering over them, to pick up many little things for a rainy day.

The manners of the world are improving. Its morals are not deteriorating. The gray head of Mrs. Surratt found rest with her body in the grave, because modern decency forbade a Temple Bar whereon to impale it. Drawing and quartering had had their day. The men of '76 would doubtless have hanged Arnold, if the Vulture's beak had not intervened; but they would have buried with the honors of war the leg which bore, as its sufficient phylactery, the scars of Quebec. The men of '65, in giving Jefferson Davis his life, forfeited by causeless rebellion doggedly prolonged for eight months after General Lee notified him that further resistance was hopeless, would not have paltered with him about recognizing the honorable wounds of Buena Vista.

General Porter's immolation for what Mr. Holt with unintentional accuracy called "the shadow of a crime," was a misfortune of the time, the work, not of a party, but of an army clique, to which a few party barnacles had attached themselves. No political party being responsible for the wrong, no partisan interest can be subverted by its perpetuation, and no sagacious party leader will appeal to party spirit or invoke the powerful aid of party discipline to that end. In the absence of the higher motive of loyalty to country, shrewd loyalty to party will preclude such indiscretion. The American people is too proud of its past, too jealous of its future renown, to permit the army to be made a foot-ball in petty struggles for party ascendancy. Every effort heretofore made in that direction has recoiled upon the party making it.

Politicians recognize the fact that when our people undertake

to remedy the wrongs of a man who has served them well in the field, they make themselves felt. Acres of politicians, of large aggregate market value before the flood, were submerged in the struggle which elevated Jackson to the Presidency, and never heard of afterwards. The sum in which Judge Hall amerced General Jackson for an infraction of civil law—a necessary incident of his successful defence of New Orleans—was repaid near the end of his life. He had refused the money and protected the self-sufficient functionary from chastisement at the hands of the grateful people whose homes he saved from pollution. There are very few Congressional districts without active, energetic men who served with Porter and have brought their neighbors acquainted with his merits and the demerits of his persecutors. The people of the North know that President Lincoln gave him the highest brevet before the receipt of General McClellan's report recommending him for that honor and regretting that the limit of brevet rank had in his case been reached. The people of the South know that Robert E. Lee, whose captivating personal qualities eclipsed his soldiership, "the selfless man and stainless gentleman," who never sought nor needed a scapegoat, made no secret of the fact that the manner in which Porter handled his corps at Antietam (his enemies having withheld the charges against him that he might do work there for which they had no taste,) was the great cause of his own defeat where he had anticipated a signal victory.

To perpetuate Porter's punishment the American people must, in the face of the civilized world, stultify the public mind and outrage the public conscience, by deliberately rejecting the concurrent testimony of many of the best men who served in either army, that they may accept that of the worst men of both armies. Confederate testimony in his behalf must be met by disproof, not by a vapid sneer. Justice was done by Britons, on the unsupported statement of Napoleon, to Sir Robert Calder, after he had been under ban nearly as long as Porter.

Professional politicians of the baser sort, may obey the behests of a caucus, but men competent to control and preserve a great party, will be aroused to thoughtful action by the alarming advance of the destructive communistic spirit, appeased for a time by such tubs to the whale as the sacrifice of General Porter, but again rampant on the sand-lots of San Francisco.

The long delay, unjust and oppressive as it has been to General Porter, brings compensation in its train. The Philip of 1880 is not the Philip of 1863. He is quite sober and a little sick. Guided by returning reason, civil law slowly resumes its sway. No one of the fair sisterhood of States now presents the sad spectacle of the adjustment of all rights of person and property by the fluctuating spirit-level of a mere dragoon. The maintenance of the Monroe Doctrine—a British invention to thwart the Holy Alliance, improvised by Mr. Canning, who, finding that Mr. Rush had no instructions, first used the French to that end—again enforced upon the country with the ebullient fervor of the spasmodic patriotism which precedes a Presidential election, may bring war at short notice. Our army is a skeleton, our navy, save in *personnel*, a delusion. The men who stood steadfastly by the Union through four years of trying vicissitude, with the unflagging energy of a father's faith and the patient persistence of a mother's love, are ready on just occasion, with most of those who opposed them so sternly in fratricidal strife, to take arms again, but they would like to know something of the men who are to lead them. An officer's achievements are no longer measured by the number of men he succeeded in having killed. When the reduced circle gathers at nightfall around the hearth, the outgoing generation think of the missing sons,

“Wasted in strife e'er the battle was won.”

No echo from human lips, or awakened conscience, may ever have reached either of the misplaced Federal commanders at Bull Run, of the agonizing cry of Augustus: “Varus, Varus, what hast thou done with my legions?” but its dull, intrusive monotone thrills sad hearts with renewed anguish in the watches of the night when

“Plaintive memory takes the place of the Hope.”

No other country could have furnished such food for powder. It is too valuable for other purposes to be squandered in qualifying raw men for the modicum of military service needed to fit them out as candidates for civil office, or in making capable staff officers acquainted with the practical duties of the line, that they may thereafter neglect both. The best feature of General Scott's military character was his skilful economy of men, and similar good husbandry was a marked characteristic of a greater soldier. Prodigal of his own blood, and, when occasion required, of that of others,

the history of Jackson's continuously successful campaigns bears no record of the waste of human life. With the tiger's leap at the critical moment, he combined the previous caution of the cat. Sent to New Orleans to make bricks without straw, he was told that men and arms would follow. Muskets failed to reach him in season, because niggard economy, little short of tacit treason, specifically permitted the boatmen to stop by the way to trade. General Carroll seized one boat load of arms and munitions and carried them with him. General Coffee, upon whom that great arm never leaned in vain, on receipt of the characteristic order of his chief: "You must not sleep till you are within striking distance," marched his brigade eighty miles in twenty-four hours, surpassing the famous march of Crawford's superb brigade which enabled him to turn the tide in Wellington's favor. With these travel-worn troops, Old Hickory, on the -day after their arrival, struck the decisive blow which made the better known victory of January 8th possible. He had to beat the enemy and red tape with one hand. "The crowning mercy" of the war, providentially vouchsafed after peace had been concluded, by which, in Mr. Jefferson's happy phrase, he "filled the measure of his country's glory," throwing the mantle of oblivion over the disasters of the Northern frontier, and the veil of obscurity over the McDowells and Popes by whom they had been brought about, was won with one-third of his effective force standing idle, nominally in support, but in reality awaiting weapons to be wrenched from the enemy, or taken from the relaxing grasp of dying comrades. When his work was done, he had six killed and seven wounded, while nearly 2,000 brave veterans, case-hardened under Moore and Wellington, strewed the Plain of Chalmette, with most of the gallant leaders who brought them forward again and again to those furious "onsets of despair." His raw militia had no ramparts but what they threw up from the alluvial soil. Popular enthusiasm, always ready to invest genius with material power easy of comprehension, planted cotton bales in his front. In point of fact, Commodore Patterson, finding twenty-seven bales on the bank of the river, had them thrown in by the crew of the *Caroline*, on the extreme right of Jackson's lines, where the fighting was least sanguinary.

The report of the Senate committee on military affairs, enforcing the recommendation of the Advisory Board, carries weight because

it is the result of careful investigation, and embodies the deliberate judgment of members who command public respect and confidence. The report was in effect unanimous, the feeble dissent of the lesser Senator from Illinois, being one of those slight exceptions which go to confirm the rule.

When his pendulous patriotism finally planted him, after many acrobatic evolutions, at the proper time on the strong side, Mr. Logan saw that he would be "nothing if not critical." His instincts control his action. Debarred by congenital obliquity and the bent of his self-education from all comprehension of the conduct or character of General Porter, he bristles instinctively at the mention of his name. He is not more astray now than he was in the case of George H. Thomas.

General Thomas, who never could be made to fight till he was ready, was accused by ferocious non-combatants, at a critical period of the war, of "unnecessary slowness," and most of the sins of omission imputed under like circumstances to General Porter, and his removal demanded. Mr. Logan, appointed Major-General because of his great labor in reaching the Federal camp by a circuitous route, was more efficient at Washington than in the field, and convinced the administration that he was the Admirable Crichton wherewith to supersede the slow General. Armed with the order which was to open the way to glory, he met in central Kentucky tidings of the battle of Nashville, which sent him to the rear, a sadder and, for a while, a wiser man.

The ephemera of the Civil War combine against General Porter because of the instinctive repulsion between their tribe and all trained soldiers. The honest admiration of the American people for heroism, real or imaginary, has given the least worthy of the clan great power for mischief. The Wizard of the North gave Dugald Dalgetty "Loyalty's Reward," with knighthood at the hand of the Great Marquis "on a stricken field," whereby he was enabled to claim precedence, upon occasions of ceremony, over better men; but the idea of bringing such a soldier into Parliament does not seem to have occurred to his versatile genius.

The newspapers tell us of a fossiliferous Congress, in secret session at the capital, made up in good part of those veterans of the staff corps who never seek retirement, however worthy of it, whose faultless uniforms and standard regulation grief give such

cheerful animation to the solemnity of a Washington funeral, one of whom takes pleasure in furnishing, for false and fraudulent uses, "printed extracts from the Rebel commanders' reports of engagements, certified to by the Adjutant-General," with the comforting assurance that the writer has "reason to believe that there will be no favorable action on F. J. P.'s application for a remission of any part of the sentence of the Court in the case,"—an application, by the way, never made—under the president of the first court, always potential on the back-stairs, and inspired by the late Judge-Advocate General, still anxious to shield the country from the dire effects of Porter's long-lived treachery.

These people may yet secure for General Porter the reward which is his due—a major generalship in the line, by special enactment, for saving the army from annihilation at the second battle of Bull Run, and the capital from falling into the hands of the enemy, or, in default of justice at the hands of Congress, his elevation to such high civil station as should command their lively adoration.

Meanwhile let the dear-bought generalships, with all their emoluments and such honors as may remain with them, be held till death shall do its kindly office, and let the gallows of Haman stand, unoccupied, a guide-post for all time. Mordecai's occasions do not call him to the king's gate.

Carpet knighthood shows to more advantage on the Pacific slope than in the high places of the field. Vice in exaltation challenges the attention of those whose instincts would lead them to pass by on the other side to escape contact with vice in humiliation.

For General Porter's persecutors, one and all, I bespeak in advance, the charities of the grave, with immunity from all earthly punishment at the hands of others. Where charity fails let contempt do its appropriate work.

"The earth has bubbles as the water hath,
And these are of them."

The country is on trial now. Congress has the present power to determine for it whether it shall be true to itself, as Porter was true to it in its dark hour of calamity.

Woe to the "congregation of evil-doers," seeking darkness rather than light, if, in the blind energy of infatuation, they shall

succeed in carrying the case to the court of last resort—the High Court of Errors and Appeals,—the sovereign power of the people in corrective exercise at the polls. When overtaken by the ground-swell of popular wrath, they may call in vain for rocks and hills to cover them.

General Porter's trial is over, his punishment ended. After anticipating for seventeen years of his natural life, drawn out "twixt upper, nether, and surrounding fires," the pains and penalties of purgatory, he stands before his country and the world, "redeemed, regenerated, and disenthralled," without the smell of fire upon his garments.

"Whatever record leap to light
He never shall be shamed."

W. C. PATTERSON.

(National Republican League.)

THE THIRD TERM.

THE determination on the part of certain political leaders to secure General Grant's nomination in the Chicago Convention, the methods employed to secure that result, and the ulterior objects of the movement, demand the most earnest consideration of every well-wisher of his country.

On the surface it would appear that General Grant is the weakest candidate that could be selected. Despite his most eminent military services and the high qualities which he manifested in command of our armies, his civil career proved a disastrous failure. Under him the enormous party majorities of 1872 were gradually swept away, until he handed over the government to his successor with the opposition in control of both houses of Congress, while even the title of that successor to his high office was clouded with doubt. As a political leader General Grant was thus distinguished only by incapacity and misfortune, nor was his record better as an administrator. The comparatively clean and honest government of President Hayes has somewhat dulled the memory of the scan-

ERRATA—After the word *columns* on page 279, line 18, read—"asked permission to go to the aid of Sykes, and the fragmentary volunteer forces still stubbornly holding their ground, earnestly affirming his confidence in a successful result."

Page 281, on line 13 from bottom of page, read *McDowell* for "McDonald,"

dals of his predecessor, but they were numerous enough in themselves to account for the decadence of the party. No one suspects General Grant of personal participation in these scandals; but his theory of government seemed to be that it was his own personal property, and that his personal predilections were to be gratified at any cost to his party and to his country. His celebrated phrase—that he would not abandon a friend under fire—expressed with marvellous conciseness every element of the worst personal government, for it assumed that he owed no duty to the public, and that the graver were the charges brought against an official, the greater was the obligation on the President to sustain him and maintain him in office. Casey, in New Orleans; Shepherd, in Washington; Murphy and Leet, in New York; Simmons, in Boston; the scandals of Belknap in the War Department; of the Treasury under Richardson; of the Navy Department under Robeson; of the English mission under Schenck; of Babcock and the St. Louis whisky trials, are but the more prominent instances representing a totality of maladministration which should forever disqualify him who is responsible for it from again seeking the Presidential office.

But not only is General Grant thus an improper and consequently, speaking politically, an unavailable candidate, but his very candidacy, involving a Third Term, is a violation of a rule which, in the eyes of the people, is as venerable as the Constitution itself, thus arraying against him thousands of voters who would support any other Republican candidate, and affording to the Democracy the inestimable advantage of an issue through the discussion of which they can divert attention from their own blundering incapacity to carry on the government.

If General Grant is thus the weakest candidate that could be selected to lead the party in a desperate and doubtful struggle to regain power, can it be said that the political leaders have been forced to push his claims, against their own judgment, in obedience to a demand from the masses of the party? The contrary is notoriously the case. While the people everywhere, since his return from his long absence, have been eager to manifest their respect and gratitude for his military services, there has been a noteworthy absence of any political fervor from the demonstrations with which he has been greeted. In Pennsylvania not less than

two-thirds of the party are avowedly and enthusiastically in favor of Blaine, nor can a single Republican or doubtful State be named in which it can be assumed that a majority of Republicans desire his nomination.

The managers of the party, who have undertaken to procure his candidacy, however deficient in real statesmanship, are shrewd, experienced, and ambitious men, who are not likely to throw away the chances of political success without a motive. If, therefore, they are thus determined to force upon the party a man whose nomination seems to invite defeat, the secret springs of action impelling to this course become a problem of the highest importance to those whom they misrepresent in conventions, and whose votes they assume to control.

To understand this problem rightly, and to appreciate its far-reaching consequences, requires consideration of a silent revolution now in progress, which threatens, unless arrested, to practically overthrow our Republican institutions. This is the rapid development of irresponsible personal leadership, popularly known as the "boss" system. Men not distinguished for any public service, but strong in the arts of the demagogue, and skilled in the devices through which our intricate party machinery can be handled, obtain power by controlling nominations and elections, and dispensing the public patronage which has increased so dangerously since the war. Shepherd in Washington, Tweed and Kelly in New York, McManes in Philadelphia, are familiar instances of these local chiefs, while, on a larger field of action, Senators Cameron, Conkling, and perhaps Logan are the most conspicuous. The system is one which inevitably tends to its own extension and perpetuation. When one "boss" is dethroned he is succeeded by another; and unless the most efficient means of prevention are taken we shall ere long see in every State and every large city a "boss," who practically rules it, and uses the public revenues for the virtual enslavement of those who contribute to them.

General Grant's second term was an incipient form of "boss" government applied to the nation at large. The "boss" is not necessarily an individual, but may be a small clique or oligarchy, the individuals of which may be more or less known, passing under the name of the most conspicuous member. From 1872 to 1876 the "Senatorial Group" shared with the President in the

management of affairs and the abuse of patronage, misgoverning the country in their private interests. The revolt of the country against this misgovernment was manifested in the successive Democratic victories, and the revolt of the party was shown in the nomination of President Hayes, against the most vigorous efforts of the "bosses," who have consequently done all that they safely could to render his administration a failure.

In the choice of his successor, the opportunity is not to be lost of consolidating the "boss" system, and rendering it permanent; and the advantage of accomplishing this is so great that it more than outweighs the risk of defeat for the party, for each "boss" thinks himself secure within his own domain, and imagines that he risks less personally from general party disaster than he would gain by the success of the system. Thus we understand why General Grant should be the choice of such men as Senators Cameron and Conkling; and, having once resolved upon his nomination, we have seen at Harrisburg and Utica the means employed to stifle the voice of the party and compel it to obedience. The occasion is propitious, for at Chicago there will be two hundred and seventy-six delegates from Southern States, who do not represent a single possible Republican vote in the electoral college, who can be readily controlled by unscrupulous managers, and who, under the majority rule, only need two of the larger Northern States to over-ride the wishes of the whole Republican party. A candidate thus forced upon those who do not want him can scarcely be elected by fair means; but here, again, the "bosses" are not without hope that the familiar frauds by which election returns are made up and manipulated may be successfully brought into play. Should all these fail, we are at liberty to conjecture that there may be some significance in the argument so freely advanced that General Grant ought to be the candidate, because he can be relied upon to vindicate his claims to the Presidency in case of Democratic frauds in Congress and out of it, coupled with mysterious hints of half a million veterans secretly organized and ready to support him by force.

These are pregnant facts, worthy the most serious consideration of the party and of the people. Should General Grant be nominated and inaugurated for a third term by these means, there is no reason why he should not, by the same methods, be installed for a

fourth, or a fifth, or for as many as he may desire. There is little danger of the open and violent overthrow of republican institutions so firmly based as ours in the affectionate veneration of a manly and intelligent people. Even in the decayed republic of Rome, Cæsarism did not venture to alter the outward form of government, but only its administration—the consuls continued to be elected yearly, the Senate continued to meet and deliberate, but they had a master over them who, though only a citizen commanding the army and navy, and holding other offices familiar to the republic, was yet a despot who could transmit his power to a successor. In the same way our institutions may maintain a republican form, while in reality they may become imperial in disguise. The means which are now relied upon to procure the nomination and election of General Grant will, if successful, become more perfect and more irresistible during his term of office, and it will be in his power and that of his friends to dictate in the same way his renomination and re-election, not only once but indefinitely. When, through death or weariness, his place is vacant, a successor, lineal or otherwise, may be provided and may be placed in office by the same machinery; or, if a revolt occurs, it will be merely a struggle between rival chiefs.

The imminent danger to our institutions thus lies in the control which “bosses” have secured over party organization, rendering the process of nomination a farce, such as we recently witnessed at Harrisburg. At Chicago the effort will be made to extend this control over the whole nation. If successful, it will be applied to popular elections, already corrupt and ready to be converted, by dexterous and unscrupulous managers, into a mockery scarcely more significant than the existing meaningless party primaries. When this is once accomplished we shall find that a silent and peaceful revolution has converted our government from a republic to an empire, though all existing forms may be preserved, and though we may continue voting at due intervals for governors and legislators, for congressmen and Presidents, with all the gravity and with as fore-ordained a result as characterized a *plebiscite* of the Second Empire. Whether a monarch is called a President, an Emperor, or a Boss, is simply a question of terms and taste.

In all this General Grant has probably no conception of the

part assigned to him. A great soldier, accustomed to military methods and autocratic power, he but carried into office the ideas in which he had been trained, while unfortunately his discretion in selecting friends was not commensurate with his fidelity to and his blind confidence in them. He deserves all that a grateful people can bestow upon him except the position of chief "boss" in the present, and the disgrace in the future of being the unconscious instrument of subverting the institutions which he successfully defended against armed rebellion.

The struggle impending at Chicago is, therefore, not merely who shall be the standard-bearer of the Republican party. It is whether the "boss" system shall triumph first over the party, and then over the nation, resulting in the eventual substitution of imperialism for republicanism. The United States House of Representatives recognized the danger when in a solemn resolution, adopted with virtual unanimity, in December, 1875, it declared that any departure from the time-honored limitation of the presidency to two terms "would be unwise, unpatriotic, and fraught with peril to our free institutions." Before such a question as this, all others, even that of party success, shrink into insignificance.

The "bosses" who thus are forcing this question upon us should be made to understand clearly that by persistence in their plans they will not only throw the country into the hands of the Democracy, but that they will also risk their supremacy in their own party. Public opinion, when silent, has little weight with the politician; it must make itself demonstrative to be respected and feared. Moral considerations are scouted as unworthy of attention, and the only argument listened to is that of force. In view of the peril which threatens the nation, it therefore becomes imperative on all patriotic Republicans to declare unequivocally that, if driven to the alternative, they will even prefer a Third Candidate to a Third Term.

THE FALASHAS.

IN a far-off land, where the sun tans the skin and enervates the body, a vast population, dwelling apart, ply the tools of the artisan. Their looks and their address clearly tell that, to confound these people with the inhabitants of the country at large, would be an error.

Whence came the hardy mountaineers, so distinct in appearance and habits? The question was asked by many a traveller, but it still remains unanswered. Not so with that distant population. To express a doubt concerning what has been transmitted from ancient days, would be deemed a grievous offence. The veriest dullard will glibly rehearse his story, in the full assurance that it is beyond dispute. He will substantially relate this :

A queen, curious to know a youthful ruler whose fame had spread throughout the East, visited the capital of his kingdom. She was witty, brilliant, generous ; but her sagacity discerned those qualities more strongly developed in the king whose acquaintance she had cagerly sought. His wise answers and incisive reasonings, the splendor of his court, and the reciprocity of feelings evinced by munificent gifts, made the royal guest leave Jerusalem in wonderment.

This part of the narrative has Scriptural and Rabbinical authority for support. All are aware that the Queen of Arabia Felix was magnificently entertained by King Solomon, and that the two crowned personages profusely exchanged marks of esteem. But no one versed in either Biblical or Talmudical writings has learnt from them the weird tale tacked to the incident, which Hebrew annalists and expositors chronicled and commented upon. According to that strange account, an intimacy, which culminated in an alliance and the birth of a son, grew out of the visit paid by the Queen of Sheba. Her dominion lay south-east of Egypt. On her return, she destined the child whom Solomon could claim as his own, to be a champion of his father's belief. And in order that the lad might quaff at the fountain of Divine wisdom, she sent him to Palestine and had him taught in the spirit of Mosaic institutions, and in all the tenets of the five inspired books. Minylik—so the youth was called—had become very popular. Going back to sit on the throne which his mother had voluntarily vacated, a countless multitude of Israelites followed in the train, carrying with them the ark of the covenant. But piety had not kept pace with temporal success. Having arrived at the banks of a certain river on the Sabbath, Minylik, regardless of the sanctity of the day, dared cross it. Some of his retinue, however, refused thus to sin. From those staunch Palestinians sprung* the *Falashas*, who at no time since could be induced to relinquish Judaism. They alone are able to

approach the spot where the ark was enshrined. When a learned and holy man among their number repairs to Axum—the ancient capital of Abyssinia—the walls of the fane, in which the written word of the Lord still abides, open miraculously and receive the sage, that he may devoutly worship.

Now to show the absurdities of the story handed down, in the main, as just reported, would be to offend the intelligence of the reader. But he may feel pleased to gather some information relative to a body of Jews cut off from the influences of civilization. The writer simply discharges a grateful duty in naming an author from whom he has drawn largely in the preparation of this essay,—Philoxene Luzzatto, the intellectual hero who had mastered the language of the Falashas, in the hope of hastening to their moral and religious redemption; who journeyed far from home to ransack foreign libraries, and read all which could be read regarding that people; who corresponded with savants in the interest of his forgotten fellow-believers; and finally, with a distinguished member thereof, bequeathed an instrument of utility which would alone suffice to carve for him a niche in the temple of fame. Writhing in the agonies of a fatal disease, when not twenty-five years of age, he turned a loving thought to the Falashas, and completed, in the French language, the relation of his profound and exhaustive researches a few days before his eyes closed in death. That very learned scholar held that the Jews of Abyssinia are descendants of a mixed race. Not in the palmy days of Solomon, did a colony of Israelites prefer African regions to “Sion-hill and Siloa’s brook that flowed fast by the oracle of God,” but five centuries after the fate of battles brought about the change.

The fierce struggle among the generals of Alexander the Great to share the richest spoil left by the Macedonian conqueror, exposed Judea to hardships. Ptolemy son of Lagus,—misnamed *Soter*, the Saviour,—in his greed for power had violently seized Syria, with whose political fate Palestine was concerned. The Hebrews who, since their return from the Babylonian captivity, paid an annual impost to some foreign potentates, recognized, at that time, Laomedon as the legitimate Ruler to whom the tribute was due. Faithful to their promise, they refused to yield to the demands of the usurper, and prepared to contest his pretensions. Ptolemy, cut to the quick, resolved to make the people of Palestine pay very dearly

for what he considered the height of insolence. On a sabbath day, his soldiers stormed and pillaged Jerusalem. Its inhabitants were unsuspectingly enjoying the prescribed rest. The attack stunned them, so sudden it was and so brutal; thousands fell victims to the barbarous sword, which spared neither age nor sex. But the victor was too keenly alive to his advantage not to understand that men who would have braved his redoubtable army, rather than become guilty of perjury, were worth being lured over to his side. He put the sword back into the scabbard and offered conciliatory terms. The shrewd Prince wished to win the good-will of the youngest and strongest among the Hebrews. Egypt was the objective point of his plans. And Egypt—unaccountable as it may seem,—had always possessed some attraction for the descendants of the tribes once slaves in the country of the Pharaohs.

Alexander had already drawn many Judeans to the famous city he had built to perpetuate his name, and Ptolemy Soter made willing captives of over one hundred thousand of that people, who thronged the towns watered by the Nile. They were joined soon after by a still larger number which, in the language of the Talmud,—not unfrequently hyperbolic,—amounted to several millions.

In the opinion of the elder Luzzatto (late Professor in the Rabbinical college at Padua), to which his son seems to assent, the Hebrew contemporaries of Ptolemy, having settled in the land of the Pyramids, and specially along the borders of Nubia, where they had been assigned the custody of the city of Cyrene or Cyrenaica, obeyed a natural prompting for gaining light on matters lying yet in obscurity. Some passed over Senaar, and explored the interior of Africa. The wild tribes dwelling there welcomed the strangers, who excelled as mechanics and men of letters. Either by compulsion or by choice, the Jewish strangers remained in the midst of the native negroes, and, in the course of time, unavoidably intermarried. The effect which this circumstance produced was the acceptance of Judaism by a mongrel race, which, at a period impossible to ascertain, founded a Kingdom, called Abyssinia, in Arabic *Habashun*. The derivation of the term may be traced to the Hebrew *Habosh*, meaning "to rule" or *Cabosh* "to conquer," signifying that the territory acquired belonged to the tribes who established there a distinct dominion,—a Jewish Dominion.

Historians agree that, till the fourth century of the common era,

the Abyssinians professed the Mosaic religion—and they may have, limitedly, cultivated the sacred tongue. Even after having embraced Christianity, customs to which Israelites cling everywhere had a powerful hold on them. Some Scriptural practices are, indeed, retained to this day. But from the moment that the majority bowed to the Cross, a chasm deep and impassable opened between them and their countrymen and former fellow-believers—the Falashas. These chose an appellation significant of the sense of wrong felt—"The Exiles," who for principles' sake left their homes and went in quest of another spot, where they might worship according to the dictates of their conscience.

But what course did those uncompromising monotheists follow? How did they succeed in forming a separate government? By what means did they long maintain their independence on the steep mountains of Simen, where many still dwell? How did they finally lose that great boon? These queries have been variously solved, but with so much that savors of the legendary, that an unbiased reader cannot trust the speculative or credulous writer. Nevertheless, the task now assumed would be too incomplete without alluding to the probable mutations which the stout-hearted Falashas underwent during the ages that have rolled away. To such vicissitudes alone reference will here be made.

After the schism, a spirit of mutual hatred manifested itself in open hostilities. At one time the mountaineers grew powerful, and brought the Abyssinians under a heavy yoke. Led again and again to victory by their own gallant rulers, they displayed martial valor and deep devotion to Mosaism. The exploits of their heroic queen, the beautiful Judith, who wielded her sceptre with manly vigor, and swore thereupon to unfurl the ensign of the Unity on every hill, might supply a fertile mind with a fit subject for a romance. Evidently, the Falashas did not always prevail, and when the adherents of the new faith came off triumphant, the vanquished were made to swallow, to the very dregs, the bitter cup of persecution.

In the beginning of the fourteenth century, galled by the vexations of the Abyssinian Emperor, they struck for freedom. The hour seemed opportune. Hordes of Mohammedans knocked at the gates of Axum. The swarthy Christians were compelled to rise and buckle on their armor in self-defence. Then the Fala-

shas fancied that a prodigious effort might purchase again the independence they dearly loved. Like an avalanche, they rushed down from their mountains to overwhelm the foe, harassed already by a foreign invader; but the blood which the undaunted warriors profusely shed, served only to redden the battle-field. A woful defeat hurried the fugitives back to their impregnable rocks.

A century later, the same venture met with results equally disastrous. To add to the chagrin of the conquered, a Christian church was built on the very spot in which they had been completely routed. Then the demoniac device, which gave Spain an infamous immortality, was concocted in Abyssinia. A Catholic priest, whose name should be handed down to execration—Amda Sion—stirred up the government to publish an edict worthy of a Torquemada. In accordance with it, all were demanded, under penalty of confiscation and torture, to wear an amulet on the right hand. It bore the following inscription, "I renounce the Devil through Jesus Christ our Lord." The hapless Falashas, horror-struck at a coercive ordinance, which gave them desertion of principles or extermination as an alternative, thought the great day of judgment had drawn nigh. Not unlike some of the ascetic Essenes in the soul-harrowing days of the Roman dominion in Judea, a number withdrew from the busy world, and selecting some secluded spot, and choosing a state of celibacy, consecrated their lives to prayer and penance.

But the spirit of the multitude, though oppressed, was not entirely crushed. In 1537, the daring mountaineers of Simen, marshalled by a fearless chieftain, faced the enemy in a pitched battle, and exacted honorable terms. The Abyssinians, who, notwithstanding the assistance lent by the Portuguese Christopher de Gama, son of the celebrated Vasco de Gama, had suffered severely from the incursions of Mohammedan tribes, gladly made peace with their neighbors. To mildly restrain them became a measure of self-preservation. But what policy and an outward pressure had suggested, could not be of long duration. "A new king arose, who knew not," or rather heeded not, the pledge his predecessors had offered. Of a fierce temperament, he indulged in cruelties which outraged nature. His provocations maddened the Falashas into a rash act. Imprudent it was to leave inaccessible rocks and descend to the plain to fight that second Attila. Outwitted by

superior military skill, the Jews found themselves surrounded on all sides. They beheld, with unspeakable dismay, every chance of retreat cut off. Those whom the bereaving sword did not destroy, submitted to shocking indignities.

But the cup of misfortune which those distant Monotheists drank, was filled to overflowing in the seventeenth century. The reign of terror, the annals of which recall the sighs and groans of the butchered, began with Socinios, the usurper of the Abyssinian throne. This monarch, in whose veins coursed some Falashan blood, illustrated the fact—so debasing to human nature, but which the world has often experienced,—that those from whose kinship people had a right to expect a considerate if not an affectionate treatment, proved most unrelenting in their hatred. Socinios determined either to terrify the Falashas into the acceptance of the Trinity, or to root them out; and he very nearly succeeded. Consummate generals were set at the head of troops well trained to the fight. The peremptory command was not to reappear in the presence of the ferocious master, until the tidings could be brought that his inexorable will had been fulfilled. The struggle for civil and religious liberty grew ardent. It arose to sublimity, but a Mattathias was not there to hew down iniquity. The unequal contest had not been destined by the Arbiter of wars,—the Lord of hosts—to end in a Maccabean triumph.

A man who verily did not shame the Biblical hero whose name he bore, grappled with the ruthless antagonist, but he fell slain among his brave countrymen, who fought to upraise a lofty ideal. Gideon, the last general and ruler of the Falashas, deserved to have lived for the defence of Right against Might; yet he was mercifully spared the disgrace awaiting his survivors. For Socinios massacred the combatants, sold their children into slavery, and gave the Jews of the conquered provinces a choice: baptism or the grave. To avoid the slaughter of all they held dear, many feigned conversion. Like the Marranos of Spain and Portugal, they hoped and silently watched for the opportunity when they might tear off the detested mask. The occasion presented itself earlier than anticipated. For the Nemesis of a retributive justice quickened her steps. The tyrant who never bowed to man's dictates, fired up at the arrogant demands of the Jesuits, rendered too bold by victory. *He bade* the papal hirelings cross the boundaries of his realm, re-

lented in his wonted fanaticism, and favored toleration. But if, as some historians narrate, the Falashas recovered even their independence, it must have been a mere shadow of the past, which soon vanished, never to return. For at the beginning of the present century, a trust-worthy traveller observed that they recognized the crowned head at Abyssinia as their absolute sovereign. And many readers will remember the touching episode during the reign of Theodorus. Like Socinios of the seventeenth century, the late monarch, stirred up by propagandists, attempted a forced conversion. He summoned the Falashan chiefs to his presence, and demanded that the population dwelling in the rocky mountains of Simen should forswear their faith.

The spokesmen represented the feelings of their countrymen, when, baring their breasts, they cried, "Strike, O our King! but ask us not to perjure ourselves!" Admirable constancy! None tried in the crucial heat of persecution more than the Falashas, and none are more steadfast, more intensely sincere. In the presence of Monsieur D'Abbadie, charged by Philoxene Luzzatto to put a number of questions in his name to some of the intelligent among those unshaken upholders of the belief in a Unity, a certain Abba Isahac, evincing a joyful surprise, exclaimed "God of Abraham, I give thee thanks!" The outburst of pleasure was elicited by the assurance that Jews lived in other lands, and that one of them was solicitous concerning the welfare of the poor Falashas.

Abba Isahac, relieved of the reticence natural to a people made suspicious by religious proscription, imparted valuable information. Could all which the enthusiastic youth of Padua wrote on the subject, and which appeared as a posthumous work, be condensed in a single article, it might prove of value to the student of history. But as to do that, without occupying too much space, would be impossible, only a few points of general interest are here set forth.

The Falashas hold to the creed of the old dispensation, and they would spill their life-blood for its maintenance. But a belief in angels partly obscures that creed—(a belief in itself not at all discordant with reason, which can readily admit, with the Bible, an intermediate stage between creatures in whom the physical and spiritual blend, and the Eternal uncreated Spirit)—that is, the belief plays entirely too prominent a part in the theology of a population who pride themselves on the name of Montheists. In like manner,

their theories on reward and punishment hereafter, and on the restoration of the outcasts of Judea to Palestine, are not free from notions which well-taught Israelites would be loth to accept. Noteworthy is the circumstance that their expected Messiah is called in advance "Theodorus." This name, which answers exactly to *Nathanel*, ("God's gift") in Hebrew, has suggested a proof that the Falashas are descendants of Hellenistic Jews, who at or after the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus commenced to set aside the sacred language, and adopt the Greek even in synagogue worship. But what indicates it more obviously is the practice of offering animal sacrifices.

To explain this idea a digression is unavoidable. All know that provisions were made in the book of the Law for a central spot in which oblations should be laid on a national altar. Whether the intention of the legislator was, as the great Maimonides asserts, to narrow within a small compass an observance in universal use among heathens, or whether he aimed to prevent any division among the tribes, by the erection of separate temples in separate localities, is a mooted question. But every one conversant with Holy Writ must have noticed the remonstrances of ancient prophets and chroniclers against the violation of the Mosaic injunction, against the erection of *Bamoth* or "high places," as special shrines of sacrificial worship.

After the overthrow of the Jerusalem Sanctuary by the army of the Chaldeans, history remains silent as to the outward aids by which Jewish communities manifested their adoration of the Deity. Seeing, however, that Daniel simply prayed with his face directed towards the spot where the Divinity had made His Spirit hover above the Cherubim; considering, also, that subsequently to the period in which that illustrious exile lived, Esther ordered fasts and not burnt-offerings, to avert an impending calamity, one is led to argue that fidelity was then kept; that during the Babylonian captivity the people acknowledged it a sin to raise an altar beyond the precincts assigned by the lawgiver. When the national worship was firmly re-established by the vigorous efforts of Ezra and Nehemiah, obedience became the badge of all the Judeans. Not till lewd Grecianism stealthily invaded the hearts of the unwary did that token of nobility lose its value. Corruption among the lofty flowed down fast and demoralized the humbler classes. The sacer-

dotal robe specially reeked with pollution. Onias ought to have succeeded his pious, but ill-fated father, to the priesthood. Deprived of his rights, by the unnatural quarrels of his two wicked uncles, he sought means to gratify ambition. He hastened to Egypt and persuaded Ptolemy Philometor—the fifth in the lineal descent of the Lagides dynasty,—to grant him a tract of land whereon he might rear a temple for the multitude of Hebrew subjects residing in Heliopolis. The facile king acceded, and Onias built a structure on the pattern of that in the capital of Judea. By a perversion of a prophetic sentence, the crafty priest induced a vast number of followers to believe that Isaiah had predicted what Onias had performed. The Talmud admits the event and makes frequent allusions to the Egyptian Sanctuary, which it stigmatizes as a violation of the Mosaic prescription; but critics have discovered an anachronism in the Rabbinical account, according to which the incident is set a whole century in advance. Candor induces the confession that in matters touching historical occurrences of post-Biblical times, when the Doctors of the Talmud are at variance with Josephus, the testimony of the latter may, in most instances, be relied on with greater confidence.

Be it as it may, the fact just stated supports the idea that the Falashas are an emanation of the Hellenistic element. Only at Heliopolis could they have learnt to construct an altar outside of the Holy Land. Their faithfulness has been too severely tested to admit of the idea that the Abyssinian Jews ought to be placed in the category of the schismatic Samaritans, who deliberately raised an opposition Temple at Shechem. In all likelihood, the progeny of the Palestinians who emigrated to Egypt under Ptolemy Soter and settled in the regions explored, were seized with a wish to transplant into their new dominion a service similar to that at Heliopolis, which distance would hinder their people from attending. Hence they still adhere to the practice, proportionately to the scanty means within reach. Reduced very nigh to penury by endless reverses, the number of offerings and the days of their presentation had inevitably to be limited. But by the testimony of Monsieur D'Abbadie, the Sabbath finds the ministering priest and the worshippers at the devoted spot. With countenances demure, at the side of which the most rigid Puritan would seem to bear a radiant smile, they immolate and pray. To speak above a whisper is pro-

hibited ; to visit a friend, or to warm one's shivering limbs would be reckoned a heinous offense. More than the Caraites, proverbially unreasonable in their Sabbath-keeping, the Falashas are honestly stern in its observance. The savant afore-named, writes to Philoxene Luzzatto: "An old man, to avert hunger, came to dispose of a copy of the Pentateuch in the Ethiopian language. I mentioned to him that Jews everywhere hold the Five Books of Moses in great respect. 'Do they respect the Sabbath?' inquired he with an anxious look. 'Of course,' said I, 'they regard it to a degree that they do not prepare their food upon that day.' 'Then,' interrupted the old Falasha, 'then all is not lost;' and he poured forth a thanksgiving, bending low before the Pentateuch."

Like the Sabbath, the holidays enjoined by the ancient code receive an honorable observance among those distant Hebrews. They sacrifice the paschal lamb, and hold the feast of unleavened bread seven days ; but they follow a peculiar system with regard to the time of celebrating Pentecost. While the Rabbinists begin to count fifty days from the second day of the Passover, and the Caraites and Samaritans from the Sunday during which that festival is kept, the Falashas wait till its expiration before they commence to reckon the seven full weeks. Tabernacles they do not solemnize altogether agreeably to the Mosaic direction, for the lack of some of the products of the earth, as the citron, ordained to be used on the occasion. But the festival of blowing the cornet, which the Rabbinists term "New Year," and the Day of Atonement, are held as traditionally required, and with intense fervor.

The Falashas do not commemorate the victories of the Asmoeneans, a circumstance which may arise from the possibility of their ancestors having quitted Judea prior to the stirring incidents that gave origin to the "Feast of Dedication." But strange and unaccountable it is that they should remember the fast and not the feast of Esther. In truth, those Monotheists differ from all their fellow-believers elsewhere, by setting apart, as sacred, days and seasons of which others have no knowledge, as well as by a too frequent and rigorous penance. Allusion has been made in the course of this article to a caste of ascetics that troublous times created among the mountaineers of Simen. Doubtless from that sect first emanated ceremonies and usages foreign to Mosaism, and jarring with the humanizing tendencies of the law of Sinai. One cannot, for ex-

ample, read but with painful feelings, that the Falashas believe the touch of a Christian pollution; that to eat out of his hands necessitates a purgative, as if poison had been administered; that to admit him into a house is to render the premises an accursed object. But another potent cause may be alleged for the many errors, both religious and social, into which those poor benighted creatures have fallen. It is their extreme ignorance of the language and spirit of books in which prophets and sages left a matchless bequest, a mind-elevating and soul-refreshing literature. If Philo, the highest and most sagacious literator among Hellenistic Jews, completely metamorphosed the word of the Lord, misconstrued and misrepresented its aim and scope, by reason of his unacquaintance with the original and its real interpretation, what can be expected of men simply devoted to handicraft, and naturally contracted in their views through proscription and hardships?

The standard authority of the Falashas is a Bible in Geetz or Ethiopian. It teems with the faults embodied in the Septuagint, of which it seems to be a translation, and it adds others of its own invention. To that imperfect reflection of the holy volumes, all have recourse as to an oracle; and, whatever may have been asserted to the contrary, their Tabernacle has that writing alone enshrined therein. The Scroll of the Law will in vain be sought after. Monsieur D'Abbadie gives his correspondent the assurance that he had in his possession a Hebrew copy of the Scriptures, which he showed to a Falasha, but who appeared to have never seen any traced in such characters.

But another pertinent observation may be advanced. In the intercourse which the French savant had with the principal men of that Jewish population he did not hear a single utterance evidencing familiarity with a sentence in the tongue sacred to Israelites, not even that expressive of the Unity of God, which the disciples of Moses recite when they lie down and when they rise up. All the ejaculations which burst from the lips of Falashas were in the tongue sacred to Abyssinians—the Ethiopian. It must be confessed that those African Jews are entire strangers to the language and learning which have effectually preserved the mental strength of the ancient race, and knitted scattered millions tenaciously together.

But if, despite what a trusty traveller reported in 1848, and a

conscientious critic laid down in 1854, misgivings should still be entertained, a glance at a book published in 1879 will dissipate doubts. It comprises prayers which a Falasha penned, and a Turkish Jew clothed in Hebrew and issued from the Paris press.

Joseph Halevy of Adrianople—a person of great linguistic attainments,—received in 1867 a commission from the *Alliance Israélite Universelle*, whose seat is in the metropolis of France. The golden dream of Philoxene Luzzatto was to be realized through that man's instrumentality. He should visit a people who have steeled their hearts, to treasure therein the belief most precious to them. He should convey the greetings of an association that practically sympathizes with suffering Israelites, and devise the speediest course for raising and strengthening a branch of the Judaic tree, that it may not finally trail the ground and be trampled on. Joseph Halevy repaired to the Abyssinian regions, remained there a year, and on his return to France brought a native youth, to be instructed in the arts of modern culture. On that occasion he presented a large-sized volume in which the result of his researches and investigations are clearly set forth. Unfortunately, that production, which might have cast a flood of light on the subject, cannot be consulted. In a preface to the collection of the Falashan prayers, the Hebrew translator thus laments: "To my grief, most of my book was lost by the copyist during the vicissitudes and the wars which France has recently undergone. Nothing of it remains, except a very small portion of the beginning, now rendered into English. And since I would find it difficult to re-write that book by trying to recall many things I have not long thought of, and which I have also forgotten through the lapse of time and a variety of occupations, I said: Let me save this residue still escaped from destruction. I will publish a few of the prayers of the Falashas, written for me by the Falashan scribe, Zerubabel, son of Jacob, of the city of Cabta, in the province of Valkait. I will translate them into Hebrew, so that it may be widely known that the Falashas hold one belief with us; that no difference exists among us save in habits and customs of a later origin."

But those prayers composed, it is claimed, ages ago by a certain Abba-Sakvin—doubtless belonging to the caste of ascetics—are all Ethiopian in language, and clearly, in some instances, Ethiopian in spirit. Not alone because of the incessant mention of angels and

their mode of worshipping, nor because of direct invocations addressed to Michael and Gabriel and Raphael and other hierarchical intelligences as mediators before the throne of Grace, but also by reason of extravagant utterances like the following: "When the allotted time of this world is about to expire, an earthquake will take place, to be followed by hunger, thirst and pestilence. The wise and the understanding will die, and then there will not be any more fasting, neither new moons nor solemn days. Sabbath and festivals will have been abolished. But after that Elijah will arrive and make every thing right. For fifty-three consecutive years he will announce the forthcoming event: Heaven and earth must pass away, the sun, the moon and the stars will drop from the sky, and the Lord descend with his angels. He will say to Michael, 'Rise, blow the trumpet on Mount Sinai and on Mount Zion, where the holy city lies.' (All angels extolling meanwhile their Chief and Prince Michael, whose eyes are like the eyes of a dove, and whose raiment is a flash of lightning, as he leads on.) Then, in the twinkling of an eye, the dead will resuscitate at the voice of Michael, and will bow to the Holy One from afar. So likewise the angels that are near will then prostrate themselves in awe before the Lord. The everlasting God will roll heaven and earth as a garment is rolled, and all creatures shall suddenly gather and bitterly weep. The righteous will be set apart from the wicked, and the pure from the polluted. Two bullocks will be brought, one from the East and one from the West, the first will be called 'Mercy,' the second 'Compassion.' They will be slaughtered and cut to pieces as a propitiatory offering. Then David will play on his harp and Ezra sing Psalms and slay the wicked, that they may not behold the Majesty of the Lord. But the righteous will sit to enjoy the heavenly repast, and the pleasures of a life eternal."

Who cannot detect in that highly-wrought, but mystic description ideas ill-according with the simplicity of Mosaism, to which the Falashas claim to be wedded? Who can deny that adverse circumstances have left ugly impressions upon the minds of those distant monotheists? But admit that their belief is not free from errors, admit that superstition and illiteracy exercise a baleful influence among the two hundred thousand mountaineers of Simen, who will not pity, rather than rail at, faults and foibles which soul-tearing events have bred and fostered? Nay; a people cut off for long

centuries from the association of their co-religionists, surrounded exclusively by tribes avowedly inimical to their faith; a people harassed by propagandists who do not scruple to resort to the vilest schemes in order to effect their irrepressible purposes; a people reduced to a state of debasement and destitution as a penalty for their devotion to principles, but who nevertheless cling with an iron will to honest convictions, must challenge the respect of the liberal of all creeds and denominations. Heroes they are, whom the world ought to honor, while it principally behooves the men who share the same religious sentiments to labor without ceasing, so that those who lack knowledge may receive it plentifully; that all may be brought within the benign influences which dispel error and prejudice, which soften and refine the feelings, and which ennoble and elevate the human character.

S. MORAIS.

NEW BOOKS.

ENGLAND: HER PEOPLE, POLITY AND PURSUITS. By T. H. S. Escott, Author's Edition: pp. 625, 800. New York, Henry Holt & Co.

This publishing house seems to have selected for publication a series of works which the Germans would call *statistical* in their character. But that adjective is in our literature so much associated with dry tables, that it would only mislead if applied to any book in this series, not one of which is either dry or loaded with figures. A statistical work is one which stands midway between a book of travels and a geography. It has the literary liveliness of the one, but something of the scientific comprehensiveness of the other. It undertakes to give an adequate description of the country as it is, as seen through the eyes of a studious observer, without boring us with the details of those small adventures which make most works of travel nearly unreadable, except to kill time. Mr. Wallace's *Russia* in this series is one of the best specimens of such a book; Mr. Escott's *England* is not far behind it.

Mr. Escott, in his attempt to give an adequate account of "the greatest of actual nations," as Emerson calls her, has called to his aid the assistance of others. Four of his twenty-six chapters have been furnished by expert pens, viz. "Commercial and Financial England," "Criminal England," "The Law Courts," and "Modern Philosophical Thought." But the whole work has a unity of aim and character, stamped upon it by the principal author.

It opens with the simplest form of English life, "The English

Village," where elements which date back to the days when the village was the *thorp* of a sovereign mark, still survive. From this he passes to the great estates, which have grown out of the absorption of the marks by an aristocracy which once was feudal. He then discusses the government of these shires which grew out of the absorption of the marks into larger sovereign unities, and of the municipalities into which some of the marks developed under the protection of the Roman law. We do not mean that Mr. Escott refers these forms of English life to the mark. He has but little to say of history, that not being a proper subject for a statistical work. But to the student of history these organizations of English society are thus connected in relation to one now quite extinct.

From town life he passes to commercial life, to the working classes which it has created, the pauperism which stains it, the co-operative and other forms of thrift by which the danger of pauperism is for some averted. And this brings him to criminal England and its dangerous classes whose existence is closely associated with poverty and past oppression. In these chapters he has been passing from the local forms and characters of English life to its natural forms and characters. He proceeds, beginning with Traveling and Hotels, to take up the general features of English society, its structure, its politics, its form of government, its creeds and its culture, its professions and its amusements.

To review such a book is nearly as impossible as to review an encyclopedia. The easiest way of finding plenty to say about it, would be to point out its many omissions—as when no mention is made of Frederick Maurice, as a power in the theologic and philosophical thought of England—or to call in question its doubtful statements, as when it is said of Mr. Mortimer Collins that "we have had few more melodious singers," or that Mr. L. Oliphant's *Piccadilly* "has had an immense influence upon the writing of the day." Indeed, Mr. Escott seems in such places to be taking the advantage of his book to put on record some very private opinions of his own.

As to the general execution of the work, we can speak with decided praise. Mr. Escott is a painstaking, readable, terse writer, but not brilliant or profound, and not equally at home in all parts of his subject. He lacks a due sense of literary proportion. He dwells on some themes with a fulness which it would be impossible for him to have extended to all. But we have not looked into his discussion of any topic, without learning something new, and getting its bearings more clearly.

THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS and the Apologists of the second century. By Rev. George A. Jackson. [Early Christian Literature

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PENN MONTHLY.

MAY, 1880.

THE MONTH.

WE have been almost alone in our predictions, extending over several months past, of a great Liberal victory in England. Our confidence in the English people's sounder instincts has been more than justified by the results, as the Tories have been overthrown so utterly, that they are weaker in the new House of Commons, than were their rivals in that which has been dissolved.

THE geographical character of the victory is peculiar. The Liberal strength is, of course, greatest in Scotland, and just in proportion to the proximity of an English constituency to the border, or at least to its distance from London, is the prevalence of Liberal sentiment. One might say that it was a battle between London, with its worm-eaten opinion, its club-ridden society, its *blasé* culture, on the one side, and the moral rigor and fervent earnestness of the Presbyterian North on the other. Ethnologically, it was a battle between the mud-blooded Saxons of the South, and the energetic Norse race, north of the Humber. And the more vigorous and earnest half of the kingdom prevailed, as it always does when there is a man who can move it by his own earnestness and sincerity. In 1874 it was somnolent, because he had nothing to say worthy of the saying. He delivered himself into the hands of the Philistines when he went before the country with no better issue than the Income Tax.

London is the discrowned queen of the political present. Her immense Tory majorities confess that between herself and England

there is a great gulf, and that she can no longer make any claim to represent national opinion. As in the time of our Civil War, she has followed the lesser motive while the country at large responded to the greater. Partly, this has been due to the influence of the Court, but the English papers say that is in part due to the large Jewish vote. Ever since Jewish emancipation was carried by a Liberal Government, the Jews have been faithful to the Liberal cause. In no previous instance have they given Disraeli their support, so that their change cannot be attributed to any sympathy with him, as a man of their own race. They have been won over by his foreign policy—a policy hostile to the races who have persisted the longest in persecuting their kinsmen, and laudably directed to the prevention of such persecution by securing the rights of citizenship to the Jews of the Balkan peninsula. The feeling which prompted this change of attitude is very natural and not unworthy of praise; and yet it is not one which should govern an English subject in the discharge of his duty. The English voter's first duty is toward England, and not toward any kin beyond sea. To yield to any other consideration is to confess unfitness for citizenship, and to sanction the charge brought by some that the Jew cannot be a patriotic citizen of any country, since his attachment to his race is the first consideration with him. The Bible commands a devotion to the land in which the Israelite's lot is cast. Jeremiah bade his countrymen "seek the peace of the city whither God had caused them to be carried captives, and to pray to the Lord for it; for in its peace they should have peace", even while he was cherishing in them a hope of restoration to their own land. The modern Jew, who has renounced the very desire of such a restoration, and thinks of himself as a Frenchman or an Englishman and exercises the rights of such, is far more bound to consider his duty to his adopted country completely apart from all reference to considerations of race or creed.

THE Publicans may set their house in order, for their day of reckoning has come. It was to them that the Liberals owed their defeat in 1874. They were the "harassed interest" which rallied the ignorant voters to the support of the Tories. Their support has been a continual boast on the part of the Tory papers. Their hand was felt in the Liverpool and Southwark elections, and per-

haps in many others during the past few days, of which the details have not reached us. They have nothing to hope from the Liberals in the coming Parliament, although it is hard to foresee what shape the new Law will take for the regulation of the liquor traffic, and for the suppression of the political influence of the publican class.

Opposition to the liquor interest as such has been growing both inside and outside of Parliament. The Social Science people, the clergy, and some of the Liberal municipalities, like Birmingham, have been wakening to the mischiefs done in England by the existing license system, and are proposing its amendment. The clergy have been especially busy in collecting facts, which go to show that the larger the proportion of public houses to the population of a parish or town, the greater the amount of drunkenness and consequent crime. Birmingham proposes to try the Swedish system of having the licenses sold at auction, and bought up either by the municipality or by a joint stock company to manage the houses thus opened, in the interests of temperance. Sir Wilfred Lawson, the witty champion of restrictive legislation, seems to favor Local Option, and a year ago he got for that plan 164 votes to 252 in a House largely elected by the Publicans. Mr. Gladstone and Lord Hartington both opposed his proposal when brought forward in the House a few weeks ago, but both used language which gives promise of reformatory legislation on their own accession to power. May we not hope that we are entering upon an era of wise regulative legislation in regard to this evil of drunkenness, and that the reforms ahead of us on both continents will be such as will accomplish whatever is possible, without attempting the impossible?

THE moderate and the more extreme of the Irish Home Rulers seem to have parted company on the Land question. Mr. Parnell and his followers regard Land Tenure Reform as the great issue of Irish politics, while those who follow Mr. Shaw are disposed to insist on the original issue presented by the party as the first to be taken up. Mr. Parnell differs from Mr. Shaw in that he "means business," and really hopes to carry a scheme for the improvement of the condition of the Irish tenant; while his rival contemplates merely the continuance of an agitation, which has led to nothing

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as yet, and will lead to nothing as long as this Parliament is in session. Were it otherwise, we should regard Home Rule as the more practical issue of the two, as it would really open the great questions, upon whose solution the welfare of Ireland depends.

Mr. Ed. D. J. Wilson, in the current number of *The Nineteenth Century*, replies to an argument for Home Rule, which had appeared in the previous number. He undertakes to predict the foolish things which an Irish Parliament would do, and says, *inter alia*: "Manufactures would be 'fostered' by bounties and protective duties, for nine out of ten Irishmen are Protectionists at heart. Agriculture would, in its turn, demand protection against foreign grain and foreign meat. It is likely that there would even be an attempt to erect a navigation law for the development of shipping and ship-building in Irish ports. . . . England could not look on with indifference on crushing imposts, and Protectionist measures enforced by an Irish Parliament." Mr. Justin McCarthy, who is one of the mildest of Home Rulers, rejoins in the same number. He declines even to discuss the most of Mr. Wilson's suggestions as to what an Irish Parliament would do. He believes that such a Parliament would not be lacking in common sense and a love of justice. Yet, as regards this particular prediction, he does not deny the fact that the Irish want protection, but retorts with a *Tu quoque*: "One of Mr. Wilson's strongest reasons for opposing the idea of an Irish Parliament is, that such a Parliament would admit inquiries into the propriety of re-establishing Protection. I have to remark that the Imperial Parliament actually has admitted a demand for such an inquiry. If Mr. Ritchie's Committee on Sugar Industries is not such an inquiry, I have no idea of what the protective principle really is. Mr. Wilson and I are quite in accord as to the question of Protection at least; but I am afraid we must admit that Parliamentary assemblies are to be allowed to exist even though they contain considerable minorities, or considerable majorities, who are not yet in agreement with us on that and other important subjects."

In this view of the condition of Irish opinion, the Home Rule movement has promises of benefit to Ireland far greater than the mere reform of the Land Tenure. It musters at least sixty of the one hundred and five Irish members now, and when the Irish borough suffrage is assimilated to that of England, the sixty will

be close upon a hundred. Nothing is so surprising in the recent returns as the smallness of the Irish borough electorate; while in England and Scotland they are numbered by thousands in each borough, in Ireland, except in a few large towns like Dublin and Cork, the electors are commonly less than five hundred, and sometimes less than two hundred.

TURKEY is displaying a characteristic contempt for the wishes of her friends and patrons in England, which cannot tend to cement the alliance of the Pashas with the Tories. That the hero of the Bulgarian massacre should be raised to a position of honor and responsibility near the Sultan's person, in spite of the English demand for his punishment, is regarded as merely the reward of his merit. Every attempt to protect the Armenians from outrage, and to secure the Greeks the advantages promised them in the Treaty of Berlin, is passively but effectively resisted. And now, last of all, the Grand Sherif of Mecca having been assassinated, the Sultan has restored that office to Abd-ul-Motallib, who was removed from it at the demand of England in 1858 for his share in the Jiddah massacre. The Grand Sherif is the most important official outside of the capital. He is the recognized head of the House of Hashem, to which the Prophet belonged, and as such the Keeper of the Kaaba. He is the chief of the great company who wear green turbans to indicate their descent from the prophet. While not vested, like the heads of the three orthodox sects in Mecca, with any authority as a Doctor of the Law, he possesses an immense prestige with the faithful, and can exert an influence which the Sultan cannot always restrain. Abd-ul-Motallib's disposition to use this power may be gleaned from his record, and from the report that he is in secret affiliation with the Wahabi sect of Moslem zealots in Central Arabia. That he should be a Wahabi is indeed impossible. The Wahabis carry Moslem principles so far that the Kaaba, the holy well, and even the Prophet's tomb at Medina, are an abomination to them, as the notion of their special sanctity is inconsistent with their conception of the absolute and inapproachable sovereignty of God. But the new Sherif would not be accused of such affiliation were he not a man of extraordinary religious zeal.

Such an appointment possesses an immense significance. It

will be reported by the Howadjis on their return from Mecca to every corner of Moslem territory, as indicating a purpose on the part of the Head of Islam to repudiate all connection with Western policies and compromises, and to throw himself upon the unadulterated zeal of the fanatical party for the support of his power. It will be said in every mosque: "Behold the man whom our Sultan and Caliph delighteth to honor!"

Nor is the Sultan so far wrong in following this line of policy. Either Islam must cease to exist, or it must follow its own line of life, and give up the attempt to compromise with European ideas of humanity, toleration and equality. Such ideas may be the apex of our Christian civilization, but they are the fatal corruption of that which the Prophet sanctioned.

Just before the English elections, Sir Alexander Galt set out for London, as the recognized representative of the Dominion of Canada in English Governmental circles. At a parting banquet in Montreal he told the public that he had a specific errand as well as a general one. He went to aid in the organization of an Imperial Zollverein, by which all commerce should be free within the bounds of the British Empire, while a common tariff should limit the transactions of each part of that Empire with the rest of the world. We do not believe that a proposal so audacious would have been announced by an official representative of Canada, without some encouragement from Downing street. As we said some time ago, all signs go to show that Beaconsfield has been cherishing such a plan, as furnishing the true solution of England's financial difficulties, and as helping to consolidate the Empire itself into a magnificent political unity. But, unfortunately for Sir Alexander Galt and for Canada, it shares in the defeat of its imaginative author. No one who knows the character and position of the English Liberals, will suppose that they will entertain such a scheme. All their interests, all their convictions, and all their instincts, are hostile to it. Sir Alexander Galt may find useful employment in London as "Minister for Canada," but his Imperial Zollverein has vanished "like the baseless fabric of a vision."

Not only Beaconsfield, but the Canadian ministry must have given encouragement to this scheme. It is true that they abandoned their own professions of pursuing a National Policy for Can-

ada in so doing. But consistency has never been the strong point of Canadian politicians. The McDonald Ministry are evidently not satisfied with the results of their national policy, nor with the present industrial position of Canada. If they were so, they would have paid no attention to such schemes. Their organs sometimes speak of Americans as evidently desirous of improved relations with Canada, and as showing more concern about it than is felt on the northern side of the line. Such insinuations are out of place since this last disclosure. It is no longer to be denied that Canada cannot maintain her present isolated position. She must have an outlet in some direction. The British Empire has failed her; its representatives offer her nothing. She has no direction in which to look, except that in which Providence points her—to the continent to which she properly belongs, and to the people from whom she can obtain far more solid advantages by a customs union, than any promised by the castle in the air which has just been wrecked. She needs us far more than we need her, but no American will hesitate on that account to make the first approaches, which we can better afford than she.

EX-SENATOR HENDERSON, of Missouri, is, we fear, allowing his zeal to outrun his discretion in the matter of opposing General Grant's nomination to the Presidency. He proposes to hold an anti-third-term convention at St. Louis next month, in order to show the Republican Convention at Chicago the folly of making that nomination.

We hold this to be a mistaken proceeding, on two grounds. The first is, that opposition to Mr. Grant's nomination has the best chance of success by keeping strictly within the line of party action. We can argue with Mr. Grant's friends on equal terms, until we begin to threaten them either with unfair pressure before the nomination, or with a bolt after it. Up to that time we have a right to be heard as members of the Republican party in as good standing as they, and with the same interest in its future. But the instant we assume the other attitude, we give the dishonest an excuse, and the irascible a reason, for refusing a hearing. It is not in human nature, and least of all in the nature of party leaders, to submit to dictation; and those who resort to it enlist human na-

ture itself to work their own defeat. The very existence of an Independent Republican body is a warning which does not need to be translated into words.

The second reason is that opposition to a third term, as such, represents but a fraction of the opposition to Mr. Grant's renomination. It is a point upon which the Independent Republicans are not united, and for this reason, as well for that already given, the proposed convention would gather at St. Louis only a portion of the Republicans who are in opposition. And the consequent failure of the convention would be interpreted as showing the weakness of the opposition to Mr. Grant.

We cannot but express our surprise at the persistency with which this third term argument is pressed, as though it were the chief reason to oppose a renomination. The newspapers which support Mr. Grant are evidently overjoyed to find it so. Every one loves to have his opponents put their case in a shape which admits of an easy and effective, if not a valid, reply. The whole gamut of the daily and weekly ratiocination of those newspapers consists of the two points: (1) That a good many people, especially in the hopelessly Democratic States, want General Grant for President; and (2) that there is a good deal to be said in favor of a third term. Not one of them, so far as we have seen, has the audacity to argue that General Grant proved himself a satisfactory President during the eight years he was in power, and therefore should be re-elected. They talk about the General just as if we knew nothing more about him than we did in 1868, and were about to send him to Washington on his military record. They ignore the fact that it was under the rule of this "strong man" that the Southern Republicans were terrorized and stripped of their political rights, and that eight years of this popular man's rule reduced the party from a large majority to a decided minority of the American people. Mr. Grant is not a new man, in regard to whom we can indulge in bright and indefinite hopes. We know exactly the faults which are ingrained into his character,—the low ideas of government, and the tendency to adopt and to stand by unworthy subordinates, which made his two administrations a moral failure, which made "Grantism" a new name for political corruption, and sent the General out of power with his laurels tarnished in the estimation of the great majority of his countrymen. That he will

do better if again made President, is the hope of his friends. But they offer us no substantial securities for such an amendment. They do not even give us, nor has he given us, any evidence that he does not regard his eight years of power as a period of nearly faultless and ideal administration.

A nation is to be pitied which goes forward trusting to unworthy leadership, whose weakness it has never proved. But there can be only contempt for one which, after such an experience as we had in 1868-76, deliberately goes back to that Egypt out of love for its leeks and its garlic. The recent English election furnishes party leaders with a warning not to trust to their own reading of the signs of the times. It shows that it is safer to do the right, and to throw one's self upon the better self of the nation. This was the policy out of which the Republican party sprang, and it is adherence to this which alone will insure its permanence in power.

In view of the fact of Mr. Grant's incompetency—an incompetency confessed by the silence of his friends as to his presidential record—it is nothing less than immoral to urge his nomination on the ground of his supposed popularity and “availability.” Every man who has the slightest weight in determining the choice of the Chief Magistrate, is bound to use his fragment of power to secure the best man. And it is merely an impertinence to one's conscience first and to the public afterwards, to say of a man below the best: “The people believe in him. They will have him.” Had the founders of the Republican party gone in for whatever the people believed in, that party would never have existed, and slavery would still be flourishing in the South. “The people believe in” quack medicines, and a great many other kinds of quackery. And the man who falls in with their beliefs, who sells across a political or any other counter whatever the people call for, be it Vinegar Bitters or machine candidates, puts himself upon the level of the charlatans—a level well down in the bottomless pit of lies and insincerity.

THE Philadelphian Congressmen have done well to give their hearty support to the Bill for an International Exhibition in New York. It is true that they might have pleaded precedent for treating it with indifference or opposition. In the case of our own Ex-

hibition, New York gave us the cold shoulder in every possible way, until its success was assured, and then began to indulge in a little enthusiasm over the national display. But it is wiser to ignore all this. The New Yorkers have hurt themselves quite enough by the precedent they then set of national stinginess toward such enterprises. They have secured the rule that the city which undertakes an Exhibition shall bear the burden, without other than temporary aid from the national Treasury. They may have reason to regret this before they are done.

Had our Exhibition failed, the blame would have been due in great measure to New York. If theirs should fail, they can place no part of the failure to the account of Philadelphia. That they will not fail, is far from certain. They have not the local advantages we had, in the possession of a first-class site. They have not the popular advantage of a gigantic enthusiasm in regard to a great centennial anniversary. They have the serious disadvantage of coming second, when the popular appetite for such a display has, in great measure, lost its edge. Then, too, their city will not bear crowding as ours did. It has not our capacity for indefinite expansion, and visitors for a week or a fortnight cannot be quartered in the suburbs. The addition of two hundred thousand people to its population might be followed by a great pestilence. The New York rates of charge for board are nearly as great in ordinary times, as were those in our city during the Exhibition. Under the pressure of an extra demand, they will rise to a height which will deter many visitors, whose presence is needed to give success.

There are elements of possible success peculiar to New York. The first is what they have learnt, or may learn, from our experience, as in avoiding the creation of a "National Board of Centennial Commissioners." A local Board like our "Board of Finance," with a John Welsh and a D. J. Morrell in it, is the body which must do the work. The second is the possession of more wealth by the city concerned. Some critics doubt this; they say that New Yorkers have borrowed on everything they own, or else New York Central stock would not be pledged for a five per cent. loan with a twenty per cent. margin. There is no doubt that in some quarters there is more show of wealth than the reality. But, after all, New York is the city of great fortunes, and the very nature of her business, while it tends to prevent the accumulation of small

fortunes, helps to create great estates. The new Exhibition will not obtain the immense number of small subscriptions that ours did. But it will expect large subscriptions in a volume which will far surpass those of the same class in 1876.

A last element of success is the much finer display which American manufactures will make in many departments. Since 1876 some branches have been revolutionized to such an extent that they would be ashamed to show what they did then. They have learnt the lesson of the Centennial year very thoroughly; and the new display will be an exhibition of the results suggested at Philadelphia. Especially is this true of our woollen manufactures, and in particular of the Philadelphia manufacture of carpets. In earthenware also there have been notable advances. This exhibit did us the least credit in 1876; it showed but slight capacity to make effective use of the finest materials in the world. And in the old centres of the manufacture there does not seem to be much improvement as yet, for we cannot reckon as such the slavish reproduction of foreign models, however good in themselves. But new centres have been established, and it is to be hoped that New York, Philadelphia and Cincinnati will do us the credit which Trenton has failed to give.

Philadelphia has every reason to favor the new Exhibition. She has the most to gain from its success. Her own exhibits will be more important than those of any other industrial centre. Her interests in general will be promoted by every great display of our manufacturing products, and especially so by such a display in the great centre of hostility to American industry.

“The pitcher goes many times to the well, but is broken at last.” The episode in the career of Mr. W. H. Kemble, upon which public attention is fixed by his recent conviction of bribery and perjury, and by his breaking bail after the Board of Pardons refused to recommend his pardon, is not a sudden slip from probity into crime. Mr. Kemble is one of a peculiar group of politicians, of a type almost peculiar to Pennsylvania, but by no means confined to its Republican party. The common characteristic of these men has been a contempt for any gifts but business-like management, and for any motives but the lowest. They have given Harrisburg the repute it possesses among State Capitals, as being a point in

political sin beyond any other in the Union,—a place from whose corrupting influence even Washington may derive harm. They have owed their success in corruption to their unlimited command of funds. At least two great corporations have stood behind them ; and thus far their skill has been shown not only in keeping their principals' names out of mention, but also in saving themselves. Mr. Kemble was not the worst, and he was certainly the least skilful of the set. His part has been to pull the wires from a distance when anything had to be done for a friend in need. This is probably the first case in which he took any personal part in the work of corruption ; he might have stood up in court and pleaded that it was " his first offence," without violating the *letter* of fact. But they are innocent indeed, who, like his volunteer advocate before the Board of Pardons, think that this is the only case in regard to which he could give the Commonwealth interesting information.

Mr. Kemble seems to have found himself in Harrisburg on this bad errand only because there was no one else to look after the job. Two of his associates are recently dead, and a third has retired from the Lobby with his earnings. Any one of the three would have been his superior in the fine art of approaching and tempting the Legislature. They were masters in the knowledge of men, and especially in the baser side of human nature. Mr. Kemble was a novice in comparison. He had not an atom of the fine tact and solemn suavity of " the man in the moon." His off-hand, obtrusive manner was the worst in the world for the business. He set the trap for himself and then fell into it. He seems to have thought that " every man had his price ;" but more skilful corruptionists could have told him that this is the most unsafe of assumptions,—that there are a good many men, even in politics and in Harrisburg, who are not for sale. His unqualified cynicism was his ruin ; he neither selected his tools with proper caution, nor set them to work in the right way.

That he and his associates should have counted upon a favorable view of their case on the part of the Board of Pardons, was to be expected. Such things have long been managed in this State according to the desires of Mr. Kemble and the people he represents. That the man who but yesterday represented the Commonwealth on the National Committee of the party, should be left to the mercies of an unfriendly judge by four party politicians, and sent

to prison for doing what everybody has winked at for generations past, was too shocking to be thought of. That a man accustomed to life's luxuries, and wielding such a political power in the commonwealth that only three of our daily papers dared to oppose his pardon for the gravest of political offences, should be sent to the penitentiary, have his gray hair cropped, be clad in striped jeans, and live on mush while he learned to make coarse shoes, was not to be thought of. We can understand the feeling; but we think its significance lies in the disclosure it makes of the false state of moral feeling which prevails in our whole political life. It has come to be thought that any man of influence may do, with impunity, things which the law punishes with fine, imprisonment and eternal disgrace.

Hence the great importance of making an example of Mr. Kemble. We cherish no malevolent feeling towards him personally. We regret that a man of his years should be condemned to a cell, which will in all probability prove his tomb. But if there be alive to-day one criminal whom the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania cannot afford to suffer to escape, it is William H. Kemble. She must punish him as a warning to those who make themselves the agents of corruption on behalf of the great corporations, whose relations to her government have made her good name a mockery throughout the land. She must punish him for the sake of the young men of the State who are entering upon public life, unless it is meant that these men's first lesson in politics shall be that political influence gives impunity in crime. She must punish him to save the good name of her Governor, who is already pointed out as Mr. Kemble's protector, upon whose good offices this criminal can rely to ensure his escape from the consequences of his acts.

Thus far the Republican Party have acted in this matter better than might have been expected. A Republican House of Representatives sent the case of these offenders to the Grand Jury of Dauphin County. A Republican judge, supported by Juries in which the Republicans were represented, has brought them to justice. A Republican Pardoning Board has refused to recommend them to executive clemency before their sentence; and it is understood that two of the four will take the same ground after sentence. It now remains to be seen whether Gov. Hoyt will do his share, or whether, as his enemies report, he will screen these five men from the pen-

alties enacted for such men in those laws which he has sworn to execute.

ONE of the lessons of the political situation in this State and in this city, is the assurance we have that honest men can bring the rogues to a reckoning if they choose to make the effort. Had any one foretold that Wm. H. Kemble would have been convicted by a Harrisburg jury of such an offence, it would have excited a good deal of scepticism in some quarters. Good people are very apt to think that evil-doers are too strongly entrenched in political power, to be dislodged. They fail to see that it is their duty to attempt their dislodgment. It looks to them like trying to unseat the Alleghanies. And yet there is high authority, and one in which a great majority of our honest citizens profess to believe, for the belief that even mountains can be moved, if anything make it worth while to attempt their removal, and if the trial be made in the right spirit. All the dice are weighted in the interests of right and justice. And a man who had Sir Matthew Hale's faith in righteousness, and his determination to do his duty by society and by God, might find that even Harrisburg is not an Augean Stable too foul for cleansing, and that even the Row and the Rings are not beyond the reach of an awakened public opinion. We believe that both Mr. Mouat and Mr. Kemble have had new light on this subject recently. We wish that every honest man who reprobates their acts, shared in this accession of light.

Another lesson is that at which we have hinted above. Our State will never want for Wm. H. Kembles, so long as each generation of them does its dirty work with impunity, and earns what the world calls success. We are even now raising a fresh crop of them,—young men steeped to the lips in political cynicism, and already fancying themselves Walpoles because they have discovered that the men they are thrown in with, have their price. All young men will have their heroes in politics, in whose steps they try to walk. Have the people of the State and of the City no responsibility for the facts, that it is moral ruin for a young man to select as his model any one of a great number of our prominent public men, and that the places where the government of commonwealth and of the city are exercised are centres of pestilential influence upon the life, the manliness, the honesty of the young men who frequent them?

This reprobation of one group of bad men by the law, and by the public opinion which crystallizes into law and enforces the law, is something done for the political education of our young politicians. The very prominence, the seeming invulnerability of the chief offender, gives value to the example he furnishes. It may be the means of prompting some to consider what assurance they have that their own careers are not extremely likely to end in a similar manner. At the very least, it will help to dissipate a bad atmosphere which pervades our politics.

A recent conference between the New York State Board of Charities and the representatives of charitable institutions, brings to light a state of things, as regards the charities of that city, which certainly needs amendment. The various homes and asylums for friendless or neglected children, draw from the city treasury nearly if not quite the whole amount needed for the support of their beneficiaries. Now in one point this is better than we do in Philadelphia. New York does not now, as formerly, crowd these children into Blackwell's Island, into the atmosphere of pauperism and vice, in which they would grow up to pauperism and the vices so commonly associated with it. New York does not do that, but Philadelphia does. Blockley Almshouse is our fine training school, whose graduates will have learnt all the bad lessons which the atmosphere and associations of an almshouse teach them, and will keep up the succession when their elders pass away. In New York State, the overseers of the poor are forbidden by statute to allow a child to enter an almshouse or poor house of any kind.

In New York the appropriation to such institutions has been so generous and so secure, that it has removed all necessity for their managers paying close attention to the claims of each applicant. A natural ambition leads them to desire as many as they can get. The denominational relations of the boards of managers creates a sort of competition between them, Catholic homes vying with Protestant, and so forth. Even as a matter of making both ends meet, it is easier to manage a well-packed house on the city allowance, than to furnish all requisites for a house partially, or even moderately filled. For all these reasons, each institution is disposed to take all it can get, and to represent itself as conferring great benefits on the city by its care of these "waifs."

It is easy to see that gross abuses must grow out of such a state of things. A married couple think they have too many children to provide for, and forthwith a half of them are made over to the asylum. A woman burdens herself with a child whose father is not her husband; and, whatever her circumstances, she can get it off her hands almost as soon as it is born, into the asylum. A widower re-marries, and clears the house for a new family, by getting his first wife's children into the asylum. A poor couple do not see how they will get through the winter with so many mouths to feed; so they put them into the asylum, and get them out again when spring opens. Any police magistrate can make out the commitment, by which these children are made a burden to the city. Personal character is thus degraded and family life demoralized, while a steadily increasing burden is thrown upon the finances of the city. As a consequence the cost of these institutions to the city has grown far more rapidly than has its population. In 1865 it was \$988,450, or \$1.50 per head of the whole population; in 1880 it is \$1,348,383, or \$2.50 per head. Two Roman Catholic institutions draw \$325,000 a year, a fact which seems to have excited Protestant rivalry, as there is a Bill before the Legislature enacting equal privileges for a Protestant Orphan Asylum, without even specifying who are its incorporators. There is every indication that this last is a job for somebody's benefit. Indeed the existing arrangement favors such jobs on the part of unscrupulous persons. It was in hopes of getting his slice of the appropriation that Shepherd Cowley opened his Fold, many of whose inmates had parents to claim them on its exposure.

We may congratulate our own State on the fact that the new Constitution forbids the voting of public money to private institutions. Charity should not be the work of the State. Alms should not be extracted by law from the pockets of the people. There is, as Dr. Chalmers said, a taint on all such charity. It is twice accursed;—it curses the State who gives and the pauper who receives. The city has done well to abolish Out-door Relief; it would do better still to abolish the Alms-House, and throw the care of the poor upon the charitable instincts of their neighbors. Public charity has proved a failure under the best methods of administration. It cannot cure, it can at best but alleviate the misery; and there are a hundred chances to one that it will not alleviate but intensify it.

Genuine charity is that which subtracts nothing from a poor man's self-respect and manliness, while ministering to his wants from a human interest in himself.

THE good people of the Presbyterian Church in this city have recently established an Orphan Asylum, and are about to erect appropriate buildings upon a site presented for that purpose in West Philadelpha. They have also agreed to make a new and very excellent arrangement of their asylum, modelled after that of the famous Rough House near Hamburg. Instead of gathering a great mass of children under a single roof, they will divide them into families, with a house-mother at the head of each family. The method of gathering great quantities of children into one establishment, in which no one can have any intimate relations with those who are in charge, has long been condemned by the wisest of our benevolent people; and it is laid down by many of them that an institution is best used when it is made the stepping-stone to a place in a real home. The managers of the new Asylum are following this latter idea to some extent, while they are trying to obviate the worst objections to asylum life by making this asylum a real home,—a method which has already stood the test of experience. The Rough House was started in 1833, and its success has been such as to excite attention and cause imitation in other parts of Germany, in France and in England. Its features have been somewhat reproduced in the Michigan Reform School, and in the new arrangements at Girard College.

In one respect, we think our Presbyterian friends have not followed the Rough House plan with sufficient boldness. They have fixed the number for each home at thirty, whereas twenty should be the maximum of inmates. Considerations of economy, we suppose, have weighed with them in this decision; but we hope it is not too late to change it. The churches they represent are rich enough to do this work in the best manner, and should be ashamed to attempt it in any but the best.

THE Eighteenth ward of this city must be regarded as, in some respects, an ideal community. It is the original Kensington, lying

along the Delaware between Laurel and Norris streets, to the east of Frankford Road. It is, therefore, not a new district, like most of our city's additions through consolidation, but as old as any part of the old city, and far older than most of it. It was within its bounds, as nearly every one knows, that the famous treaty with the Indians was made. The people of the district are generally descended from very early settlers. It contains few foreigners, no very rich people, and *hardly any poor*. Its people have organized a branch of the new Charity Organization Society, and mean to keep it up as an expression of their sympathy with the work of the Society. But during the past winter they had *but three applications for assistance of any kind*, and these the Directors relieved without making any appeal to their constituents throughout the ward.

COUNT HENRI DE SAINT SIMON.

A SOCIOLOGICAL STUDY.

[SECOND PAPER.]

SAINTE SIMON has been charged with inconsistency and, worse than that, with hypocrisy, because while the first Napoleon was in power he spoke highly of him in the dedication of his works, but after his overthrow spoke of him very differently. The charge has a semblance of justice, but is too harsh to be really truthful with a man of Saint Simon's transcendent valuation of himself. He was so thoroughly infused with the conviction of the importance of his work, that he would have accepted aid from any source, or have flattered any one, if he felt that by such action he could have furthered its public recognition. His laudations of Napoleon were as far removed from sycophancy as his wooing of Madame De Stael differed from love making. He began now, however, to obtain something like recognition, and Lafitte, the banker, and Ternaux, the manufacturer, both of whom performed most excellent service in creating the modern industrial era for France, were the chief supporters of the subscription begun for the publication of his writings. From 1816 to 1818 he published, periodically, *L'Industrie*, (Industry) in which, with the assistance of Thierry, August Comte, and others, the ideas which have had their influence in transforming the old society were promulgated.

In 1878, on the 82d anniversary of the foundation of the Institute of France, M. E. Laboulaye delivered before the union of the five Academies composing the Institute an address, in which, comparing the present with the past, he said: "Do we require a proof of these revolutions of ideas, which the progress of industry, that is to say realized science, has produced? Read the politicians of the restoration, our first masters in constitutional law; you will find there ingenious reflections upon the part that royalty should play, upon the balance of powers, upon the power of landed property, upon the necessity that what is called aristocracy should do its duty: it is the legislation of a society altogether different from ours. Only a single writer, the clearest sighted man of his time, Benjamin Constant foresaw that industrial property, as he called it, would submerge landed property, which would become merely a special method for the use of capital. Benjamin Constant hailed this revolution as a benefit; for, he said, 'landed property is the value of things, while industrial property is the value of man. In other terms, labor has overcome heritage.'"

It is probably more as a mere figure of speech, than as a fact of serious history that M. Laboulaye gives the credit of foreseeing this change to Benjamin Constant alone; for certainly Saint Simon's writings show that his own opinions underwent this same revolution, as must have inevitably been the general experience of all the thinkers of the time who dispassionately considered the question of property. The shock which the French Revolution had given to all the monopolies of privilege had not yet so quieted, that the feudal claims of landed property could hope to remain unquestioned. And yet this very revolution in Saint Simon's opinions, has been urged against him as a proof of his want of consistency. In his earlier works he had given a preponderating influence to landed proprietors, in his proposed reorganization of society; but in *L'Industrie*, the motto of which was:

"Tout par l'Industrie,
Tout pour l'Industrie."
["All by Industry,
All for Industry."]

he said: "The nobles, the proprietors of land, not cultivators, will receive a mortal stroke by what we propose." Again: "There is about society . . . a crowd of parasites, who produce nothing and

yet consume, and wish to consume as though they did produce. It is necessary that this class of persons live upon the labor of others; something is either given them, or else they take it: in a word they are do-nothings, that is to say, thieves. Those who are not thieves become beggars; this last class is not less despicable or less dangerous than the first" "The workers, therefore, are exposed to seeing themselves deprived of the enjoyment of the results of their labor. From this danger arises the necessity for a special class, giving rise to a work distinct from all others, that which has for its object to prevent the violence with which idleness menaces industry. In the opinion of industry, a government is nothing but the undertaking of this work."

In the growth of opinion Saint Simon holds, as we see, a sort of middle place between Rousseau's idea of a social compact, and Prudhomme's dictum concerning the character of property. He also suggested the institution of "*banques territoriales*," which should afford the advantages for obtaining money to the agriculturist which is now enjoyed by the manufacturer. In the various political changes since Saint Simon's time, this subject of agricultural credit has occupied the attention of the Republic, the Empire, and is now again coming to the front.

Courts of law and lawyers he would also replace by unpaid tribunals of arbitration. "Courts of law," he says, "can be and should be replaced in all their forms by industrial tribunals, which are only arbitration, the only system of jurisprudence which will be necessary when there is no other property than industrial property. All matters can be and should be judged by arbitration, even criminal matters, which seem to be the least susceptible to this treatment."

A few quotations from this work will show the method he uses in dealing with his subject. Speaking of the causes of the want of social harmony, he says: "It is the lack of general ideas that has destroyed us, and we cannot recover except through general ideas. The ancient ones are lost for us by their very antiquity, and can not rejuvenate themselves; we must have new ones The want of general ideas leads us to take refuge in generous sentiments. National passions are created, equality and military glory by turns intoxicate all minds, and despotism will soon find its place Those whom I call stationary people, are they who improperly call

themselves reasonable people, and desire, in the name of moderation, to amalgamate the ancient institutions with the new, not seeing that this is an absurd enterprise, and merely trying to fuse together contrary things . . . The transition now actually in operation consists of two processes, one of which is philosophic and the other political. The first consists in the passage from a theological system to a terrestrial and positive system ; the second, in the passage from the arbitrary regime to the liberal and industrial regime . . . The production of useful things is the only reasonable and positive aim which political societies can propose to themselves . . . Politics, then, to sum up in two words, is the science of production; that is to say, it is the science which has for its object the order of things which shall be most favorable for all kinds of production."

This work was the first one upon which Saint Simon had the assistance of August Comte, who had in 1816 formed a relation with Saint Simon, which was partly that of pupil, partly friend and the rest literary assistant. It appeared that one quarter's salary was paid, but their friendly relations continued for six years, when they parted angrily, having, most probably, mutually wounded each other's vanity and self-conceit, qualities in which it is not easy to say which held the mastery over the other. The third volume of the *Industrie* was entrusted to Comte's editorship, but it is not certainly known whether he furnished any original matter for it. In Comte's *Politique Positive*, published in 1851-4, the fourth volume contains a "general appendix," reproducing "all the first opuscules of the author upon social philosophy," in the preface to which he says: "the first opusculum was written in 1819, for that only periodical (*The Censor*) which posterity will remember in French journalism, but was never printed in that journal." The *Censor* (*le Censeur*), was published by Francois Charles Louis Comte and Barthelemy Dunoyer, and was finally suppressed after undergoing an exhaustive course of warnings, visits, fines, seizures, and prosecutions. Both of its editors were, however, finally admitted to the Institute, being elected members of the Academy of Moral and Political Sciences, Comte in 1831, and Dunoyer in 1832. In the *Censor* the distinction between a military and an industrial civilization had already been pointed out, and undoubtedly both August Comte and Saint Simon had there read sentences like this: "A Nation must necessarily organize itself for one or the other of

these ends, that of robbery or that of production : that is to say, it must have an industrial character, or else be only a bastard association, if it does not frankly declare itself for one or the other of these pursuits." Of course it was inevitable that a journal, as plain spoken as this, should be suppressed as inconvenient during the restoration, when actually military feudalism was attempting to regain its power.

The next publication by Saint Simon was *Le Politique*, published in 1819, as a series of detached letters. In this, besides repeating many of the views he had already given, he advocated the abolition of standing armies, as inimical to an industrial regime, in which manufacturers, as the portion of the body politic most interested in reducing the taxes, should alone be entitled to seats in the National representative assembly, from which all holders of public offices should be strictly excluded. During the latter part of the same year he began the publication of another series of letters, entitled the *Organisateur (the Organizer.)* In this series of fourteen letters the direction of affairs was to be given to men of learning, instead of to the men of industry. The only justification for the existence of a government is the good of the people, but only the learned are qualified to judge what this good is, and as this question is capable of being scientifically solved, the decision should be in the hands of those who are competent to decide it scientifically, and from such a decision there can be no more appeal than from the scientific solution of any other question. The complete satisfaction of all the physical and moral wants of society being the greatest good, the object of the government should be the most effective application of the general knowledge and wealth to this end, and he proposes the following organization as the fittest means for attaining these ends. An industrial parliament, consisting of three chambers, of invention, examination, and execution, to be created. The first of these chambers to be composed of three hundred members, two hundred of whom shall be civil engineers, and the rest poets, scholars, architects, and musicians. The function of this chamber was to be the projection and planning of useful public works, and the suggestion of methods for increasing the public wealth of France. The second chamber should also consist of three hundred members, one-third of them mathematicians, another third experts in mathematical physics, and the rest physi-

cians. Its function should be the critical examination of the projected works of the first chamber, and also to prepare a plan for public secular education and superintend its practical adoption. Each of the members of these two chambers should receive an annual income of ten thousand francs; a provision which Saint Simon's own precarious financial condition made of paramount importance to him. The third chamber was to be composed of the leaders of industrial operations, who should fill their positions gratuitously. Their function was the execution of the measures approved by the two other chambers; the conducting of the government and voting the taxes, for "the governments now existing really constitute the world, as it should be, turned upside down, for those who are most useful to society, improving its condition, and adding to its riches, are placed in positions subordinate to those held by persons who are not only useless, but frequently expensive." In his *General Appendix*, already mentioned, Comte reclaims the authorship of a portion of this work, which he says he had allowed to be claimed by Saint Simon, and calls it *a summary appreciation of the whole of the modern past*. It is really a masterly historical sketch. Its opening sentence is so characteristic that its introduction here cannot be amiss, he says:

"According to the announcement, placed in 1851, at the opening of the treatise I have just finished, I add to this volume a scrupulous reproduction of all my first pamphlets upon social philosophy. In thus restoring to circulation writings buried in long forgotten publications, this appendix can facilitate the positive initiation of those minds which are disposed to follow accurately the same path I have taken. But it is chiefly intended here to show the perfect harmony of the efforts which characterized my youth with the works my maturity has accomplished."

In 1821 Saint Simon published his *Système Industriel*, which was a reproduction of several pamphlets already printed, with an additional *Address to Philanthropists*. In this publication he widened his conception of the necessity for a social re-organization, making it broad enough to embrace all. The practical need of the time, he urged, was the completion of the work begun by Christianity, and that in the daily relations of life the spirit and the practice of equality and fraternity should prevail. As the first step in this direction would be public instruction, he advocated a

system of universal education; and next, the abolition of poverty by the State's providing occupation for those who had no other means for attaining the independence of being self-supporting. A new catechism in accordance with the knowledge of the present was needed, and this task should be delegated to the Institute, and an acquaintance with this catechism should be a test for citizenship.

The expenses of these various publications again reduced him to financial straits; even the small pension given him by his family was so mortgaged that the terrors of starvation prompted him to suicide. When an attempt he made to obtain relief from a public subscription failed, and he saw nothing ahead of him but want and inability to continue his labors for social reform, to which his life was devoted, he resolved to end it at a certain hour. Placing his watch before him, in order that he could see when its hands reached the allotted time, he spent the remaining portion of his life in thinking over in review the schemes he had projected for the benefit of his fellow men, and when the time arrived shot himself with a pistol in the head. His aim, however, was misdirected, and the result was only a severe wound in the face, which eventually destroyed one of his eyes. He was alone, and finding himself suffering, blinded and bleeding he sought some assistance; but finding none, he lay down upon the bed and waited the result. In this condition he was found by Comte and another friend, from whom it is reported that he asked, "How can a man live and think with seven slugs in his brain?"

Though he finally recovered, yet for some time it was doubtful whether he would do so, and the pain he suffered was so intense that he begged his friends to open a vein and let him bleed to death. As soon as he recovered he began the catechism, which the Institute, despite his recommendation, had neglected to undertake. A portion of this work was entrusted to Comte, but they could not agree concerning it. Some two years before, an essay by Comte, entitled "*Plan of the scientific work necessary for the re-organization of society*," (*Plan des Travaux Scientifiques nécessaires pour réorganiser la Société*.) had been printed by Saint Simon in a pamphlet, limited to one hundred copies, entitled *The Social Contract*. As in this essay Comte had spoken of the theology which was orthodox at the time, in a way which he

knew would be very displeasing to his family, his name had been withheld, and Saint Simon assumed all the responsibility for it. Now it was desired to reprint this essay, with the title *Système de Politique Positive*. Comte wanted his name to appear with it, and did not want it to appear as an appendix to the *Catechism*, but alone. To these requests Saint Simon is said to have agreed, but when the work appeared it was joined to the *Catechism*, and had two prefaces, one by Saint Simon and the other by Comte. In his preface, Comte writes: "Having for a long time meditated upon the mother ideas of M. Saint Simon, I have devoted myself exclusively to systematizing, developing and perfecting those portions of this philosopher's suggestions which have a scientific tendency. This work has resulted in the formation of a system of positive philosophy which I commence to-day to submit to the judgment of thinkers. I have believed it necessary to make the foregoing declaration publicly, in order that, should my labors appear deserving of any approbation, it should redound to the founder of the philosophic school of which I have the honor to be a member." Hardly was this laudatory preface printed, before Comte in his private correspondence spoke bitterly of Saint Simon as a man against whom he had been warned, and whose vanity was unbearable, and later in his life he characterized his alliance with Saint Simon as his "disastrous relation with a depraved trickster," (*funeste liason avec un jongleur dépravé*), and that it had been for him "a misfortune without compensation."

Their special difference of opinion on this occasion appears in their prefaces; Saint Simon writes: "In the system we have conceived industrial capacity is the kind that should be found in the first rank." Comte, however, says: "The Aristotelian faculty is the first of all, and should be placed before the spiritual power, as well as the industrial capacity and the philosophic capacity." Instead of wondering at the eventual separation of these two men, the fact that they remained as long as six years in such close and friendly relations, as their being co-workers in the discovery and development of the details by which they should each personally reorganize society, is a much greater subject of surprise. M. Littré reports, as coming from Madame Comte, what is undoubtedly the rational common-sense explanation of their separation. At first their affectionate alliance was sincere and reciprocal; but as

time went on discussions arose, in which Saint Simon showed but little control of his temper, and Comte but little deference for Saint Simon's position as teacher. At the time of their separation, in 1824, Saint Simon was sixty-four and Comte was twenty-six, and it was probably as hard for the older man to surrender the position of leader, which his age seemed to justify his vanity in demanding, as it was for the younger man to restrain the impetuous assertion of the claims for consideration which his vanity stimulated his consciousness of real intellectual power to make. Though Comte said, later in his life, that his relation with Saint Simon "had produced no other result than to trammel my spontaneous meditations, previously guided by Condorcet, without procuring for me beside anything of value," yet there is very little doubt that this statement does not do justice to Saint Simon, who is really worthy of being held in grateful remembrance by all students of the progress of modern society, who know how difficult is the task of the pioneer in any branch of study, and how much those who come after him owe him.

M. Littrè in his life of Comte, and Mr. Booth in his sketch of Saint Simon, have both noticed various points in which their opinions agree, and the statement of some of these is of interest. They both dwell upon the importance of the power of scientific prevision. They both maintain that if man should disappear, the animal standing next below him would take his place. They both insisted upon the value of the intellectual revolution Descartes produced by his theory of Vortices. They both indignantly objected to the term materialism, when applied to their philosophies. They both ended their philosophic career by attempting to promulgate a new religion. In the characters of both there were many similar qualities. They both attempted suicide. They were both exceedingly vain, so vain that both of them accepted pecuniary aid from their friends quite readily, as something that was their due.

Early in 1825 Saint Simon, with the assistance of M. Olinde Rodrigue, who had taken Comte's place, published his *Opinions Littéraires*, and commenced his *Nouveau Christianisme*, which he left unfinished at his death in May. He was buried in Pere-la-Chaise, and though from the few friends who gathered about his grave, it would have appeared that his youthful dreams of influ-

encing the philosophy of his time, as Charlemagne influenced the politics of his age was only a dream, and would never prove to be more. Yet events favored the enthusiasm of the few disciples who gathered about his grave, and they made of his opinions a religion which Lacordaire thought was the most important movement of this nature, since the time of Luther, while the political and social influence of his opinions have by no means yet ceased to modify the institutions and beliefs the modern world has inherited from the old.

Saint Simon died while writing his *New Christianity*, and it was his disciples, who in their enthusiastic admiration for his work sought to regularly organize a new religion based upon it. The practical work of bringing his friends together, after his death, was performed by Olinde Rodrigue, who until his death had filled the place that Comte had held. Saint Simon had, a little while before his death, striven unsuccessfully to establish a newspaper as a means of propaganda. Rodrigue suggested to the friends of St. Simon's doctrines, that the best way they could show their respect for their author, was to contribute to a fund for the establishment of such a journal as he had planned. The suggestion was agreed to, and by the sale of shares of a thousand francs each, a fund of about twenty thousand francs was raised, and the *Producteur* was established, appearing in October, 1825, as a weekly paper. Its first editor was named Circelet, and the contributors met weekly at his house. They found the number of adherents rapidly increase, and in six months the editorship was transferred to Barthelemy Prosper Enfantin, who eventually became the central figure in the group of enthusiasts whose actions called the attention of all France and Europe to the Saint Simonian religion. Beside Enfantin, Armand Bazard, who had been one of the founders of the Carbonari in France, allied himself with the new opinions, and for some time shared with Enfantin the honors of leadership. During the editorship of M. Circelet, who admitted all opinions, Comte wrote two papers for it, but as a paid contributor, and only when he was assured that he would not be compromised by his connection. Under Enfantin's editorship, the journal became exclusively devoted to the promulgation of the Saint Simonian religion. Early in the history of the *Producteur*, Michael Chevalier, then a young engineer, afterwards so well-known as a political econo-

mist, became identified with the movement. The journal, however, after becoming a monthly, ceased to exist before it had lived a year.

As both *Enfantin* and *Rodrigue* were connected with a mortgage bank, the *Caisse Hypothecaire*, the rooms of the latter, who was a director, became their headquarters. Already, too, they had opened correspondence with converts in the provinces, and were attacked sufficiently by the representative sheets of all the other parties, to obtain a notoriety. In 1828 the number of converts had so increased, that a college of apostles, consisting of *Rodrigue*, *Enfantin*, *Bazard*, *Buchez*, *Laurent* and *Rouen*, was formed, and larger rooms than those at the bank had to be obtained; among the new converts were *Barrault*, a professor of literature, who became their leading orator, and *Fournel*, an engineer, who had graduated with distinction from the *Ecole Polytechnique*.

In 1829 *Laurent* took part in a new journal which was called *L'Organisateur, Journal des Progrès de la Science Generale*. It was founded by *Victor Augieue*, who asked his assistance, which he gave on the condition that a certain part of the journal should be devoted to the exposition of *Saint Simonism*. In a few months, however, it became entirely devoted to such exposition. While converts continued to be made in Paris, it was in the provinces that the greatest numbers were obtained, until the revolution of 1830 gave them an opportunity. The leaders had long enjoyed a personal acquaintance with *General Lafayette*, and *Bazard* now consulted with him concerning the appointment of a dictator, who should afford the *Saint Simonians* the opportunity to indoctrinate the people; but this plan was not accepted. A proclamation was, however, drawn up by *Bazard* and *Enfantin*, and posted on the walls of Paris. It read: "Frenchmen, you were stronger than your nobles, or than the crowd of idlers who lived by the sweat of your brows; it was because you worked; you were more moral and more instructed than your priests, because they were ignorant of your labors and despised them. Show them that if you have cast them aside, you did so because you are able and desire to obey only those who love, who aid and who instruct you, and not those who trade upon your poverty. Tell them that rank, honor and riches are no longer for the idle, but only for the in-

dustrious. They will understand your revolt against them when they see you honor only those who are interested in your advancement. Feudalism will be entirely swept away when all the privileges of birth, without exception, are abolished, and when every one shall be placed according to his capacity and rewarded according to his works. When this new religion shall have realized on the earth the reign of God, of peace and of liberty, which the Christians now place only in Heaven, then the Catholic Church, having lost its power, will cease to exist."

Meetings were now being held in four or five different places in Paris, and at head-quarters four times a week. In the provinces Jules Lechevalier was lecturing at Bordeaux; Michel Chevalier at Limoges; Lebreton at Nantes; Marechal, Feore, and Briand at Metz; Péreire at Toulouse, while the papers were vigorously attacking and defending the new doctrines. In 1830 *The Globe*, a regularly established daily newspaper, with a paying subscription list of 1,500, came into the possession of the Saint Simonians, and was made their chief organ with the title, *Globe, Journal de la Doctrine de Saint Simon*. Its mottoes were suggestive, "RELIGION, SCIENCE, INDUSTRY, UNIVERSAL ASSOCIATION. All the social institutions should have for their object the moral, intellectual, and physical amelioration of the most numerous and the poorest class. All the privileges of birth, without exception, are abolished. To each, according to his capacity, to each capacity according to its works."

A few extracts from some of their published works, entitled, *Doctrine de Saint Simon*, will show the principles advocated by the sect. Concerning their purpose they say, "We have shown that the period cannot be far distant when the sciences, freed from the influence of the dogmas of criticism and estimated in a broader spirit than they are to-day, far from being considered as destined to combat religion, will appear rather as the method given to the human mind for knowing the laws by which God governs the world, or, in other words, for knowing the plan of Providence." And, again, "We have come to proclaim that humanity has a religious future; that the religion of the future will be grander, and more powerful than all those of the past; that it will be like those which have preceded it, the synthesis of all the conceptions of humanity. That not only will it dominate the political order, but that the political order will be, in its entirety, a religious institution." Con-

cerning the condition of labor, they said, "The worker presents himself as the direct descendant of the slave and the serf; his person is free, he is no longer attached to the soil; but this is all that he has conquered, and in this state of legal freedom he cannot live except upon the conditions allowed him by a small class." "Men to-day find themselves destined to moral elevation or degradation, to knowledge or to ignorance, to wealth or to poverty, according to the single accident of birth, that is to say, according to the condition in which the parents who give them birth, accidentally find themselves. No class will henceforth be devoted to want, to ignorance, to poverty; there will no longer be among men any other inequalities than those of love, of science, or of riches; and these inequalities will be no longer made by the accident of birth. All the chances of advancement are equal for all at the moment they enter upon life; for at this moment the same education will be within the reach of all, and the fund of the social wealth will be opened to them equally; the inequalities which will appear among them will then be only the faithful expression of those of their primitive vocations. Every one will be really placed in the world according to his capacity, and recompensed according to his works." "For us there is no chief by right of conquest, or even by right of birth, but only by right of moral, intellectual, and industrial capacity. In society, such as we conceive it, every man who judges his inferiors has also his superiors by whom he is judged. The political chief is legislator and judge; he conceives the rule of order and determines its application; he is the living law; he is the organ for social praise or blame." Concerning the historical method by which they forecast the future, they say, "You are convinced that each prevision, which is not supported by a tendency of humanity, rigorously demonstrated, should be rejected as the product of a sick, weak, and dreamy imagination." Comparing the industrial system of the present with that of the future, they say, "In our day this principle of liberty, of competition, of war, exists between the dealers and manufacturers of the same country, it exists between one province and another, one city and another, one factory and another, and still more, between one shop and another. Feudalism put an end to military anarchy by uniting the dukes, counts, barons, and all the independent proprietors, and warriors, by reciprocal services and protection—in the same way the elements of pacific

labor are tending to-day, toward constituting itself into a single society, bearing its chiefs, its hierarchy, an organization and a common destiny." Upon the position of women, their opinions were equally decided. They say, "Women, as yet, hardly emerged from slavery, are still held, everywhere, in tutelage, and under religious, political, and civil interdiction. Women will be finally freed, the social individual will be the man and the woman; every religious, scientific, and industrial function will be exercised by a couple." The moral future of the race was thus sketched by Enfantin, "Humanity carries in itself its original brutality, but it purifies itself from it, and progressively gets rid of it; from generation to generation it extends the domain of the good, and lessens that of the evil."

Not only did the converts increase with the rising enthusiasm, but money was also contributed lavishly to the cause, many of the members selling all that they had and handing the price in to the common stock; others abandoned their occupations to engage in the work of propaganda. Within a year from July 1830, \$50,000 had been contributed in money, and over \$100,000 in property, which had not yet been turned into money. Much was also loaned for investment in the industrial operations which were suggested as a practical demonstration of the Saint-Simonian religion. The expenses were large, but the resources seemed larger. There were established churches in almost every one of the important provincial towns of France, and a promising mission was at work in Brussels. But the very success appears to have been the cause of failure. Enfantin, who seems to have had an unusual power of personal influence, and many of whose suggestions have indicated their practicability by their realization, appears to have been so intoxicated with success as to have led those whom he carried with him into various extravagancies; and, as Michael Chevalier admitted, the questions upon which they became divided began as mere speculative ones, and became a struggle for supremacy between Enfantin and Bazard. A compromise was finally effected by which Enfantin was declared the Supreme Head, and Bazard and Rodrigue to be of equal dignity, but just below him. Bazard accepted this, but the next day seceded, and with him a great many also left the society, though they by no means abandoned the new opinions. Enfantin being thus left the freer, became even more grasping in

his demands as the supreme prophet of the faith. He claimed to be the living law of God, assumed sacerdotal functions, and carefully examined every one of his followers, with the professed purpose of learning thoroughly their qualifications for an apostleship. This circle of apostles was to contain within itself types of all the varieties of character in the world.

In his published works there are many autobiographies and confessions written to him by those subjected to this process of examination, and not a few of them, when compared with the subsequent careers of their authors, are curiously entertaining. As is always the case with the ecstasies of religious excitement, their manifestations increased up to a certain point; when this was reached, Rodrigue, the oldest disciple, who had enjoyed personal relations with Saint-Simon himself, protested, and after a violent two months' contest, in his turn seceded and proclaimed that he was the only true representative of Saint-Simon.

These events took place in 1832, and the same year the attention of the government was attracted to their meetings, and they were closed by the authorities, their papers seized, and after some months' delay they were tried. This action of the government awoke to new life the sympathy of the churches in the provinces and elsewhere, who had been disturbed in their confidence by the schisms and secessions, and letters were received not only from other cities in France, but also from Germany, Belgium, Holland, and even from England, enthusiastically promising their friendly sympathy and their support.

In the spring of 1832, while waiting for their trial before the law, the funds of the society, which had most likely been managed with other than the best business order and precision, were so exhausted that the publication of *The Globe* had to cease. At this time it was edited by Michel Chevalier, and its last numbers had a series of articles advocating an extension of the European railway lines which, though now surpassed, seemed then absurdly Utopian. His plan for employing the armies of Europe upon the construction of these and other public works, is, unfortunately, still as Utopian now as it was then. On the day when the *Globe* stopped, Enfantin with forty disciples retired from the world to Menilmontant, a house with extensive grounds on the outskirts of Paris, which was his property. Their object was to undergo the training of a monastic life, of

asceticism and labor. This process they called getting a "new skin," a term thus explained in *Enfantin's* own words: "I said one day that our hierarchy had skins which were too white for us to pretend to save the people; I have darkened mine little by little; it took me seven months to change my skin; the operation cannot be performed by any one."

In this retreat they were to do all their work for themselves, both domestic and out-doors, and that nothing should be wanting for the test, those who were married left their wives behind them. They were to destroy the menial character of servile labor, by doing it themselves. But while so engaged they did not neglect their intellectual culture. During their leisure hours they had lectures on astronomy, geology, and other subjects by *Chevalier*, *Lambert*, *Fournel*, and others, while their music was presided over by *Felicien David*, who was one of them. To *Enfantin* they gave unquestioning obedience, and an almost superstitious reverence. At dinner he sat upon an elevated platform, surrounded by ten of the chief apostles, while below, at two parallel tables, the others sat. To further illustrate their retirement they resolved to adopt a special dress, as a constant reminder of the sanctity of their apostleship, and to sustain their devotion. *Enfantin* says that his feelings upon the occasion of assuming this dress were those of a priest on the ceremony of his ordination, or of a knight on entering the religious fraternity of knighthood. Having separated himself from the rest for three days, to commune in solitude, on the 6th of June, 1832, he met the disciples drawn up in order to receive him, *Chevalier* walking by his side, and two of the faithful preceding them and five following them. At his appearance they all began to sing a chant. To a speech of welcome from *Barrault*, *Enfantin* replied, stating that he had that morning renounced all the property he possessed, as a preparatory step toward fitting himself more thoroughly for his mission to the poor, and that he should never again affix his name to a legal document, but would hold himself aloof from the pomps and vanities of the world, gaining his daily bread by his daily labor, and exhorted them to follow his example. Then, laying off his garments, he proceeded to dress himself in the distinctive garb adopted. This dress consisted of a blue coat, with short skirt, a belt of varnished leather, a red cap, pants of white duck, a handkerchief loosely knotted about the throat, hair carefully brushed

and combed, falling upon the shoulders; and a full beard and moustache. The symbolical part of the costume was the waistcoat, which was modelled after a straight jacket, and, being laced up the back, was a constant reminder of man's inevitable dependence upon his fellows, from the fact that the wearer could neither put it on or take it off without assistance. Upon its front the wearer's name was printed in large letters, so that no one wearing it could conceal his identity.

As they rather sought than shunned observation, and as the people of Paris are in no way averse to spectacular entertainments, the crowds that gathered day after day to see the strange proceedings of these strangely dressed men, came to number thousands, and in consequence the government placed them under strict surveillance, stationing soldiers to prevent the people from entering the grounds. Finally, the day fixed for the trial, the 27th of August, arrived, and *Enfantin*, *Chevalier*, *Barrault*, *Duveyrier*, and *Rodrigue*, who had been summoned to appear and answer the charge of having held illegal meetings, and outraged public morality, set out in procession, accompanied by a large number of the disciples, all dressed in the costume, *Enfantin's* being of a lighter shade than the others, with the words *The Father (Le Père)* upon his breast, and marched to the court room. When asked by the Judge who was their counsel, they pointed to two ladies, *Aglæ Saint Hilaire*, a cousin of *Enfantin*, and *Cécile Fournel*, the wife of one of the apostles, who had accompanied the procession into the court. The Judge, however, refused peremptorily to allow women to plead in the court, and they were forced to retire after an animated discussion. When the *Saint Simonians* were to be sworn as witnesses, they one after the other asked permission from *Enfantin* to take the oath. The Judge would not allow them to swear unless they took the oath of their free will, so that they were all dismissed without being allowed to testify. One of them explained that he was in the presence of his father, his judge, his director, and guide, and that conscience forbid taking an oath without his permission. *Chevalier*, *Lambert*, *Duveyrier*, and *Barrault*, each spoke at length and, from the testimony of those who heard them, with great force. The second day *Enfantin* spoke. In order, as he said, that the audience should be affected by his appearance, he paused and regarded them steadily. The President, finally, impatient with his silent gaze, said: "The hearing is suspended;

we cannot wait for the result of your contemplation," and retired. As they went out, *Enfantin* turned to the audience, and smiling, said: "See, another proof of their incompetence."

Enfantin and *Chevalier* were sentenced to a fine of 100 francs, and a year's imprisonment; *Barrault* and *Rodrigue* were fined 50 francs. The sentence of imprisonment was not enforced until the next December, and in the meantime the life at *Menilmontant* was resumed, but the rigidity of its discipline was relaxed a little, and, as was inevitable, the enthusiasm that led first to the adoption of the apostleship, began to cool. Probably as good an explanation of this singular episode is the following, given subsequently by *Michel Chevalier*. He says: "All of us, or nearly all, had to follow *Enfantin*, left either honorable professions, honest competency, or positions held in public esteem. The fact can be explained in two ways; either we had all become fools, or he was a prodigious man. Why at first glance select the first hypothesis? Why not take the time to verify the second?"

The defection having once begun, continued, and, at the same time, the funds of the Society ran so low that they could not pay the rent of their headquarters in Paris; and *Enfantin*, on the day when his imprisonment began, absolved them all from their allegiance to him, and allowed each one to take the course he found best.

Eventually *Chevalier* was released upon the expiration of his term, and after a visit to the United States, returned and began the career as a writer upon political economy, for which he is so well known to-day. *Enfantin* was also pardoned and released before the year had passed. While he had remained in prison, *Barrault* had gone on a mission to the East, and at Constantinople, Smyrna, Alexandria, had preached the doctrines of *Saint Simonism*. *Enfantin* having, while in prison, matured his scheme for making a canal over the Isthmus of Suez, determined when released to join the mission in the East and practically undertake this work. He writes about it: "The cutting through Suez, so long projected, lags. It must be made; it shall be made for us, and by us. I have already twenty men in Egypt who are preparing for it, I will carry five more with me. Many of them are engineers, and I hope before six months to summon recruits to the work. This great work must be done with the enthusiasm that

war has had, and glory must pay these pacific soldiers." Issuing a requisition on the faithful, in these words: "I must have money. On this occasion I, the Father, demand it positively and personally, I demand it in God's name; it is needed, the work is there;" he, with five disciples, embarked for Alexandria in September. Before leaving, they laid aside the symbolical costume. Mehemet Ali, the Viceroy, could not be persuaded to favor the canal, but he was interested in the project of damming the Nile for irrigation, and the Saint Simonians engaged heartily in this work, *Enfantin* planning the organization of an industrial army, which, however, the want of money on the part of the government prevented, and eventually the advent of the cholera, in 1834, scattered those it did not kill.

Enfantin in 1836 returned to France, and for some years was supported by the yearly contributions paid by a few faithful disciples. He called it his "civil list." The affairs of the society were not settled until 1844, when the debts, which still amounted to over \$10,000, were paid by the contributions of the disciples who had succeeded in life. The expense of the movement *Enfantin* said had been \$200,000. He, himself, became eventually pecuniarily independent from the interest he took in railroads, and at his death, aged 68, in 1864, he left a portion of his fortune to pay the expense of publishing his papers, which were issued with those of Saint Simon from 1865-69 in twenty-three volumes. His library and manuscripts he transferred, before his death, to the Library of the Arsenal in Paris, in which it is proposed to collect the materials for the study of sociology. It contains already the papers of Fourier, those of Robinet, the disciple of Comte, and others. Before his death he wrote, concerning an attempt to form a colony in which Saint Simonism should be practically realized: "Every such isolated attempt is what Menilmontant was, an eccentricity, a society outside of society, an apostleship, and, notwithstanding all you say about my inability to modify my opinions, I have not the slightest wish to begin that over again."

EDWARD HOWLAND.

THE THREE CLIMATES OF GEOLOGY.*

[FIRST PAPER.]

IN the length of days and nights, in temperature, and in all that constitutes climate, there is at the present time the widest difference between polar and tropical countries. In the former, a short, hot summer follows a long and intensely cold winter; the influx of light is continuous for one half the year, and wholly ceases for the other half; while the extremes of temperature are almost too great for organic endurance. In the latter, the seasons differ but little; days and nights are of nearly the same length all the year, and the contrasts of temperature are small. The plants and animals differ as widely as the climates, and a transfer from one region to the other is speedily fatal.

Such are now the conditions of these regions, and such they have always been so far as history, or even tradition, can say. I propose to inquire whether they have, in fact, always been as they now are, and if they have not, then to discover, if I can, what were the peculiarities of the former climate or climates; what caused them and why they have ceased to exist.

Man has lived at most but a few thousand years; beyond him are immeasurable periods during which plants and brutes were the only dwellers upon our globe. In regard to time so remote, it would seem impossible to determine anything as to its climate. But in the pursuit of knowledge, apparent impossibility only stimulates to greater efforts. In this case we have a clue to guide us in the fact that a relation of the most intimate character exists between the climate of a country and the plants and animals which inhabit it.

So well established is this relation that, if assured that the flora and fauna of two otherwise unknown regions consisted of the same species, we would not hesitate to affirm that they possessed climates very much alike, or at least that there could be no such difference between them as now exists between the climates of Florida and Spitzbergen. Nor would we care to ask whether those species lived now or long ago; since the Glaciers, or before;

*Read before the New York Academy of Science.

during the Tertiary or in some more remote period. Whenever it was, and wherever it was, in high or in low latitude, or in both, we should believe that the climates at the time when the plants and animals lived, were identical in all the conditions affecting life. It is true that in reference to species living long ago, and in countries of widely different latitudes, a suspicion might cross our minds that they were less susceptible to climatic influences, and hence had a wider range than plants now have. But should it turn out that some of these same species are yet living, and that they survive in low latitudes only—the high latitudes being wholly uninhabitable by them—then we should be justified in denying them a cosmopolitan character, and would be confirmed in our belief that wherever they lived, the climatic conditions were essentially the same.

With this principle as our guide, we turn to the study of ancient life, and hope by its help to arrive at true conclusions as to the character of the climate which prevailed in pre-historic times.

Since the migratory power of birds, quadrupeds and fishes, enables them to pass from one climate to another as the seasons change, it will be necessary to confine ourselves to those forms of life which are not so gifted. The arguments, therefore, will be limited mainly to facts drawn from Plants, Mollusks, Radiates and Saurians, since these, in the nature of the case, were obliged to undergo whatever vicissitudes of warmth and light come in consequence of the earth's annual journey around the sun. They will, therefore, tell us of climatic conditions not for two or three months, but for the whole year.

To-day in Spitzbergen, but little more than 10° from the North Pole, and in other Arctic regions, there is found a dwarfed and scanty vegetation, but in ages incalculably remote those lands possessed an abundant flora, which flourished, according to Sir Charles Lyell, "with amazing luxuriance." Nor was it specially adapted to the rigors of an arctic climate. There were Oaks, Poplars and Walnuts, with great broad spreading leaves; there were Magnolias, and Sequoias, those giant trees which now live in California. There was the *Libocedrus decurrens* of Professor Heer, which survives with the Redwoods in that State, while another species of the same genus still occurs in Chili. Then there was the common Cypress of the Gulf States (*Taxodium*). These were all in the Tertiary, but the

identity of species, in spite of wide differences in latitude, is not confined to any one period. From the dawn of life in the Archæan Age, to near the end of the Tertiary—by far the longest part of the time during which life has existed upon our globe—the plants and animals of each of its many periods were everywhere exceedingly similar, and often identical. As Professor Lesquereux remarks of the Carboniferous Age, “uniformity of vegetation prevailed over the whole northern hemisphere, if not over the whole globe.” A monotonous sameness extended east, west, north, and south. Everywhere the same plants and animals, the same at least in general character, abounded. Corals flourished as far to the north as the seas have yet been explored,* and identically the same species of Brachiopods (e. g. *Productus semi-reticulatus*—Sowerby), have left their remains on the arctic shores of North America, and in the rocks of the Bolivian Andes.

Such similarity of organic forms compels the belief that in spite of the wide differences of latitude there was, in those early days, an equal similarity in climatic conditions. Professor Dana speaking of that time, gives expression to the same conviction, when he says that “no indications of zones of climate have been found.” Whatever the cause, winter cold, even in arctic latitudes, did not then alternate with the heat of summer. Such a climate was exceedingly unlike that which now prevails. It forms a type by itself, and from the universal mildness of the temperature may be styled the Theral—or Summer—Climate. It began in the Azoic ages and lasted to the close of the Tertiary.†

Towards the end of the Tertiary came an astonishing change. Intense cold set in. The Magnolias, Cypresses, and other trees demanding a warm, temperate climate, disappeared from Spitzbergen, Greenland, and other Arctic regions, never to return. A coating

* Captain Nares found remains of corals near his extreme winter quarters.

† The fact that the Pliocene towards its close was colder in high latitudes than in low, does not affect the truth of this statement, unless it can also be shown that there were *alternations* such as our present winters and summers. A sufficient cause will be shown for the decrease of temperature, but one not related to changing seasons. In a word, while there was during the latter part of the Tertiary a difference between the temperature, say of Spitzbergen and Florida, there is, so far as I can discover, no evidence that the climate of either was at that time any less uniform throughout the year than during the earlier ages.

of ice spread from the poles far down towards the equator.* How great its thickness was we have no means of ascertaining, but it was sufficient at least to cover Mt. Washington. Nor can we say anything as to how long it lasted, except that its duration must have been very great.

The climate of this period contrasts strongly with that of the preceding geological ages, as well as with that which now prevails. There seems to have been a continuous winter; it forms, therefore, a type by itself, and may justly be styled the Cheimnal, or Glacial, Climate.

At last heat returned, and the ice and snow disappeared, and plants and animals again abounded. But, henceforth, instead of the ancient sameness of life in high or low latitudes, there is found a diversity such as now exists. From that time to the present, polar, temperate, and tropical regions have been distinguished by a flora and fauna peculiar to each, and summer has alternated with winter.

The climate of this last period, characterized as it is by extremes of heat and cold, differs widely from both its predecessors, and forms a third type. It may appropriately be styled the Thero-Cheimnal, or Summer and Winter Climate.

THE RATIONALE OF THE CLIMATES.

These curious and perplexing facts have largely attracted the attention of physicists. A number of theories have been advanced in reference to them. The most of these have been exploded; I shall, therefore, pass over them with brief mention, reserving the others for a more careful consideration in the progress of this paper.

At first it was thought that the warmth of the early periods was due to the escape of the earth's internal heat. But Sir William Thomson showed that this amounted to almost nothing, after the crust had become a few thousand years old.

Then it was said that the polar warmth, and the cold which followed, were due to changes in the position of the earth's poles.

*Dr. Croll would say, "From each pole *alternately*," I know of no argument for such an alternative save the needs of his theory. As this, so far as I can see, has no sufficient basis in the facts of our world's history, except possibly *after* the Glacial Period—as I shall seek to show further on—I must continue to believe the glaciation of the two poles was simultaneous.

To which the effectual reply was made, that no possible uplift of any portion of the earth's crust could possibly affect the position of the poles enough to seriously influence the temperature anywhere.

Another theory, advanced by Poisson, attributes the climatic changes to the earth's passing through colder and hotter parts of space. This is unsatisfactory, because, among other reasons, space is not a substance, and hence cannot impart heat to bodies.

Lieut. Col. Drayson attributes the Geological climate to an *increase* of the obliquity of the earth's axis to 35° . If such a condition ever really existed, it would be fatal to that uniformity of climate in high and low latitudes, which is one of the most important characteristics of pre-glacial times. As he himself says, as quoted by Dr. Croll; "In the greater part of England and Wales, and all of Scotland, icebergs of large size would be formed each winter; the whole country would be covered with a mantle of snow and ice." "At the summer solstice the midday altitude of the sun for latitude 54° , would be about $71\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$, an altitude equal to that which it attains in the south of Italy." "Each winter, the whole northern and southern hemispheres would be one mass of ice; each summer, nearly the whole of the ice of each winter would be melted and dispersed." Conditions more unlike the equability of the pre-glacial periods can hardly be imagined.*

There is a tendency on the part of many physicists to belittle the climatic changes, and to make out that it was not so very warm in Spitzbergen during the Theral Climate; nor so very cold in present temperate latitudes during the Glacial. But although the evidence, perhaps, does not warrant the belief that a tropical heat was once prevalent in Arctic regions, it does abundantly prove the existence of Magnolias, Cypresses, and other trees now living in the Gulf States, and thus furnishes a problem of the deepest interest.

Those who have studied these facts and have attempted their solution, appear to have been so impressed with the warmth of the first climate and the cold of the second, as to have almost ignored other facts equally important, and even more perplexing.

*The reader will find these theories, as well as those of Mr. Bolt and Sir Charles Lyell and another, attributing the changes of climate to variations in the heat of the sun, ably discussed by Dr. Croll in his *Climate and Time*, and by Searles V. Wood, Jr., in *Geological Magazine* for September and October, 1876.

There was not only a marvellously mild temperature in high latitudes, but it remained with no great variation through the year. There was a uniformity in life-conditions all over the globe utterly unlike anything known at present. For this a satisfactory theory must account, as well as for the changes which occurred to introduce the conditions of to-day.

As our only clue is found in the distribution of the plants and animals, the laws of life must be considered before any progress can be made in our inquiry.

Three things are necessary to plant-life: food, heat, and light. Of the first we need not speak. The second has, perhaps, received sufficient attention. The third is worthy of careful study. All who are familiar with the habits of plants, know that they require for their proper growth and maturity, light as well as heat. Neither can safely be withheld for any considerable time. *Plants kept in darkness, if warm and well supplied with moisture, will soon bleach and die.* Now, if the earth's axis, in those early days, was inclined $23\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$, as at present, the Magnolias, Cypresses, and other subtropical plants of Spitzbergen—lat $79^{\circ} 30'$ —and of New Discovery Harbor*—latitude $81^{\circ} 40'$ —must have spent four months and more of each year in continuous darkness. Had the climate been sufficiently cold, they might, perhaps, have passed the time in torpor, as do plants at the present day, but it was far from being cold in any part of the year, for the abundant remains of corals—creatures unable to live below a temperature of 68° F.—to say nothing of the character of the vegetation itself, prove that the polar seas, at that time, enjoyed, without interruption, a warm and nearly uniform temperature. Hence the life-conditions, during those four months (if the earth's axis was inclined as at present) must have been as nearly as possible equivalent to those of a warm, moist, and dark, but well ventilated cellar. Plants requiring such conditions as are now found in Florida, for example, would, if so placed, have perished.

But it may be said that these trees manifested an unexpected power of endurance, and somehow continued to live and propagate, although it would puzzle one to say why they exhibited such "amazing luxuriance." Granting this to be so, and not troubling

*Late English Arctic Expedition. *Nature*, August, 1878, page 416.

ourselves about the luxuriance, what then? We know that Magnolias, Cypresses, and some other Spitzbergen trees still live in Florida and other low latitudes where the days and nights vary but little from twelve hours in length. If, as Darwin teaches, their environments affect plant life, and are the efficient causes in producing new species, it is incredible, if the earth's axis was then inclined as now, that a flora exceedingly alike, and often identical, could have lived so many thousands of years in the conditions which must have prevailed in Spitzbergen, and then have continued to live in Florida unchanged to the present day. On the contrary, each of these countries should have developed a flora peculiar to itself. Yet until near the close of the Tertiary, comprising more than nine-tenths of the whole of plant existence, there were tropical and warm temperature plants in abundance almost to the poles, but nowhere, and at no time, were plants to be found of distinctively Arctic characteristics.

We are not, however, left wholly to conjecture as to what would be the effect of such polar days and nights in developing structural differences. Much light is cast upon the subject by the examination of a coniferous tree found by Sir Edward Belcher, in lat. $75\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ N., standing where it grew, a circumstance which proves that it belongs to a period subsequent to the Glaciers. It was brought to England, and there Sir William Hooker made a careful microscopic examination of its structure. He reports (I quote from Dr. Croll, in "Climate and Time,") that it "differs remarkably in its anatomical character from any other conifer with which I am acquainted. Each concentric ring (or annual growth) consists of two zones of tissue; the one, the outer, that towards the circumference, is broader, of a pale color, and consists of ordinary tubes of fibres of wood, marked with discs common to all coniferæ * * * *. The inner zone of each annual ring is narrower, of a dark color, and formed of more slender woody fibres, with few or no discs upon them. * * * * These characters prevail in all parts of the wood. They suggest the annual recurrence of some special cause that modified the first and last formed fibres of each year's deposit, so that the first formed differ in amount, as well as in kind, from the last formed; and the peculiar conditions of an arctic climate appear to form an adequate solution. The inner, or first formed zone, must be regarded as im-

perfectly developed, being deposited at a season when the functions of the plant are very intermittently exercised, and when a few short hours of sunshine are daily succeeded by many of extreme cold. As the season advances, the sun's heat and light are continuous during the greater part of the twenty-four hours, and the newly formed wood fibres are hence more perfectly developed; they are much longer, present no signs of striae, and are studded with discs of a more highly organized structure than are usual in the natural order to which this tree belongs."*

Since Spitzbergen is nearly 5° farther north, the same conditions intensified must have prevailed there in all those earlier times, if the earth's axis was then inclined $23\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$. The absence of the corresponding structural peculiarities is strongly presumptive of the absence of their cause, viz., diurnal variations in the light and heat, themselves dependent upon axial obliquity.

In this connection it is very interesting to observe that, according to Mr. C. H. Watson, as quoted by Darwin—*Origin of Species*, page 338—the so-called Arctic plants, found in high mountains, are not strictly Arctic forms. "In receding from polar towards equatorial latitudes, the Alpine or Mountain floras really become less and less Arctic." The importance of this remark becomes more evident when we reflect that the chief, if not the only, change in the life conditions of such plants, is the difference in the mode of their supply of light.

In the animal world we find facts equally inexplicable, if the earth's axis was inclined then as now. Saurians and Corals flourished in waters far beyond the present Arctic Circle. Sir Charles Lyell says, "The same genera, and to some extent the same species of Ammonites, and some other shells, occur also in formations of the same age in India. Remains of a large Ichthyosaurus of Liassic type were brought from latitude $77^{\circ} 16'$, by Sir Edward Belcher. Others were found by the Swedish Expedition, in Jurassic strata, in Spitzbergen, in latitude $78^{\circ} 10'$." Of the corals found yet farther to the north by Capt. Nares, I have already spoken. The habits of all these creatures, as well as the fact that the same species were then living in India, indicate a mild and uniform temperature *through the year*. This, however, is inconceivable, if the axis was then inclined as now, for, in that case, there must have

* See *Climate and Time*, pages 264 and 265.

been, during four months, a constant influx of solar heat, and, for an equal time, a total interruption. The variation in temperature thus produced would be no inconsiderable quantity, since, according to Mr. Meech, the amount of heat received during the four summer months, is greater at the poles than at the equator.* Whatever the influence of warm ocean currents, this alone would have sufficed to produce a very great difference in the temperature of opposite portions of the year.†

Lyell's theory of diminished polar lands, and an increased flow of warm waters northward, may account for a milder Arctic climate, but it fails to explain the equality of the summer and winter temperature so far beyond the Arctic Circle, while it ignores that uniformity in the distribution of light which is indicated by the fossils. He partially sees the difficulty, and offers, in his *Principles of Geology* (page 88), what seems a very insufficient special plea. Speaking of the carboniferous plants, he lays great stress upon their belonging to extinct species, and hence infers that we know very little about how much light they required. He omits to notice, in this connection, the Tertiary flora, about which we do know much, for some of its species, which once grew with "amazing luxuriance," in Spitzbergen, are living to-day in low latitudes.

It seems, however, doubtful whether Lyell's theory has sufficient foundation in the facts of our world's history, for Dr. Newberry and others claim that the testimony of the rocks is conclusive that no such polar depressions occurred in Tertiary times, as Sir Charles requires. Besides, it has been held, for reasons based

*Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge.

†However it may be with Saurians, the presence of Corals gives indications not only of a mild temperature through the year, but points towards an absence of that long darkness which now prevails during so large a part of the year in these high latitudes. These creatures appear to need light and heat, for they die at depths below about 120 feet, yet at that depth the temperature is sufficient for the greater part of the reef species (See Dana's *Corals and Coral Islands*, page 118). It is not any impurity in the water that kills them, for that would not be confined to any particular depth. The pressure of the water cannot seriously affect creatures composed of tissues filled with that fluid. The temperature is high enough, and the water is sufficiently pure. So far as I can see, the only variable element capable of producing any effect, is light. That diminishes rapidly as the depth increases. It is true that the Corals are destitute of organs of sight, but it is not through them that light affects health or vigor, and plants whose sensibility to such influence is very great, are as destitute of such organs as are the Corals.

upon the distribution of plants and animals from Arctic lands southward, that during Miocene and Pliocene times, a land connection reached from Greenland to Iceland, and thence to the Hebrides and Scotland, and to the continent of Europe. If this be true, it is fatal to both Croll's and Lyell's theory, for warm ocean currents are essential to each. A strip of land, however narrow, extending across the North Atlantic, would have cut off *all currents from more northern regions*; and yet, in Spitzbergen, more than 1,000 miles nearer the pole, there flourished, at that very time, a flora adapted to the latitude of Florida.

If it be said that the "bridge" was not continuous, the same result, but in perhaps a less degree, would follow, for if a strip even 500 miles long lay so as to intercept the current which now flows around Spitzbergen, it would so reduce its temperature as to render Miocene life (if not, indeed, present life) impossible.

A PERPENDICULAR AXIS.

The inadequacy of this and other theories compels us to look elsewhere for a solution of the climatic problem. The study of plant life leads to results so incompatible with present conditions, that we are forced to inquire whether the prevalent belief that the earth's axis has "always" been inclined to the ecliptic $23\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ is not an error. If the inclination in those early periods was greater than it now is, the difficulty of accounting for the uniformity which is so perplexing, is increased, because, in that case, light and heat would have been distributed with even less uniformity than at present. Evidently, the explanation of those early conditions does not lie in that direction. We are, therefore, shut up to the alternative, and inquire, "Was the earth's axis, in those times, more nearly perpendicular than at present?"

All that would be directly affected by such an axis, would be the length of the days and nights, and the existence of seasons. If the axis was quite perpendicular, the former would be equal in all latitudes, and seasons would not exist. The climate, so far as it depended upon the heat of the sun, would be absolutely uniform throughout the year. The temperature in Spitzbergen might, or might not, be lower than in Florida, but whatever it was, it would remain constant. The distribution of light for each day of the year, *i. e.*, the number of hours of sunshine, would be absolutely the same

in all latitudes. So far, then, as uniformity in the temperature, and equality in the mode of light-distribution affect plants and animals, conditions so different from these now prevailing would, we may reasonably suppose, have left their traces in the character of the flora and fauna which then lived. Fortunately their remains are so abundant that we need fear no lack of materials on which to work.

C. B. WARRING, PH.D.

FINLAND.

THE popular opinion of the Finns, entertained by nine-tenths of the people of the United States, is that they are pretty much like the Lapps, that is to say, that they live in huts, dress in skins, and live principally upon reindeer milk and black bread. How far this opinion is borne out by the facts, the following pages will show.

Finland—derived from *fen*, it being a country of lakes and marshes—extends from 60° to 70° North latitude, and from 38° to 50° East longitude. When we consider that the parallel of 60° North—the latitude of St. Petersburg—touches Cape Farewell in Greenland, and crosses the northern part of Labrador on our own continent, we get some idea of how far North Finland lies. The country is nearly as large as France, but it contains only 2,000,000 inhabitants, or about half as many as the City of London. There are only seven inhabitants to the square mile. No danger of over-population here! And, as may be supposed, the air unaffected by the presence of man and beast in large numbers, is singularly pure and healthy. The country is covered with lakes. Including the swamps and marshes, they occupy 32 per cent. of the surface, and are almost as thickly set as in our own Adirondacks. As the St. Lawrence is the “River of a Thousand Isles,” Finland is poetically known as the “Land of a Thousand Lakes.”

And what is not water is mostly forest, for the cleared land amounts to only 4 per cent. of the whole surface. The lakes teem with fish, and the forests are filled with game. Salmon, trout, and grayling abound, and yield fine sport to the fisherman, and supply a most important staple of food to the people. The fiords, or coast lakes, as they may be called, which are numerous and very

beautiful, swarm with herring, giving employment to a large number of fishermen, and furnishing an important article of exportation. The forests abound in hares, ptarmigan, partridges, coqs-du-bois, etc., and woodcock, and snipe, are found in their season. Unfortunately, they abound, too, in noxious animals, bears, lynxes, foxes, and, worst of all, wolves. The number of domestic animals killed by these pests, is very serious for a poor people like the Finns. It is estimated that every year 350 horses, 1,100 cattle, 3,000 sheep and goats, 300 hogs, and 500 reindeer, are killed by wild animals, causing a loss of at least \$125,000 per annum, and falling generally upon those of the inhabitants who can least afford it. The number of beasts of prey in Finland may be judged from the fact that 80 bears, 350 wolves, and 2,500 foxes are killed every year, and that there is apparently no diminution in their number. Game and fish do not diminish, perhaps rather increase, for the number of sportsmen is not great, and the game laws are judicious and well enforced.

The scenery of Finland is pretty but not grand, for there are no mountains to be seen till you reach the far north, and then there are but one or two of 4,000 feet. In what may be called the inhabitable part of Finland, they do not attain more than 750 feet. But the chain of lakes, of which Saima is the chief, lies about 250 feet above the level of the sea. The canal which connects it with the Gulf of Finland is built with 28 locks, in order to meet this difficulty, and the river Vuoksa, which connects Lake Saima with Lake Ladoga, and so by the Neva with the Gulf of Finland, is a series of cataracts and rapids. At Juatra it takes its principal shoot, descending 60 feet in half a mile. A hotel has been built at the most beautiful spot on the rapids, and in summer the Russians, and especially the Petersburgers, come there in large numbers to pass a few days, for it is the only bit of striking scenery within hundreds of miles of St. Petersburg.

Lake Saima is about 40 miles long and twenty broad and is but one of a series affording an internal navigation of several hundred miles. Its shores are very thinly populated, and are covered almost entirely by the primeval forest. Here and there one sees a clearing, looking about as large as a pocket-handkerchief, and at great distances apart lie hamlets of 50 to 100 inhabitants. The Finns

are a church-going people, and in summer it is a pretty sight to see them crossing the lakes in their large barges, the women rowing and the men lying lazily in the stern, smoking. The contrast of the women's high-colored dresses with the dark green of the forest, is pleasing. They generally sing as they row, and the effect of their voices heard over the water is charming.

Small steamers ply upon the canal and upon the lakes. There is no room on them to walk about, but this is no hardship to the Finns and Russians, for they are not much given to walking under any circumstances. The only other means of conveyance is by posting, for, except the railroad running along the north shore of the Gulf of Finland from St. Petersburg to Abo, there is at present no rail to speak of in Finland, and no stages or diligences. But the posting is not uncomfortable, and is very cheap. The main roads are excellent, infinitely better than in Russia. Each farmer is bound by law to furnish a certain number of horses and drivers per annum. The horses are tough, wiry, little fellows, rather poor to look at, but very good ones to go. They may be said to live on nothing and find themselves. During a large part of the year they browse, and this and a very little hay, and a handful of barley, constitute the food on which they do hard work. If you need but one, or at most two horses, you will almost always find them ready for you at the post-station, but if you are a large party and want seven or eight, you may be detained an hour, for the horses are probably browsing in the woods, with bells on their necks to keep away the wolves. The carts are very rough, and generally without springs, and the only comfortable way of travelling is to hire or buy a caleche. The expense of posting is very reasonable, three cents for each horse a mile, and ten cents to the driver for each stage. The stages are of about ten miles each, and the plucky little horses do them in a hour.

Finland was not known to the ancients. Very early in the Christian era, one of those vast Asiatic hordes that overran Europe, and finally destroyed the Roman Empire, starting from the foot of the Ural Mountains, passed through Southern Russia, settled in what is now Bulgaria and Hungary, and came north as far as the Baltic Provinces. In the seventh century, these tribes quarrelled among themselves, and the Finns, driven out by the Bulgarians, made their way across Russia to Finland. Here they encountered

the original inhabitants of the country, believed to have been what are now known as the Lapps, and after severe fighting drove them out in turn. The Lapps took refuge in the extreme north. The Finns consisted of two tribes—the Tavestiens and the Careliens. The former settled in the west, and the latter in the east of Finland. There they engaged in agriculture, commerce and navigation. They manufactured iron in a rude way, and Finnish swords made of Finnish iron had a great reputation in Sweden and Denmark, and other warlike countries. The people were at that time pagans, and worshipped the forces of nature. In the 12th century, at the instigation of the then Pope, Eric IX. King of Sweden undertook to introduce Christianity into Finland. He landed on the west coast with a powerful army, and accompanied by St. Henry, an Englishman, and first Bishop of Finland, and who was subsequently martyred in that country. The Finns defended themselves well, but were finally subdued by the superior arms and discipline of the Swedes. These crusades, as they may be called, lasted for two centuries, from 1100 to 1300, for whenever Sweden was engaged in a foreign war the Finns attempted to regain their liberty. Finally, Christianity was definitively introduced, and the power of Sweden established. And now the Swedes showed a wisdom and gentleness in governing the country utterly unknown in those days, and rarely enough imitated in these. They applied the same laws to Finland as to themselves, they established native courts of justice, and, not least, gave the Finns representation in the Swedish Diet. Under so wise a rule the country prospered; but, unfortunately, it was the natural battle-ground for the Russians and Swedes whenever they were at war, which was not unfrequently. The Russians always attacked the Swedes in Finland, for it was in this way only they could reach them, Sweden being mistress of the sea. Then when Denmark was at war with Sweden, as so often happened in those fighting days, her first care was to stir up the Russians to attack the Finns. And so the struggle continued for centuries, and with varying success, the Swedes compelled at times to surrender a portion of their territory, and then recovering it again, until the time of Peter the Great. That great monarch, having founded St. Petersburg in 1703, was determined to have no hostile neighbor, and so attacked and defeated the Finns, and annexed that part of Fin-

land to Russia which was immediately to the north and west of his new city. Matters remained in this condition until the time of the First Napoleon. The King of Sweden detested that Emperor, and when Alexander I. made a treaty of alliance with him, Gustavus IV. declared war against Russia. The war was, of course, unfortunate, for the parties were most unequally matched. Alexander conquered Finland in 1808, and the country was finally ceded to him by Sweden. The Finns have always maintained that but for the treason of Admiral Cronstadt they would have held their own. He occupied the strong fortress of Socaberg at Helsnigfers, with 1500 men, some armed vessels, and an abundance of provisions and munitions of war. He made an agreement with the Russian commander that unless he was relieved by a certain day, he would surrender. No relief came, and he surrendered.

Alexander behaved towards the conquered with his usual generosity. He convoked the Diet in 1809, and promised to respect the religion, the laws and the privileges of Finland. He made himself Grand Duke of Finland, and took the oath of fidelity as such. He created a senate, and appointed a Governor General. Nicholas confirmed the acts of Alexander, and the present Emperor has done the same. Finland occupied rather an enviable position; she is substantially independent, with her own laws, money, custom house and legislature, and with no expenses for defence. Russia builds her forts, and supplies her army and navy. She is defended by the whole power of Russia, and pays nothing for it.

An immense majority of the Finns are Lutherans. In the early days of their history they were, as I have said, Pagans, and worshipped the powers of nature: Ukko, God of the Air and of Thunder, Tapio, God of the Forests, Ahti, of the Lakes and Streams, and Tuoni, the Pluto of the ancients. Upon their conquest by the Swedes they became Catholics. A fine cathedral was built at Abo in 1300, and six or seven convents were scattered through the land, wherever the population was greatest. In 1527 Gustavus Vasa introduced the Reformation, and confiscated the lands of the convents, for by this time, as in England, and Scotland, and elsewhere, the monks had got possession of a large portion of the best lands, and paid no taxes on them. The Reformation spread rapidly, and I know of no instance, not even

in Scotland, in which it has so completely driven out Catholicism. Of the 2,000,000 inhabitants, less than 1,000 are Catholics; about 10,000 (mostly Russians), belong to the Greek Church; there are a few hundred Jews and Mohammedans, and the remainder of the population, more than ninety-eight per cent., are Lutherans. They have an archbishop, two bishops, and nine hundred clergy.

The general superintendence of education is confided to the clergy. No child can come to the communion or man and woman be married, until they can recite certain of the principal tenets of Christianity, and those can scarcely be learned without reading. The first principles of education are given in the family, under the superintendence of the pastor. Then come the ambulant schools, going from place to place, and spending a few weeks in each. Next in order are the primary schools, in which are taught grammar, reading, writing and arithmetic, the first elements of geometry, drawing, singing, and needle-work to the girls. In the next class of schools they add history, geography, and the natural sciences. These schools are kept up principally at the expense of the State. Each commune must supply schools enough for all the uninstructed children from seven to fourteen years of age. The State allows \$120 a year for an instructor and \$80 for an instructress, and the commune must furnish a suitable lodging, four or five acres of cleared land, and pasture and fodder for a cow. The present law has been in force since 1858 only. The number of schools has increased very rapidly in this time, but they are not yet as numerous as they should be. It must not be forgotten, however, that every young child is taught in the family to read and write, under the direction of the clergy.

Passing over the lyceums, industrial schools, and schools for young girls, established by the State, and which employ about 500 teachers, and educate about 5,000 pupils, we come to the University. This great institution was founded at Abo in 1640. In 1825 the buildings were partially burned, and it was then transferred to Helsingfors. It has very nearly one thousand students. It has thirty professors, and eighteen assistant professors. There are four professors of theology, five of law, eight of medicine, fourteen of philosophy in its various branches, and seven in the physical and mathematical sciences. It has a fine library of 80,000

volumes, and a valuable and interesting museum, very rich in specimens of zöology and minerals.

Helsingfors is a picturesque and charming little town of about 35,000 inhabitants. Its harbor is a good one and is protected by the great fortress of Svenborg, where General Todleben has lately displayed his engineering skill in the construction of immense batteries, low, and armed with very heavy artillery. A large Russian force is kept in this fortress. The town is built in the hollow and on the hillsides. It has two very striking churches, the old Lutheran and the new Greek Church. There are first-class hotels and good restaurants. A short distance from the town are summer gardens, where there is a restaurant with French cooking and French wines. A band of music plays in the summer afternoons, and the people resort there to dine, or sup, or walk through the beautiful park, or stroll along the shore of the Gulf, or to listen to the music. Very many of them speak English, and more French. They have considerable commerce with Sweden, Germany, England and the United States; and they like Americans, and admire our institutions. It is difficult to find a more highly civilized, cultivated, and agreeable society than exists at Helsingfors.

Besides the University, there are various learned societies, "The Finnish Society of Literature," "The Finnish Society of Sciences," of "History," of "Archæology," and of "The Beaux Arts." The last is very flourishing, and has 1,300 members. It has an exhibition every year. It buys pictures for its galleries, and others for distribution by lot among its members. It sends young Finnish artists abroad to study, gives prizes, etc., etc. It has two schools of design, one at Helsingfors, and the other at Abo. These two schools had 135 pupils in 1875. They pay a small weekly fee of two to three dollars. The amount thus collected is set aside to assist poor but clever students.

There are several other learned societies at Helsingfors. Perhaps the most important is that of "The Arts applied to Industry" with a view to develop taste and skill among the Finnish workmen. This society is only four years old, but it gives instruction already to nearly 150 pupils.

To complete this sketch of Helsingfors, I should add that it has 21 newspapers and periodicals, of which five are daily papers. All

the rest of Finland publishes 34 journals and periodicals. Most of the newspapers are published in Swedish, for this is still the language of the more highly educated classes. The journals published in Finnish, however, have the largest circulations.

The two other principal towns of Finland are Wiborg and Abo. Wiborg is distant four hours by rail from St. Petersburg, and is a favorite resort of the Petersburgers during the summer, while some, whose health cannot stand the climate of St. Petersburg, reside at Wiborg during the winter, too. It is a town of about 15,000 inhabitants. It was founded in 1293, and has been the scene of many a battle between the Swedes and Russians. Its castle, of which only a gate tower remains (now used as a prison), was built in 1293 by Torkel, son of Canute, and was once a superb establishment. Here the Swedish Governors of Finland lived like princes, and one of them starting from this castle, to be crowned King of Sweden, issued from its gates with 800 horsemen. The town is pleasantly situated on a fiord of the Gulf of Finland. The Saima canal, having its outlet here, opens communication with the interior of the country and with the water system of the lakes, and its commerce and manufactures are very considerable. The name Wiborg is said to be derived from the German word *Wuh*, meaning cattle, for here German merchants, at one time, came to purchase cattle.

Abo is the oldest town in the Grand Duchy, and the second in size. It is said to number 20,000 inhabitants. It is situated on the river Aura, about a mile from its mouth. Vessels of large draught remain in the port, but those of nine or ten feet go up to the town. It has been a place of great importance, and high court was held in its castle by many a Swedish monarch; but wars, pestilence, famine, and fires have reduced it to a town of minor importance. Still, it is the seat of some manufactories, one of sugar, one of cotton, and two or three of machinery, and small vessels are built here. A shipyard, owned by a Scotch firm, constructs, from time to time, vessels and torpedo boats for the Russian Government. The beer of Abo is famous, and it boasts of three large breweries. The Cathedral of St. Henry is interesting from its associations and antiquity; but it has no architectural pretensions. It was the cradle of Christianity in Finland, and dates, I have said, from 1300. Its vaults contain the mummies, in copper coffins, of many of the distinguished men of Sweden and Finland. In the

Horn Chapel is a fine stained glass window representing the beautiful Kasin, Queen of Eric XIV. of Sweden, descending the steps of the throne at the moment of her abdication, and return to Finland, her birth-place. You open a trap-door, take a tallow candle, and descend a narrow, winding, stone stair to the vault below, and there you see the beautiful queen herself, a dried-up mummy in a copper coffin.

Within a few years they have introduced into Finland a capital system of farm instruction for the wives and daughters of farmers. It was commenced in 1865 by the Government sending two skilful butter-makers into the Government of Knopio to instruct the peasants in the best manner of making butter and cheese. Now these teachers are sent into all the Governments, and, besides this, eleven dairy schools have been established, supported by the State. Eight scholars—girls—are admitted into each school, and after two years they are turned out, thoroughly skilled in all the farm-work generally done by women. In Finland, as in almost all European countries, this includes pretty much all kinds of farm-work. The effect of these schools has been excellent, so that one farm now frequently churns as much butter as the whole commune produced a few years ago.

Agriculture is, of course, the principal occupation of the Finns. Eighty per cent. of the population are engaged in it in some form or other. It is only since the middle of the eighteenth century that agriculture has made any progress in Finland. Before that date, constant wars and, above all, the want of proper laws and customs securing private property, interfered sadly with cultivation. All the forests, and much of the arable land, had, up to that date, been held in common. The principal products of the soil are, barley, oats, rye, grass, potatoes, and hemp and flax. Wheat is grown in very small quantities. The rye is excellent, and is exported to Sweden; the oats to England. But the grain often has to be kiln-dried, the short, wet summer not supplying sufficient heat. The grass, when mown, is not spread upon the ground to dry, as with us; it is hung on poles with short branches left on them to act as pegs, and retain the hay. There the wind gets at it, and it is raised from the damp ground. Some fruit, such as apples and pears, are grown, and some vegetables, but not in large quantities. Almost all of these fruits, and vegetables, and most of the grains, will

not grow, except under exceptional circumstances of soil and site, north of the 62nd parallel of latitude, and Finland, as I have said, extends from 66° to 70°. North of 62° barley and potatoes are the only certain crops.

Cattle thrive very well in Finland, and the export of butter is very large, and the butter is excellent. It is sold generally for about 14 cents a pound. Its excellence is accounted for partly by the quality of the pasturage, but somewhat by the habit of clearing large tracts of forest by burning. The land thus cleared is cultivated for a year or two, and then allowed to run wild. A dense vegetation soon grows up, covering the soil and the stumps, and affording excellent browsing as well as grazing for the animals.

The products of the forest contribute largely to the support of the Finlanders. The innumerable lakes and water-courses afford them a cheap means of getting their wood to market. They exported in 1876 more than 300,000 cords of wood, and enormous quantities of boards, plank, laths etc. Fortunately, the supply of wood is inexhaustible, if not destroyed by fire, and this the government has adopted measures to prevent. It is estimated that the forest covers 64 per cent. of the surface of the country. Trees grow very slowly in Finland. South of 61°30' they require from 60 to 100 years, according to the quality of the soil, to become fit for carpentering. North of that parallel they require about 20 years more.

There are some mines in Finland, iron, copper, silver, tin, etc., but with the exception of iron it does not pay to work them. The best iron is found on the bottom of some of the lakes, and is raised in hand nets. It was worked by the Finns as long ago as in Pagan times. The theory is, that the iron is dissolved by the action of water, carbonic acid and oxygen, and thus dissolved is borne by the action of springs and streams to the surface of the lake, when by degrees it sinks in the form of ochre, and combining with other substances, forms carbonate of iron, and finally iron in the form in which it is dredged. It is generally found in small piles, in pieces large as a quarter of a dollar. It gives employment to more than twenty furnaces, and its production is constantly increasing. The supply is supposed to be inexhaustible.

Finland manufactures in great variety but on a small scale. She has one or two sugar refineries, thirty breweries, and several dis-

tilleries. She manufactures tobacco, mineral waters, perfumery, matches, candles, linen, etc. The cotton industry is important, and she brings her cotton (as well as her petroleum) direct from the United States. In 1876 she imported about 4,000,000 pounds. The tanneries are numerous. Most of the hides she imports from South America, and the leather she sends to Russia. She manufactures machinery and tools, and builds steamers and sailing vessels. The farmers along her coasts have great skill in ship-building, and frequently a whole neighborhood will unite to build one. The servant girls put in their wages, and the men of the families man and sail her. The Finns are good sailors, and the number of their ships is very large. In 1876 they had 1,900 vessels, of which 125 were steamers. Seventy per cent. of their commerce is carried in Finnish bottoms.

The population of Finland has increased rapidly within a few years. In 1815 she contained 1,000,000 inhabitants, and in 1875, 2,000,000. They have an admirable census system. Every year the clergy prepare for the Government tables showing the marriages, births, and deaths, in their respective parishes, and every five years they generalize those tables. Finland has borrowed this system from Sweden, and those two countries unquestionably have the best census system in the world. Perhaps it is rendered possible by the fact that such an immense proportion of the population belongs to the same denomination. The Russian troops stationed in the country are not included in the estimate, neither are the Jews, whom the law does not allow to be naturalized. Eighty-five per cent. of the population are Finns, fourteen per cent. Swedes, and the remaining one per cent. is made up of Russians, Germans, and Lapps. As in other countries of Europe, the women somewhat outnumber the men. To 1,000 men there are 1,046 women. The cause of this is easily found in drunkenness (the women rarely drinking), and in accidents to which men are more liable than women. There are large numbers of men, for instance, drowned every year—about 550. This is not to be wondered at when we consider the immense water system of Finland, with its coasts, lakes, and streams, and the occupations of so many of its inhabitants. The difference between the men and women in numbers, 46 in 1,000, is just about accounted for by the number of widows. The Finns do not emigrate much, but, of course, a large

number are permanently or temporarily established at St. Petersburg, and a colony exists at Hancock, Michigan.

The Finns are a small race, blonde in the Western part of Finland, where they have mixed with the Swedes, and much darker in the East. They are intelligent, good humored, at least in the West, affectionate and singularly honest. You may expose articles of value freely out of doors without the slightest danger of their being stolen, reminding one of our own country villages thirty years ago, before immigration had increased their population and diminished their honesty. Their government is a very good one. The Emperor is their Grand Duke. He nominates a Governor General, and a Senate. The Senators must be Finns, and so must the Secretary of State for Finland, who resides at St. Petersburg, and looks after the interests of the State. The legislative power is in the Diet. This consists of four estates—the Nobles, the Clergy, the Bourgeois, and the Peasants. The Diet must be called together at least once in five years. No law can be enacted or abrogated without its assent. All bills affecting taxes, or constitutional laws, must receive the assent of all four Houses; all other bills may be passed by three Houses only.

The rank of Nobles is hereditary. The other Houses are elected. In each of those three orders any one is eligible who is 25 years old, and is a Christian. Non-Christians may vote, but are not eligible to office.

The communes manage their own affairs, as we do with us, and are supreme in all matters of local taxation, primary schools, public health, paupers, roads, etc. They have an admirable system which might be introduced into our large cities to advantage. In electing the Administrators, or Town Council, each inhabitant has a number of votes in proportion to the taxes he pays. In other words, if he pays the largest tax, and consequently contributes most to the support of the commune, he has most to say in the selection of the Administrators. This appears to be simple justice.

The finances of Finland are in an admirable condition. The receipts exceed the expenditures. The mark and the penni are the currency of the country. The former is exactly a franc, and the latter a centime. The Finnish banks pay gold. On presenting a check you have a right to claim four-fifths of the amount in gold.

Gold being so easily had, the people of course, as with us, prefer paper. Finland followed the lead of Germany and Sweden, some few years ago, in demonetizing silver. Germany and Sweden have both suffered in consequence. I trust that Finland will not, but she is too poor a country to proscribe silver; only England can afford such experiments.

This is a brief sketch of an interesting and comparatively unknown country. I think that the readers of these pages will conclude with me, that the Finns bear but a slight resemblance to the Lapps.

WICKHAM HOFFMAN.

A CHATELAINE OF FLOWERS.

“In my mind’s eye, Horatio,”

When order out of chaos came
 And nebulae condensed in space;
 When stars lit up their lambent flame,
 And planets found their ether place;
 E’en then the fateful atoms mixed
 Which hid these flowers in their embrace!

This Maiden-hair comes down the years,
 Trailing their freshness, ever green;
 These Rose-buds bring from out the spheres
 A beauty that all years have seen;
 And pansies (they’re for thoughts, you know!)
 Their dyes from vanished sunbeams glean!

And so the old is ever new;
 The past lives on, though dying ever;
 The ages still the age pursue,
 While faith keeps young in fresh endeavor;
 And love, that lights this endless maze,
 Lives warm in fern, and flower, and giver!

FRANCES EMILY WHITE.

PUBLIC SCHOOLS IN THEIR RELATIONS TO THE
COMMUNITY.*

THE fellowship of interest which the older members of a family feel in the school life of the younger, from the first day at school to the last, crowned, or hoped to be, with honor,—is a type of that which every community should feel in the Public School education of its children. That such an interest does exist in this city, to some degree, we have evidence in the numerous communications in newspapers, from parents who trust that their grievances are those of many others, and in editorials which assume large and willing audiences. It seems, therefore, that a view of the present condition of public education specially in Philadelphia, and generally elsewhere,—to show how far it has come and in what direction it moves, to reaffirm principles that are still called in question, because they are themselves the outgrowth, to the public eye, of the system itself,—and before an audience where many minor discussions may be concentrated, may be worthy of public attention; and it certainly is not foreign to the objects of this Association. For it is to one which, by its title, may be held to have been the ancestor of this, that we owe the existence of our present local school system. It was “The Society for the Promotion of Public Economy,” under the chairmanship of Roberts Vaux, that in 1818 procured the passage of the act, “to provide,” as its title reads, “for the education of children at the public expense within the City and County of Philadelphia.”

It was a dangerous step, or at least would have been thought so then, could its results have been foreseen, when that type of the future Commonwealth, the Society of Friends, established in 1698 a school in Philadelphia, “where all the children and servants might be taught, and provision made that the poor be taught gratis.” The preamble of the last Charter granted this School (still in vigorous existence) in 1711, is as follows: “Whereas the prosperity and welfare of any people depend in a great measure, upon the good education of youth, and their early introduction in principles of true religion and virtue, and qualifying them to serve their country and themselves by breeding them in reading, writ-

* Read before the Philadelphia Social Science Association, April 1st, 1880.

ing, and learning of languages and useful arts and sciences, suitable to their sex, age, and degree; which cannot be effected, in any manner, so well as by erecting Public Schools for the purpose aforesaid." Here, in words that suggest not elementary schools for the poor, but the generous collegiate foundations of old England, is the very basis of a State School system; and, though this was for more than fifty years the only Public School in the Province, yet a principle had been stated, and illustrated by its existence. It was reaffirmed in the first Constitution of the State, that of 1776, in the opening turmoil of the Revolution, and again in that of 1790. Both of these require the Legislature "to provide by law for the establishment of schools in such manner that the poor may be taught," in 1776 "at low prices," and in 1790 "gratis." Such laws were passed, found unsatisfactory, and repeatedly changed; the last of this series, "an act to provide for the education of the poor gratis," bearing date 1809. It astonishes us now, or at least it should astonish us, to observe how long a time was required to discover that those words "the poor" were the obstacle to all these well-meant efforts. While the rich objected to taxation for the expressed benefit of a class, the poor objected to the classification which the benefit involved. It was not until 1818, after long agitation, and clear showing of the evil of class legislation, that the Society for the Promotion of Public Economy procured the passage of the act already mentioned. Until 1834, it applied, however, to Philadelphia only. Its preamble reads thus: "Whereas, the general provisions of the existing laws towards the establishment of schools throughout the State in such manner that the poor may be taught gratis * * * have not proved to be a public benefit [within the City and County of Philadelphia] commensurate with the expense incurred by occasion of the same," therefore, &c.

By this act, which is the foundation of our present city system, all limitations as to the social condition of pupils, and even, in effect, the range of their studies, were removed. The controllers were empowered "to provide such suitable books as they may deem necessary," and "to establish a model school to qualify teachers,"—since grown into our Girls' High and Normal School. A great step forward had been taken when this law could be passed,—a law in which "the poor" are not reminded of their

poverty, except in necessary reference to previous legislation. And the good effect of the law was so marked, that after extending its operation to the whole State in 1834, in 1836 the controllers for Philadelphia were authorized "to establish one Central High School for the full education of such pupils of the Public Schools as may possess the requisite qualifications;" and it was further enacted that "all such provisions (if any) in the 'act of 1818 and its supplements' as limit the benefits of the said public schools to the children of indigent parents, * * * be and the same are hereby repealed." The "if any" shows that the intention in 1818 was to abolish this odious distinction, which, we may hope, received its last mention on our Statute book, in the words just quoted; and the establishment of the High School was a guarantee of the good faith of that act. That act, of 1818, did not establish a High School, but it brought the grade of education so high by not restricting it to the poor, that pupils who had the preparation and the time, (generally from the wealthier, if not the wealthiest classes,) looked naturally to a High School for their "full education," so far as any institutions short of a college could give it. The stream had risen to the level of its source; the spirit that founded Oxford, and Cambridge, and Winchester, and Eton, and a dozen other great endowed schools of England; which had manifested itself here in the Friends' School already mentioned, and the "College and Academy" (now the University) in 1750,—this spirit following the law of its being in the free air of a Republic, had expanded to the full measure of its liberal nature.

What, therefore, I wish to call attention to, as the first noticeable point in this review, is *that our schools were unsuccessful*, or, as the preamble already quoted tersely and practically says, "their benefits were not commensurate with their expense," *until they were made schools for all classes, a step which necessitated their reaching to the highest grade*. Without precise information as to other localities, I venture to say that this has been the experience everywhere; and that this point may be considered as one of the "fixed facts" in the history of Popular Education.*

* In 1816 the so-called Poor Schools were attended by 1-55th of the whole population. In 1820, after they had become really Public Schools, the attendance had, more than doubled, and was 1-22d of the population. In 1830 it remained stationary,

“Heaven from all creatures hides the book of Fate,” and it was no doubt well that neither the advocates or the opponents of the constitutional clause of 1776 saw its inevitable result; else it had not been adopted. But to justify that action, we must consider what was at that time the extent of an ordinary English education, and how small a portion of the community received it, in the private schools of the day. The classics and the higher mathematics were seldom studied by those not destined for a learned profession or a college course. Natural Science and Political Economy, as branches of popular knowledge, did not exist; and a very limited acquaintance with Geography and History sufficed for the occasions of most men in those days of little travel and few newspapers. As to Drawing, it was reckoned, with Embroidery and Deportment, as an ornamental accomplishment for the very few young ladies' schools then existing. The modern languages were learned for immediate use by the few adults who had need of them, and singing, in social evening schools, by adolescents. There remained, therefore, really but the instruction in the “three R's” to be considered when popular education was before the Legislature,—Providence thus, according to the promise that we shall not be tempted above that we are able, making the first step an easy one. These wonderful R's, little clouds like a man's hand,—they have showered great blessings upon us! Nor is their influence yet spent. The “promise and potency” of much to come is in these essential particles of education, to which we must go back again and again that we may better go forward.

But the increased intellectual activity after the Napoleonic wars, added to human acquisitions not only new facts, but new sciences; and the elements of these, with a corresponding development of the primitive branches, have added largely to the course of studies of the schools. This, in part, made necessary the High School department; but it has brought

although the population had increased 40 per cent. In 1840, after the classification of the lower schools, and the establishment of the High Schools, it had quadrupled the figures of 1820 and 1830, and was about 1-11th of the population. Since then it has grown steadily in numbers and proportion, being in 1871 1-8th of the population. In 1816, with 2,000 pupils, the cost was \$11.50 each. In 1881, with 87,428, pupils, and a greatly extended course of study, it has grown but to \$15.67 per pupil; and in view of the changed value of money, the increase is less than it appears to be.

about also a most comprehensive classification and grading of all departments.

All this has not been the work of one, but of many years, and has taxed the patient thought of many men and women who would have been famous had they not been simply teachers. The first step in this path in this city was the division into Primary, Secondary and Grammar Departments, in 1837; the next, the establishment of the Senior classes, in 1867, as intermediate between the Grammar and the High Schools; the last, the revision of 1877, in connection with the present course of study then adopted. This makes for each of the three lower departments four grades, and for the Senior, two; in all, without the High Schools, fourteen grades, numbered continuously from the lowest, and requiring eight years for their completion.

I introduce this statement here in connection with what I have said as to the Public Schools having become schools for *all*. But I desire to call special attention to it, in answer to a complaint that has been heard of late, and which seems very much like the old opposition to State education, revived under a new form. Within the last seven years, the burden of taxation, under a financial distress unequalled during the generation which has seen the development of our school system, has drawn public attention to every means of relief. Some of the larger taxpayers, suffering less from the burden, yet more sensible of it than the poor, complain that our schools are too expensive; that they go too far; that they teach sciences and ornamental branches, never contemplated by their founders. Those among the complainants who pride themselves on owing everything to ancestry, urge that the masses, who are, of course, to be working people, need a plain, "practical" education only. Those who pride themselves on owing nothing to ancestry say that if any have talents fitting them for a higher walk, they will reach it without education, "as we did."

But these views, however much they claim to be based on those of the Fathers, are of modern origin. They are due to a more rapid growth of wealth than wisdom, and the rise of a so-called aristocracy, based on wealth. This aristocracy has travelled, if it has thought it worth while to do so; it has been complacently and publicly unconscious, or painfully and secretly sensible, of its inferiority to its European prototype, refined by generations of

ease and culture, and for the present, at least, still an essential part of the political system. It has seen in foreign countries, if it has cared to look, public education maintained by the State, not to make the people more fit to govern, but more easily governed; and it brings home the language of those countries when Education is the topic, as when it speaks of Society and Art. The effect is seen in the freedom with which demagogues disparage the higher education, and cut down salaries of teachers. It will be felt disastrously when such work shall have so lowered the standard of our schools that they shall again be known as Pauper Schools, and a coming generation shall be taught, as a primary lesson, that Public Schools are for the Poor only.

As already said, the answer to these objections is to be found in the grading and classification that have been mentioned. A very short study of the statistics of this feature of our local system will illustrate this. At the close of 1878, which was by no means an exceptional year, of our 103,997 pupils, 52,422, or one-half of the whole, were in the Primary Department, and studying, therefore, Spelling, Reading, Writing, Arithmetic, as far as multiplication with four figures, and long division by one figure, Drawing in straight and curved lines, such as are the basis of all mechanical and ornamental design, Object Lessons, or very "practical" oral instruction in weights, measures, money, form, color, local geography, general elementary useful knowledge; and Music in simple songs.

Going a little further, we find that 27,022 pupils, being a little over one-fourth of the whole, were in the Secondary Department, where the same studies are reviewed and carried further,—Language into the beginning of Grammar; Arithmetic into common fractions; Drawing, into natural forms (leaves and flowers), and their analysis into typical forms; Object Lessons including names of trees, and plants in this vicinity, with some knowledge of their habits and uses—the qualities and uses of various familiar materials—and information as to different occupations or trades. Vocal music is continued with two-part songs, and the Geography of North America is added.

We have now, before reaching the Grammar Department, originally the highest grade, already accounted for 79,444, out of the 103,997 pupils—that is to say, with those pursuing Primary and Sec-

ondary studies, of the 7,418 in consolidated or unclassified schools, and the 300 in the Practice classes of the Normal School, about four-fifths of the whole. Certainly not much that is unpractical is taught to this point.

In the Grammar Department proper, there were 15,443, and probably 5,000 more in the consolidated schools. From this should be deducted the senior classes—say 1,800—making the total number pursuing the studies of this grade, say 18,000, or about one-sixth of the whole. These 18,000 are divided among 64 schools, in a territory of 143 square miles, and certainly cannot form anywhere a very dangerous body of over-educated youth. Let us see what they study. Language lessons go into the beginning of Syntax; Arithmetic to percentage and square root, measurement of rectangular surfaces and solids; Geography becomes universal, and that of the United States is studied in connection with their history. Drawing comprises freehand perspective without shading, and conventional ornament. Music teaches the formation of different scales, with three-part exercises and songs; and Object Lessons are given on the most general classification of animals and plants, further details of their economic uses, the laws of heat and cold, ventilation, respiration, etc.

About 1,800 pupils, as already stated, are in the Senior grades, where the High School course really begins, and, for most of the students, ends. Here Grammar is finished; Geometry, Mensuration and Algebra are begun, Geography becomes Physical, instead of Political; and History, in the form of reading lessons, is that of the United States, with those of England, France, and Spain (the three most nearly connected with ours), and of the most important nations of antiquity. Drawing is both freehand and instrumental, for constructive and decorative purposes; Vocal Music, now mainly, of course, for the girls, goes into higher detail; and the Object Lessons, by charts and lectures, are on elementary Natural Philosophy, Physiology and the laws of health. The study of the Constitution of the United States is added, with oral instruction on our city government.

In all the departments, exercises conducive to physical development and discipline, are required to be taught; and the oral instruction, in addition to what has been mentioned, is directed to the "habits and conduct" becoming in the hands of a competent teacher, a far-reaching moral agency.

Concluding our analysis with the two High Schools (Boys' and Girls') we find that they contained in all, at the close of 1878, 1,392 pupils, making, with the 1,800 in the Senior classes, about one-third of the whole number. The studies of the Boys' High School in the English Language and Literature, Mathematics, Latin, Mental Science, History and Political Economy, and Natural Science, are nearly if not quite the same as in the Department of Arts at the University of Pennsylvania, while they include Mechanical Drawing, which the latter does not, and do not include Greek and French, which the latter does.

The studies of the Girls' High School have been adapted chiefly to the requirements of those who are to become teachers in the lower schools, and therefore omit, among others, Latin, German, Political Science, and some branches of Mathematics. As the preparation for teaching, however, has recently been made a special course, it will not probably be long before that for *general* pupils will be as liberal as the "full education" of women demands.

It will be seen, then, that in the year 1878 there were but $\frac{1}{3}$ of the Public Scholars enjoying High School instruction, if we include the Senior classes of the Grammar Schools; without them, but $\frac{1}{5}$; that but $\frac{1}{5}$ are in the other grammar grades, and the remainder, nearly $\frac{4}{5}$, are in the lowest grades, where are taught Reading, Writing, Arithmetic, and American Geography, and nothing else but the very practical subjects, involving no textbooks, of Drawing, Singing, Physical Exercises and Good Behavior. The records of at least the last eight years show very slight variation in these proportions, which may be taken, therefore, as those of the children in the different grades of our Public Schools at any one time. It does not seem, then, that the masses of our children are being taught too much, or that our municipal legislators have reason to fear that their future constituents are outgrowing them in learning. The latter fact is to be regretted, but, as it is a fact, it should be quoted on the right side. That the 104,000 public school children represent this future constituency very largely will be evident when we remember that the total number of children of school age in this city is about 150,000, exclusive of those at work, and that the course and methods of the Public Schools direct very much those of all others.

As to the "undue expensiveness" of all this, I am sorry to say

that the city of Philadelphia pays only about \$15 per annum for the instruction of each of its public scholars. This includes not only teachers' salaries, but books, fuel, furniture, repairs and insurance; in fact, everything except *new buildings*. The Boys' High School, an institution whose use many fail to see, notwithstanding its collegiate powers, since it "does not even make teachers," costs the enormous sum of \$75 per annum—less than half the cost of a University year—for each of its 600 pupils. This, however, is assessed upon a capital of \$200,000,000, and has given to the community possessing that capital, during the last forty years, hundreds of its leading and most useful men, who for want of that seventy-five dollars yearly would have had no higher preparation for life than the Grammar School course.

There also are facts to be regretted: it is possible that if we gave more to our schools, we should receive more from them, and criticism find fewer occasions.

A French writer has compared a well-arranged plan of public education "to a railway system, with its main line, stations, junctions and branch lines. * * * Just as passengers on a railway get out at the different stations, so the children, who, from pecuniary necessity or social position, are compelled to earn their livelihood at an earlier age, leave school at any point of this course, * * * all, according to the amount of knowledge they have acquired, able to take their place in the social stratification." As it is the duty and interest of railway managers to give facilities for all classes of passengers, so it is the duty and interest of the State to provide for all who travel the road to learning, leaving to the operation of natural laws, in both cases, the fixing of the proportion of way and through fares. The necessities of a vast manufacturing population prevent the greater part of the pupils from reaching the Grammar department; and the unique construction of our city, which brings the poorest classes into close neighborhood with the wealthier, has the effect to restrict the children of the latter very largely to the Grammar Department and the High Schools, particularly the Boys'. The objection sometimes made, that the whole course of study contemplates, nevertheless, the entrance of each Primary pupil into a High School, will be met by what has been and what will be said. Certainly, to return to our illustration, our road, no matter with how many stations, must have a terminus also.

But there is a real danger in the extension of the course of studies,—a danger somewhat opposite to that which our friends (of whom we have just spoken) have feared, and yet, perhaps, the one that they should have felt. It is not that our pupils may be learning too much, but that they may be educated too little. Learning, as the acquiring of information, is one thing; Education, the development of the human forces, is another. I do not say that we are at present committing this error; but there always has been, and will be, a tendency to it, that must be carefully watched and checked. Public schools owe their origin to a desire to open to the illiterate that field of knowledge whose gate is the art of reading. It was natural, therefore, that the next step should be the imparting of knowledge. And yet the mere giving of knowledge, for its own sake, or for its commercial uses, I take to be not at all the function of State schools, or, indeed, of any but special schools. This audience will not misunderstand me, but may even wonder that I should call attention to this as the other prominent point in a public school system, besides its comprehensiveness, namely, *that State education must be essentially a training, not essentially an informing process.* But a beacon, though centuries old, is useless the moment a fog hides it, and you will allow me, therefore, a few words on this point of which we often lose sight.

For the principle I have mentioned, applied to education generally, is older than our Teachers' Institutes, older than Pestalozzi, older than Comenius. Displayed first probably by the Greeks, what the leaders in teaching have since done, has been to recall, from time to time, by its light, the course of their comrades as they have strayed from the true path into the bogs of pedantic rote, or the thickets of universal knowledge. The human being is always the same, and what must always be done for him is, to bring out his powers by the proper use of his accidental circumstances. All knowledge is but a means; all life but a process of education; and that fraction of each that belongs to the school time of youth, is best used when it follows this course. It is true that so far as the education of the mind is concerned, the acquisition of knowledge is the first and almost the last step, but after all, it is no more the *end* than the partaking of food is the end of eating, though this be a performance indispensable first, last, and always, to our growth and maintenance. "For life," in all its forms, "is more than meat."

Among barbarous peoples, the development of the physical powers is the most important part of education. As civilization increases, the intellectual faculties require and receive more attention, and where civilization is, like ours, based on Christianity, the duty of educating the moral faculties is recognized. Each of these should be an addition, not a substitution. The *highest* civilization should produce men of physical beauty equal to the classic models, of strength, endurance, and acuteness of sense of the nomad or hunter; of the highest degree of mental perception, retention, and analysis, and with spiritual graces that, so far at least, have been found inseparable from Christianity. All this seems visionary, but I am pointing forward to a goal, not to the roadside we are passing; and if we wish to know our way, we must ask where it leads.

So the most important question for us, now and always, is, Is our course of public education well designed theoretically, to bring on their way to this highest plane, in the few steps of one generation, the people of this city? I think it is. Our very general review has shown that while more time is, properly, occupied with the mental training, yet the physical and moral are not neglected. Much of the first involves the second. The use of charts, and objects, to teach color and form, the study of drawing and singing, of geography by map drawing, the regulated use of physical exercises, in addition to the usual recess, all are calculated to aid in the development of the organs of the senses, and the general bodily vigor. And since, historically and actually, the highest form of religion is based on manhood, certainly the moral instruction required in our schools, is in connection with the mental and bodily, at least a preparative for something higher.

As to a more detailed examination of the course, this is not the place, even were there time, for it. Let me only say, as to its mental department, that as the acquiring of information is a means to the training of the mind, so it was justly thought that a scheme of study which followed the most natural order of learning should be the best. Naturalness is followed in grouping the studies under their generic names, and taking them up in proper order; and the seven branches, mathematics, writing, drawing, music, natural science, history—which might be again condensed into the three primitive orders of Pestalozzi, speech, form, number,

(the "three R.'s" again)—comprehend all that man can know, under titles that are carried through all the grades. Thoroughness in elementary principles, rather than the covering of large fields thinly, has been kept in view, and, therefore, children are kept longer in the early stages of language and number than formerly. The study of language is made more prominent, and that of number less, than formerly in the Primary Department. The lessons are divided among the different grades more minutely, and without reference to any special text-book. The instruction in drawing is made obligatory, at least so far as the requirement of examinations can make it so. Political geography and history are taught together, as they should always be, and, in fact, the whole course shows a more scientific structure, as a training system, than its predecessor. This may be said without disparagement of the labors of those who prepared that course, for some of them have been the most active in the arrangement or introduction of the present. And if long experience and observation of that course, if acknowledged skill as teachers, if months of patient, unpaid labor, done in hours which the workman might justly claim as his own, if careful study and readiness to avail of the experience of other cities; if all these are not a guarantee that the Committee of Principals to whom this city owes her present course of study, have made the best one possible, they at least guarantee the probability that no better could have been made, and that they and those they represent are ready to amend whatever use may prove defective.

The direction in which improvements will be made hereafter, will, I think, be in the apportionment of time among the different branches according to their relative value. Thus it may be a question whether too much detail be not allowed in Geography and History, at the expense of studies which have a greater value in training viz: Literature, Mathematics, and form in some of its varieties. The man of one book is famous as a man of power. While the practice of a single manual art dwarfs the mind, study of a single branch comprehending these subjects expands it. Introductory or in addition to drawing, modeling might be practiced in the lower schools, and the representation of tools and appliances of the arts made a part of the drawing lessons of the higher.

The Boys' High School would doubtless give a more valuable degree, if its studies were so far elective that pupils could carry

either a general or a scientific course to a full collegiate standard ; or if it should confine itself entirely to one or the other.

It is a failure to note the distinction between training and informing, which gives rise to much of the objection to the higher grades of public education. If the business of the schools be to give information, one may well feel alarmed, lest, in an age where the field of knowledge is continually widening, that there will be no limit to the curriculum ; and decide it the safest course to stop all instruction but the most elementary. But if our educators keep this point in view, that the State, having no right to legislate for special classes, ought not to make encyclopedists any more than lawyers, physicians, accountants, telegraphers, machinists, farmers, etc., but that she ought to make men, they will know their path and its end, and will soon find themselves unmolested in it.

For men are what the State *always* needs, while the necessity for artisans of any type or degree changes with the market. In a Commonwealth, above all, where the pupils "are the State," not its subjects, should the higher education, which makes the leaders among men, be easily accessible, because it raises the standard of general intelligence. The highest mountains rise from elevated regions, and the leading minds of the Nation come now from those parts of our country where State education is most thorough and general. At the risk of being offensive, I call attention to this : the two conditions are inseparable, and that the gradation hitherto seems to be downward from the higher parallels of latitude. In England the *class* from which the governing minds arise is well educated. Here that class should be co-extensive with the country. That all cannot reach the highest grades of training, is a reason why every opportunity should be given to those who can. It is the way of nature that the rising sun does not fill the landscape with light till *after* he has illuminated the highest peaks.

Much has been said lately of the necessity of industrial training in our Public Schools. So far as this means a preparation for an industrious, useful life, it is exactly what has been maintained in the preceding pages. But those who seriously propose to introduce special manual employments, which, by a restriction in language, seems to be all that come under the head of industry,

now-a-days, must give the subject very careful consideration.* I have suggested how much is to be done for every child besides teaching it a trade; and if it be well done, in those first years when it ought not to be confined to labor, the learning of trades, under their present and prospective division into specialties, and in technical schools which are replacing apprenticeship, becomes an easy matter. Only let our course of study keep in view such a balance between its departments,—such an equal opening of the doors to each of the three directions of human effort,—towards facility in language, towards aptness in mathematical combinations, towards readiness in distinguishing form, that each pupil, instead of being fitted for nothing, with a consequent leaning towards a clerkship or a cheap literary occupation, will find the path in which he or she can work best, and the State at least need not trouble itself about him or her thereafter.

What now has risen up before us in this review? Not an eleemosynary system, offspring of benevolence and self-interest, for the protection of the rich by the least possible aiding of the poor; not a meagre course of elementary learning, a mere gate to let unbred animals into common, forest, or garden at their own will; but a thoughtfully planned course of training, physical, mental, and moral, reaching from the Kindergarten to the University, and affecting the children of the day laborer and the capitalist—in its night schools, even the laborer himself. It is not, we admit, the system established by the fathers; we are glad—and they would be—that it is not. Great, indeed, were the foresight, or small the

*To look at this question as a practical one,—out of about nine hundred distinct occupations in the Philadelphia City Business Directory for 1880, about one hundred separate manual arts or trades may be distinguished. To give an elementary knowledge of each of these, an immense expense (besides time) is required in buildings, materials, tools, and instructors, which must be increased with the progress of the arts, changed with the changing demand, or allowed to become worthless or obsolete. It will be impossible to teach each to every pupil, and discrimination, at so early an age, must be made quite in the dark. What then, can be done for “industrial” education, more than to try to develop such mental aptness and manual dexterity as will make easy the learning of the most suitable trade when necessary? This will not exclude all useful work from schools, any more than the same rule in other studies excludes all useful learning. It only restricts the teaching to such employments, whether prospectively remunerative in themselves or not, as are best for these training purposes. Not many are required; drawing and modeling have been already mentioned, and plain sewing doubtless might be added.

advance, of a nation if such could be the case. We are instruments only, even in our plans, of a greater planner, and no more conscious of the final result, than is the acorn of the oak. The Nation that would enter upon a Public School System, *must*

“ Drink deep, or taste not that Pierian spring.”

Do we realize the growing influence of this institution, already affecting the whole Nation, and second in power to the Church only? Those who have always enjoyed its benefits regard it as a matter of course, like the breath they draw; but those who have not been its friends, see more distinctly its power and promise. The most prominent newspaper of one of the most influential religious bodies, a body which largely favors its separate schools, says recently, referring to the connection of public libraries with the schools, “ We have entered, in our school system, upon *the organization of modern society*; we cannot stop half-way.”

That we do not thus fail depends upon an agency of which no mention has yet been made. That agency is the teacher. I have thought that a consideration of the methods and importance of the work would better prepare us to speak of the workwoman or workman; and I hope in so doing I have made it necessary to say very little. Do we not need for this work, growing more and more independent of text-books and routine, the finest qualities of mind and heart? We have teachers possessing these, but if they cannot be retained, if more cannot be had, our well planned course is a dead form with no spirit of life: a rigid method with no adaptability to its subjects. And if they cannot be had for other considerations, we must, with the present pecuniary rewards, wait long for them.

As the work rests upon the teacher, so the teacher rests upon those who qualify and appoint her, who prescribe her duties, who select books, who plan and erect buildings. These again, so far as money is needed, rest upon the legislators, and these upon the people. A zealous discrimination in the voter, a wise liberality in the councilman, a just and strong supervision in controllers and directors, are the most urgent needs of this whole animated structure.

If the people are not sensible enough of their responsibilities in this regard, cannot they become so through the agency by which

other political benefits have been realized—through an organization working outside of state and civic bodies, an observing, suggesting, counseling, strengthening, force? Perhaps the mission of the Society for the Promotion of Public Economy is not yet ended,—that what may be called its “scattered members,” in this Association and the new Charity Organization, may be revived under the old name, a more comprehensive one than either of the others, and the Society renew its youth in its labors in this direction. Here is a field for those who would serve the body politic, yet fear to be “in politics.” They would find true the converse of the ancient saying; and that they who would serve among men shall be accounted great.

JAMES S. WHITNEY.

NEW BOOKS.

A FOOL'S ERRAND, by One of the Fools. New York: Fords, Howard & Hurlbert.

To the other fools, whose kindred with the author of this striking book grows out of an attempt to settle in the South, every line of the story will be full of interest; to Northerners who have never left their tents, and to Southerners it may seem to be a libel of the order of Uncle Tom's Cabin; to thoughtful readers it will come, in most cases, as a new revelation. That its pictures are from life will be admitted by all who are competent to judge, and as strenuously denied by those whose prejudices, or whose unfamiliarity with the scenes described, unfit them for fair judgment.

Pervaded by a delicate satire in which the opinions of the Fool are cleverly contrasted with those of the Wise Men at Washington, it touches some of the driest dust of our national politics, and gives it a life and interest which few would look for, and discloses under a close and powerful analysis, as with a microscope, the strange crystallizations which society forms, but which its members are rarely aware of. Delving deep below the prejudices of the mass, it shows “that it was not the people of the South that were at fault, nor their religion, but only the civilization of which they were the outcome.” With clear and impartial criticism, he compares the “proud, brave, and self-lauding” South with the North “less showy, but more thrifty; less boastful, but more resolute; less self-assertive, but more industrious.”

After following Sherman to the Sea, he lays down his sword and enters upon a life among the people of the Central South—the locality is closely concealed, but it is probably in Mecklenburg county,

North Carolina—believing that the freedom of the Negro will be elevating, and that Southern civilization will be influenced by Northern immigration. His wife, with a woman's instinct, opposes his plan of plantation life, but the Fool argues down her objections, and, only half convinced, she follows him to share his new life and new looked-for trials. His principles do not change, although new light dawns on him as he lives out the probation of his folly. Without desiring to express his political opinions, he is forced to do so by the swagger of those around him, and on one occasion is carried bodily on to the platform of a public meeting while the crowd vociferates for his views. Not made of stuff to speak under compulsion, he says a few words firmly and sits down. Then the Chairman, "an old gentleman of courtly manner, urbanity, and moderation," could not rest under the imputation of such impropriety as that "the newcomer had been treated with rudeness, and made the instrument of malicious insult," and, in an apology deftly framed, left the Fool no possible answer except compliance. He narrates his views with great moderation, and that night, as he rides home, only escapes from a Southern trap—"a grapevine tied across the road," near a quarry—by the timely warning of his friends.

The Wise Men at Washington construct plans of reconstruction, which the Fool disapproves, and whose utter failure he watches in the face of a new and mysterious organization which spreads over the South, "at first regarded as farcical," "said to be the ghosts of departed confederates come straight from the confines of hell to regulate affairs about their former homes." "The Fool"—even after the events—"deemed it likely that actual violence was not at first intended." Only intimidation enough to demoralize the colored vote. When, by unexpected manhood, it was found that this result would not follow a mere display, "some degree of violence followed as an almost necessary consequence." He watches its growth and traces with a grim detail its awful history.

"The Sabbath-morrow was well advanced when the Fool was first apprised of the raid. He at once rode into the town, arriving just as the morning services closed, and met the people coming along the streets to their homes. Upon the limb of a low-branching oak, not more than forty steps from the Temple of Justice, hung the lifeless body of old Jerry. The wind turned it slowly to and fro. The snowy hair and beard contrasted strangely with the dusky pallor of the peaceful face, which seemed even in death to proffer a benison to the people of God who passed to and fro from the house of prayer, unmindful both of the peace which lighted the dead face, and of the rifled temple of the Holy Ghost which appealed to them for sepulture. Over all pulsed the sacred echo of the Sabbath bells. The sun shone brightly. The wind rustled the autumn leaves. A few idlers sat upon the steps of the court-house, and

gazed carelessly at the ghastly burden on the oak. The brightly-dressed church-goers enlivened the streets. Not a colored man was to be seen. All except the brown *cadaver* on the tree spoke of peace and prayer—a holy day among a godly people, with whom rested the benison of peace.”—Page 206.

But these terrible pictures do not divert his mind from their true and deep-lying origin. He appreciates the mistaken prejudices of the South enough to say that it felt “like one who had been assaulted by a scavenger.” With clear judgment, he looks at Ku-Kluxism as an extraordinary “Policy of Suppression,” the last resort of a kingly people who really regained by such means most of the power which war had wrested from them. A reign of terror attended its establishment and a peace (which otherwise passeth understanding) followed its accession to unquestioned supremacy—“its completeness and success commanded his unbounded admiration.”

In strong treatment of a very complex subject—in clear interpretation of the darkest problems that have ever vexed our national politics—in dramatic rendering of the slight romance which runs through the story, and in fine descriptions of men, manners and situations the author has achieved a marked success, and has added valuable matter, in a decidedly novel form, to the literature of the day.

ENGLISH COMPOSITION. By John Nichol, M.A., LL.D. [Literature Primer Series.] New York, D. Appleton & Co., 1879.

The age of the despots in Rhetoric and Grammar is not yet past: the era of calm, scholar-like discussion, based upon usage and the underlying philosophy of language, has not yet succeeded. Dr. Nichol is “Professor of [the] English Language and Literature in the University of Glasgow”; but his *Primer* is simply unworthy of a place in a series that includes such a masterpiece as Dowden’s *Shakspeare Primer*. Neither in plan nor in execution does it merit praise. At one time elementary enough for the youngest classes, again advanced enough for the second year in college, it is now like the small coat on the big boy, now like the big coat on the little boy. Besides, (and this objection is fatal,) page after page is full of “schoolmasterisms.” Dr. Nichol evidently believes that “*schisma* is neuter” *only* “because Alexander Gallus says so.” Else, why his unceremonious dealing with our language, as if usage were *not* the law of speech? For example, “Note that ‘than’ does not govern the accusative [is this a book of *English* composition?]—‘The Duke of Argyle, than *whom* no man was heartier in the cause’ is wrong.”—P. 23. If so, what will Dr. Nichol say to Milton’s “Beelzebub . . . than whom . . . none higher sat”? The nominative in this construction cannot

(we believe) be found in a single respectable English writer. Again, (p.23,) "Beware of using such expressions as 'It is *me*', . . . 'It cannot be *me* you mean' contracted from 'It cannot be *I whom* you mean.'" But did the worthy professor never hear that good use is *divided* about 'It is *me*'? and did he ever see such a sentence as his uncontracted form—outside, at least, of text-books like his own,—books evolved from the inner consciousness of their writers? Nay, did he ever see in respectable English anywhere, 'It can not be *I* you mean'?

Dr. Nichol advises us, too, (p. 24), to write "He went on speaking to who would listen to him", because (forsooth!) there is an ellipsis of "those"!

In rhetorical matters, the inadequate explanation of the *Periodic*, as opposed to the *Loose* style, (page 8,) and the narrow definition of *Unity*, (p.68,) may be especially noted.

To cite other radical blunders of this sort would be easy; but it is hardly worth while. Amid much that is useful, because it unquestionably rests upon both good use and a true philosophy, Dr. Nichol has placed so much of the narrow bigotry we have instanced, that his book is positively dangerous. Nineteenth century text-books of grammar and composition cannot be built upon the *ipse dixit* of any one man or even a coterie of writers.

But this is not all. Dr. Nichol grows very bold in one paragraph, and sounds his trumpet with no uncertain sound. He is speaking of the *alicnism*, and, after dogmatizing as usual, dogmatizes a little worse than usual, thus:—

"Coleridge and others are wont to use Germanisms, as *Vernunft* and *Verstand*, in order to veil a confusion of thought. They think that certain distinctions cannot be expressed in English: being imaginary, they [who? what?] cannot be expressed at all."

Now, Coleridge is a voluminous writer—should we have written 'was', Dr. Nichol?—and only a professed Coleridgean can pronounce on such a question of fact. The other writers referred to by Dr. Nichol are too imaginary (like the distinctions they try to make) to be consulted at all. So we "called in" a friend who knows Coleridge by heart, and here is his verdict:—"Coleridge never uses *Vernunft* and *Verstand*, but always 'reason' and 'understanding.'"

He contrasts these terms to be sure, as the Germans do their synonyms; but so far as his own habit is concerned, he is always English in this particular.

Will Dr. Nichol eat his words, accepted, perhaps, at second-hand; or will he try to learn that in Coleridge, as in other metaphysic, there are things never dreamed of in his philosophy? A Scotchman, however, rarely does either; and Dr. Nichol's publishers should take his case in hand by withdrawing this *Primer* and substituting

one written by a scholar in English Literature, not a pedant in English Grammar.

CERTAIN DANGEROUS TENDENCIES IN AMERICAN LIFE, and other Papers. [Reprinted from the *Atlantic Monthly*.] Boston: Houghton, Osgood & Co., 1880; Pp. 260.

In addition to the thoughtful essay which lends its leading title to this volume, we have chapters on "The Nationals, their Origin and their Aims;" "Three Typical Workingmen;" "Workingmen's Wives;" "The Career of a Capitalist;" "Study of a New England Factory Town;" "Preaching;" and "Sincere Demagoguery." This collection of serious subjects treated with uniform gravity, recalls Charles Lamb's answer to Coleridge's inquiry as to whether Charles had ever heard him preach, that he had never heard him do anything else. The easy ambling of these pages served very well as padding for the *Atlantic*, where they were larded in between sensational romances and gushing poetry, and enabled the reader to fancy that he was doing some solid reading in his favorite monthly, but in a volume by itself there is a painful and wearisome monotony of style, and uniformity of tone that make the little book rather hard reading. It has, however, the very great merit of dealing with the actual existing facts of our daily life, and with topics that affect the present condition and the future prospects of this country, and its growing population. Thoughtful people will find in it much matter for reflection and instruction, and there can be little doubt that just such introversion and minute study of the social stratification of our busy centres must yield good results in making men and women of all classes better acquainted with one another, and with their mutual power of helping and encouraging one another onward and upward in the struggle of life.

LEISURE HOUR SERIES, No. 109. Card Essays, Clay's Decisions, and Card Table Talk, by "Cavendish," author of "The Laws and Principles of Whist," etc. American edition, with an Index. New York, Henry Holt & Co., 1880; Pp. 290.

Mr. Henry Jones attests his claim to the more familiar pseudonym of "Cavendish," by a portrait and autograph, and then weakens his hold on his readers by a piece of bookmaking that has really very little to recommend it. Indeed, nearly all that he has to say of value or interest, is already said, and better, because more briefly said, in his earlier books. Of course it is not easy to work while attempting to give a summary of what seems to be the mere clearing out of old notes that have lost their sharpness by lapse of time, and nothing can well be more pointless than whist table talk, or card playing repartees put into print. Of "Caven-

dish" Jones' opportunities for mastering the game of which he is so fond, his own statement may well satisfy the neophyte. He says that between January 1860 and December 1878, he played in all, and that at clubs where good play was the rule, 30,668 rubbers, and of these he won a trifle over two per cent., and he modestly disclaims any responsibility for the statement that he won £2,000 by playing 20,000 games in a year, although he is not ashamed of having played on an average half dozen games a day, and of having won. His sharp rebuff of American literary unfairness may well be mollified by the production of the pleasant-looking little volume in which he is now introduced on this side the ocean, with so many of his countrymen whose books swell the growing "Leisure Hour Series."

BOOKS RECEIVED.

Eyesight : Good and Bad. A Treatise on the Exercise and Preservation of Vision. By Robert Brudenell Carter. 12mo. Pp. 267. Price \$1.50. Philadelphia : Presley Blakiston.

The Princess Elizabeth. A Lyric Drama. By Francis H. Williams. Cloth. 12mo. Pp. 212. Price \$1.25. Philadelphia : Claxton, Remsen & Haffelfinger.

Alaska, and Missions on the North Pacific Coast. By Rev. Sheldon Jackson, D.D., Cloth. 12mo. Pp. 327. Price \$1.50. New York : Dodd, Mead & Co. [Claxton, Remsen & Haffelfinger.

Adventures in Patagonia. A Missionary's Exploring Trip. By the Rev. Titus Coan, with an Introduction by Rev. Henry M. Field, D.D. Cloth. 12mo. Pp. 332. Price \$1.25. New York : Dodd, Mead & Co. [Claxton, Remsen & Haffelfinger.

Democracy. An American Novel. (Leisure Hour Series). Price \$1.00. New York : Henry Holt & Co. [Porter & Coates.

Christy Carew. A Novel. By May Laffan. (Leisure Hour Series). Price \$1.00. New York : Henry Holt & Co. [J. B. Lippincott & Co.

Card Essays, Clay's Decisions and Card Table Talk. By "Cavendish." (Leisure Hour Series). Price \$1.00. New York : Henry Holt & Co. [Claxton, Remsen & Haffelfinger.

Certain Dangerous Tendencies in American Life, and other papers. 12mo. Cloth. Pp. 260. Price \$1.25. Boston : Houghton, Osgood & Co. [Claxton, Remsen and Haffelfinger.

The Need of an Elevated and Permanent Civil Service. An Address before the American Philosophical Society, March 15th, 1880. By Hon. A. Loudon Snowden. Philadelphia : W. F. Murphy's Sons.

Life : Its True Genesis. By R. W. Wright. Cloth. 12mo. Pp. 298. Price \$1.50. New York : G. P. Putnam's Sons.

Joan of Arc, "The Maid." By Janet Tuckey. (The New Plutarch). 12mo. Cloth. Pp. 224. Price \$1.00. New York : G. P. Putnam's Sons. [Claxton, Remsen & Haffelfinger.

The Amazon. By Franz Dingelstedt. Translated by J. M. H. Sw'd. Pp. 315. Price 60 cents. New York : G. P. Putnam's Sons. [Claxton, Remsen & Haffelfinger.

William Ellery Channing. A Discourse, by Henry W. Bellows. Svo. Pp. 39. Price 50 cents. New York : G. P. Putnam's Sons. [J. B. Lippincott & Co.

Reminiscences of William Ellery Channing. By Elizabeth Palmer Peabody. Cloth. 12mo. Pp. 460. Price \$2.00. Boston : Roberts Bros. [Porter & Coates.

THE
PENN MONTHLY.

JUNE, 1880.

THE MONTH.

ANY one who thinks the world is losing its interest in theological questions, will find a surprise in the fact that two of the first difficulties encountered by Mr. Gladstone's administration are of that character. One of these grows out of his selection of two Roman Catholic peers to responsible positions under the new Government, Lord Kenmare as Lord Chamberlain to the Queen, and Earl Ripon as Governor-General of India. The English Roman Catholics gave an almost solid support to the late ministry, but their services were not acknowledged by any appointments to high offices. Mr. Gladstone might well have ignored their claims had he chosen to do so, especially as none of them has a name for distinguished ability in politics. Instead of that, he selects a distinguished " 'vert " to fill a place of vast importance, although as little is known of his fitness for it as was known of that of his predecessor. Partly, this choice grew out of the bad tradition which now assigns the Governor-Generalship to peers. Unmindful of what untitled heroes like the Lawrences did for India, the Anglo-Indians are now snobbish enough to demand a peer, and to speak of the appointment of a commoner as an insult.

The extreme Protestants, especially in Scotland, are decidedly opposed to these appointments, and it is believed that the recent defeats of three Liberal candidates were partly caused by them.

Mr. Gladstone, unfortunately, by his ill-advised pamphlets against the Roman Catholic Church, has furnished these objectors with a strong *argumentum ad hominem*. Indeed, it is impossible to reconcile the appointments with the general tone of those pamphlets, or with such specific utterances as the following: "No one can become her [i. e., Rome's] convert without renouncing his moral and mental freedom, and placing his civil loyalty and duty in the hands of another." It is possible that the Premier will now hasten to disown *W. E. Gladstone, pamphleteer*, as he has already disowned *W. E. Gladstone, electioneer*. Will he issue a note of explanation and apology to the Vatican, declaring that his apprehensions of evil from Ultramontanism "were founded upon secondary evidence," and "would never have been uttered" had all the facts been in his possession?

The other religious trouble comes from the other extreme. Mr. Bradlaugh, an avowed atheist and public lecturer against religion, having been refused the privilege of affirming, offers to take the oath of allegiance "on the faith of a Christian." Mr. Bradlaugh forfeits by this offer any respect which might have been due to his scruples. A man who proposes to enter public life with a lie in his mouth, by professing a formal belief in a creed which he regards as hostile to the interests of society, is beneath the contempt of Christians and atheists alike. It was not in this fashion that other proscribed classes found their way into Parliament. The Catholic who would not abjure Transubstantiation, the Jew who would not swear "on the faith of a Christian," and the Quaker who would not swear at all, went back to their constituencies and were re-elected until the barrier was removed. Mr. Bradlaugh, however, knows that it would be of no use to go back to his constituency. Although Northampton is the most radical of English boroughs, it was only the heat and fervor of a General Election, when the desire to defeat the ministry outweighed all other considerations, which made his election possible. Were he to present himself for re-election, the dissenting vote would be generally withheld, and possibly his conservative rival would be returned. His one chance of a seat is to get it now; and in his eagerness he is showing as little regard for truthfulness, as he did for social purity in the Besant case.

MR. WHITE, our Minister to Berlin, having been himself a college president, and a very successful one, is naturally somewhat nettled by the comments which appear in German papers in regard to the bogus diploma trade carried on by certain American "Colleges." He does well to remind the Germans that it is not so long since respectable Universities, like Jena, carried on a trade equally disreputable, and helped to make "German degrees" a standing joke in England, just as "Philadelphia degrees" are now throughout Europe. Nor was Germany the only scene of this traffic. The smaller Scotch Universities drove a thriving trade in doctorates a century ago, and perhaps at a still later date.* And how recent have been similar practices in St. Andrew's, we learn from the accounts of the recent elections? Of the 810 votes cast by members of that University, 586 were cast by persons who had obtained a St. Andrew's degree of M.D. "on paying fifty guineas and passing a formal examination," without pursuing any course of study at the University. "For many years," says a correspondent of *The Scotsman*, "large numbers of medical men, chiefly licentiates of the London Apothecaries' Society, and practicing in English towns, were in the habit of resorting to St. Andrew's for about three days, where, after some examination and payment of fees, they had a degree of M.D. conferred upon them, and returned to their respective places of abode. . . . When the Scottish Universities Act was passed, this proceeding of St. Andrew's University was summarily abolished in all time coming, and the authorities thereof were only permitted to confer ten medical degrees in the course of each year."

Our diploma dealers seem to have some idea of the affinity of their practices to those of the Scotch Universities. We once saw a circular, issued by their agent in the Island of Jersey, which gave

* Dean Ramsey tells of a Scotch Dominie who had saved a few pounds out of his Teinds, and journeyed to St. Andrews to get himself a Doctorate of Divinity on the usual terms. On his return he said to his man of all work, who had been with him, "Now, John, you will remember to speak of me for the future as 'the Doctor.' If any body asks for me, you will say, 'The Doctor is in his study,' or 'The Doctor has stepped out,' or 'The Doctor will be with you in a crack,' as the case may be." "Indeed, sir," replied John, "that just depends on what ye do yersel." "Why, what do you mean, John?" "Weel sir, when I found it was so cheap, I just got a Doctorate for mysel. So ye'll mind, sir, to say 'Doctor, steek the duir,' or 'Doctor, pit some coal on the fire,' or 'Doctor, open the window,' as the case may be."

a splendid account of the "University of Philadelphia." The institution, it appears, has not only a Medical Faculty, but Faculties of Arts, Law, and Theology! The names in the list of the last Faculty seem to have been copied from those of the University of Edinburgh a century ago—including Drs. Robertson, MacKnight, and others not less illustrious.

It may be said that Scotland and Germany have put a stop to these abuses, while Pennsylvania has not. It is a much easier matter to do so abroad than here. It is one of the consequences of our want of a wealthy and leisured class to take part in our legislation, that the business has fallen in an undue degree into the hands of our lawyers, and that it too often aims rather at the sanction of legal ideas and superstitions than the welfare of the community. One result of this is seen in the excessive protection given to the vested rights of corporations, and in provisions that they shall not be reached, as in Great Britain or Germany, by simple legislation, but through the machinery of courts of law. The Legislature of Pennsylvania, at the instance chiefly of our University, passed an act to get rid of the offending colleges, but the courts came to their rescue and declared the act unconstitutional. The only redress is to proceed by writ of *quo warranto* against these institutions, and have their charters declared forfeited by abuse of powers. But this might prove to be an endless business, for the number of charters which the "University of Philadelphia" possesses is very considerable. The business of starting new medical colleges in this city, the centre of medical education, was formerly much followed. Each new and ambitious group of doctors got a charter from the Legislature in the hope of doing again what Jefferson College had done; and the proprietors of "The College of Philadelphia," *alias* "The Medical University of Philadelphia," *alias* a great many other things—finding a goodly number of these in a moribund condition, got possession of their assets by a small investment in their outstanding paper, and took their charters too. And every *alias* in their multiform title represents another law-suit, before they can be quite unearthed, and their trade ended. But even this difficulty should not prevent their prosecution. They are making the name of our city and our Commonwealth objects of public scorn to the civilized world, as the last resort of those who seek to evade the just laws by which quackery is forbidden to assume the dignity of science.

The proposal that the examinations for medical degrees should be held by a State Board, would not reach the difficulty. It would only avail to keep these mock graduates from practicing medicine in our own Commonwealth; and it is exceedingly doubtful if it could be enforced upon colleges which did not give their assent to it.

It is no secret, we believe, that Mr. Evarts greatly desires to effect a final and permanent settlement of the Fisheries' Dispute with Great Britain and her American colonies. We congratulate him on having got a good way towards that end, by helping to obliterate the settlement made by the Treaty of Washington. Whatever arrangement may last and endure, that could not; and it is something to have wiped the slate clean of it. The recommendations which accompany the President's recent message to Congress, we presume to be from Mr. Evarts' pen. They reflect his solid, calm, Puritan severity. They sound like a cabinet order from Oliver Cromwell. And they are thoroughly just. The country has paid an excessive price for a privilege, from which her citizens are violently excluded. The exclusion is not based on anything in the known laws and regulations of the power with which we treated. It is based on laws enacted by a subordinate authority, with which we were not allowed to treat. Some of those laws were enacted since the Treaty, and evidently were intended to limit our enjoyment of the Treaty. None of them is enforced against any nationality but our own. Under the Treaty of 1762, the French fishermen have rights of fishery on part of the shores of Newfoundland. They exercise that right on any terms they please, and on any day of the week. No one interferes to enforce provincial laws against them. Our own fishermen found the provincials fishing in Fortune Bay on Sunday. They themselves should have abstained from doing so, but not from any regard for provincial law. They did not, and they were driven off by violence. And when we make our complaint to the British Government, we are told that the thing for which we paid an enormous price under the Fisheries Award, is something which the British Government cannot deliver, and it does not mean to try.

We were disappointed in Mr. Evarts when he paid the amount of that award. He knew, as every one knew, that it was obtained

dishonestly, from a tribunal constituted dishonestly. He now says that the time has come to put an end to the whole arrangement, by repealing our consent to the Fisheries clauses of the Treaty of Washington, and by reimposing the duties on Fish and Fish Oils imported from the British colonies. There is in the proposal a hardship for Canada. Newfoundland is not a part of the Dominion, and the Ottawa Government has no control of her conduct. But it was Canada's own choice to negotiate jointly with Newfoundland through the British Government, although under the Act of Confederation she might have done otherwise. She must abide by the consequences of that choice. Yet she can undo these consequences as soon as she pleases. She can ask for a restoration of the relations now to be repealed, on the ground that she has discharged in good faith all the obligations imposed by the Treaty. And when she does so, not through Downing Street but directly, there will be an opportunity for Mr. Evarts to settle not only the Fisheries Question, but the whole question of our relation to the Dominion of Canada upon a basis of lasting peace and harmony.

Our own fishermen will lose little or nothing by the repeal of the Treaty, and their losses will be more than made up by the restoration of the duty on fish and oil imported from the British colonies. The chief piece of Tariff legislation of this session will be the restoration of a protective duty at the suggestion of a Free Trade Secretary of State, and with the support or acquiescence of the Free Trade newspapers.

NOW THAT three Democratic leaders in the Senate have refused to follow Mr. Hill's lead in regard to reopening Senator Kellogg's case and declaring his competitor elected, it becomes evident that that injustice is not to be done, even though the Democrats will thereby lose their control of the Senate. Equally creditable to the Democratic majority has been the refusal to give ex-Governor Curtin the seat to which Mr. Yocum was elected, or to create a Democratic majority in the representation of Indiana or Minnesota by unjust decisions of election claims. Whether by growth in grace, or by growth in prudence, the Democrats of this Congress have been acting more fairly in these cases than did the House of the last Congress. There has not been on its records a single scandal such as that of giving a Cincinnati seat to a member who had never

been elected. It is a distinct and let us hope a permanent gain that the party has learnt that honesty is the best policy, and that nothing else will go down with the American people. That maxim does not represent a very high moral standard; Archbishop Whately says it is one upon which no honest man ever acted. But it represents the incipency of a moral standard, and it is an advance upon the maxims which have controlled too often the conduct of all our political parties.

The temptation to meddle with the Indiana and Minnesota delegations must have been very strong, for, as they now stand, the Republicans have a majority of the State delegations, and they will elect the next President if there be no choice by the people. And it is far from improbable that there will be no such choice. The rise of a third party, strong enough to control the suffrage of several States, has been foreshadowed for a long time; and a false step at Chicago, together with the now all but certain nomination of Mr. Tilden at Cincinnati, will certainly lead to it.

THE Democratic proposal for a law to regulate the ascertainment of a Presidential election, offered by Senator Morgan, is everything that such a proposal ought not to be. It is, in the first place, a joint resolution and not a law. It is, furthermore, an arrangement which will offer every facility for unjust dealing on the part of Congress, and no security for such a decision of disputed points, as will satisfy the people that justice has been done. It proposes that the two Houses, acting separately, shall have power to serve as a returning board, and to do as they please with the votes which are laid before them by the President of the Senate.

The authors of this Bill overlook a little constitutional difficulty which stands in their way. It is the opinion of many of our jurists—perhaps it is the opinion of the Supreme Court—that the President of the Senate has the exclusive power to determine which are the regular returns to be counted in ascertaining the result, and that the House are present only as spectators. In that view, no orders from Congress, whether in the form of a statute or in that of a joint-resolution, can deprive him of his power to do so. It is a point which probably would never be raised, so long as the matter is otherwise equitably adjusted. But in case there was evidence

of a purpose to declare a result which did not represent the returns, it is far from impossible that Mr. Wheeler may assert what seems to be his right under the letter of the Constitution.

An equitable adjustment was furnished by the Senate bill to have a decision upon all disputed elections from the legal tribunals of the States as regards which disputes may arise. That arrangement would furnish the most impartial tribunal possible, while it exactly coincides with the Democratic theory of the dignity of the States, and might have been regarded as a gain for that theory. Are we to assume that no constitutional theory is to be allowed to stand in the way of a partisan success?

Common prudence is as much set at defiance by this measure as is political principle. The Democrats are putting by it a most dangerous weapon into the hands of their enemies. Not only are they giving their sanction to the principle of centralization in a most important connection, but they are enabling that party to set aside, if it pleases, the choice of the people in coming elections. Whether they may like or dislike the prospect, there is every likelihood that the coming census and its successors will give an accession of political strength to the States in which a strongly national feeling predominates, and will increase the number of those States, and thus the Republican strength in the Senate as well as the House. However the election of 1880 may go, that of 1884 will in every human probability come before a Republican Congress for adjudication. What the complications of the political situation will be by that time, no one but the seventh son of a seventh son can foretell. But it will be the height of folly for the Democrats of the present House and Senate to have put it into the power of their rivals to override a popular decision, if that should prove unfavorable to those rivals.

Exactly what our Democratic friends have in mind as regards the next election, no one but themselves can say. Their wild charges of intimidation against some Northern States seem to point to an opening for the exclusion of the votes of those States upon very slight grounds indeed. And it is rumored that the mock Legislature of Maine will be resurrected in the hope of setting aside the genuine suffrages of the people of that State. It may be that we are altogether unjust in referring to these. But as the Democrats reject a method of adjustment which would compel

them to deal fairly, in favor of one by which they may be as unjust as they please to be, they authorize and compel suspicion.

THE minority of the Ways and Means Committee have done well to present a minority report, opposing the passage of the Tucker Tariff Bill, and pointing out the more excellent way of Senator Eaton's Tariff Commission Bill. As the votes in the House clearly show that no Tariff legislation will be passed this session, the minority cannot have been actuated by any fear of that measure. But they did well to embrace the opportunity to urge the Eaton Bill on the attention of the House, and to put themselves on the record as resisting the "piecemeal" plan of destroying the Tariff. Their report has a further significance. The defeat of the Eaton Bill was predicted on the ground that it would excite a general and decided jealousy in the Committee of Ways and Means, as trenching upon the cherished privileges of that body. But the support thus voluntarily extended to the Eaton Bill by the large and weighty minority of that Committee, goes a great way to lay these apprehensions at rest.

The Eaton Bill has received very solid support from Mr. Chittenden, of New York, in a speech which he thought was an argument for the immediate and partial revision of the Tariff. Mr. Chittenden is an importer. He confesses that he is continually finding new faults in the existing Tariff, as his business brings him into contact with it. From this it is an easy inference that neither Mr. Chittenden nor any one else knows what are the faults of the Tariff, nor whether the removal of one anomaly might not produce or intensify the injustice of a dozen others. And if so, then nothing but a survey of the whole field will suffice as a preliminary to any revision.

The Free-Traders are more anxious to secure sweeping changes in a few of its provisions, in order to use these as a fulcrum for the equal alteration of all the rest. They are aware that this is the worst possible method of amending the Tariff, and they favor it because it is so—because it will lead to the greatest number of unforeseen consequences. They charge the Committee of Ways and Means with uncandid dealing, while their own policy of piecemeal legislation is a thoroughly uncandid piece of procedure. They

are using and exaggerating the complaints against a few duties, in order to break down the whole system, and yet they dare not attack the whole. People who demand such a knightly sense of honor in their antagonists, should begin by showing knightly courage and truthfulness in their own conduct.

NOW THAT that the time for census-taking approaches, it becomes a matter of conjecture as to what the entire population of the country will be found to be. Some place the estimate at fifty millions; others at forty-six or forty-seven. As there is no fixed ratio of increase—as everything depends upon the amount of immigration and the greater or less operation of the various checks to population, it is difficult to predict anything about the grand total. Taking the censuses of 1840, 1850, and 1860 as a basis, it was asserted in 1870 that our population grows at the rate of something over thirty-five per cent. each decade, and that the total would be found to be over forty-three and a half millions in that year. But it fell five millions short of this, and the actual rate of increase was found to be something over twenty-two and three-quarters per cent. The same rate of increase in the ten years now closing would give us over forty-seven millions in 1880, while the large rate of increase we had in the decades 1845-50, and 1850-60, would give us fifty-two millions.

More interesting, however, than the mere growth of our population will be its new distribution. The great centre, which was in Southern Ohio in 1870, will be still farther West in 1880, although the rapid growth of city population in the East will somewhat retard its movement. But it is moving northward as well as westward. Even apart from the Negro Exodus, the South is losing rather than gaining. Southern policy does not induce emigration. Many who went thither after the War, with no desire to play any part in politics, have found that they were on "a fool's errand," and have returned. The great current of European immigration, except in Texas, has hardly touched the South. And the most enterprising of her own people have escaped from her sluggish and torpid society to find more congenial fields in the North and West. The new deal of political power which will follow the census will transfer representatives from that section to the north-west.

Never again will the "Solid South," with the aid of one or two northern States, be strong enough to elect a President of the United States.

In the far West, Dacotah will make such an exhibit of her population as will entitle her to knock at the door of the Union for admission as a State. She need not do so as long as the Democrats have a majority in Congress, although she has more people than either Florida or Delaware. For, like all the newly admitted States, and nearly all the Territories, her people are Republicans. It is by the emigration to the far West that the Republican party has been weakened in some of the older States, notably in Massachusetts; and the faster the new States come in the better for that party. The day is not so distant when the Constitution can be amended without consulting the South.

IN THE East there is a local agitation for the division of New York into two States, all below the Northern boundary of West Chester County being cut off. We think this would be a very wise measure. Neither the geographical conformation nor the social elements of the State make it desirable to perpetuate its unity, while the political antagonism of city and country are such as to make every election a general calamity to either one party or the other. The bitterness of partisan politics would be very greatly diminished by the certainty that the vote of each of the new States would be secure to one of the existing parties, while the increase of representation in the United States Senate would be an important gain to the least represented of American populations. It is hard to say how much strength there is in the new movement. New Yorkers are apt to fuss for a week over a new idea and then give it up. But the logic of facts is on its side, and it cannot be put off forever.

It may be objected that one such division will lead to others; and of this we have no doubt. Philadelphia and the adjacent counties of Pennsylvania should form a State by themselves; and if we could induce our neighbor States to give us Camden County and Wilmington, we should be a still more complete and homogeneous body. As it is, the western boundary of Chester County divides two sections which have no political or social affinities.

The permanent exclusion of Philadelphians from the United States Senate, the continued mismanagement of our affairs at Harrisburg, the refusal to concede us equal representation in the State Legislature, all express the distrust and dislike felt by the Commonwealth towards its nominal Metropolis. It is not, as in New York, a matter of national politics that divides us. On that point the State and the City are agreed,—a fact which makes the antagonism all the more remarkable. It is a repugnance which dates back to the last century, and has outlived all changes of party, and all fluctuations of opinion.

WE were somewhat skeptical on being told, last December, that the current "boom" in business was an artificial and unsubstantial affair, got up by the Railroad Kings, who gave great orders for rails and other materials, in order to advance prices generally and to sell their load of stocks during the revival of confidence. But the events of the past month seem to confirm the interpretation of the situation. The fire at which we have been warming ourselves, has been a blaze of straw and carpenters' chips, instead of solid and lasting anthracite. Prices have fallen in every principal line of production, after touching rates which enabled and even forced large importations, and which thus deluged the country with foreign iron, steel, woolens, and cottons. We have been having a mild panic as the reaction from over-confidence and speculative transactions. Our house of cards has fallen as rapidly as it was built, and the work of a real and solid revival of business has to be begun afresh. Fortunately we are so situated that we cannot but look for better times ahead, though they may not come, as we expected them, by lightning express.

THE completion of the improvements on the Welland and St. Lawrence canals is likely to have an important bearing on the future of Trans-Atlantic commerce. It will transfer a large amount of the grain trade with Europe from New York to Montreal, and will give Canada certain facilities of access to the markets of Europe which she has not enjoyed. It is from the opening of the Erie canal that the pre-eminence of New York among American cities begins; and thus far she has had no rival, because she has enjoyed almost a monopoly of water connection with the West.

Her sense of the importance of the grain trade to the port has been shown in the careful comparative statistics published from time to time by her newspapers, and the jealousy with which they have watched the growing trade of Baltimore and Philadelphia ; nor is it less clearly shown in the efforts to discount the importance of the Canadian canals, which are now opening to the commerce of Europe a shorter way of access to the Great West.

We do not believe that New York is about to experience any sudden blow to its prosperity ; but neither do we believe that it is destined to continue the first in population of American cities. The importance of Europe to America will decline as the decades pass, and the importance of America to herself will increase. It is this latter idea which our own city represents. As the first of manufacturing communities, with a capacity for indefinite expansion in all directions, it will become more and more the centre of almost every kind of supply which the Continent may demand. And the day is not distant when purchasers will cease to throng New York to buy Philadelphia wares at prices increased by the cost of transportation thither.

But there are several changes needed to make such a growth possible. The first is rapid transit. If we are to have here a city of modern vastness—an American London, filling up the whole county—it must be by making the city easy of access and transit in every direction. Whether this be done by underground railroads, like those of London, or elevated railroads, like those of New York, it must be done in some sort.

The second thing is the diffusion of a knowledge of the arts of design among our whole people through the public schools. The city which is to hold the front place among manufacturing cities, is the one which will initiate her people into the mysteries of form and color, and will place her products first in point of artistic grace. The new age of manufactures is upon us. That represented by willow pattern china, rosette carpets, and zoological hearthrugs, has passed away. There is opening on us an age of love for the beautiful ; and the artist is becoming a power in the competitions of the market. To this fact our manufacturers are hardly yet alive. If they were, they would require a very different course of study from that enacted for our public schools.

THE powerlessness of States, as such, to deal with the regulation of railroad traffic, is seen by the results of the well meant attempt in New York. Of the bills reported by what is called the Hepburn Committee, that which provided for a Commission for the oversight of railroads was defeated on the ground that Governor Cornell would be certain to appoint on the Commission politicians of a low order, and would thus make it ridiculous and therefore powerless for any good purpose. The record of Mr. Cornell's administration forbids us to regard this as an unjust aspersion. He has been unsatisfactory as a governor to a degree which must efface the memory of the doubtful measures by which he was expelled from the service of the National Government.

The Bill to prevent discrimination in freight charges will probably pass, but it has been shorn of its most valuable features. The important principle that local freights shall be at the same rates as through freights with reasonable allowance for the trouble of loading and unloading, has been abandoned. Had it been retained, then the whole local business of the New York Central Railroad, running through Albany to Buffalo, must have been transacted on such terms as are fixed by competition with the rival roads outside the State; or else the Central must have abandoned its hope of a share in the Western grain trade, in order to make its local business remunerative. Here we have a problem, of which there can be only a national solution. As the Constitution stands, a United States Railroad Law would affect only those railroads which cross State lines. But there are two ways of reaching a uniform system in the matter. The first would be preconcerted action by the Central and the State Governments, in the adoption of a law prepared by competent experts for the control of all the railroads. In the existing state of public opinion, such an arrangement would be quite possible. Even the officers of the Pennsylvania Railroad have admitted the necessity for some such action. It is as much required to protect the owners of the railroads from the wasteful excesses of competition, as to protect the public from excessive local charges. Failing this, it will be necessary to amend the U. S. Constitution by giving the nation the power to regulate all the railroads of the country. We believe it would have received this authority, had railroads existed at the time of the adoption of the Constitution. But its authors were no prophets. They foresaw neither Whitney's

Cotton Gin, nor Pitt's Income Tax, nor Morse's Telegraph, nor Stephenson's Locomotive. And it is not loyalty to their memories and their work to leave the document as they made it, not as they would have made it.

THE struggle over the proposal to give Market street to an elevated railroad company seems to be resolving itself into a series of technical legal questions, which have nothing to do with the merits of the case. But in the long run, the matter will be settled on its merits. If this company have not the legal powers necessary, some other will obtain them. If the city be not competent to agree to their requests, it will be given the needed power. And therefore the merit of the plan is the only thing worth discussing, outside of a court of law.

Our chief reason for supporting the proposal to erect elevated railroads in Philadelphia, is our desire to preserve the character of the city as a place of homes and not of tenement houses. The rapid growth of business in the old city has already deprived the Delaware front of its proper Philadelphian character, as any one may see by taking a Sunday walk through the regions between Third street and the river, either north of Arch or south of Spruce. The lady visitors in the Ward Associations find our poor packed as tightly in some parts of the old city, as in any New York tenement house, and paying rents which are frightfully high in relation to the accommodations they receive. Before the end of the century the old city will be almost abandoned to places of business, and its present accommodations for the homes of porters, stevedores and the like, will be swept away. At the same time, the growth of our foreign commerce will cause a great increase of this class, and their packing into tenement houses, which has already begun, will go forward as rapidly as in New York, unless they are given better facilities for obtaining homes in more remote parts of the city.

On the other hand, the city has now nearly reached the limits of its possible expansion under the street car system. West Philadelphia has grown with great rapidity under that system, but the companies have not been remunerated for crossing the river. They will not cross the deep, malarious hollow which now limits the growth of the city to the west; and only rapid transit will open to settlement the high and healthy ground between that hollow and

the county line. With rapid transit, there need be no limit to the growth of the city. Without it, we have reached our limit, and can only find room by squeezing.

The friends of the new road do not urge it as an addition to the exterior beauty of our city. They are of the mind that a city as plain as ours, and as little given to the cultivation of the beautiful, can afford the erection even of elevated roads. It is indeed gratifying to find what devoted worshippers of the æsthetic our people have become, as their tastes are now reflected in the daily papers. We could hardly have believed it, especially as we were recently obliged to ride across Philadelphia almost from its South-eastern to its North-western extremity. Our whole impression, as gathered in that ride, was not exactly that of an American Florence; and we should have inferred that the people of this monotonous, wearisome, sprawling city were about the last in the world to postpone solid comfort to the lust of the eye and the pride of life. But it seems we were mistaken—one more proof that it is possible to live a long time among people and know very little about their character and preferences. Henry Holbeach somewhere observes that a servant girl, who will stand for an hour in the sun chatting with a comrade, must have a silk parasol to protect her complexion when she goes out to walk on Sunday. He finds something pathetic as well as laughable in the fact, as it implies a reference to the girl's ideal self, to which she pays the compliment of endowing it with a sensibility not discovered in the reality. And something of that pathos is in Philadelphia's objection to disfiguring herself by permitting the erection of elevated railroads. The ideal Philadelphia, it is felt, should be a beautiful place, to which all such structures would be a defacement and a blot. But who would have expected such devotion to the ideal in this latitude?

The other chief objection is the inconvenience of those who live along the route of the new road. The erection of such roads will have two effects: They will turn the streets along which run into purely business streets, and they will add to the value of property along those streets. This has already been the effect in New York, where the rents on Sixth Avenue have been raised by the erection of the West Side road. It is true that the roads have inflicted injury, and should pay compensation, in those cases where they have turned sharp corners. It is true that they have been

much more annoying than they need have been, through failure to use any devices to deaden the sound, as might be done cheaply. But the numbers who frequent that Avenue in the way to and from the stations of the road are so great that it has become a street of great importance. The question for us is simply: Can we afford to devote a few streets exclusively to business purposes, for the convenience of the whole city? With the ordinary business uses of the street, the new railroad need not and does not interfere. And yet we find its erection on Front Street objected to on the ground "that it will occupy the whole middle of the street." It will occupy the air, twenty feet above the middle of the street, and will leave the street as free for drays, carriages, and wagons as it is now. Perhaps it would be wise for the new company to change its route and purchase the right of way across the city, as the railroad companies which enter London have done. The money thus expended has been more than made up to those companies by the income from the vaulted stores they have constructed under the road. And it is a real grievance to the city that the proposed route will carry the road past the new Public Buildings.

There is one class of objection which has great force with many objectors, while it is rarely or never uttered in words. It is: "It will depreciate my shares in the — Street Railroad." To the clamor of this class of persons is due much of the noise of objection which now pervades the city. They have shown themselves powerful enough to enable the street railroads to rob our citizens by exacting illegal fares, and by refusing to comply with the terms of their own charters as regards the repairs of the streets and the disposal of their surplus earnings. Will their influence be sufficient to put a period to the growth of the city, by defeating rapid transit?

THE city of Philadelphia is said, by its police authorities, to contain twenty-three hundred professional beggars, of whom a portion are in the House of Correction, but the great majority are at large on the streets. The law provides for their arrest, either on complaint or on view of the police; and there is every reason to believe that the law would be enforced if it were of any use to arrest them. It is provided that able-bodied beggars shall be sent to the House of Correction, and the others to the Alms House. In point of fact,

it is impossible to secure their detention in either of these institutions. The city created and supports the two houses in order to be rid of such characters, but to very little purpose as yet.

The managers of the House of Correction are vested with the power to dismiss any person from custody, at their discretion. This power they delegate to a Committee, which makes large use of it. The Superintendent of the Ninth Ward Relief Association secured the arrest and commitment of an able-bodied beggar, who, by way of defiance, began to beg in front of the Relief Association's office. The next day the fellow resumed his trade on exactly the same spot. The Society for Preventing Cruelty to Children had a woman committed for her very heartless treatment of her own children. Her husband boasted that he had political influence enough to secure her release. In three days she was out. Even where the Mayor has issued a special detainer, as he did in this last case, it is of no use. They get out as easily as if he had taken no such trouble. It is alleged that whenever a man is found competent for any kind of skilled labor, he is likely to be detained; but in other cases he will be dismissed to live off the public, or by his wits. There is manifestly a screw loose in the management of the House of Correction, and the sooner its managers are deprived of their power to undo the work of the committing magistrates, the better it will be for the city.

The Board of Guardians of the Poor used to contain men like Dr. Isaac Ray and John M. Maris, upon whom the whole city could depend for a responsible administration of its affairs, and for information as to its condition. Of recent years, however, a different and much less responsible class of men have been chosen by Councils. There is not on the present Board, from Mr. Chambers down to the last appointee, a single man who should have received the appointment. There is not a man of them who has at heart the great social interests involved in the management of poverty and pauperism. There is not one of them who is known to the community at large as a man of public spirit and a vigorous sense of public duty. They are men who would never have touched this question, had not the business come to them in the way of a political appointment. One of them is a traveling salesman for a large dry goods house; another is a railway contractor, and, like the first, is rarely in the city to attend to any duties. Others are clerks,

small politicians, and the like. And it is one of the first duties of the people and the newspapers of the city to demand that the Board shall be composed of those who have taken a share in the management of the charities of the city—men who have a heart and a stake in this great question.

The management of the place may be good, or it may be bad, so far as mere honesty goes; but no one can tell. Even the Mayor could not discover its character if he wished to know. Neither this nor any other department of our excellently organized municipal system is in any sense responsible to him, or bound to give him any information. The Grand Jury, indeed, are entrusted with an oversight of the Alms House and similar institutions, an arrangement which enables the managers to escape any real investigation or responsibility. All that the police authorities know is, that they cannot get paupers taken care of in the Alms House. It is hard to get them in; easy for them to get out. Sometimes an insane person has to be kept for a week or a fortnight at the station house, before the Hospital is open to him; and the city has to provide food, as well as lodging, for a great number of helpless waifs in its station houses. The only excuse for this is in the insufficiency of the accommodations and appropriations—a plea which has no validity, since the Guardians are as much bound to take charge of every pauper, as the prisons and penitentiaries are to take charge of every criminal. And in the absence of any knowledge as to the administration of the Alms House, no one feels free to propose that more funds shall be placed at the Board's disposal.

The time to put a stop to this loose sort of loose management has come. The social questions which are connected with our public institutions of this class, are receiving such attention as they never did before. There is a science of charity, and a science of correction, just as really as there is a science of engineering. To hand over the Alms House and the House of Correction to those who are ignorant of the first rudiments of such science, must be more mischievous than it would be to have our bridges built by men who know nothing of the strength of materials and the other elements of engineering science.

THE two branches of the Society of Friends, at their recent meetings in this city, took steps forward in their action upon two points

of social morality. The Orthodox Friends agreed to establish an inquiry as to whether any member of the subordinate Meetings indulged in the use of intoxicating drinks. The Society has been moving to this point slowly but steadily. Last century it was in the queries whether farmers saw that their laborers were properly supplied with such drinks at harvest time. Early in this century, before the division of 1829, ground was already taken against allowing members to engage in the manufacture of such drinks, although the queries elicited the fact that a good number of Friends were proprietors of stills. The pressure of the queries, however, has banished this practice, as well as the excessive use of liquors, and it is now to be extended to their very use. We are not able to see the wisdom of this course. We think it an instance of the extent to which church bodies are liable to be led by temporary drifts of opinion into extremes of interference with personal liberty. Such drifts we should especially suspect and fear in a body so much governed by the inward impressions of right, conveyed to the minds of a limited number of good people, and not controlled by an external code or authority.

The other branch publishes an exhortation to its members to patronize the small stores rather than the large establishments which are springing up, even though the price of the goods they sell should be found somewhat higher. There is a good and kind purpose behind their exhortation, but we are far from being convinced of its wisdom. It is one which the poorer members of the Society could not afford to follow, and if followed by the richer, it would amount to giving in concealed alms the difference between the two scales of prices. If the small capitalists are to be saved from absorption by the large establishments, it will be by their combining to create such establishments on a basis of co-operation. Instead of thirty small stores, each reduplicating the other with a small and unsatisfactory stock of dry goods, trimmings, or furnishing goods, there might be one large establishment, owned and managed by the same proprietors, each of whom should offer to the public a first class assortment in some one line. It is toward this arrangement that retail business is moving; and the movement is not to be retarded by religious bodies exhorting their adherents to aid in resisting it.

BAYARD TAYLOR ON GERMAN LITERATURE.*

THE lectures of Bayard Taylor on German Literature, delivered to the students of Cornell University, and published after the author's death, from his manuscript, will be read with pleasure and profit by all interested in the subject. It is understood, that Mr. Taylor had intended not merely to revise but to reconstruct his lectures for publication in a more elaborate form; but death stayed his hand, and the editor, Mr. George H. Boker, very naturally felt reluctant to assume a task, the propriety of which might be open to doubt. So, then, these lectures come to us in all the freshness of their *viva voce* delivery; and we are, in fairness bound, to constitute ourselves hearers rather than readers. This implies, as Mr. Boker remarks, that we should keep in mind the object for which they were delivered, which was "rather to introduce, to interest and to invite the student to a further pursuit of the subject for himself, than to provide him with accurate and thorough knowledge of a field so wide as that of the literature of the most cultivated nation of Europe."

Though entering upon a field that his versatile pen, barring the translation of Goethe's *Faust*, had not previously touched, Mr. Taylor brought to his task advantages rarely equaled. His poetical genius gave him the master-key to the utterances of kindred spirits; his experience and skill of description came into play where unwieldy masses of facts had to be broken into perspective groups; his familiarity with the whole range of English literature suggested helpful comparisons, and the graces of his lucid style are admirably adapted to his subject.

That the extensive material which offered itself for consideration, the literature from the time of *Ulfula* to a comparatively recent period, could not be digested within the brief limits of twelve lectures, is obvious enough. What Mr. Taylor did under the circumstances appears to have been the wisest; he selected for his comment the most important epochs, and, within these, only writers of a representative character. Thus the landmarks of literature are brought out in distinct relief, while an attempt at greater complete-

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ness would have overweighted the lectures and wearied the audience. Had the author lived to publish his work, there is little doubt but that he would have filled up some gaps, such as the omission of the Romantic School of Poets and of men like Bürger, Voss, and others of equal merit. The literature of the present century might have furnished material for another series as attractive as the present one.

The first four lectures (one-third of the whole series) are devoted to the Medieval German, and here the author, treading on ground which to most of his hearers must have been a *terra incognita*,* was put to his best, to infuse into his subject vital breath and interest. In this he has succeeded remarkably well. The strange world of chivalry, with its heroism, love and minstrelsy, is pictured with a few well drawn strokes; and his eloquent sketch of the famous poets, among whom *Walter von der Vogelweide*, *Wolfram von Eschenbach*, and *Gottfried of Strasburg* deservedly take the lead, is interspersed with specimens of their verses, together with Taylor's melodious translations, sufficient to impress the hearer with a sense of the beauty and fragrance of German minstrel poetry.

While discussing the early changes of language, Mr. Taylor appears to assume that Old High German is the offspring of the Gothic. The connection of these two Teutonic idioms cannot be conceived, however, as one of direct descent. They owe their origin to a common ancestor of a remoter age, which must forever remain a missing link.

The fourth lecture treats of the famous *Nibelungenlied*, the great national epic, which in its elements, character and tone so totally differs from the smooth and somewhat artificial narratives of the courtly poets. What a strange history the unique epic has had! In its oldest form it probably consisted of a series of alliter-

* The Ancient German appears to have remained a quite unknown land, even in some learned circles. It was taken for bad Latin in an article on the Book Rarities at Washington, contributed to the *Bibliotheca Sacra*, in 1874. After exemplifying the gradual decline of Latin by a number of extracts, the author feels sure he has reached the bottom of the ladder by the closing presentation and remarks: "But the last specimen we shall give, from an unknown locality and antiquity, presents the final and unsurpassable corruption of the speech of Cicero. It is termed, *Abrenuntiatio diaboli*." Thereupon he quotes the renouncing formula of an Ancient German catechism, which may be found in almost all text-books on German Literature as a specimen of Old Saxon.

ative poems of powerful stroke, resembling the *Hildebrandslied* or the *Sigurdriðu mal* of the Edda. Who remodeled it to suit the language and taste of later ages, who interpolated into its old pagan texture a few threads of Christianity, who, for a second or third time, undertook to popularize it, we do not know. The various manuscript copies of the *Nibelungenlied* differ considerably from each other, and their number goes to show that it was well appreciated at its time. For some not clearly understood reason it then fell into disfavor, soon followed by oblivion. When the newly invented art of printing began to multiply works, commended either by their intrinsic worth or by popular demand, the great epics of Wolfram, *Parcival* and *Titurel*, shared this privilege at an early date (A.D., 1474); but the *Nibelungenlied* had to wait nearly three hundred years longer, ere a partial edition of it was brought out by the press, and more than three hundred years before the first complete edition was printed (A.D., 1782.) This formed the first volume of C. H. Myller's collection of poems of the 12th, 13th, and 14th centuries. And what a welcome it then got from old Frederick the Second, the enlightened King of Prussia, to whom the enthusiastic Myller had ventured to send a copy. The gruff old hero thus snubbed the editor and all medieval poetry: "You judge much too favorably of those poems of the 12th, 13th, and 14th centuries, which you have published and deem fit to enrich the German language. In my opinion they are not worth a charge of powder (*nicht einen schuss pulver's werth*) and did not deserve to be raked up from the dust of things forgotten. In my library, at least, I shall not tolerate such poor stuff, but shall throw it out. The copy sent to me may await its fate in the large library. Not much demand for it is expected. Your otherwise gracious King, Frederick. Potsdam, 22d February, 1784." Savage as this cut direct from the King sounded, it was really less galling than the cold shoulder the learned gave to the precious relic. But our century has made amends. Numerous editions, critical, explanatory, and popular, have followed each other in quick succession; collations of manuscripts, theories on the origin and the oldest form of the poem, disquisitions on its connection with history and mythology, treatises on its language, etc., attest the zeal of scholars; nay the growing admiration of the poem did not stop short of ranking it with Homer's immortal epics. Mr. Taylor, while recognizing and warm-

ly appreciating the merits, grandeur and importance of the *Nibelungenlied*, deprecates such ill-judged comparisons. Two passages of his lecture will sufficiently define his position: "Unnoticed in the records of the ages; ignored, perhaps contemptuously disparaged by the minstrelsy of the courts; kept alive only through the inherited fondness of the masses for their old traditions, it has been almost miraculously preserved to us, to be now appreciated as the only strong, original creation of the youth of the German race." On the other hand he remarks: "But when the enthusiastic German scholar calls it a Gothic Iliad, he uses an epithet which only confuses our ideas. It has neither the unity nor the nobility of style which we find in Homer." With this we can well agree. But the comparison that follows, of the one with a Druid circle of granite boulders, and of the other with a Grecian temple on a sunny headland, is, in our opinion, a flight of fancy that distorts the true relations as much as the censured parallel.

What is said of the metrical character of the *Nibelungenlied*, "its fine irregularity of movement," would be proper enough if the lines of the poem were to be scanned by the standard of modern verse. But no prosodical feet, iambic or other, enter into the old Germanic system of versification, which recognizes only a certain number of verse accents (*arsis*), while the number of unaccented syllables (*thesis*), was variable. This system, long ago abandoned and replaced by one founded on the regular repetition of prosodical feet, has occasionally been resumed, not without fine effect, by poets gifted with a delicate appreciation of rhythm. Instances of this free treatment of the *thesis* may be found in the lyric portions of Goethe's Pandora, in Heine's North Sea Songs, and in W. Jordan's Siegfried. It is strange that Coleridge, who likewise adopted this method in his *Christabel*, was not aware of its existence and exclusive use in the Ancient German, and also in the alliterative Anglo-Saxon poetry. "The metre of Christabel," he says, "is not, properly speaking, irregular, though it may seem so from being founded on a new principle, namely that of counting in each line the accents, not the syllables."

The Fourteenth and Fifteenth centuries produced no poets of high order, while in the great pulpit orators, Eckart, Tauler, Suso, and Geiler, we discern the dawn of German prose. These,

however, were not within the scope of Mr. Taylor's lectures, and so the transition period is represented only by the epic fable of *Reinecke Fuchs*, the Folk's Songs, and the much ridiculed *Meistergesang*. The latter Mr. Taylor considers, in accordance with the view that formerly was generally held, as a new element that superseded the *minnegesang* of the preceding period. "What is called *Meistergesang*," he says, "was the successor of the *Minnegesang*, and there is some reason for conjecturing that *Frauenlob*, the last, and to my thinking, the poorest of the minnesingers, was one of the masters of the trade." Jacob Grimm has, however, adduced weighty reasons for believing that the distinction thus drawn between the poets of the two epochs is founded upon a misconception, and that the proper definition of *Meistergesang*, i. e., a lyric poem of an artistically constructed strophic form, approved by a corporate body, fully applies to the *Minnegesang*. When the occupation with poetry fell into the hands of tradespeople who organized their poet's guilds on the footing of tailors' or carpenters' associations, a rapid decline ensued; among the subjects, religious metaphysics and moral lessons were mostly favored, and the treatment became absurdly mechanical. It was then that *master*, which originally had reference to approved excellence, began to shift its meaning and to remind of corporation customs. Even at the time when the *Meistergesang* was most rampant, it was by no means co-extensive with all poetry and did not crowd the more natural, untrammelled strains out of existence. A poet, as far as he adapted his metrical travails to the rules of the craft, was a mastersinger, while outside of the school he was at perfect liberty in the choice of his style and subject. It is very necessary to insist on this distinction in the case of *Hans Sachs*, whose most meritorious poems, the *Spruchgedichte* in couplet form, and the dramatic farces had no connection with the school and its constraints. Though among the mastersingers of his time the most distinguished, he preferred for publication his homespun narratives and comedies, which in ease, humour, and cheerfulness are as charming as the *Canterbury Tales*, however much they differ from these in other respects. Mr. Taylor appears to have viewed *Hans Sachs* too much in his capacity as a mastersinger. The only specimen of his poetry which is inserted, comes under this head.

Martin Luther's great influence upon the development of language and literature in Germany is forcibly set forth in the lecture on the times of the Reformation. Not only does the modern era of German literature commence with the great Reformer, but its advent is mainly due to his influence. Mr. Taylor says, Luther re-created the German language. Certain it is that the form of language chosen by him, and so wonderfully moulded for his uses, has achieved recognition as standard German, and has depressed all other forms to the level of dialects. While the Reformation in its political consequences entered like a wedge into the effete structure of the German Empire and hastened its disintegration, Luther's Bible translation supplied an ideal bond of unity which, gaining strength from century to century, prepared the way for political reconstruction.

On the question of comparative excellence of the English and the German translation of the Bible, considered as works of literature, Mr. Taylor decides in favor of the latter, which he considers superior to the English in fullness, strength, tenderness and vital power of language.

We notice in the passage taken from Luther's remarks on his method of translation, a curious misconception of the German words, "*Wess das herz voll ist dess geht der Mund über*" (*Ex abundantia cordis os loquitur*). Mr. Taylor took this to mean, "Whose heart is full, his mouth overflows," but *wess* is unquestionably the neuter gender and the sense is: Of whatever the heart is full, with that the mouth overfloweth.

As the era of the Reformation was preceded so it was followed by a period barren of genial poets, and somewhat uninteresting to the general student, though not so to the observer of the currents of thought. Mr. Taylor deals in his lecture on the seventeenth century as kindly as possible with the rhyming craft, and points to the few pearls imbedded in the vast rubbish. While raising no objection to the favorable position given to *Logau*, we regret to miss *Johann Scheffler*, who, for tenderness and depth, stands unequalled in his century. But how the punning, eccentric, irrepressible *Abraham à Santa Clara*, who is nothing if not sensational, could be represented as a writer of simple homilies that betray no straining after effect, we are really at a loss to understand.

Reaching with his seventh lecture the broad expanse of modern

German literature, the author, to escape from the *embarras de richesse*, concludes to restrict himself to seven illustrious captains in the field of literature, as the exponents of its character and progress, viz.: *Lessing, Klopstock, Herder, Wieland, Schiller, Goethe, and Jean Paul Richter*. Mr. Taylor, as if entering into the charming circle of life-long friends, now becomes warmed up with a genial glow, and while surveying the imperishable works of these master minds, his discourse spontaneously rises to noble eloquence. It is a matter of great regret that the prescribed limits did not allow him to enter into the subject with more minuteness, and that his life was not spared for a careful elaboration of his outlines.

Mr. Taylor's account of Goethe will command more than ordinary interest. He never could have translated Faust, as he did, had not his heart had a share in his work, and sped his eminent talent. In fact, his admiration of the great German poet almost borders on hero-worship. If we consider in what pitiful condition Goethe found German literature, and how magnificent were its unfoldings during his lifetime—*quorum pars magna fui*, no one could say with better right than he—it really seems as if no terms of homage showered upon him could be too extravagant. He had depth and breadth like no other poet; that mysterious inspiration which we call genius, marks the early blossoms of his youth as well as the ripe fruit of his manhood; of human life in all its aspects he had the most intimate knowledge; its thousand problems rose before him, and were reflected in passionate accents or calm discourse; wisdom sat on his brow. But withal, it is rather the sympathetic enthusiasm of Taylor, the poet, than the unbiased finding of the critic that makes him say, "In him (Goethe) is no unfulfilled promise, no fragmentary destiny: he stands as complete and symmetrical and satisfactory as the Parthenon,"

While Goethe thus towers in lofty grandeur, Schiller, who otherwise receives an unstinted tribute of recognition, is admitted to be only a second-class genius, ranking with Virgil, Tasso, Corneille, Spenser, and Byron. Even the popular verdict, that, of the two poets, Schiller was in fuller sympathy with political liberty, is reversed by Mr. Taylor. "The Democracy of Germany," he says, "celebrates him as its special poet, and condemns Goethe for his aristocratic predilections. This impression is so fixed that it is now almost impossible to change it; yet, if there was any difference be-

tween the two poets, Goethe was certainly the more democratic." We know, Goethe has been claimed by the Social Reformers, and even Communists, as one of their prophets. There is in his writings, especially in the *Wanderjahre*, and by implication in his drama *Eugenia*, a good deal of suggestive wisdom, of sagacious forecast on questions of social science, as we call it now; but his thoughts and proposals are so interwoven in narrative, hidden in allegory and so equivocally endorsed, that a political platform constructed of these shadowy planks, would be no more than an unsubstantial vision. By his direct commitals (for instance, on the liberty of the press), by his personal relations and political record he can establish no claim to democratic tendencies, and nothing can clear him of the reproach, that during his country's throes no manly word came from his lips. While young Körner flung war lyrics into the air, that sounded like grape and canister, and while the patriotic Arndt, by prose and verse, goaded Napoleon to a desire of bloody resentment, Goethe remained as gentle as a cooing dove; and when Germany, after many bloody battles, stood disenfranchised from foreign yoke, its greatest poet added to the pæans of victory nothing but a tame allegory.

There is, however, one side, and a very important one, in Goethe's intellectual life, to which Mr. Taylor has hardly given the prominence which it deserves, viz. : his share in scientific investigations. To say that his time thus spent was not lost is a rather faint appreciation of what to Goethe himself was half his lifetime, and, perhaps, more than half his ambition. There were periods when his muse took a long rest, but science appears to have engaged him from the time when he was a student in Strasburg to his dying day. The discovery of Goethe which strikes the key-note of his biological views, and which, as much as his theory on the metamorphosis of plants, has enrolled him among the harbingers of the evolution doctrine, his interpretation of the cranial and facial bones as developed vertebræ, has not even been mentioned by Mr. Taylor. Nor ought we to separate Goethe the poet from Goethe the naturalist, as if in each capacity he had been running in a different groove. His intimacy with science, and his fundamental views on the nature of things became ruling factors of his poetical conceptions. For in the same manner as nature appeared to him in a state of continual flux, organic life as a succession of metamorpho-

ses, and as the multitudinous variations of form suggested to him the history of a primitive type, so he conceived man, the individual and mankind, as the product of ever active forces, such as innate dispositions, selfish promptings, passion, societary life, the spirit of the age, lofty aspirations, religious impulses, and whatever else determines character and conduct. It is the observance of this evolutionary method in his poetical characters which has invested Werther, Wilhelm Meister, Tasso, Ottilie, and, above all, Faust, with so much psychological interest. When Mr. Taylor says, "all those bones and stones kept him close to solid fact," he forgets that the facts of natural science would not have had the least interest for Goethe, had he not tried to discern in them a controlling law.

The lecture on *Faust* substantially reasserts the views on the poem which Mr. Taylor has expressed before in the prefaces to his translation. The latter is in itself one of the most remarkable and important contributions to the rich literature which has grown around the immortal drama, and it is certainly not saying too much, that the research, labor, and thought spent upon the original, during the process of recasting, must give to Mr. Taylor's opinion considerable weight, if not authority. His statement of the plan and purpose of the work has the merit of being plain, distinct, and free of that subtle transcendentalism which many German commentators have spun around the second part of Faust. "The passions and indulgences of youth," says Mr. Taylor, "only bring Faust remorse; place and power at the Emperor's Court fail to satisfy him; the perception of beauty—which, after all, is only a recognition of divine harmony—first elevates and purifies his nature, and his happy moment comes at the end, as the result of an unwearied and beneficent activity for the human race, aided by the divine love which is freely bestowed on all men." This exposition in a nutshell, which is somewhat more fully repeated in the closing *resumé*, will be found quite as satisfactory as a host of others couched in more pretentious language. But it also lays open the weak point of the wonderful drama. For, accepting it as the correct interpretation of the poet's purpose, and using it as a possible clue through the mazes of the second part, we cannot but ask, How does it appear that Faust's inner self was raised and purified by the agencies mentioned; how shall we realize that the phases of the drama were likewise phases in Faust's personality; what bearing upon his progress have

the many allegorical scenes, in which he has no part, and those in which he is a mere looker-on; what concern has he in the Emperor's victory, which was won by the diablerie of Mephistopheles, and with what right can we call the reclaiming of waste lands along the coast "an unwearyed and beneficent activity for the sake of the human race?" It has been said that this tith of utilitarian effort must be taken as symbolical of practical philanthropy in general; and Dr. Loeper uses, in connection with it, the term, "ideal Americanism." But in a drama symbolical actions are necessarily weak; we want the performance, not the token; and if "ideal Americanism" is fraught with such momentous consequences, if it is to be the pivot of Faust's redemption, we must insist that, in addition to its useful features, such as we know by the names, "internal improvements," "opening the resources of the country," "giving land to actual settlers," "protection of home industry," etc., there should be in it an element of self-sacrifice and personal effort, without which it cannot be accepted as a moral force. In the absence of that element, Faust's great saving act is hardly more than the happy idea of a civil engineer.

Of course, the very mention of Goethe's Faust conjures up the host of questions that have been asked and answered these last fifty years. Let the flood-gates remain closed. However much opinions differ on the second part, considered as a totality and as an organic work of art, it must be admitted that it evinces the highest powers of poetical genius, that numerous scenes surprise us at every new reading, with their freshness, beauty, symbolic truth, and rich humor. Unquestionably, Mr. Taylor is right in claiming that "the poem embodies all the finest qualities of Goethe's mind; his rich, ever-changing rhythm, his mastery over the elements of passion, his simple realism, his keen irony, his serene wisdom, and his most sacred aspiration."

In the closing lecture on *Jean Paul Richter*, Mr. Taylor earnestly tries to speak of this sphinx of German literature with becoming regard, but he cannot conceal his want of sympathy and is too much disposed to run the faults of this writer into caricature. In fact, the impression left on the reader must be that Jean Paul was a compound of whimsicalities, tempered by the sweetness of his moral nature, and seasoned with humor. It is left unexplained how he could ever attract a circle of ardent admirers, belonging to

no particular class of society, men and women widely different in temper, habits of mind, principles and pursuits, from the sedate thinker to the sensitive maiden. Underneath the uninviting crust of his eccentric style there must certainly be a core of wonderful savor to account for the fascination that he has exerted. Fantastic and sentimental he certainly is, but with all his exuberant idealism he does not lose sight of the realities of life and from the strong contrast between the two that presents itself to his mind, springs his humor, radiantly playing between the two opposite poles. That there is much repetition in his works is quite true; the same staff of characters, a little differently draped and circumstanced, appears again and again; still Mr. Taylor goes too far in saying that from his earlier to his later works there are few traces of development. During his first period (as represented by the *Grönländische Proccesse*, and *Auswahl aus des Teufels Papieren*), he is devoid of true humor. In its place we find snappish wit and cold satire; also the throbbing sentiment and lofty idealism of his later writings are wanting. Though his capricious style remains substantially unchanged, the reception of the great problems of human life into the plan and tissue of his works marks another progress. Somewhat apart from the rest of his narratives stands the grotesquely comical *Doctor Katzenberger's Badereise*, from which the pathetic element is excluded. The serious essays, *Levana* (on education), *Selina* and *Campaner-thal* (on the immortality of the soul), *Vorschule der Aesthetik* (hints toward a theory of poetry), and the critical papers contained in the *Bücherschau*, all sparkle with wit of the true Jean Paulian kind, but, being didactic in their character, have little in common with his works of fiction.

As a prominent feature in Jean Paul's literary character, his cheering optimism, his sincere sympathy with the trials, joys, and sufferings of all mortals, his elevating appreciation of the bright ideals of our existence, should be thankfully acknowledged. The nooks and corners of lowly conditions of life, which even Shakespeare and Goethe so seldom favor with a passing glance, are lit up and warmed by Jean Paul's impartial, all-loving humanism. His abiding faith in the triumph of justice and truth upheld him in the dark hours of his country's history, and when others, who were mighty with the pen, observed a pusillanimous silence, he spoke manly words of hope, cheer, and encouragement.

Mr. Taylor seems to consider it a blemish in Jean Paul that he was not more like Schiller and Goethe, the great masters in the classic style, and expresses regret at his "estrangement from the two men who most might have helped him onward and upward." But no more could a deer take after a bird, or a bird after a fish. All that Jean Paul is, he is through his total, uncompromising diversity from the patterns of the classic school. He was great and could be great only in the *genre* which he created for himself. He has been called a great poet that never wrote a verse. To this Mr. Taylor takes exception. While admitting that he possessed a thoroughly poetic appreciation of nature, and that a few of his scattered conceptions are adapted to poetic treatment, he adds: "I have rarely found an author with so little of the poetic faculty." Still more trenchant is Mr. Taylor's judgment on Jean Paul's prose: "His idea of prose, for the most part, seems to consist in tearing up sentences and then putting the fragments together at random." Such severity reminds us of an epigram on Wagner attributed to Rossini: When the Italian maestro was seen at the first performance in Paris of an opera of the famous German composer, he was asked his opinion. "Would it not be terrible," he answered, "if this were music."

Let us remark, in conclusion, that the contrast between the older style of musical composition and the revolutionary romanticism of Wagner furnishes a tolerably good parallel to the antagonism between the German classic writers and Jean Paul. The latter also appears incommensurable with the accepted models, a fantastic innovator, bewildering, obscure, unmelodic, rioting in a vortex of tumultuous strains, but, in spite of all, wielding a soul-entrancing power, lending voices, till then unheard, to the interpretations of inner experience, original in bold devices and blending a world of thought and fancy into wonderful harmonies.

O. S.

SPIRITUALISM IN ART, AND THE FRENCH PAINTERS
OF THE XVII. CENTURY.

THE principle that a due proportion between idealism and realism in art, especially in painting, realizes the best ideal and creates the best types of art, is comparatively a recent growth, the world of art having hitherto been the field of a struggle, or, at least, an antagonism, between the exclusive claims of one school and the other. Art, in its rudest and earliest forms, furnished an obvious subject on which to fight out the issue between the ideal and the material. The conventional forms proper to the idols or allegorical representations of almost every race, are not due solely to the incapacity of the artists of early times to copy nature more closely, but to an instinct of idealism as being the more respectful and fitter mode of indicating the deity. By the side of the conventional emblems used in Egypt or Assyria to represent diversities, realistic pictures of common life have been found to be abundant, and have proved most valuable as indications of the domestic and commercial usages of those countries. In Greek art, a certain realism was uppermost, which confined symbolism to the adjuncts of deities, instead of allowing it to be imprinted on their forms and thus creating human-headed lions or bulls, or animal-headed men and women. For instance, the thunderbolt is associated with Zeus as an image of power, the club with Heracles as denoting strength, the bow with Apollo as a sign of skill and swiftness, etc. The physical perfection of the human body became the highest, and, in the eyes of the Greeks, the worthiest type of divinity; but beyond this there was also an instinct among the loftier minds of the race, which acknowledged that no copy of any actual model most nearly realizing perfection was adequate to represent divine beauty. Plato, in his *Timæus*, distinguishes the manner of the true artist from that of the common worker: "The artist who, fixing his eye on the Immutable Being, and making it his model, reproduces its idea and its attributes, cannot fail to create a whole endowed with perfect beauty, while he who fixes his eye on transitory things will never, with such an imperfect model, accomplish anything truly beautiful." The Olympian Zeus may have had some superhuman character, the stamp, at least, of an attempt to represent an ideal of calm

majesty, of which no mere man, however dignified, could be an adequate model, and some modern artists and critics have, from time to time, fancied that they discovered in this or that antique statue of a divinity, something beyond existing types of beauty. Except for one whose study of art is very thorough and professional, it seems useless to try to extract from a beautiful statue, anything more than a representation of as perfect a human type as the sculptor had before his eyes, just as it seems equally impossible for any untechnical admirer of Raphael's Madonnas, to see in them anything beyond magnificent, healthy, young mothers, of splendid proportions and noble features. Yet, in all modern, i. e., European art, there is more of an approach to a refined idealism, suggesting spiritual truths and relations, than can be found in the most perfect forms of classical art. Even where the Christian ideal is most overlaid by a Paganized conventionality of expression, as was the case during one of the most brilliant of art periods, there is an undercurrent of unconscious spiritualism asserting itself, if not in the treatment, at least in the choice of subjects. But violent transitions from mysticism to realism (or rather it would be more correct to say naturalism) and *vice versa*, have been common throughout the history of modern art; and even in this century a school grew up in Germany, admirable in many things, yet constituted in too vehement a spirit of reaction not to give scope for an exaggerated medievalism to those of its members whose discretion was overriden by their zeal. The present attitude of art, and of art criticism, is more eclectic and less intolerant than it has been at any previous time; hard and fast lines are less in favor, and exclusive claims to the first place are less considered; the lower or "genre" branches of art, especially painting, are allowed to be most benefited by adhering broadly to a modified and comparative realism, while the historic and religious branches are considered wise if they borrow this realism to enhance the strikingness of backgrounds and secondary adjuncts, reserving idealism as the inspiration fittest to guide the portrayal of central figures. Still, though this is the present creed of artists, and of the increasing tribe of art critics, the popularity of a certain familiar treatment of domestic subjects, which is one of the forms of realism, points to the fact that high art, however much it may show of the spirit of compromise, will never be the favorite of the masses, who are the patrons of the fu-

ture. French art, in its present graceful aspects, is the favorite in this country ; but neither the "traveled" nor the stay-at-home public know much of any French art save the present. Even Scheffer and Delaroche seem antiquated and pedantic to contemporary buyers and critics. The parts of the Louvre and the Luxembourg which hold some of the specimens of a still earlier period are far less visited than those containing the foreign masterpieces acquired by purchase or by conquest during the present century ; and for some of the best pictures of the French masters of the seventeenth century, the connoisseur must go to England and explore private galleries and collections. Victor Cousin, the French spiritualist philosopher (the term is used here in its legitimate sense, as opposed to materialist), considers the school of the seventeenth century as the only worthy representative of national art, and the expression of the highest principle at which art in general can aim. It is to that part of his treatise on the "True, the Good, the Beautiful" which he devotes to French painting as exemplified in this school, that I wish to draw attention. If I quote freely, it is because Cousin's terse phraseology seems the most direct way of setting before the reader some of the chief characteristics of a little known knot of grave, dignified painters, and earnest men the reverse of courtiers, whose mode of work would now be considered unfashionable, straight-laced, and altogether behind the age. Yet in them was embodied the noblest spirit that ever guided painting in France. Cousin, before proceeding to the criticism of individual painters of this school, says : "The end of art is the expression of moral beauty through the medium of physical beauty. . . . there is no true ideal without a determinate form, but the essence of beauty is the idea, and the perfection of art is, above all, the realization of the conception rather than the most exact imitation of such and such a particular form." He then deprecates the mischievous theory that optical illusion is the perfection of art, and I cannot resist the temptation to record what he says of the realism of historical costume as regards the stage, because, though he spoke in the days of the beginning of this mania, his censure has become more and more applicable to the drama as years have gone on. Not that he undervalued the correctness of presentation aimed at in the modern drama, but that he would have it hold a subordinate place, and not encroach on or overshadow what should be the es-

sence of the drama, *i. e.*, the personal fitness and individual qualities of the actors. "If it were possible," he says, "to clothe the representation of Brutus in the very toga worn by the assassin of Cæsar, and to place in his hand the identical dagger with which he struck the blow, a true connoisseur would care very little for the exhibition. Nay, more! If illusion is carried too far, it even destroys the artistic feeling, and substitutes a purely natural and sometimes distressing sensation. If I really believed that Iphigenie was about to be sacrificed within twenty paces of me, I should leave the theatre in horror and disgust"

To return to Cousin's exposition of painting, as in his judgment it should be: "The artist's first care," he says, "should be to discover the ideal in his subject, in order to make it as intelligible to the senses, and through them to the soul, as the finite means at his command will allow. To express the ideal and the infinite more or less perfectly is the law and *raison d'être* of art. Now expression is essentially ideal, for what it seeks to convey is precisely that which the eye cannot see, nor the hand touch. . . . any work of art which does not express an idea is worthless; it must, perforce reach the mind or the soul through some one of the senses, and carry with it some thought or emotion of a touching or ennobling kind."

Cousin, like all enthusiastic and thoroughly convinced theorists, was something of a revolutionist, which no one will wonder at who has managed to keep his independence of judgment in spite of the routine of gallery visiting and guide-book reading in the great cities of Europe. "A theory of artistic criticism," he says, "which should start from the principle of the sovereignty of expression as a test of true art, would seriously interfere with judgments now received as final, and would cause a revolution in the order of precedence among the great artists of old, but, without endeavoring to create such a disturbance, let us illustrate this principle by a worthy example. There is a school in art which was once deservedly famous, and is now unduly neglected; the French school of the 17th Century.

"Sportiveness had been the distinguishing mark of the 16th Century, and as such it has left its impress on the art and literature of the Renaissance. But towards the beginning of the 17th Century, a great reaction took place; the mind of the country seemed

to pass from youth to maturity. Instead of giving full swing to fancy, our writers began to confine it within proper bounds, without wholly destroying it; to moderate it, as did the Greeks, within the limits of good taste, just as in the more perfect stages of society we learn to repress or hide any exuberant individuality of character. The literature of the Renaissance, gay, fantastic, full of far-fetched conceits, was replaced by a new school of prose and poetry which, during the course of a hundred years, brought forth no despicable fruits. Art actually followed the bent of men's minds, and instead of affected grace, took on a serious and vigorous spirit. Mere originality and extravagant quaintness gave way to a less spiritual purpose, and, far from aiming at a sparkling and dazzling effect, painting addressed itself chiefly to the soul and the intellect. This change carried with it defects as well as beauties, for it cannot be denied that this school of art did not excel in coloring, though it is unrivalled as regards expression. Since that time we have made another change. We have found out—though, perhaps, it was a little late for the discovery—that we lacked imagination, and we are now in a fair way of securing it at the cost of reason, as also of *spirituel* things which are altogether at a discount among us. Color and form are just now the fashion in everything, poetry and painting included. We are beginning to go wild over the Spanish School, while the Flemish and the Venetian are fast taking precedence over the great schools of Florence and Rome. In music, Rossini has as many partisans as Mozart, and we shall, before long, vote Gluck a bore."

Although this description applies to France, there are in it features of which we can trace the equivalent in other countries, especially England. The Elizabethan literature was the flower of a vigorous growth of individualism, a brilliant collection of fancies, experiments, freaks; the Queen Anne period saw a spirit of ponderousness and pedantry weigh down and fetter this exuberance, and the Georgian era threw away the pedantry to replace it by a defiant realism which resulted in coarseness, though it never lacked force. Our own age has lost force more than it has eliminated coarseness, for, side by side with a highly, even painfully, metaphysical style of literature, it has evolved, in almost every branch of art, a sensationalism strikingly popular, and more insidious because more outwardly refined. I know too little of English con-

temporary painting to be able to contrast the various elements of its general tendency with those that have appeared in the prose and verse literature of the last twenty years. The latest school, if it can be called a school, seems to tend to the worship of color as the main element of art, and some of the least exaggerated of the "impressionists" are great sticklers for historical correctness; but as long as accuracy of detail is kept subordinate to the idea suggested by the subject, it has great and acknowledged merit. I think there is, behind a great deal of what is worthy and earnest in English art, a certain dallying with sensationalism, a disposition to compromise for the sake of opportunity, and an openness to temptation in the way of hurried and showy untrustworthy work; but as I cannot, with authority, bring forward any examples, it would be unfair to set down this opinion as anything but an opinion. In landscape, I believe the English to be further advanced than most Continental schools, ancient or modern, because Englishmen in the main are more familiar with nature and more imbued with rural tastes than the corresponding class in any other country, and this general permeating influence makes English painters more alive to, and keeps them in more discriminating sympathy with, the many phases or shades of actual scenes that chiefly lend themselves to art purposes. Beyond this judgment, however, I do not feel justified in criticising or describing English painting at the present moment. Cousin's allusion to the French fashion in music at the time he wrote (that is between thirteen and fifteen years ago), suggests a comparison with English taste in that direction during the same period. Unfortunately, fashion is a more appropriate word than taste, when English appreciation of music is in question, and though there has been for the last ten years, a growing education on this subject, and many efforts, some successful, to spread a love of good music among a larger public, still the standard of taste has not advanced very perceptibly, and especially has not penetrated into the life of the people as a matter-of-course element.

I think the United States are nearly on the same level with England with regard to the appreciation of music, only that in England what progress has taken place has not been aided by the importation of a public as well as of performers, whereas here we are almost as used to the ready-made German public as we are to

highly-paid foreign artists. In the much more important department of composition by native musicians, England is however far beyond us, even in the latter half of this century, entirely putting aside the Sixteenth century composers, both of secular (chamber) and ecclesiastical music. The Italian mania was never so decided in England as in France; "society," it is true, rushed from Italian opera to oratorio when Handel became almost an Englishman, and from lyrical drama to musical vaudevilles when Rossini superseded Weber early in this century, while Mendelssohn was equally welcomed and petted; but a good deal of this unreflecting eclecticism was due to the personal influence of the successive composers. The Anglo-Saxon is unfortunately apt, in music at least, to prefer the concrete to the abstract; it is not so much the music as the musician which determines the weathercock of popular taste. The Wagner mania, which has just reached England, though it is accidentally not so much supported by personality as other sudden conversions have been, is not in England what it is in Germany, *i. e.*, the expression of a creed and a reform honestly tending to what Cousin calls the ideal in art, but simply another exotic as yet more unsuited to the national understanding than some of the former musical importations. Musical education must be slow; the old masters of oratorio have nearly conquered the true popular taste, and though crowds still delight in uncouth buffoonery set to jingling tunes, the same crowds will listen with genuine pleasure to the Messiah, the Creation, Israel in Egypt. There is a happy inconsistency which tempers the brutal side of the Anglo-Saxon character, and to this may be attributed the average Englishman's power of enjoying one of the forms of good music which even the most pessimist of inquirers must allow to be in every sense of the word popular in England. A class somewhat less large and mixed, and representing the public in a more partial, yet as far as it goes, not less true manner, has reached the point of appreciating the chamber music of the German masters of the Eighteenth century, the part songs of Mendelssohn, and the old English glees and madrigals. The "music of the future" has no meaning for them, and its introduction is altogether premature. It is only its novelty of form that they can grasp, not its intellectual scope or its intrinsic artistic worth; in fact, while the majority of its drawing-room advocates look upon it as the "correct" thing to admire, its

listeners among the people are puzzled to understand what "it is all about," or only value its spectacular adjuncts as a superlative kind of pantomime. And what wonder? for surely to the uninitiated even among the averagely cultivated public, if they could be prevailed upon to be humble enough to speak their minds, the scenery, and even the story of the "Rhine-Gold" is no more than a glorified pantomime. The aim, the ideal, of the composer, is the life and the worth of the work, but this is hidden from most men, and if it were as carefully explained to them as the ordinary British understanding would allow, it would still hold in their minds but an indifferent and secondary position.

Cousin's worship of the ideal seems to have led me far from the special illustration of the power of that ideal in painting of which he was the earnest apologist. The 17th century was in many ways a time of exceptional virtue and earnestness in France, and productive of remarkable characters not only in letters and art, but in the average domestic walks of life. Gentlemen lived more upon their estates than they did in the following century, and, notwithstanding the growing abuses of the system of serfage, their connection with their dependents was, in the case of two-thirds of the landed gentry, as cordial and satisfactory as personal modifications of the legal customs could make it. Among themselves they held to an old-fashioned code of honor which, though it might be associated sometimes with rusticity of manner and ignorance of book-learning, is one entitled, especially in Anglo-Saxon eyes, to the highest respect, and to the most uncompromising preference over the factitious court code in fashion among their grandchildren. The author of *Les Mirabeau* describes it in the following words: "They put all their wisdom in seven or eight articles: to respect religion, never to lie, to keep a word given, to do nothing mean, to suffer no insult . . . to know the scent, to fear neither hunger nor thirst, neither heat nor cold." The same description applies to the squires of England during the Tudor and Stuart days, the men from whose ranks came the best Parliamentarians, and who formed, after the Restoration, what was known as the "country party," always a stubborn bulwark against the foreign leanings and the tortuous diplomacy of the ministers and favorites of Charles II. and James II. The women of the French class of landed gentry and of the class immediately below, the old government officials, law-

yers, and municipal officers, known as *le noblesse de la robe*, were severely and domestically brought up and often knew as much of the management of estates and the details of land law as their husbands. A classical education was not infrequent among them, and their accomplishments were chiefly in a solid and useful direction, tending to fit them for the companionship of practical men, and the government not only of a household, as we understand the word, but of a whole "following" whose counterpart, in our phase of civilization, no longer exists. They were used to help their sons in their letters, studies, and thus to strengthen the natural bond between parent and child by a subtle sense of comradeship that greatly increased their influence. They were generally competent to manage the property of a minor, and their rule in this direction was sterner than that of most men, while at the same time there was not a hint of the modern restlessness of the female world, nor of insistence upon claims sensitively urged and querulously published to whoever has leisure to listen. They were women of action and did naturally whatever circumstances pointed to, or their personal positions involved. Such a background was sure to produce certain more prominent figures, embodying in their various walks of life the spirit of thoroughness that imbued at least two generations during the 17th century. Leaving aside the representatives of this spirit in poetry, sculpture, architecture, and other callings, I propose to say a few words on Lesueur, Poussin, and Champagne, the foremost painters of the school which Cousin applauds as tending towards the ideal in art, and using none save legitimate means to enhance the influence and value of art.

Eustache Lesueur was born in Paris, in 1617, and never left his native city. Poor and obscure, he spent his life in continual work, in various churches and monasteries, with his three brothers and his brother-in-law, as his scholars, friends, and fellow-workmen. To many, this will seem a dull and colorless life; but his delight in his home, and his devotion to his wife, joined to the pleasure of work for work's sake, which is the first sign of a true artist, appear to me, on the contrary, to indicate that his life was colored by an intense happiness, such as falls specially to the lot of those whom no brilliant Bohemianism can tempt to personal lapses or professional tricks. The greatest harm has been done to the cause of art by the notion that art excuses irregularity of conduct, or palli-

ates weakness of character. Lesueur was, indeed, an exception in some ways; he was wise beyond his years, religious (not only devout), and earnest; his talent developed early, and his assiduous and exclusive study of the highest models available (the antique bas-reliefs and sculptors at the Louvre, and Raphael), formed the original and vigorous style, which, from the age of twenty-five, stamped his individuality. The cast of his mind was, perhaps, melancholy, or, to speak more correctly, austere. Cousin says, ". . . . Everything in his art . . . is subservient to the mind. We find no mannerism, no affectation, but in its place a sober *naïveté* which sometimes even leads him into commonplace. . . . He adds a gentle grace and calm sweetness to the depth of his pathos, and is thus no less attractive than touching. Most of his works consisted of a series which it required both deep meditation and versatile talent to render attractive by variety of treatment, while the unity of the subject was not lost sight of. The history of St. Bruno, the founder of the Carthusians, in twenty-two pictures, is a vast and dreamy poem in which are represented various scenes of monastic life in the Middle Ages.* Another great painting, "St. Paul preaching at Ephesus," reminds us of the "School of Athens," both by the vastness of the scene, the clever distribution of groups, and the effective use of architecture in the background. The interest of the picture is centred in St. Paul, and yet the number of figures, and even the variety of subordinate episodes in the work is great. The "Mass of St. Martin" carries with it a singular impression of peace and silence. The "Vision of St. Benedict" strikes the beholder as of mingled simplicity and grandeur. This is presumably the same subject as I have seen worthily treated in a picture in the famous "*Certosa*" or Carthusian church near Pavia. The name of the painter I do not know; it was not one of the great or even second rate masters, nevertheless the picture has the merit which few treating of visions have, i. e., of shocking neither the sense of reverence nor of good taste. The figure of the Saint in a dark robe occupies one side, and in the opposite upper corner, to which his eyes seem directed, is a bright, yellowish light, surrounding the figure of a flying dove. In almost all the later Italian schools, and most modern schools, chiefly the French, these

* The influence of the rather dry style of Simon Vouet, Lesueur's master, is traceable in this series, which was almost Lesueur's maiden work.

“vision” subjects are disfigured by a profuse scattering of so-called angels looking like chubby boy tumblers. Indeed, angels and cupids appear to have been convertible terms (or figures) in the minds of the majority of painters since Raphael.

Cousin considers the “Burial of Christ” or “Descent from the Cross,” as Lesueur’s masterpiece. The body of the Savior is being wrapped in the winding-sheet; the usual figures are grouped around, the holy women, with the Virgin in the midst, being the most noticeable. “The drawing is vigorous and firm; the coloring, though of course not dazzling—it would have been out of place if it were—is more vivid than in the paintings we have mentioned before. . . . The figure of the Virgin is, as it were, a *résumé* of the whole picture, to which it gives its peculiar stamp. An unspeakable but dignified sadness is on the Mother’s face: she understands and fathoms the divine mystery of the redemption, and her grief, borne up by this sublime thought, is full of calm and resignation.”

It will be seen that the criticism of the spiritualist philosopher dwells less on technical details than it does on the subtle intellectual aim of each painting, and it is precisely this which gives his views their value. His is not at present a popular ideal, nor is his theory held by a large number of disciples; France herself has ceased to appreciate her worthiest school of art, and these forgotten remarks on a neglected period seem to disinter, for the benefit of contemporary admirers of French art, a class of productions whose very obscurity makes them almost a new discovery. Cousin’s determined advocacy of mind as superior to matter was part of his protest against the sensualism fostered in his time by a mistaken, because a partisan, view of philosophy, a view defiantly anti-religious, not because it found any discrepancy between faith and facts in the natural course of research, but because it wished to find theories to fit a foregone conclusion. Cousin’s protest was not passionate and professional, like that of an ecclesiastic, for to churchmen he was nearly as distasteful as a materialist; and it is his freedom from clericalism in any shape which makes his opinion valuable. Christianity in his eyes is a moral code rather than a creed, and he knows how to distinguish its essence from its accidental forms and its official exponents. He calls attention to Lesueur’s inherent Christianity—or as we should put it now, appreciation of the

spiritual prototype under the disguise of conventional mythological forms—as exhibited in the picture of “The Muses,” whose “atmosphere of stainless purity atones for some mythological blunders into which Lesueur was betrayed,” his unfamiliarity with Italian tradition being to blame for this. “But,” continues Cousin, “let others seek in Lesueur an archæologist and a precisian; we seek and find in him the true genius and essence of painting. His ‘Terpsichore’ is rather the personification of modest grace than the conventional representation of a deity of Greece, and the ‘Euterpe,’ who is seated and holds a music-book on her lap, is simply a Saint Cecilia rapt in the chaste inspiration of her art, a vision of modesty and beauty, and to crown all there is even a wealth of coloring and a minuteness in the treatment of the landscape background which reminds us of his great contemporary, Poussin.” The latter Cousin calls the “painter of noble thoughts, the philosopher of his art, . . . his style is as grand as his conceptions; his drawing is that of the school of Florence; his expression is often as noble as Lesueur’s; nothing is wanting to him but coloring; . . . he strikes us by his severe simplicity, his never-failing correctness of outline.” All subjects except trivial ones were familiar to him. Unlike Lesueur, he lived abroad nearly all his life, and spent many years at Rome, where he died; but his patrons were almost exclusively French, and he painted in France also to some extent. Richelieu felt his worth and distinguished him greatly; yet after his death most of his works passed into the hands of foreign collectors. The Duke of Rutland and Lord Ellesmere possess the two sets of the series of the “Seven Sacraments,” “earnest and powerful compositions. . . . in which the beauty of antique sculpture is re-vivified by the spirit of Christianity.” It will be remembered what stress Cousin lays on moral expression; in these pictures, he says, “it resides less in each detail than in the composition of the whole. In fact, this power of composition is Poussin’s strongest point, and one in which he is not surpassed either by the Florentine or the Roman School. As each of the Sacraments is a vast whole, in which every apparently irrelevant detail has its appointed place and meaning, so the series of the Seven Sacraments is a harmonious group, each part completing and supplementing the other. . . . Bossuet himself, in speaking of the Sacrament of Holy Orders, could not have treated the subject with more dignity and

majesty than are evinced by Poussin's treatment of it upon canvas. He has made the admirable landscape, in the background, subservient to his plan. Christ is seen conferring his power on St. Peter, in presence of all the Apostles, while in the distance and on the heights are seen temples crumbling into ruins, and others in process of building. "Poussin did not copy himself servilely in these two sets, and in the second are found many changes or improvements in detail, chiefly in the grouping and position of the figures. Of another work, "Moses Striking the Rock," Cousin says: "We see in it twenty different pictures and yet only one, so skilfully is every episode made subordinate to the main idea, while still remaining necessary to it. It is true that the coloring might be more brilliant, but the gravity of the subject excuses the subdued tone. It is worth remembering that to every subject there is, more or less, some particular degree of coloring specially suited, and in serious subjects this point should be reached, but never overstepped. . . . Poussin excelled in another difficult branch of art, that of clothing a philosophical idea in the form of an allegory. He is decidedly a philosopher in his art, a deep thinker, with an unusual channel of instruction at his command. The devotion of Lesueur and Champagne was absent from his paintings, but greatness of conception, never. He sometimes indulges in moral and philosophical allegory. Witness his "Arcadia," which is a lesson of high philosophy under the form of an idyl. "The will of Eudamidas" is a tribute to the generous confidence of true friendship. "Time delivering Truth from the attacks of Envy and Discord," embodies another sublime lesson, while the "Poet's Inspiration," a less known work, is also well worth the study of the philosopher as well as of the artist. The poem is mythological, but wholly symbolical. Apollo, the God of Poetry, presents the cup of inspiration to the kneeling poet, in whose features the ecstasy of his art is visible even while he drinks. The muse stands by, ready to gather his strains, while Genii disport themselves in the air, scattering wreaths and flowers. "Among Poussin's works in the Louvre, is a striking one of the Deluge." The artist has found the secret of originality, even after all the masters who have treated this subject. He is also more touching than any of his predecessors. There are very few details; three or four corpses are seen floating on the waters, the veiled moon gleams

faintly in the distance; in a few seconds mankind will be annihilated. The last living mother holds out her child to the last living father, who is too exhausted to take it, and the serpent, the enemy of man, raises his head in hideous triumph."

Cousin, reckoning training, rather than the accident of birth, as determining the nationality of a painter, dissents from critics who put Philippe de Champagne among Flemish artists; for though born at Brussels, he studied under Poussin, came early to France, and lived and died in that country. To his Flemish origin, however, must no doubt be attributed his superiority in coloring, and, perhaps, as a counter-balance, his lack of idealism in many of his figures. The French apologist dwells with pride on his love of moral beauty and nobility of expression, on his essentially French manner, or what we more often hear called *technique*, and on his personal qualities which gave the tone to his artistic career. Like Lesueur, he was "poor, single-minded, austere and honest." Cousin has a passion for individual blamelessness, and though this renders him very indulgent in some of his technical criticisms, there is a wider point of view from which his judgment may be looked upon as comparatively correct.

The joyous animal exuberance of Raphael exasperates him, even while he sees the material advantages flowing from it to Raphael's art, and a lack of unity in the "stanze" is so patent to him through his jealousy of the introduction of a Hellenizing and Paganizing spirit, that he does not hesitate to express his "heretical" opinion upon these objects of the recognized worship of artists. Mr. Ruskin himself could hardly insist more vehemently on the value of personal purity and unflinchingly upright motives in the province of art, and their influence on the work achieved within that province. He complains that although Raphael's works, like all beautiful things, raise noble emotions, there is in the impression they create a lack of depth and thoroughness, because the artist never penetrated into the highest regions of moral greatness, of self-denial and self-control. Neither did the social ideal of his age tend that way; indeed, reckoning Michael Angelo and Vittoria Colonna as immortal exceptions from the prevailing corruption, Cousin thinks that the stamp of Raphael's time was best typified by the elegant and dissolute Leonardo Aretino, painter and poet, who (not unlike Benvenuto Cellini, that most perfect specimen of the "unregener-

ate" man) "while he painted Madonnas, laughingly professed a cynical atheism, and while he wrote Lives of the Saints, likewise penned infamous and blasphemous sonnets." Cellini, however, was far less polished and Mephistophelian, and retained, with the utterly unbridled passions of the natural man, a considerable share of *naïve* superstition, and refreshing intellectual barbarism. As a contrast to this school of magnificent and compelling sensualism, and scarcely less to the preceding school of Umbria, mystical, medieval, and narrow-minded in expression, though noble in subject and intention, Cousin sets forth complacently these few Frenchmen with their studies guided by an enlightened Christianity, yet their manner based on the antique. Champagne left on the ceiling of the Carmelite Convent, famous as the retreat of Louise de la Valliere, "a Crucifixion which struck all beholders as a miracle of perspective, for it actually appeared as if the figures were upright, a rare merit for any production on a horizontal plane. This masterpiece was destroyed in the Revolution, together with the convent. But if Champagne was great in his religious and historical works, he is still more so as a portrait painter. In this branch of art, simplicity and truthfulness are peculiarly at home, provided they are tempered by a due measure of idealism in expression, and enhanced by the charm of appropriate coloring. Champagne's portraits are living monuments of his contemporaries. There is austere gravity, touching sweetness, calm dignity, and the stamp of real life on each of his works in this line. Of one of them—a woman's portrait—a critic says: 'Her eye seems to follow you, and produces the same striking illusion as some of the most life-like portraits by Titian.' A picture, of which the figures are from life, representing a miraculous healing, shows us an humble monastic cell, a wooden cross hung against the wall, and two straw-bottomed chairs. The figures seem wrapt in an ecstasy of thankfulness and awe. On the canvas are written these words: '*Christo uni medico animarum et corporum.*'"

Richelieu appreciated Champagne as great statesmen often do men beyond them in moral worth, and once when he pressed the artist to ask some material favor, the latter answered that if his eminence could make him a better painter, he would eagerly ask that favor, but as that was out of the Cardinal's power, or of that of any man, he was quite content with the minister's friendship and appreciation.

Cousin dwells less on Claude Lorraine than on the contemporary figure-painters, but a few words he applies to the French Turner ought not to be soon forgotten. He calls Claude, "above all, the *painter of light*," and says: "His works might be called the *history of light*, and its many phases, whether shown on a vast or a small scale, and distributed over earth, sky, and water. Is there a greater landscape painter in Italy or in Flanders? Note his characteristics, too: See whether in his plains, his trees, his lakes, his mountains, there is not an impression of light and of silence, that denotes a spiritual presence. His distant scenery, flooded with light, suggests a pathway to the regions of invisible beauty and harmony." Minor painters of the same school were Sebastian Bourdon, who painted the series called, "The Seven Works of Mercy," Lebrun, who has left a masterpiece, not unworthy of Poussin, entitled, "Silence," representing the infant Christ asleep, the child's head being "distinguished by a crownless grace and a really supernatural power," and Mignard, of whom Moliere spoke with almost exaggerated praise, when describing his immense fresco in the cupola of the church of the *Val de Grace*. "Order and harmony," says Cousin, "are the distinguishing traits of this vast work. Four circles of figures, one above the other, fill the cupola. The upper one consists of the Trinity, surrounded by a luminous and dazzling atmosphere, and the second is filled with angels and the other heavenly orders.* The third contains a gathering of Saints, both of the old and the new Testaments, while the fourth is taken up by the presentation of Queen Anne of Austria to the Court of Heaven, by her patroness St. Anne, and her predecessor, St. Louis, King of France."

The choice of such a subject was, of course, one of the accidents of the time, and a survival from the customs of preceding ages. Much more scandalous in treatment, as well as intention, is the conspicuous apotheosis of Napoleon I, on the walls of the *Madeleine* in Paris, while the circumstances and conditions of society, as well as art, had so changed by the time that fresco was devised, that its presence over the altar is not as excusable as we may consider earlier expressions of artistic flattery to be. Mignard, among other pictures, painted one of St. Charles Borromeo, Bishop of Milan,

* Referring to the accepted nomenclature of cherubim, seraphim, thrones, denominations, powers, etc., common in the Catholic Church.

administering the Communion to the victims of the plague. "The various expressions of the saintly prelate," says Cousin, "and of the dying men; longing for peace and consolation, are admirably rendered."

Engraving likewise had its school, high in aim and minute in perfection of detail, in the 17th Century. Cousin says of Morin, whom he calls the "Champagne of engraving," that if he wished to epitomize this century in its grandest and, as described by Voltaire, its least known aspect, he would gather together the successive works of Morin. Mellau also was a famous engraver, and, although "it seems at first sight as if his engravings were but the shades of living men, one only need look a second time to be stirred to the inmost heart, as much as by Lesueur's paintings."

The critic-philosopher continues for pages to insist on the superiority of this ancient national school, not only in painting, but in sculpture and architecture, over the later products of French art, and ends by once more tersely defining the difference between the spiritualist and materialist element in art. The former school he emphasizes again much in the same words with which this paper opens; the latter he accuses of centering all its pride in "the minute and lifelike reproduction of actual, moving forms, than which it recognizes no higher standard of beauty." The artists of the 17th century, the age of Descartes, of Corneille, of Bossuet, the age of spiritualism in philosophy, in poetry, in eloquence, "did not," he says, "lack imagination, any more than did Bossuet, but as they schooled themselves to keep its impetuosity within bounds, and to refuse it that absolute supremacy which does not legitimately belong to it, so their imagination, disciplined by reason, and checked by moral dignity, seems to us insipid and weakling,"

The lesson this sentence inculcates is one peculiarly useful and applicable at this time. Even our sober-minded Northern races need discretion and restraint in the use of the imagination as applied to canvass, or rather in the advocacy of a realism which outruns the freaks that previous ages were agreed to call imagination. The study of a former reaction against materialism may issue in hints valuable for the organizing of a new form of spiritual reaction, more suited to our times. It is not by going back to any given manner, or reproducing any given style, that the dignity of art can be maintained, and that is why the school of Overbeck is

only a curious piece of well-meant revivalism, not a living, developing force, but the lofty tone which lies behind each possible combination in the mind of a painter, is the foundation on which all art-teaching should be based, while the perfection of subordinate details should never be lost sight of, as a powerful secondary engine of influence. It is not yet beyond the power of artists and critics to foster this tone above all. Shiftiness of style, flimsiness of workmanship, and triviality of subject should be avoided; that is, in a word, mere popularity hunting.

BLANCHE MURPHY.

THE THREE CLIMATES OF GEOLOGY.

[SECOND PAPER.]

SINCE light and heat are the forces whose influences we shall examine, it is important to determine the relative value of the evidence to be derived from them; or, in other words, to decide which, for our present purpose, is the most trustworthy witness. The former acts directly on plant life; the latter only through the temperature which it produces. This, however, is dependent upon many things beside the amount of solar rays received. It may be raised or depressed, made more equable or less so, by local influences. The lay of the land, the proximity of large bodies of water, the direction, the force, and the volume of ocean currents, all these and many other circumstances modify temperature. But light cannot be so affected. Its distribution at any point, i. e., whether in Spitzbergen, for example, the hours of sunshine were the same each day through the year, or whether they varied, as at present, depended wholly upon the inclination of the axis. Hence, in our present inquiry, light is a witness of much greater value than heat. Any solution, therefore, of the climatic problem that does not include and account for the light in high latitudes, must, of necessity, be incomplete, and most probably false.

But it may be said, *in limine*, that although a perpendicular axis would give the required *uniformity in the length of the days*, it would lead to another result involving a most serious difficulty, for, according to Dr. Croll in "Climate and Time," "If the earth's axis

were even perpendicular, the climate in polar regions would be less genial than at present," because in that case they would receive actually less heat than they now do. This, if sustained, would be an effectual reply to any explanation of the Theral climate based on the position of the axis.

It is, I think, true that with a perpendicular axis, the polar regions would receive less solar heat, and had Dr. Croll drawn from that no inference, I should have had no need to argue with him; but temperature does not depend wholly, or even chiefly, upon the amount of solar rays which fall upon a given surface. A man in a balloon may perish with cold although clothed in garments that would be oppressive were he standing on the ground. Yet he receives more rays in the former case than in the latter. It is not the amount of heat received that determines temperature, but the amount retained. This very evident fact vitiates Dr. Croll's reasoning, for here comes in an important law, recently discovered by Prof. Tyndall. He has shown that aqueous vapor, carbonic acid, and other invisible matters in the atmosphere, while giving free passage to the heat of the solar rays, retain that radiated from the earth's surface. Their effect is analogous to that of glass, which permits the heat of the sun to pass through it, while keeping back that radiated from the interior of our rooms.

Then, too, it must be remembered that while the carbonic acid would thus raise the temperature of the atmosphere, it would also increase the latter's capacity for moisture, and in this manner the total effect would be much greater.

It is, therefore, easy to see that the temperature of polar regions might have been greatly modified, provided the proper conditions existed. Did they exist? Was the atmosphere then richer in CO_2 than it is now?

Many geologists hold that the evidence points the other way. It has been said, 1. That the coal in the rocks is not sufficient for the carbonic acid of such an atmosphere. And, 2. Whether this be so or not, the carbonic acid which furnished carbon for the coal beds was of volcanic origin. And lastly, 3. The amount of it *in the atmosphere at any one time* could not have been very much greater than at present, or life would have been impossible.

Of these objections I shall speak in their order, and then point out certain important facts in the world's history which admit of

explanation on the supposition that there was a large amount of this gas in the atmosphere.

“There is not coal enough to make the needed amount of CO².”

It can be shown by an easy calculation that the CO² now in the atmosphere would furnish coal enough to cover 100,000 square miles to the depth of about five feet, equal to 2¾ pounds on each square inch. According to Prof. Dana, the coal beds in North America, of the carboniferous age alone, cover 208,000 square miles, and, of workable beds in the United States, there is enough to cover 120,000 square miles. It would not be extravagant to estimate these alone as containing twice as much carbon as is now found in the whole atmosphere. The amount of coal and lignite all over the world is many fold greater, and would be capable of increasing the carbonic acid in the same proportion.

“The carbonic acid came from volcanoes.”

Volcanoes cannot originate this gas. They give it out only as their fires come in contact with limestones. Prof. Dana says: “This occurs but rarely now, and was even more uncommon in Paleozoic times. Moreover, the carbon in the limestone of the globe came, at least in part, from the atmosphere. If, then, the limestones, as well as the coal, robbed the atmosphere, the amount of carboniferous coal does not represent more carbonic acid than the atmosphere of that age lost.”*

“Life would have been impossible.”

None of these objections has as much weight with those who deny the presence of large quantities of CO² in the early atmosphere, as the belief that such a condition would have rendered life impossible. “Carbonic acid, in any considerable proportion,” they say, “is fatal to all animals. During the Carboniferous Age there was an abundant fauna of air-breathing animals: ergo, there could not have been much more of this gas in the atmosphere at that time than at present.”

This, however, is very vague, for what is a “large amount?” Fifty times the present proportion would be a very “large amount” so far as thermal effects are concerned. Yet in reference to present living beings it would not be very large—less than two per cent. only of the atmosphere—for, as stated by Prof. Remsen, of Johns Hopkins University, “It has long since been proved be-

*Manual Geol., page 353.

yond the possibility of doubt, that the amount of this gas may be increased to one-twentieth (5 per cent.) of the air without producing any serious or even disagreeable effects upon those who breathe the air thus contaminated."*

The third objection, then, may readily be answered by the statement that with an amount of CO² abundant for the solution of the question of temperature, life, even of the present high type, was not impossible, leaving the question as to still larger amounts to be decided on other evidence.

That the animals of the earlier ages were as susceptible to the influence of this gas as are those now living, is, I think, highly improbable. The conditions affecting life must have undergone some great change since that time; for, otherwise, some of the species would still be in existence.

It is not merely the fact that the species have undergone change, but that at certain epochs there were enormous world-wide changes, which perplexes the student of Geology.

This is true in a less degree at the close of each Period, and in a larger one, at the close of each of the Geological Ages. At the end of the Carboniferous Age, for example, there was "an almost universal extermination of species." This has been attributed to a decrease of temperature, itself due "to cold arctic currents, and to upward movements of the land in the higher temperate latitudes." (Dana.)

The existence, however, of such currents in the earlier days is very doubtful. Prof. Jos. Le Conte but gives expression to the conviction which would seem to force itself upon every geologist. In *Nature* for October, 1878, he says: "There is no paleontological evidence of an arctic climate in any portion of the world before the Glacial Epoch." But even if by any possibility there were such currents, their influence could scarcely reach very low latitudes. It seems necessary to seek some other cause for the "general extermination." It must be a cause that was world-wide, and consistent with a polar temperature far above an "arctic climate." Such a cause is found in a change in the character of the atmosphere from loss of CO². This would produce a lower temperature and consequently a less amount of aqueous vapor. It would purify the atmosphere, and at the same time, increase the quantity of its

* *Popular Science Monthly*, June 1879.

oxygen by giving it all that was held in combination with the carbonaceous matter of vegetable origin now in the earth's crust.

Changes so produced would be world-wide, and if fatal to previous types anywhere, would be fatal everywhere.*

That there was no deterioration in the life conditions, is evident because the Trias shows a continuation of that upward progress which is so remarkable a feature of the world's whole history. The change, therefore, was in the direction of conditions more and more like the present.

The Paleozoic fauna, we may reasonably infer, was specially fitted for the atmospheric conditions of that age; that is, it required not only what would now be unnatural warmth and moisture, but was adjusted to the larger amount of carbonic acid as well as to the smaller per centage of oxygen.

As the elimination of the carbonic acid and the deposition of the carbon went on, with a consequent increase of oxygen, those species which were most sensitive to change, and with the least power of adaptation, died out. Others took their places, bending, if I may so express it, the old type of structure to the new conditions. These in their turn passed away for similar reasons, and others came in, bending the type yet further from its normal form. Gradually the strain grew greater and greater, until at last no further compromise was possible, and there was a general succumbing to an atmosphere which had become too stimulating, and consumed too rapidly their vital powers in the struggle to maintain life in spite of reduced temperature. Then followed a general reconstruction. Forms better adapted to the coming age and the new conditions made their appearance, themselves to pass through a similar history.

It may be said that although such great changes did occur at the close of the Geological periods, yet that they were nothing more than the outcrop of the slow change that was always going on throughout the past. It is evident, however, that, e. g., at the close of the Paleozoic Age, there was, from some cause, an unusually

* That the destruction of species was not due to arctic currents, and that it was due to atmospheric causes, receives confirmation from the fact "that the destruction of marine forms of life at the close of the Cretaceous, e. g., was far less extensive than had previously been assumed."—Nicholson, "Ancient Life History of the Earth," p. 285. It was those forms which were exposed to the new atmospheric conditions, that perished.

complete destruction of species, and in the next Period, an almost perfect change (perfect as to species, not quite so as to genera.) To this it is answered, that between the Permian and the Trias there was an enormous interval of time during which the species were intermediate between the two. There is little evidence of such a lost Period. There are (1) merely the logical needs of that form of evolution which affirms that nature moves *per gradum*, and never *per saltum*,—a very doubtful proposition;—and (2) the limited extent of geological exploration. These appear to be a very small foundation on which to rest such a conclusion. The change in species at the close of the Carboniferous Age was greater than during the whole Paleozoic time, and evolution *per gradum* was an exceedingly slow process. From which it follows that the lost Period must have been correspondingly long; perhaps as long as the Paleozoic, and certainly, on the principles of Darwinism, as long as the Mesozoic. Now, are we justified in interpolating such an immense interval merely to meet the needs of a theory? But we are answered: There may be in the strata abundant proof of that interval, only it has not yet been discovered.

The explorations of the earth's crust, it is true, are but small in proportion to what remains to be examined. It must be remembered, however, that denying the existence of such a lost period, is a very different matter from denying, for example, that mammals existed in the Permian, for the discovery of a single bone might refute the assertion. The lost Period was world-wide, and, if it existed at all, must have lasted for millions of years. Its formations in waters adjoining the older strata must have been of enormous extent, and, consequently, not easily overlooked. The fact that so much of the next earlier and later rocks has been explored, and nowhere anything found of such formations is, at least, strong presumptive evidence that they do not exist.

But even if it be true—in spite of present lack of evidence—that there was one, or even many Periods, between the Permian and Trias, the argument for a carbonic-acid laden atmosphere, which is drawn from the upward progress of subsequent life, would be but little weakened. Some such atmospheric change must still have taken place, although occupying more time.

The probability of such an atmosphere with its consequent large amount of watery vapor and high temperature, receives further

confirmation from the progressive diminution in the length of the geological ages. Calling the last, or Cenozoic, 1,000,000 years, the Mesozoic continued 3,000,000, the Paleozoic 12,000,000, and the Archæan, a period which cannot be estimated. The difference in length is enormous, and must have had some physical and world-wide cause. Prof. Tyndall has shown that with a small amount of carbonic acid, or watery vapor, in the atmosphere to start with, and with small increments of these substances, the heat-retaining power is at first strictly proportional to the number of increments, but that the effect grows less and less until it reaches a limit beyond which it is little, if at all, affected by any addition, however great.* The converse must also be true. If at any time the amount of these impurities was very large, the elimination of great quantities would be needed before any sensible effect upon temperature could be produced, and this would require correspondingly long stretches of time.† Here, if I mistake not, is the secret of the greater length of the earlier geological ages.

The deposit of carbon during the Paleozoic age was enormous, requiring a correspondingly long time, because, owing to the great amount in the atmosphere, so much needed to be removed before any sensible effect upon temperature was produced. During the Mesozoic, there being less carbonic acid in the atmosphere, a shorter time sufficed to produce an equal effect. For like reason, the change of temperature during the Tertiary was more rapid until about the close of that period, after which no further change occurred, the elimination and supply of carbonic acid seeming to have become equal.

Closely allied to the question as to the length of the geological divisions, and in its explanation identical with it, is that which asks why there was so great a difference between the duration of the earlier and later types of life. The length of a geological division is really the length of a certain type of life, and that which accounts for the one, accounts also for the other.

The facts which have been considered, viz.: the abundance of coal and lignite, both certainly of vegetable origin; the smallness of the amount of CO² which could have been derived from volca-

* Heat, a Mode of Motion. Lecture X.

† Two other influences, it may be said, tended to make the earlier periods the longer. It is probable that, owing to a more cloudy atmosphere, the vegetation did not eliminate carbon as rapidly then as now; and, secondly, the area of land was less.

noes; the universal warmth; the present non-existence of the early species; the almost total extermination of species at the end of each of the geological ages; the absence of arctic cold, or other sufficient cause for such extirpations; the appearance of new species, and these always in the direction of progress towards present conditions; the great disproportion between the length of the earlier ages and the later; and the disparity in the duration of the corresponding types; the world-wide extent of these phenomena; all these are so in harmony with an atmosphere richer *in carbonic acid than the present* that they seem to demonstrate its existence.*

How much carbonic acid there was at first in the atmosphere it is impossible to determine. It now forms only three or four ten-thousandths of the whole. Forty or fifty times that amount would very decidedly affect temperature, partly by its own influence, and much more, indirectly, by increasing the capacity of the air for water. One hundred times would increase the warmth somewhat more, but, if after that, ten or even twenty times that amount were added, the temperature would be scarcely affected, while the effect upon the flora and fauna of the period would be of the most decided character. In the Azoic time the amount of carbonic acid in the atmosphere must have been enormous.

It has been objected that a "blanket" which was sufficient to give warmth to the poles, would, by excessive heat, have destroyed life at the equator. But then, as now, ocean and aerial currents tended to equalize the temperature. Moreover, the abundance of aqueous vapor in a world so warm, and with so large a proportion of water surface, must have broadened the bands of clouds which now lie parallel to the equator until probably their edges met. In some such way a portion of the solar heat may have been excluded. To this must be added the well known fact that heat is far more enduring in a humid atmosphere than in its opposite. The sufferings of Lieut. Lynch and his party in the Dead Sea region were largely due to the dryness of the atmosphere.

*If this be so, Prof. Huxley's doctrine of "homotaxis, or similarity of arrangement," cannot be true. If the continuation of species depended upon the persistence of certain atmospheric conditions, which in the nature of the case could not long be local, it is impossible that "Devonian fauna and flora in the British Islands could have been cotemporaneous with Silurian life in North America, and with Carboniferous flora and fauna in Africa.

If my argument thus far be sustained, then the objection to a perpendicular axis, founded upon the smaller number of solar rays which would be received in polar regions, is met by the influence of the "warm blanket of carbonic acid and watery vapor." If the temperature was thus kept up, a perpendicular axis would account for the equability of warmth and light in those high latitudes throughout the year.

Could we be certain that the earth's axis was then nearly or quite perpendicular, our work would be done. Whether it was nearly perpendicular, is the next inquiry. It is now inclined $23\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$. Somehow it got into its present position. No one believes the earth, at least in its present form, to be eternal; hence, it was placed as it is either by the direct act of the Almighty,—and if so, He may, for sufficient reasons, have first made it with axis perpendicular, and when that was accomplished for which it was so placed, He may, by another act, have brought it to its present inclination;—or else it came to be inclined by the action of ordinary, mechanical law. The only theory which even attempts to explain the formation of the solar system, is that known as the Nebular Hypothesis. According to it, the earth and moon were once one body. If so, they could at that time have had but one axis, which normally must have been perpendicular to the ecliptic. That of the moon is now inclined only $1\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$, while that of the earth has an obliquity of $23\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$. One of the two has changed its direction. That it is the earth's which has become more oblique, is probable, because the moon's axis is yet very nearly in the normal position. I infer, therefore, that from some cause the obliquity increased to $23\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$, and that such an increase occurred after the moon and earth had ceased to be one body. Our inquiry, then, is narrowed to this: Did that increase take place before, or after, plants and animals appeared? The mechanical difficulties attending any permanent change of obliquity are so great that, *à priori*, one would pronounce it impossible, were it not that it has actually occurred. That question we need not discuss. The earth is now inclined $23\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$. If such a movement took place before there were living organisms on our globe, it could leave no traces which could now be recognized. Its effects were limited to causing variations in the length of the days, and all which that implies; but this could leave no impression on the rocks. But if this increase occurred after animals and

plants were living upon the earth, we should expect to see corresponding changes in them. The effects would be greatest in high latitudes. The previous fauna and flora of those regions would perish, or migrate, and others fitted to the new conditions would take their places.

In low latitudes the effects of such an axial change would be small. In Florida, for example, it is difficult to see how the life-conditions would be materially altered.* The days and nights would continue about equal, and as the temperature would remain about as it was, there is no reason, so far as the inclination of the earth's axis is concerned, why the previous plants and animals should not have continued to the present day.

When we turn to the actual history of the earth, we find the facts remarkably in harmony with such results. Before a certain epoch, the close of the Tertiary, the plants and animals were very much the same in high and low latitudes, while after that time down to the present day, they differ most widely. Moreover, the extinction of the previous flora is confined to high latitudes, while enough of species which once flourished in Spitzbergen and other Arctic lands, survive in warm temperate regions, to prove that in low latitudes the conditions affecting life have not materially changed.

From the consideration of these facts I conclude that the increase of axial obliquity took place at or near the end of the Tertiary, or, in other words, in the time of the Glaciers.

Such an increase of obliquity appears to solve what is perhaps the most perplexing part of the climatic problem, viz: the change from the uniformity which prevailed so long, to alternating seasons with attendant changes of temperature.

It may, however, be thought that this is not a complete explanation of the identity of species in high and low latitudes during pre-glacial times, because, as Mr. Meech has shown, the intensity of light varies as the cosine of the latitude, and, therefore, Spitzbergen, for example, could then have received only one fifth as much light as Florida.

*The longest day in Florida (lat. 30°) while the axis was inclined $1\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$, measured 12 hours and 6 minutes. Its longest day now is only 14 hours, 14 minutes. In lat. $84^{\circ}, 5'$, the longest day then was only 12 hours and 44 minutes, while now the longest day lasts 5 months, or 3,600 hours.

To this I reply that the limits within which the daily amount of light may vary, and still be sufficient for the needs of vegetation, are unknown. We observe, however, that plants kept in our houses during winter often receive much less than one fifth of the direct rays of the sun, and do well. Indeed a moderate amount of direct light is more favorable to the free growth of the foliage than is its opposite. It would seem, that by one of those compensations often observed in nature, the greater size of the leaf, by presenting to solar action a larger surface, enables less intense light to produce a sufficient effect.

May it not be that the milder sunlight of Spitzbergen is the cause and explanation of the enormous leaves of the Magnolia, Oak, Sassafras and other trees whose "luxuriance has excited the wonder of geologists"?

If this be so, and there are many facts known to gardeners that sustain it, then the large foliage of high-latitude plants becomes another evidence of the truth of the supposition that the axis of our globe at that time had a very small inclination.

If it be true that the early warmth was due to the carbonic acid and aqueous vapor in the atmosphere, then as these grew less the first distinct manifestation of a cooler climate ought to have appeared at the poles, and thence have gradually extended to lower latitudes. Such seems to have been the case. In the Eocene the palm flourished abundantly in England, and the temperature of the Tyrol was between 81°F. and 74°F. In the Miocene, in the neighborhood of Vienna, it was between 79°F. and 68°F. In the Pliocene, the climate was still cooler and approximated to that of the present day.—*See Dana, Man. Geol., page 526.*

Sometimes, it is true, there seems to have been an exception to the regularity of the decrease. Prof. Lesquerieux, in his report upon the Cretaceous Flora of Dakota, says that the climate of the Cretaceous Period, in at least some parts of North America, seems to have been cooler than that of the Eocene. The difference, however, does not appear to have been great, and may, so far as I can see, be accounted for by a moderate increase in the elevation of the country.

Dr. Croll and Prof. Geikie attribute the post-Tertiary cold to the earth being in aphelion, or perihelion, at the solstices, at a time when the earth's orbit was very much more eccentric than at pres-

ent. If so, then there must have been a recurrence of the cold every time the favorable conditions returned. This implies, of course, that the axis in pre-Glacial times was inclined as now; and if it could be proved that the cold was due to these causes, and if a succession of cold epochs could be established, then undoubtedly the axis was inclined $23\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ long before *the* Glacial epoch.*

It therefore becomes important to discover, if possible, whether there was such a succession. Dr. Croll is confident that there was. His reasoning is peculiar. He first shows that interglacial periods—that is, warm periods sandwiched between cold ones—did really occur in some parts of the world *after* the great Glacial epoch. Then, assuming that the latter was due to the astronomical causes named, and that the post-glacial warm periods were semi-telluric† in extent, and the result of the same causes, he infers from the presence of a warm flora in Arctic regions, during the Tertiary and before, that cold periods existed then; *i. e.*, because there were warm periods, ergo, there were cold ones. This takes for granted the question now in dispute. It assumes present obliquity in early times to prove the existence of early glacial epochs; but it will not do to use epochs thus demonstrated to establish the obliquity. Omitting, therefore, all this, Dr. Croll's proof of a series of early Ice Periods is confined to the admitted existence of a warm climate in polar regions before the end of the Tertiary, and to traces of ice-action in the older formations.

As to the warm climate, it proves nothing for him unless it was intermittent, and I can see no good reason for believing that it was so. If such was the fact, the fossils ought to show some indications of it, some break in the continuity of life, some interpolation of Arctic forms—Arctic in the present sense—in the long series of plants and animals whose remains are found so abundantly in circumpolar regions. But the paleontological evidence is all the other way. A recent exploration and examination of the fossils of Spitzbergen adds to the mass of evidence in this direction.

*Dr. Croll styles the existence of cold epochs before the Quaternary, "The Crucial Test" of his theory. But while the absence of such epochs would overthrow his theory, the converse is not necessarily true. For it is possible to conceive of other causes which might produce periods of local, or even widely spread, cold. At present there seems to be no need of considering such causes.

†I use this for lack of a better term to describe the wide extent, first on one hemisphere and then on the other, which Dr. Croll claims for the Glacial Epoch reaching at the same time, of course, both continents.

According to Dr. Heer—*Nature*, 1877, page 208—"The plants of that island do not point to any alternations of warm and ice periods." Prof. Geikie himself, in his great Ice Age, admits that the fossils are always such as indicate a warm climate, and says that "geologists are puzzled" at the facts.* Of course he refers to geologists who, adopting Croll's theory of climate, find it necessary to believe also in the existence of cold inter-thermal periods. So uniform is the evidence of the fossils, on Mr. Geikie's own showing, that one can scarcely avoid the belief that but for the exigencies of their theory, neither Dr. Croll nor Prof. Geikie would have thought of semi-telluric ice periods in those early ages.

But it may be said that although the fossils give no evidence in favor of Ice periods before the Quaternary, yet that there are traces of ice action manifest in transported boulders, in glacial clays and striated rocks. As to all these, however, they are of such a limited extent,† that it seems impossible that they were due to causes of the same kind as those which produced the ice erosions of the Post-Tertiary. It appears much more in harmony with their moderate extent, and with the character of the adjacent fossils, to regard these traces as due to local glaciers, such as are now found in different parts of the world. They may have surpassed any at present in existence, the peculiar, moist climate of those days being more favorable to large glaciers where proper conditions as to height and shape of mountains existed.‡

Cold due to the solstice occurring in aphelion at time of great eccentricity, must have affected a hemisphere, and hence have glaciated simultaneously the Eastern and Western Continents. Anything less would have been merely a local glacier due to some local cause. I submit, therefore, that the evidence does not establish the occurrence of such inter-thermal periods as Dr. Croll's

*See Appendix, *Great Ice Age*.

†That I may not be thought to disparage the extent of these traces, I quote Croll's own words, page 266, *Climate and Time*, "We soon find that the facts which have been recorded as evidence in favor of the action of ice in former geological epochs, are very scanty indeed."

‡From the enormous erosion of which there is abundant evidence, it is safe to conclude that modern mountains are small in comparison with those before the Quaternary.

theory requires in order to establish its own right to be.*

Nor is his theory based upon so wide an agreement with the facts of the past as to entitle it to be used as an argument by which to prove anything else. It offers no explanation of the uniformity of the plants and animals in high or low latitudes, nor of the uniformity of light which they indicate. The question of light, Croll and Geikie ignore altogether, and while they speak of the flora and the mild climate of Spitzbergen, they say nothing of the fact that these existed in spite of such an enormous cause of variation as on their theory must have been in force then as much as at the present day, viz: the uninterrupted influx of solar heat for four months each summer, and its total stoppage for an equal time each winter.

The more I reflect upon it, the more important this uniformity seems, and the more fatal does it appear to Lyell's and Croll's the-

*I put in a foot note some of the evidence against former glacial Epochs.

Geikie (Appendix to Great Ice Age, page 47b), says: "Many of the fossils," pertaining to these old times, "indeed, if we are to reason from analogy at all, could not possibly have lived in cold seas."

He quotes from Dr. Dawson as to a gigantic esker of the Carboniferous Age, "on the outside of which large traveled boulders were deposited while in the swamps within, the coal flora flourished, and fine mud and coally matter were accumulated."

Again, "Now if we were to judge only from their organic contents, we should be forced to conclude that none of these formations down to the Miocene afforded any trace whatever of cold or glacial conditions."

"Geologists are staggered by the appearance of Glacial deposits in the Permian,— a formation whose fossils indicate mild and genial rather than cold climatical conditions. The occurrence in the Eocene also of huge ice-carried blocks, seems incomprehensible when the general character of the Eocene fossils is taken into account, for these have a somewhat tropical aspect," etc.

All these facts, so far as I can see, harmonize if the glacial action was local. The flora and fauna of the time would, of course, have the tropical or untropical character of the age. But if the glacial traces were due to Glacial Epochs which covered a Hemisphere with ice, and were many thousand years in coming and going, where are the plants and animals to correspond? Where are the inevitable breaks in the continuity of such species? And how could the boulders of Dr. Dawson's "gigantic eskers" have been deposited on the borders of a swamp within which coal plants were growing?

Dr. Croll's theory seems to be involved in inextricable difficulties when it attempts to account for such facts. Looking at the whole matter, I submit that the evidence is insufficient to establish the occurrence of early Glacial Epochs of semi-telluric extent, and the consequent existence of an axis inclined as at present.

ories,* and indeed to all theories that assume that the earth's axis was inclined in early times as much as at present. For, with axis as now, there must have been in Spitzbergen a total cessation of solar heat for four months. We know what this means now, for the short summer there is oppressive with its heat, while in winter the mercury freezes, and even alcohol begins to grow viscid. In pre-glacial times it is assumed that the Gulf Stream by greater warmth and increased flow, prevented any excessive cold, but still the contrast between summer and winter must have been great. It may be admitted that during the Miocene the temperature of the sea in latitude 80° N., was as high as it is now about Ireland, 61° F., in August, and 36° in February, although the existence of the *Taxodium* in Spitzbergen would seem to forbid so much cold. If with seven or eight hours sunshine daily, the winter in Ireland depresses the mercury 25° lower than in midsummer, it is not extravagant to suppose that with no sunshine at all for four months, the temperature would fall at least 25° more, or 50° in all. But the contrast would in fact be greater than this, for such a winter implies a summer of four months of continuous sunshine. It may help us to realize these conditions when we reflect what a difference in the temperature is now made in our own latitude by the sun's annual journey north and south.

It is quite possible to think of the winter about Spitzbergen being greatly modified by a larger, or a hotter, Gulf Stream than now exists, but to produce a similar effect at Capt. Nares's winter quarters, latitude $81^{\circ} 40'$, on the northwestern corner of Greenland, would require the Gulf Stream to be deflected to the west, a result almost requiring a change in the direction of the earth's rotation.

It is probable, according to Prof. Heer, that the mean temperature of arctic regions in the Middle Tertiary was as high as 46° F., and if so, it is difficult to see how the midwinter temperature could have exceeded 21° . Such a degree of cold would have been fatal to those Miocene plants whose representatives are now found in the Gulf States.

* Ocean currents, so far as they existed, undoubtedly account in part for the mildness of temperature in high latitudes, but they fail to explain the near equality of summer and winter temperature (proved by the presence of Saurians and Corals), in spite of four month's interruption of all solar heat.

The other objection to an axis nearly perpendicular, to which I referred in the opening of this section, is based upon a supposed physiological law.*

We are told that there must have been the same alternation of seasons before the Glacial Epoch as now, because the exogenous plants of those early times exhibit concentric growth-rings; and consequently the earth's axis must then have been inclined as at present.

But are seasons necessary to the formation of the rings? Until that is established their existence has no importance in this connection. Were it possible in some way to secure a temperature uniform through the year, we might be able to determine the question experimentally. The nearest approach to such a condition in this latitude is to be found in green-houses. The results thus far show that exogenous plants, e. g., the orange and lemon, so placed, form growth-rings as regularly as do the forest trees.

It would be interesting to know how generally exogenous plants in tropical regions exhibit these markings, and whether they are annual, or whether they are made at longer or at shorter intervals. I have found it difficult to obtain any information on this point, either from books or from botanists. The latter tell me (I have applied to several botanists of distinction) that they know very little about it. Dr. Gray says, "I know of no exogenous tree that grows continuously. * * * Yet there are exogenous woody stems which do not make annual layers. There is a woody *Phytolacca* which makes more layers, at least twice as many, as it is years old—probably indicating two periods of growth and rest." To this I add that there now lies before me a section of *Chenopodium album* cut on the first of August, and consequently not more than four months old, in which are eight well-defined rings. This section is as hard and compact and as well formed wood as if it were a section of ash or pine.

On the other hand there are exogens, growing even in this climate, which, notwithstanding our cold winters and hot summers, show not the slightest trace of a ring. I have before me a section of *Akebia quinquefolia* cut by Dr. O. R. Willis on his own lawn,

* The next ten paragraphs were published in *American Journal of Science and Arts*, under title: "Is the Existence of Growth-rings in the Exogenous Plants, Proof of Alternating Seasons?"

from a plant five years old, which has no such markings. Then from a little further south I have a section of the Passion Vine in the same condition; also one of the Iron Wood (*Carpinus Americana*) which presents the faintest possible traces of them. For these also I am indebted to Dr. Willis.

Miss C. C. Haskell, of Vassar College, states the result of her examination of the tropical woods in their museum, as follows: "In the *Moria catiara* of the Amazon, the circles are very apparent. In the *Aliso* or *Birch of the Andes*, the circles are evident. They are seen, too, in the *Brazilian Red-wood* (Upper Amazon), and in *Siphonia elastica* or rubber tree, as well as in the *Moria peranya* of the Rio Negro. None are seen in the *Tortoise Shell Wood*, or in the *Cow Tree*."

These suffice to show that, in the uniformly warm climate of the tropics, rings are formed as regularly as in the trees of our northern forests. But it may be said that although there is in these regions no alternation of hot and cold seasons, yet that they do undergo semi-annual changes from wet to dry, and from dry to wet, and that, these being dependent upon the earth's axial inclination, we are not at liberty to infer that the rings would have been formed had there been the absolutely seasonless condition which a perpendicular axis would produce. But there is evidence that exogenous trees would form these marks in a climate of absolutely no variation. I have before me a section of *Mangrove*, also presented by Dr. Willis. This tree, as is well known, grows in the muddy margins of tropical rivers, and all along the shores, forming dense forests even at the verge of the ocean and below high-water mark. In such a locality there can be no alternation of wet and dry seasons, and the changes of annual temperature must be less than the diurnal. It would be impossible to conceive of greater uniformity of temperature and moisture, yet this tree presents the growth-rings as broad and as well defined as those which are seen in any trees anywhere.

To dispel any vestige of belief that seasons and these markings are connected as cause and effect, I add that the *Cycads* require several years to form one ring.

The consideration of these facts leads to the conclusion that these circles have their origin in cycles of activity and repose, implanted in the constitution of the plant, which would continue to

manifest themselves although there were no climatic variations—a conclusion strengthened by the experience of all who have attempted, by artificially equalizing the temperature, to make their plants bloom all the year. It is true that where seasonal variations exist, the successive stages of activity and rest are for obvious reasons synchronous with them, but they are not absolutely dependent upon them.

We may conclude, too, that the pre-glacial flora exhibited similar cycles of growth and rest, some of which may have been of short duration, measured, perhaps, by weeks, like those of the *Chenopodium*, while others, like the *Cycads*, may have required several years for their completion.

The following propositions appear to be established by the facts which have been presented:—

1. Some exogens form rings at intervals of much less than a year.
2. Others require intervals of several years.
3. Some form no rings.
4. The presence, or absence, of rings in exogens occurs in all climates.
5. Large and well defined rings are found under conditions in which there is absolutely no appreciable variation of temperature or moisture throughout the year.

6. An exogen naturally forming rings will continue to form them although the climate become uniform through the year.

The presence, therefore, of these markings in the pre-glacial flora gives us no information as to the existence of seasons, and cannot be adduced as proof that the earth's axis was then inclined as now; and we are left free to adopt the conclusion to which the uniformity of life-conditions so clearly points.

C. B. WARRING, PH.D.

MR. MORGAN'S CLASSIFICATORY SYSTEM OF RELATIONSHIPS.

MR. MORGAN'S theory of the formation of primitive society, as propounded in the *Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge*, Vol. XVII., has been roughly handled by Mr. McLennan in his *Studies in Ancient History*, who pronounces it "utterly unscientific"

(p. 371). Mr. Morgan replied at some length in a note in his *Ancient Society* (p. 509), and it seems opportune and proper at this step to examine the arguments of both parties, partly in order to determine which is right upon the controverted points, partly to ascertain what definite results each of these distinguished scholars has accomplished. The immediate question at issue is Mr. Morgan's *Classificatory System of Relationships*; the controversy, however, goes much deeper than this, and involves the entire structure of primitive society.

Mr. Morgan, in his investigations, takes as his starting point the *Gens*, "a body of consanguines bearing a common Gentile name" (*Anc. Soc.*, p. 67); an institution which he finds to be universal among mankind. The hierarchy of the Gentile system—*Gens*, *pluraty*, *tribe*—cannot be proved to be universal. Good grounds are given, however, in Chapter xv. for believing it to have been so. At any rate it is a very remarkable fact that nations so remote from and disconnected with one another as the North American Indians and the Romans had a Gentile system which is identical in all essential features; so that, in sketching the progress of Gentile society in its several steps towards a political organization, he is able to take the Iroquois, the Aztecs, and the Romans, as presenting the three successive types, and as illustrating a continuity of development.

Mr. McLennan wholly ignores the *Gens* as a part of the primitive organism and builds his system entirely upon a single feature of the *Gens*, as defined by Mr. Morgan—that is *exogamy*, or the obligation to marry outside of the tribe. Of course he recognizes the *Gens* as an historical institution, and shows, in Chapter viii. (hardly mentioning the word, however,) how this institution may have come into existence. But in his theory it is a fact of wholly secondary importance; another writer of his school, Mr. Lang (in *Mind*, for October last) uses the expression: "The Gentile system, as Mr. Morgan erroneously calls it." It is at this point, therefore, that the two systems diverge; the first point of inquiry is whether Mr. Morgan is right in taking the *Gens* as the fundamental institution of society.

It should be observed here that Mr. Morgan does not, any more than Mr. McLennan, make the *Gens* an *original* institution. Sir Henry Maine, whose *Ancient Law* forms an epoch in the history of

these inquiries, did not undertake to go any further back than to the family or Gentile organization, and even made use of expressions which may be understood to mean that he regarded this as an ultimate fact in the history of society. But Mr. Morgan, like Sir John Lubbock and Mr. McLennan himself, sees that the organization which he finds now to be universally existent, must itself mark a somewhat advanced step of social progress; and he, as well as these other writers, undertakes to show how it came into existence. What, then, is the difference between him and Mr. McLennan? Simply this, that Mr. McLennan, to all intents and purposes, leaves this institution out of consideration in his theory, and by implication denies its universality as a stage of human progress. He sees the practice of exogamy where Mr. Morgan sees an organized body of men who have that practice. Especially he takes no notice of the exogamous Gens as an integral part of a larger organization or tribe, which is the essential feature of Mr. Morgan's theory. And here Mr. Morgan appears to have decidedly the better of him, where he shows (p. 512-514) that intermarriage in the *Gens* is regularly prohibited, while intermarriage in the *tribe* is regularly permitted,—that is, that “the Gens is ‘exogamous’ and the tribe is essentially ‘endogamous.’”

The first five chapters of Mr. McLennan's treatise are an admirable example of the genuine scientific method applied in the gathering and comparison of facts, establishing the existence of exogamous tribes (using the word *tribe* in his sense), and showing also the frequency in such tribes of the practice of capturing women for wives, as either actually existing or made probable by features in the marriage ceremony. The remaining chapters are equally able in working out an hypothesis in explanation of these facts; but we must carefully distinguish the hypothesis, set forth in the seventh chapter, from the facts collected and grouped in the earlier chapters.

The assumption with which his argument sets out is (p. 109): “that if it could be shown that exogamous tribes existed, and that the usual relations of savage tribes to each other were those of hostility, we should have found a social condition in which it was inevitable that wives should systematically be procured by capture.” The assumption is a correct one, but it fails in its application to the argument, for the reason shown by Mr. Morgan, that

exogamy is not, as a rule, a feature of *tribes* hostile to one another, but of *gentes*, component parts of tribes, which are friendly to one another. If this is the case the facts collected by Mr. McLennan with so much care, do not prove the necessary connection of exogamy and marriage by capture, as he wishes them to do, but we must look for some other explanation; for example, the forms of capture may be a survival from the primitive system of communism, which is admitted by all these authorities. Again, however general are the forms of capture in marriage ceremonies, they are no more common than the forms of purchase. These are indeed the only forms among the Germanic nations (see Grimm's *Deutsche Rechtsalterthümer*, p. 420) for the cases of wife-stealing mentioned by Mr. McLennan on page 55—like many others cited by him—are no proof of anything but lawless abduction.

Mr. McLennan's theory is, in brief, that exogamy arose out of wife-capture, and wife-capture out of the practice of infanticide, which he shows to be a very common practice among savage nations, especially for female children. (It may be observed that, although he speaks only of female infanticide, the classical and Germanic nations, at least, did not confine the practice to female infants. Grimm only says, page 456, that it was more common in their case.) This custom, Mr. McLennan says, page 112, "leaving the primitive human hordes with very few young women of their own—occasionally with none—and, in any case, seriously disturbing the balance of the sexes within the hordes, forced them to prey upon one another for wives. Usage, induced by necessity, would, in time, establish a prejudice among the tribes observing it—a prejudice strong as a principle of religion, as every prejudice relating to marriage is apt to be—against marrying women of their own stock." Both these steps are singularly inconclusive. Wife-capture to be pure needs no explanation; all uncivilized peoples—and some civilized—steal women when they can. But can we conceive that the savage tribes would wantonly deprive themselves of women to such a degree that they must have recourse, for a supply of wives, to stealing from foreign tribes? Demand will create supply, even among savages. To this obvious remark Mr. McLennan answers that "we have only to bear in mind the multitude of facts which testify to the thoughtlessness and improvidence of men during the childish stage of the human mind." This reply may go for what it

is worth ; but it must occur to us further that the tribes upon which the robbery is committed will be, according to the theory, equally devoid of women, and will of course be, at the same time, industriously engaged in stealing wives from the first tribe.

The second step supposed is equally unsatisfactory. Admitting the universality of female infanticide, and (what needs no proof) of wife-stealing, it is hard to see how a scarcity of women in a tribe should lead to exogamy—that is, the rule that the members of a tribe shall not marry the few women they have. For the “usage” he speaks of, that the wives should be mostly foreigners, could only grow up in case the neighboring tribes had more women than themselves, or abstained from retaliating in the plunder. And, as has been shown, neither of these is likely to be the case. His conjecture is that polyandry, induced by this scarcity of women, was the next step of social progress. But this practice is by no means universal enough to serve as an argument in favor of so improbable a theory.

While, therefore, Mr. McLennan has proved conclusively the general existence of exogamy, he has not shown its necessary connection with wife-capture, nor has he explained its origin. When he proceeds (page 333) to consider Mr. Morgan’s explanation that it was due to legislation—was a part of “a reformatory movement of society”—all he does is to point out “how antipathetical to Mr. Morgan’s mind the historical method is.” He should have explained himself a little more fully here. Does he mean to assert that there was no such reformatory movement of society, and nothing of the nature of legislation? How can he know this? Perhaps the word *legislation* is not well chosen ; it implies, in our minds, something more formal than we are justified in ascribing to savage nations. But does he mean that all changes in the structure of early society must be gradual or spontaneous, or that none can be made of set purpose and on a plan? Mr. Morgan probably knows more, by personal observation, of the modes of thought and action of barbarous nations than any other civilized man living ; and his book affords sufficient proof (e. g., page 126) that nations in the barbarous stage, at least, are able to act with system and concert in the development of their institutions.

Moreover, Mr. Morgan has discovered, and made use of them in his theory, forms of organized society, more primitive than any other writer. The remarkable Australian system described in Chap. 1,

of Part II., fits perfectly into his theory of the genesis of society, while it lends no support to Mr. McLennan's theory. The facts upon which his theory of the Punalna Family (Part III., Chap. 3) is based, are certainly, as Mr. McLennan has pointed out, inadequate by themselves, and many of them support equally well Mr. McLennan's theory of polyandry. There are, however, some among them that will hardly fit into this; and, at any rate, Mr. Morgan's view is strongly corroborated by the scheme of relationship unfolded in his book.

This brings us to the main point of Mr. McLennan's criticism, which is directed against the "Classificatory System of Relationship," as Mr. Morgan calls it, or rather Mr. Morgan's explanation of this system. Let us make a brief statement of this theory. Mr. Morgan, after spending years in collecting and arranging terms of relationship from different nations, civilized and uncivilized, in all parts of the world, 268 in number, at least (in 1871) published them in a tabulated form, in the seventeenth volume of the Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge. They fall into two great classes. The system followed by most civilized nations, which describes, or is capable of describing, every degree of relationship by a specific term, he calls the "Descriptive System." In other methods the kinsmen fall into groups or classes, the same term being applied to what we should consider a number of distinct degrees of kinship.* This he calls the "Classificatory System." The Classificatory System again falls into two groups, in one of which all the children of brothers and sisters are themselves regarded as brothers and sisters, and so on, in the several generations, all kinsmen falling into five classes; in the other it is only the children of brothers that are regarded as brothers and sisters, while the children of a sister are regarded as nephews and nieces. The first of these he calls the Malayan System, and is of opinion that it points to a time when brothers and sisters in a group were husband and wives to each other—what he calls the Consanguine Family; the other he calls the Turanian (or Ganonanian) System, and considers it to belong

* Thus, among the Seneca-Iroquois the following relatives are all known as "grandfather;" great-grandfather's father, great-grandfather, grandfather, father's father's brother, mother's mother's brother, father's father's father's brother, father's father's father's brother's son, mother's mother's mother's brother, and mother's mother's mother's brother's son. This illustrates the so-called Ganowanian System.

to a more advanced state of society, when the brothers or the sisters had their wives or husbands in common—this he calls the Punalnar Family.

If now, the terms of relationship actually used by these nations are based upon a real relationship, this real relationship can hardly have been any other than that conjectured by Mr. Morgan in the two groups respectively. It is hard to see, therefore, why his method is called “utterly unscientific,” and his mind “antipathetical” to the historical method. He finds two systems of nomenclature in use in all parts of the earth, which points quite as fairly at certain systems of marriage, as certain forms in the marriage ceremony do to a practice of procuring wives by capture. For the first system he finds support in the theory of communal marriage held by all authorities; for the second he finds support in a large number of isolated facts, some—but not all—of which might be made to support Mr. McLennan’s view.

Mr. McLennan argues, in reply to this, that this nomenclature does not point to a real relationship, but to a ceremonial system of redress; and he very ingeniously traces out the process by which this might have come about. But the question suggests itself, Is there any reason, apart from the necessity of sustaining Mr. McLennan’s theory, why this nomenclature should be explained by a far-fetched interpretation rather than by its obvious meaning? Mr. Morgan answers further that Mr. McLennan constantly confounds kinship with rights of inheritance, and shows (page 518) that the North American Indians, for instance, do recognize *kinship* in all its degrees, on both male and female side, while yet the *rights of inheritance* are confined to either to male or to the female line. The probability, therefore, in favor of Mr. Morgan’s explanation, is by no means weakened; and we have a right to consider it an hypothesis which satisfactorily explains the phenomena, unless his antagonist can show it to be intrinsically defective. This Mr. McLennan undertakes to do.

His objection to the “Malayan System” is certainly a very strong one, and is so regarded by so high an authority as Mr. Darwin; it is, that, by it, a man would be called the son of a woman who did not bear him, as well as of a man who was not his father: the last is conceivable enough, the first seems inconceivable. Nevertheless, Mr. Morgan meets the argument fairly (page 520): “It

defies explanation, it is true, as a blood-relationship, which it does not pretend to be, but as a marriage-relationship, which it pretends to be," "a man's mother's sister is the wife of his reputed father. She is his step-mother, as near as our system furnishes an analogue ; and among ourselves a step-mother is called mother. She calls her step-son, son." This appears to be an entirely satisfactory answer. None of Mr. McLennan's other arguments seem as strong as that just given ; and at any rate Mr. Morgan has met them in the presentation of his system, by a slight change in the order of development. In his earlier treatise he suggested that the Punalna Family (which he there calls the *Hawaiian Custom*) came before the Malayan System of Relationship ; the matured form of the theory, in "Ancient Society," brings it in at a later stage, and makes it the source of the Turanian System. In the earlier work, indeed, he says (page 489): "The existence of this custom is not necessary to an explanation of the origin of the Malayan System." He would have done well to have brought out more distinctly than he has done the fact of this change. And where Mr. McLennan undertakes a *reductio ad absurdum* (page 360) from Mr. Morgan's theory, that "cohabitation having ceased to imply marriage, marriage should have ceased to imply cohabitation ;" his own theory presents a condition of things nearly as absurd (page 379): "The men have their wives in various other houses, and the women similarly have their husbands in various other houses." Barbarians capable of this degree of self-restraint would certainly be capable of a "reformatory movement of society."

There is one feature of Mr. Morgan's tables (page 447), which affords an argument for his views that the Turanian System is derived from the Malayan, which he does not appear himself to have noticed. This is, that while the sister's son is called *nephew*, this son's wife is called *daughter* or *daughter-in-law* ; and so with the sister's daughter and her husband.

Mr. Morgan's book has its weak points, some of which I endeavored to point out in an earlier number of this periodical (see PENN MONTHLY, February, 1879). He has also made the mistake (page 178) of assuming that "it seems probable that it can be made demonstrative of the unity of origin of all the families of mankind who possessed the organization into gentes." Here we have a conclusion which may be pronounced unscientific. It is much too early, as yet, to draw any conclusions from the comparative history of

institutions, as to the common origin of the human race, and a scientific treatise should sedulously preserve itself from the temptation to theorize upon this subject. This is, it is true, merely an incidental remark, and this theory is never allowed to interfere with the solidity of his argument. Still it is, to a considerable extent, because of this unscientific *obiter dictum* that Mr. Morgan's work has been sometimes pronounced unscientific in character, and valuable only for its collection of materials.

WILLIAM F. ALLEN.

NEW BOOKS.

THE FINANCIAL HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES FROM 1774 TO 1789. Embracing the Period of the American Revolution. By Albert S. Bolles, Lecturer on Political Economy in the Boston University. Pp. 371, 9v., 8vo. New York, D. Appleton & Co.

Our readers have already had a taste of this valuable work, in the chapter on "The Financial Administration of Robert Morris," which appeared in the pages of this magazine. They will be prepared by that for the excellence of the whole work, and for the good opinion we have to express of it.

Our first comment, however, must be to find fault with the title. It reminds us of a certain *History of New York, from the Creation to the end of the Dutch Dynasty*. It was with the end of the Dutch Dynasty that the province in question became "New York;" and it was in 1789 that our country became "the United States." Mr. Bolles should have written "The Financial History of America," that being the proper name of our country under all mutations of its administrative arrangements.

We should have liked to see a more detailed account of public finances in the period before the Revolution. Mr. Bolles gives us some account when he comes to describe the first proposals for the issue of paper money. But he only whets our appetite for more exact information. As this early period has been appealed to in our recent controversies, such information has a practical value at the present time. If we understand Mr. Bolles, Massachusetts was the wild-cat, fiat-money colony, while our own Commonwealth was the only one in which there was fiscal sobriety and businesslike management.

The fiscal side of the history of the revolt we call "the Revolution," is not the most pleasant or the most creditable side. The national finances, as managed by the collective wisdom of the Continental Congress, were grossly disorganized. It is hard to discover any mistake that could be made which was not made. A

convention of Fiat-Money Greenbackers could not originate wilder ideas than were attempted to be put in practice. The weakness of the cohesion of the Colonies was shown in the resistance to a general taxation, and in their refusal or neglect to pay the assessments made upon them by Congress. Nor were the people in charge disposed to make the best of a bad system. Corruption existed in those days as well as now, and extravagance crept into every department of the Government. (One of the Tappans quotes a member of the Continental Congress as saying in later days to one of his former associates, "What a precious lot of scamps we were!") Indeed, the inference we might almost draw from the story is the possibility of waging a war without much help from money. Money is wrongly said to be the sinews of war; its true sinews are popular enthusiasm for a cause.

But, after all, the country could not get on without some monetary resources for the war, and these it found chiefly in foreign loans. The Great Powers were willing to risk some coin in making the Colonies troublesome to England; but our financial agents had a busy time in getting enough to keep the war from falling through. The effect of over-issue of paper on the condition of the country had been most disastrous. A spirit of speculative extravagance affected all the colonies. Money was spent lavishly on equipages and balls. Public officials were corrupted. And the prostration of the harder years of the war was deepened by the reaction from a time of excesses.

With Robert Morris's accession to the control of the National Treasury began that era of sanity and good sense which Alexander Hamilton consecrated by his genius.

The story, which Mr. Bolles tells very well indeed, is one which our Fiat-money people should take to heart. It presents, indeed, no decisive argument for granting the power to create money to private corporations. But it explodes the notion that a nation can make great issues of irredeemable paper money, without paying the penalty in many kinds of suffering.

EMINENT ISRAELITES OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY. A series of biographical sketches. By Henry Samuel Morais, Pp. 371: Philadelphia, Edward Stern & Co.

Any one who is familiar with the names and antecedents of men eminent in various walks of public life, must have been struck with the number of Israelites and of converts from Judaism, who have attained distinction in Europe during the present century. But only a careful survey of the whole field will enable any one to form a correct estimate of the extent to which the Shemitic race has taken part in the intellectual movement of modern times. Mr. Morais—a worthy son of our honored contributor, Rev. S. Morais—has given

us such a survey of one-half of the field. He has compiled brief biographies of one hundred eminent Israelites who have been distinguished for learning, or political influence, or otherwise, arranging them in alphabetical order. His exclusion of converts prevents the addition of many others, whose names are not less known in the annals of fame—Augustus Neander, Franz Delitzsch, Phillippi, Isaac Da Costa, Julius Stahl, Heinrich Heine, Ludwig Börne, Mendelssohn, the younger Disraeli, etc.

But the list given includes few names which are not of high standing in business, literary, artistic, or political circles. In general literature we observe Auerbach, Grace Aguilar, Emanuel Deutsch, Isaac Disraeli, Adolphe Franck, L. A. Frankl, Minna Kleeberg, Emma and Moritz Lazarus, M. M. Noah, Jules Oppert, Herman Steinthal, and Gustav Weil, while the special literature of their nation is represented by the great names of Furst, Geiger, Jost, Graetz, Herzfeld, Jellineck, Luzzatto, Rapoport, Salvador, Steinschneider, and Zunz, together with a great number of lesser eminence. The book is one which has its interest for every class of readers—musicians, artists, physicians, publicists, business men will find here the names of men eminent in their own walks of life. We hope that it will meet the success it deserves, and that its author will be encouraged to increase his hundred names to a thousand, and give us a Biographical Dictionary of Modern Israelites.

If he should reach a second edition, we may suggest to him, as a rule of good writing, that the very simplest form of a statement is always the best form for prose writing. In preparing a series of biographies, the temptation is great to vary the forms of stating the facts which are common to a great many lives. But even monotony is better than ornate periphrasis.

THE YOUNGER EDDA, also called "Snorre's Edda," or, "The Prose Edda." An English version of the Foreword, the Fooling of Gylfe, the Afterword, Brage's Talk, the Afterword to Brage's Talk, and the important passages in the Poetical Diction (*Skaldskaparmal*). With an Introduction, Notes, Vocabulary, and Index. By Rasmus B. Anderson, Professor of the Scandinavian Languages in the University of Wisconsin. Pp. 302: Chicago, S. C. Griggs & Co.

The American public is indebted to Prof. Anderson and his publishers for access to the literature which embodies the oldest and finest traditions of our Teutonic forefathers. The Professor's "Norse Mythology," and his "Viking Tales of the North" have already found thousands of delighted readers, to whom they opened a new fairy-land, and yet one whose inhabitants were of their own flesh and blood, and felt to be akin in thought and speech.

The translation of Snorre's "Edda" is a valuable addition to

our literature. It seems to have been prepared as a sort of *Gradus ad Parnassum* for young Norse poets. But it contains the most detailed and systematic account of the Norse Mythology which existed in their ancient literature. What is told elsewhere in detached narratives, or in vague allusion, is here collected into a series of vigorous narratives, whose close perusal would put the young poet in possession of the body of myths needed for his art. This was supplemented by much matter of a grammatical and rhetorical kind; but Prof. Anderson has very properly omitted this, as unintelligible and uninteresting to the average reader. He has given all the narrative parts in full, and these of themselves form a connected and independent whole.

Some of the stories are both beautiful and ingenious, and, with a little dressing, may be made of interest to the young. Especially fine is the story of Thor's journey to Utgard-Loke's home, and the tricks played upon the God to induce him to believe that the Jotuns were stronger than he.

We hope that Prof. Anderson will give us a translation of the more poetical Elder Edda, or else correct and reprint that of Mr. Thorpe, and furnish it with the explanations suggested by the study of comparative mythology.

REMINISCENCES OF REV. WM. ELLERY CHANNING, D.D. By Elizabeth Palmer Peabody, Pp., v., 459: Boston, Roberts Brothers.

We do not hesitate to pronounce this the best book which the Channing centenary this year has produced. A large part of the volume appeared in the *Unitarian Monthly*, where it attracted much attention by its fresh, original, first-hand view of Dr. Channing's life and character, and by showing his true relation to the intellectual and ecclesiastical movements of his time. Miss Peabody enjoyed very especial facilities for an intimate acquaintance with Dr. Channing. It was when a mere girl, in her eighth or ninth year, that she first heard him preach. The personal acquaintance she had with him began in 1817, and lasted until 1842, the year of his death. A number of his published sermons were printed from her transcript of his manuscript. Through this period she seems to have gone to him with the practical and intellectual difficulties of her life, not only during the time when she was a cordial adherent of the Unitarian creed, but even in late years when she was working her way to a belief more in accord with the great central traditions of historical Christianity. From Dr. Channing she got nothing but help—help even to criticise wisely his own positions. "There was one characteristic in which, I think, lay the secret of his universality, and in which I have never seen his equal, except in the instance of the late Frederick Denison Maurice, of whom

James Martineau has said that 'he was the greatest spiritual influence on England of the century.' This was an intellectual humility, a sleepless suspicion of himself, of the narrowing and darkening effect of his own individuality. Both these saints and prophets of the nineteenth century looked with eagle eyes upon the sun of truth, because they did not stand within their own shadows."

To those who have regarded Channing chiefly as the representative of Unitarian dogma and ecclesiasticism, this book will be a revelation of the man. Dr. Channing took the Unitarian side of the great controversy, far more from spiritual temperament than intellectual opinion. The orthodoxy of Lyman Beecher's school, with a hard, arrogant revivalism as its practical method, an unloving and intolerant dogmatism as its spirit, and an unphilosophical construction of all the great doctrines of Christianity, could not but repel such a man. He went with Unitarianism through moral sympathy—the sympathy of a great and hopeful soul, which is naturally rallied to the progressive and persecuted side. But the idea of the Trinity, as Coleridge—and may we not say as Athanasius—understood it, excited no antipathy in his mind. At times he spoke as if he found it essential to his idea of God, even while he repudiated the popular tritheism which, in those days, called itself Trinitarian orthodoxy.

JOAN OF ARC, "The Maid." By Janet Tucky [The New Plutarch.] Pp. 224. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

JOAN THE MAID, DELIVERER OF FRANCE AND ENGLAND. A Story of the Fifteenth century, done into modern English. By [Mrs. Charles], the Author of "Chronicles of the Schonberg-Cotta Family." Pp. 357. New York: Dodd, Mead & Co.

The story of Joan of Arc is one of those strangely pathetic episodes of history, of which the world will never be tired hearing. Had not the eighteenth century produced a Voltaire, and Voltaire his *La Pucelle*, we should have said that no one could fail to feel the beauty and the pathos of the Maid's heroic life and cruel death. In our own language, De Quincey has given us the best account of her, but in an exalted, dithyrambic fashion, which spoils the story by a want of simplicity. Miss Tuckey has avoided this mistake, and has given us a really beautiful book, whose highest praise is, that it is worthy of its subject. She follows the contemporary chronicles closely, and attempts but little elaboration, especially as regards the trial. This very simplicity of her narrative heightens the effect of the story, and makes the grand girl more real to us than do all the extravagances of Michelet, or the rhapsodies of De Quincey.

On the very difficult question as to the nature of Joan's voices, our authoress has no opinion to speak of. She shows no disbelief of them, in which, we think, she is quite right.

Mrs. Charles' story will probably please a still wider circle of readers; but it is much less to our liking. We think she has mistaken her vocation in undertaking that most difficult work of art, the historical novel. That work may be done in a slight way, by a careful avoidance of modern details, a stress upon universal elements, and a certain amount of antique upholstering. Miss Manning has done it in this way, and all her stories are enjoyable, though none of them reproduce the period they are supposed to describe. Or it may be done by a writer of vast erudition and still vaster imaginative power, as in George Eliot's *Komola*, where the very life of the times is passed before us, and we see how men thought, and felt, and spoke. Mrs. Charles' has not the merits of either method. She transfers the thoughts and feelings peculiar to our times unto the period she represents. Her best book is *The Schonberg-Cotta Family*, but it offends those who know Luther's times at first hand, by anachronisms of feeling on every page. It is the same with the present book; but for those who do not care for such things, she has produced a pretty and interesting story.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

- History of the Hebrews' Second Commonwealth. By Isaac M. Wise. Cloth. 8vo. Pp. 386. Price \$2.00. Cincinnati: Bloch & Co.
- Under the Palmetto, in Peace and War. By Richard Meade Bache. Sw'd. 16mo. Pp. 106. Philadelphia: Claxton, Remsen & Haffelfinger.
- Our Political Parties. By Benjamin F. Tefft. Sw'd. 16mo. Pp. 84. Price 25 cents. Boston: Lee & Shepard. [J. B. Lippincott & Co.
- Outlying Europe and the Nearer Orient. By Joseph Moore, Jr. Cloth. 8vo. Pp. 554. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co.
- Uncle Jack's Executors. By Annette Lucille Noble. (Knickerbocker Novels). Sw'd. 12mo. Pp. 303. Price 60 cents. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. [Porter & Coates.
- A Stranded Ship. By L. Clarke Davis. (Knickerbocker Series). Sw'd. 12mo. Pp. 272. Price 60 cents. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. [Porter & Coates.
- Politics in England and the United States. A Lecture by Hon. J. I. Clark Hare. Philadelphia: J. M. Power Wallace.
- The Independent Movement in New York as an Element in the Next Election and a Problem in Party Government. By Junius. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. [Porter & Coates.
- Critical Essays and Literary Notes. By Bayard Taylor. Cloth. 12mo. Pp. 382. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. Price \$2.25.
- Twenty-fifth Annual Report of the Board of Directors of the St. Louis Public Schools, for the year ending August 1st, 1879.

THE
PENN MONTHLY.

JULY, 1880.

THE MONTH.

MR. GLADSTONE went into the election of 1874 with a proposal to abolish the Income Tax,—the only direct tax imposed by a nation whose economists denounce all indirect taxation as robbery. The proposal called forth a general protest from the more enlightened of the Liberal papers, while it gained him no support among the classes who would have been benefitted. He now proposes to increase that tax by a penny on the pound, as a means of making up the deficit in the English budget. Of course there will be a great outcry against this. The classes that pay the income tax are those which have the greatest facilities for giving utterance to their wants and grievances. Before the Reform Bill of 1869, the increase of the income tax was a very serious matter. It touched a great majority of the voters, and was likely to alienate political support to a very serious degree. At present the majority pay no income tax, and justly regard it as giving some degree of relief from the pressure of indirect taxation. It is therefore probably the most popular of British taxes with the real people; and when once the poorer classes of English voters ascertain what their power is and where their interest lies, they will not only make this tax perpetual, but they will establish it on a graduated scale, by which the larger incomes will pay proportionally more.

Just at present it may seem preposterous to talk of the imposition of another direct tax,—upon land. But as this would in effect be no more than a tax upon income from land, it would be both practicable and wise. The exemption of this class of property from its proper share in the national burdens, is one of the greatest anomalies of the English system. Three hundred years ago land bore nearly all the burdens; and only the invention of excise duties by the Long Parliament—which imposed them as “a war measure,”—furnished the Country party with the means of shifting these from their own shoulders to those of the people at large. Down to the Restoration, land-ownership was a trust for the nation, whose conditions were the maintenance of an adequate tenantry fit for military duty. It was not the private enjoyment of an estate, but its public stewardship, which gave the English nobleman or gentleman his social rank. But when the Stuarts came back, all duties connected with the land were swept away, and the system of purely indirect taxation was substituted for the feudal system. To abuse the English system as still feudal, is to miss the chief point of its iniquity. It is a combination of the pure selfishness of the mercantile system with the social arrogance and exclusiveness of the feudal system, which constitutes the English land tenure.

As indirect taxes fall upon those who finally pay them, not in proportion to their ability to pay, but in proportion to their consumption of articles in general use, the English system of taxation must be regarded as among the worst in the world. It makes the rich richer, and the poor poorer.

SIR WILFRED LAWSON, the witty advocate of the Temperance Cause in England, has carried the Ministry much farther than they desired to go. Neither Mr. Gladstone nor Lord Hartington supported his resolution in favor of Local Option, when it came up at the end of the last session; but it has now been carried by a substantial majority, and the Ministry will have to adapt their new License Law to the principle that the people of each locality shall decide whether there shall be any license at all. In view of the immense waste, through intemperance, of human energy and happiness, to say nothing of wealth, the first impulse is to approve any measure whatever which tends to discourage and restrict the sale of strong drink. But it is far from certain that

Local Option will have such a result. Unless it be enforced by strenuous police measures, such as country districts are hardly likely to employ, it will mean no more than the transfer of the traffic to persons less respectable and responsible than those who now have licenses. And even the absolute prohibition of liquor, though it were effectively enforced, would only change the channel through which men would draw the physical elation and excitement for which they crave. Whiskey is, to many men, but the door of escape from a wearisome, uninspired, monotonous existence; and you will quench the thirst for some such stimulant only by changing the tenor of that existence. If you only cut off the whiskey, the man will seek some substitute for it. It is said that prohibitory laws produce a marked increase in the sale of opium for intoxicating uses; and we presume that the most decided prohibitionist would rather see a man the victim of alcohol, than witness in him that extirpation of will power and moral energy, which is the result of the opium habit.

The root of this disease of intemperance lies deeper than our Temperance friends suppose. Its cure must come, on the one hand, through the extirpation of that craving for excitement, which curses our political, social, business and even our religious life. It must come, on the other hand, through the elevation of the common people's life out of its colorless, wearisome monotony of unloved tasks, through imparting to that life an interest and an outlook which shall make men rejoice in their work and in the relaxations which fill it, instead of seeking from the physical stimulant the joy that should come only from the higher sources. The evil of intemperance is to be met, therefore, by the cultivation of quietness in society and in ourselves, and by the widest diffusion of every kind of culture—intellectual, moral, religious—among all classes.

THE French Chamber of Deputies has declared for a general amnesty of the exiled Communists, but as the proposition has to pass the Senate, it is by no means probable that it will become a law. We think the measure one which displays great moral weakness in the Republican leaders. In the Elysian age, which has quenched Tartarus with sugar and water, as our first of poets complains, the pardon of the most desperate offences becomes very

easy to us. We seem to have no longer the depth of moral feeling necessary for great and prolonged indignation against wrong-doers. We flatter ourselves that we have grown more merciful and long-suffering, when in truth we have become only less capable of the moral memory implied in sustained wrath. We are as bitter and cruel as ever for the moment that indignation lasts,—more bitter and cruel than more sternly righteous ages were. And so we set up monuments to the men who died to defend slavery, with the pious motto, "God knows which was right," but with the implication that He neither knows nor cares. And the French Republic welcomes back to citizenship and to office the authors of cruel, unprovoked murders and acts of vandalism, which threatened the very existence of the great city into which the life of France has been absorbed.

M. Gambetta, the Warwick who sets up and casts down cabinets without showing his hand, comes forward to claim the credit of this measure. Its motive is the necessity he is under to curry favor with the Left. He makes De Freycinet carry the responsibility of any measure which will be unpopular; but when a good stroke is to be made for popularity, he steps from behind the scenes and robs the Premier of the credit. M. De Freycinet, it appears, was selected because he is such an excellent man for a subordinate post,—a convenient clerk to bear the brunt of any blame there is going. M. Gambetta is his principal, who rules but does not reign.

We suspect that this movement toward conciliating the Left indicates the approach of some new and bold stroke on M. Gambetta's part. Things have drifted along so quietly of late, that no necessity for such a move is to be discerned in the actual situation. It is in a possible or impending situation that its explanation is to be sought.

THE Sunday-school people have been observing the Centennial of the establishment of the first Sunday-school, at Gloucester in England, by Robert Raikes. The good man certainly set on foot a movement which has produced a vast effect, and which has greatly altered the tone of life in the churches during the past century. The effect has not been unmingled good, but the good has been very considerable.

A very great result has been the change in the popular conception of the duties of church-membership. In the ante-Raikes period membership was, except in the Methodist societies, a very passive thing. To go to church regularly, to say "the responses" if there were any, to take the sacrament, to live blamelessly—constituted the code of religious duties. What aggression was attempted upon the masses outside the church was left to the clergy, and the laity were rather acted upon than active.

The modern ideal of what a good church-member is, includes more activity in what is called "Christian work," of which the Sunday-school is the leading type. Good people, who profess to find all they require as the rule of their practice in their Bibles, have practically added Sunday-school teaching to the list of its requirements, as a thing to be expected of every person who is not specially prevented from engaging in it. And they often manage to make the day of rest the most laborious of the whole week, by the extent to which they give their energies to this.

The worst effect of the new methods is seen in their influence on the family life. Parents are released by it from all sense of responsibility for their children's training,—a responsibility more needed for their own sake by those who give less attention to such things than by the more devout church-goers. When a child comes into a man's life as his own, it is to awaken in him such a concern for it as will lead him to provide all good things for its existence. And just as it would be a positive injury to the man to take off his hands the care of providing for the child's physical wants,—as it would be robbing him of a privilege under the form of conferring a benefit,—so it is still more an injury to relieve him of the care of the child's moral or spiritual training. The former piece of unwisdom would diminish the man's thrift and energy; the latter relieves him of a social and affectional pressure, which might have led him to the discovery that life is more than meat, and that men do not live by bread alone.

Nor has the influence of the new system upon the character of the church-members themselves been unmixedly good. It has called for an amount of activity out of all proportion to the knowledge and experience of many whom it has set to work, and it has often interfered with, rather than promoted, their growth in the higher life. It has enlisted great numbers, of whom one might

say, with Rowland Hill, that they would "do more good by being good than in any other way." What share they have of the higher culture is beaten out very thin and made to go a great way in their efforts to do good. And many of them fall into a way of constant talking about sacred things, which is of no benefit either to themselves or to others. Your "Christian Worker," who cannot speak to either old or young without asking after their "soul," and whose speech is larded with religious slang, is not promoting the growth of reverence in this irreverent age.

So much we venture, by way less of criticism than of suggestion, in a matter in which many good people are concerned, and which concerns interests which are dear not only to them but to all wise and thoughtful people.

At Constantinople things are going on so badly that almost any change would be for the better. Even Mr. Layard has given up the Turkish Sultan as an irretrievably bad ruler, and has declared that the patience of Europe has been exhausted by the Pashas. The recent Grand Vizier, Said Pasha, although out of office, controls affairs, and excites continual panics in the Sultan's mind, by tales of conspiracy and revolt. The poor hypochondriac hardly dares to step outside the harem gates, and entrusts everything to a ring of alarmists, who are doing blindly their utmost to ruin the country. It would have repaid Gibbon to have studied the steps and stages of natural ruin and governmental anarchy through which the country is now passing. It would have furnished new touches for the story of the decline and fall of the Bagdad Caliphate. There is no money in the Treasury. The soldiers are not paid. The confidence of even the Turkish people in their rulers has vanished. Civil order seems likely to depart with it. The Sultan dare not punish flagrant murders of foreign officials, for fear of alienating the ulemas and arousing religious fanaticism. All except the clergy and the Pashas are looking and longing for European intervention, and would welcome the shame of it for the sake of saving society.

While it is thus in the capital, the condition of the provinces is alarming. The Kurds are not only revolting on their own account, but are creating such a chaos of outrage and disorder in Armenia, as will probably lead to a European intervention on behalf of the Haiks. The Arabs are on the verge of a general revolt against

their Turkish masters, and from Aden to the Syrian frontiers they are arming for resistance. In Europe, the Albanians, long reckoned the firmest support of the Porte's authority, have been brought to revolt for independence, through the clumsy intrigues of the Pashas, who wished merely to excite them against the Greeks and the Slavs. Everywhere we see the reaping of the harvest sown by centuries of misgovernment, dishonesty and outrage; and the prospect that Mr. Freeman's programme will be executed, and the Turk will be driven out of Europe, "bag and baggage," was never brighter than now.

SIR A. T. GALT is making himself as useful to the Canadians in his London mission, as circumstances permit. He lacks, of course, the grand encouragement Lord Beaconsfield would have given to his proposal for an Imperial Zollverein, but he is far from abandoning that idea. And a large number of the English Boards of Trade have agreed to send representatives to a conference to be held next February in London for the discussion and promotion of the scheme.

The Canadian representative is devoting much of his energy to the promotion of emigration to Canada. He cannot see why the British Islands should pour out their millions to build up the United States, a community often unfriendly to the Empire, while not even thousands can be obtained for a loyal colony of great resources. One answer which has been given is that when one must change residence, it is natural to prefer a removal to another house rather than into the back yard of that which has just been abandoned. Canada is an English back-yard. Its inhabitants have no nationality. They are British subjects only so long as they reside in Canada; if they migrate even to England they become aliens. The order of Knighthood, conferred not by Canada but by England, and for services rendered not to the Colony, but to the Empire, helps to create the impression that in Canada there is continued the system of aristocratic rule, from which the average European settler is flying. Hence their preference for America, where they are endowed with a citizenship and a national name as well known as those of England herself.

THE President's veto of the Deputy Marshal's Bill is not an ef-

fectively written document. Mr. Hayes had not the Presidential campaign in view in preparing it, or he would not have overloaded it with such long quotations from the Revised Statutes and an opinion of the Supreme Court. But it is a very vigorous and forcible piece of criticism, as the few discovered who had the patience to read it through. In Mr. Hayes's view, the Bill is little less than a fraud, which, under the pretense of modifying the duties and powers of a set of public officers, supplants them by another set with a slightly different name, but with no responsibility to the proper officers, and with neither the power nor the responsibilities of their predecessors. And, in his view, the existence of the officers specified in the Revised Statutes, their possession of the powers with which they are invested, and their subordination to the United States Marshal, are all necessary for the proper execution of the Constitution. And, therefore, he will take no part in the work of their abolition; he will do nothing to rob voters of the protection thus afforded them, or to sanction the view that the Nation is less complete, in its control of national elections than is the State in its control of local elections.

We are heartily glad that Mr. Hayes has seen his way clear to this veto. Like all his documents of this class, it carries conviction home to the public, in so far as it reaches the public. For this reason, we regret that so excellent a State paper should be so little suited for general reading. Mr. Hayes's unfriends sometimes compare his vetoes to those of poor Mr. Johnson. The difference between the two is unspeakable. Even when Mr. Johnson had reasons to offer for his action which were not without force, he always managed to put his case in such a way that the *sic volo, sic jubeo* was the first thing to attract attention. But Mr. Hayes sinks the man in the reason. He is as impersonal as the multiplication table and nearly as irresistible. He has not always been a strong President. But the sense of a power and a purpose in the man, and of an intelligence enlightened by sound principle, grows upon us as we study the history of his administration. His two weak places—the Civil Service Reform and the Southern policy—are just the places in which Mr. Hayes has had the least influence with this Administration.

THE Congress which had so much to do that it must begin with

an extra session, has closed its first regular session with one of the briefest records of legislative achievement known in the national annals. The Congress which was to make a clean sweep of almost everything the Republicans had done during their long tenure of power, has this for its warmest eulogy, that thus far it has done little or no harm. As the Germans say, "the broth is not eaten as hot as it is cooked." Party leaders, who were full of plans a year ago, have become anxious chiefly to escape the responsibility of doing anything, unless it were something very safe indeed. And this Congress did little during its first session, except to vote old cannon for monuments and pass appropriation bills.

This was due, in good measure, to the real fright the Democratic leaders got after the extra session. They had undertaken to carry a series of measures which they thought were necessary to secure a Democratic victory in the next presidential campaign. They meant to sweep away, or at least to minimize, the national safeguards of the ballot-box. But partly what they proposed to do, and partly the manner in which they tried to do it, excited such alarm and earned them such rebukes in the State elections, that they hastened to assume an attitude of legislative inactivity. They were as little disposed to move as Jonah in the whale; and month after month found them busied in the pretence of a great activity, and occupied with the problem, "how not to do it." They have done nothing towards the solution of the Funding question, neither Mr. Wood's nor Mr. Kelley's proposals having earned their approval. They have done nothing towards the alteration of the Tariff, except their blundering action in the case of the Quinine duties. Even the much asked change in the sugar duties has not been reached, and the Eaton Bill for a Commission on Tariff Revision, has slumbered in the House awaiting a new session. They have done very little towards a solution of our Indian problem on the Western frontier. They have not touched the financial question with the end of a finger. The story of their achievements will be as full of "nots" as the commandments.

THE passage of Senator Eaton's Tariff Commission Bill by a non-partisan vote in the Senate, is one of the best pieces of news we have heard from this Congress. It is true that this action comes very late in the session—too late, possibly, for the concurrence of

the House. But it shows that the efforts to misrepresent the true purport of the Bill have failed, and that even outside the sphere of Mr. Garfield's baneful influence, there are Congressmen who prefer to have the public business done in a manner which corresponds to the greatness of the interests which are at stake.

As we have repeatedly dwelt upon the merits of the Commission plan for the revision of the Tariff, we need not repeat here any of the arguments in its favor. But we must take notice of the persistency with which the Free Trade people misrepresent the intentions of those who support the Bill. They continue to speak of it as merely a dodge to gain time by putting off the evil day of Tariff reduction. They have received strong and repeated assurances to the contrary from those whose word they have no right to question, but they return to the charge with as much pertinacity as if their slanders had never been contradicted. It is one of the peculiarities of the Free Trade delusion, that those who are thoroughly infected with it cease to be able to believe in the honesty of other men. As they regard every protective duty as "a theft," they must think of every advocate of Protection as either a thief or the abettor of theft, and therefore unworthy of belief. Hence the tone of rancor which abounds in their papers and pamphlets, and which puts them outside the pale of courteous controversy. It also hinders them from getting a hearing with many people, through the show of irritation and unfairness which pervade their writings. They can bear (as Mr. Greeley once said) to hear of no side but their own.

THE danger of which we forewarned Gen. Grant's too eager supporters was visible from the first moment of the sessions of the Chicago Convention. Misled by our confident newspaper reporters, they counted on a majority on the first ballot, or at least that before the voting was far advanced there would enough of loose timber gather to their side to complete the majority. Never was there a grosser case of misreading the visible signs of the times. Throughout the whole campaign their own zeal forced the issue of Grant or of Anti-Grant upon the constituencies. Almost every vote secured for any other candidate, with the possible exception of Mr. Edmunds, represented a finality in opposition to Mr. Grant's renomination. At the very opening of the convention this was visible in the

solid and united ranks of the Anti-Grant party, and it was found that the combined and determined supporters of Messrs. Blaine and Sherman against the Third Term candidate had a decided majority in the convention. The *esprit de corps* which animated this majority, and their solidity in organization evidently took the Grant leaders by surprise. From the first vote by States they must have seen that their cause was lost.

To choose what they should do after the first ballot would have been an easy matter before the convention began, but it was unspeakably difficult to shift ground in the face of the enemy. In Mr. Edmunds they saw a candidate who would draw to his support elements of strength which Mr. Grant lacked. But could they retain their own following in attempting a transfer to him? They knew that there were very many elements in their following which had far more affinities for Mr. Blaine than for Mr. Edmunds, and that the least appearance of a break in the ranks would be followed by desertions to that side. The danger of a reconstruction inside the Convention, which we foresaw weeks ago, and upon which, as we then knew, Mr. Blaine's friends were counting, was at once upon them. How they have solved this difficulty, our readers will know by the time this reaches them.

WHEN the Convention reached the actual voting on Monday morning, it was seen what were the hopes and the policy of the leaders of the several factions. Each of the two larger sections was confident that if it would hold out long enough it could win a majority by the accession of those who supported the less prominent candidates, or even through the support of a section of its especial rivals. Thus the Blaine men talked some gross absurdities about the readiness of Mr. Cameron to cast a solid Pennsylvanian vote for the Maine statesman; while the Grant people were quite sure that the supporters of Edmunds, Washburne and Win-
dom would muster to the support of the ex-President, and help him into a majority.

As the voting proceeded, however, the futility of these hopes became apparent. The Grant column, about 305 in strength, maintained its solidity through ballot after ballot, with the Blaine men about a score in their rear, and neither force showed the least dis-

position to break. On the other hand, the adherents of the four less supported candidates, from the Sherman men with their 90 votes, down to Windom's friends with their 10, showed as much obstinacy as did the larger bodies of delegates. The friends of the two chief candidates were each confident that they must carry the day, while those of the less prominent were sure that the winner was the "dark horse" which they held by the mane.

Then came the usual struggle to exhaust each other's patience and pluck. Through vote after vote, up to the thirty-fourth, they repeated their determination to fight it out on that line if it took all summer. The Blaine people seem to have put some reliance upon prevalent reports that the Grant leaders meant to transfer their following to Edmunds, and waited in expectation of a break. They knew that if this were attempted it would fail. In Mr. Grant's following were a multitude of politicians of the baser sort, who, if forced to choose between Mr. Edmunds and Mr. Blaine, would find their affinity with the latter; and they knew also that Mr. Edmunds, by his open support of the Third Term idea, had made it impossible for any great number outside the Grant ranks to rally to his support. At no time during the Convention, we regret to say, was the nomination of Mr. Edmunds a possibility; and this was chiefly owing to his own false step in extending an unqualified support to the Grant Triumvirate.

It was not until the thirty-fourth ballot, on the second day of the voting, that the Blaine men made up their minds that the choice lay between Mr. Grant and some candidate who could unite the opposition to the ex-President, as did no one as yet in the field. When they reached this conclusion General Garfield's nomination followed as a matter of course. He was the only man upon whom the anti-Grant men could be united; and his magnificent personal influence made the process an easy one. The Grant column sat, no doubt, in patient expectancy of the accessions which would rally to their support, when the candidacy of Mr. Blaine was abandoned. But they had miscalculated, not for the first time since February last. Mr. Garfield held the Blaine column almost solid, and the Sherman, Edmunds, and Washburne men came rolling up to his support, without adding a single delegate to the Grant column. His vote rose from seventeen to fifty, and from fifty to three hundred and ninety-nine on the last three ballots.

The Third Term column went down with just the strength with which they started, while fifty votes were thrown away on other candidates.

The vote which nominated Mr. Garfield grows in impressiveness when analyzed. It is not as large as it would have been, had not several Blaine States near the head of the roll misread the signs of the times, and continued to vote for their favorite, who received forty-two votes on the last ballot. But taken as it stands, we find that of the 462 votes cast by States which lie North of Mason and Dixon's line, and are free to choose Republican electors, Mr. Garfield received 273, leaving 189 to all his rivals. Of the 80 votes cast by New England, he received 75, including all Mr. Edmunds' supporters. Of the 126 votes of the Middle States he got but 59, thanks to the Triumvirate; but of the 185 votes of the Western States he received 142, leaving 43 to his rivals. In the Pacific States he missed a majority only through California standing so near the head of the roll; otherwise he would have had 21 votes out of 36, instead of but 9. Of the 275 votes cast by the moribund Republican party of the South, he received but 67, while Mr. Grant's column was from first to last made up of exactly half Southern and half Northern votes. All the Territories and the District of Columbia voted for him on the last ballot.

The vote which nominated Mr. Garfield was that of the living and voting Republican party; and the vote which was mustered against him was largely that of men whose support will count for nothing in November next. _____

THE satisfaction with the nomination of General Garfield seems to grow more intense with the lapse of every day. His name was so little mentioned in the hubbub over the three leading candidates, that his nomination took most people by surprise; but as this passes away, there remains a deep thankfulness that so good a result came out of the turmoil and the noise of the Chicago Convention. The feeling is much stronger than in the case of Mr. Hayes' nomination four years ago. Then it was rather acquiescence than enthusiasm—the feeling that the party had done a safe and sensible thing. At present the popular conviction on both sides is that the Republicans have put forward one of their strongest men, and that the Cincinnati Convention will have to do very well in-

deed, if the two parties are to make an even start in the coming race.

The nomination seems to please especially the educational class of our people. For the first time in our history, we believe, the Presidency has been offered to a College Professor and President; and, while we have had scholarly Presidents in the two Adamses, in Jefferson and Madison, and perhaps in Harrison, the list has not been especially rich in those who knew the world of books and thought equally with the world of men and affairs. While the most practical of men in public life, Mr. Garfield may be taken no less as the representative of scholarship and culture of a broad, vigorous sort.

GEN. ARTHUR'S candidacy improves the more his record is looked into. There is evidently not a weak point in his career, except one. He saw fit to enter public life in the following of a leader who has excited great and just antagonism in many members of the party. His personal history, his administration of the New York Custom House, his relations to Mr. Hayes's administration, have all been brought into clear light, without doing him anything but credit. It even appears that only his obstinate loyalty to Senator Conkling prevented his acceptance of a foreign mission a short time before his removal from office. This last point is characteristic of the man, for he is one of that obstinate Scotch-Irish stock which never yields to less than an earthquake. The part they have played in American history is yet to be written, but the highest points of their achievements are written in the names of the public men they have given us. Generals Montgomery and Knox in the Revolution, Robert Fulton, the two Websters, Calhoun, MacDuffie, Presidents Jackson, Polk, Buchanan and Johnson, Joseph E. Johnston, Benj. F. Butler, Cyrus McCormick, Edgar Allan Poe, Madame Patterson-Bonaparte, and Henry James, (father and son), are among their contributions to our list of people who made their mark. Mr. Arthur is a chip of the same block—the same unimaginative, unsympathetic, obstinate, honest race.

When we spoke of Gen. Garfield as reconciling all sections of the Republican party, we did not hope that he would be equally

acceptable to Protectionists and to Free Traders. The division of sentiment on that point is so fundamental, that he must be a smart man who can please both. But the General, it seems, satisfies even this hard condition. *The Evening Post*, speaking for the "Revenue Reform" (otherwise called "Little Free Trade") section of the party, expresses its great satisfaction with his record on that issue, and supports him with hope and confidence. We are glad that they are so well suited. Certainly we of the other side of the house could not be better pleased with any selection.

Mr. Garfield's views on the Hard Money issue are not so satisfactory to all of us. But the policy of the Republican party on that point seems to be so well settled, that no choice is now left except to acquiesce inside the party, or to go outside of it. Some who do agree with Mr. Garfield that it is a duty to sustain the nation's credit, to make its paper money convertible into coin, and to issue no silver of less intrinsic value than our other money, are not of his opinion that private corporations are the proper mediums for the creation and issue of paper money. But, while we differ on this point, we respect the unflinching honesty and decision with which he has treated the question from the beginning. He is one who has always been true to his colors.

THE Cincinnati Convention began its sessions with as great uncertainty as to their result, as did that at Chicago. It had one advantage over the Republican Convention: its delegates did not come together pledged to vote, "first, last and all the time," for anybody. It was more fluid in its composition, more ready for new combinations, less dominated by personal preferences. Every man in it, however strong in his first preference, had probably given some thought as to where his second and third choice would lie. The preliminary campaign had not been so grossly mismanaged as with the Republicans. Factional bitterness, except in New York and Pennsylvania, had not gone so far as to produce personal alienation. And it was quite certain that when the actual work came, the speakers would not first recall their private preferences, and then go on to say that, notwithstanding that, they could heartily support the Convention's nominee. These Republican blunders, for which we may thank the party leaders, the Democrats avoided.

The task of settling disputes as to contested seats was found somewhat difficult, as regards Massachusetts at least. As some Democrats are not without hopes of securing the Bay State's vote, it was thought impolitic to alienate the Butler Democracy by excluding them from the Convention. They were given half the delegation for this reason. The effect of this will probably be to send many Democratic voters into the Republican ranks. As regards local politics, at least, the regular Democrats of Massachusetts prefer to vote for almost any Republican rather than for Benjamin F. Butler. And they cannot but see that the National Convention has now given Mr. Butler his opportunity. They have given him the recognition of the party, and have thus made it impossible to run against him next year a "regular" Democratic candidate for Governor. The Adams Democrats of that State belong properly to the Republican party. They have no sympathy with the foreigners, the half-way communists, and the fiat money people who make up Mr. Butler's following. The Convention possibly has precipitated a re-arrangement of Massachusetts parties.

As regards New York, the Convention found its task greatly lightened by Mr. Tilden's withdrawal. As Mr. Kelly had made a purely personal opposition, as he had declared his readiness to support any candidate except Mr. Tilden, there is nothing left for Tammany but to fall into line with the party, however ill the party may deal with Tammany. And so, although for the first time since Tammany became a Democratic organization, it has seen a Democrat nominated for the presidency without its having voice or vote in the matter, yet at the close of the Convention it smoked the pipe of peace and was content.

In the absence of vigorous personal preferences, the Convention effected a nomination more easily than did that at Chicago. It was a question simply of the most available candidate, and all sections of the party were ready to rally to the support of such a candidate, as soon as the likelihood of his nomination became apparent. And so, after the nomination of Gen. Winfield S. Hancock had been foreshadowed on both the first and the second ballots, the changes of votes to him became so general that he at once received far more than the requisite majority of two-thirds.

Of this nomination we may say, as candid Democrats said of

Mr. Garfield's, that it is a good one for the nation, but not so good for our own political preferences. We do not see how the Convention could have made a better selection from the materials at its disposal. And the wisdom of the selection we believe to be due to the Southern leaders. Had the choice been made a year ago, Gen. Hancock would not have had the slightest chance of getting the nomination. The very men who have carried it would have been the first to oppose the selection of a Union General or a northern soldier of any rank. They had so utterly misread the signs of the times as to suppose that the northern people had come to regard the Rebellion just as the South did, and that it would bear with the extravagances of Secession orators as it expected the South to bear with those of Union orators in the North. They thought that the bars had been let down forever, and that gray was to be just as good as blue, and rebellion just as honorable as loyalty. The elections which followed the extra-session of Congress opened their eyes to the facts. They found that the conviction that the Union cause was clearly right and that of Secession inexcusably wrong, was deeply imbedded in the northern mind. They found that while the North did not fear the South, it profoundly distrusted it, and that everything possible must be done to remove that distrust, or the Democratic party would soon be defunct as a national party. Hence the reserve and self-restraint they exercised during the past session of Congress. Hence their purpose to put forward for the presidency the one Democrat of prominence whose name would inspire the northern people with confidence. They came to Cincinnati, resolved to have General Hancock by all means. In the general fluidity and limpidity of sentiment in the Convention, their preference was the only vigorous one at work, and as a matter of course they carried the day.

The Republican party may as well waken up to the fact that the cleverest leaders of the Democratic party have discovered the worst of their blunders and mean to retrieve it. The southerners, although rarely statesmen, are politicians by habit and instinct; and what they have once learnt in such a matter, they are not likely to forget. The strong point of the Republican situation is that, though they must be fully aware of the equally great blunder they are making in their treatment of the negroes, they are not powerful enough to correct it. There they have to manage, not a

Convention, but the rude and ignorant masses of their own following, with such leaders as Chalmers to misguide them.

“It is the first time since 1860 that we have not blundered,” was the feeling of more than one Democrat when the nomination was announced. And yet it may be a blunder for all that. If we except the nomination of General McClellan, this is the first time that the Democratic party has taken for its candidate a purely military man, destitute of all experience of the conduct of civil affairs, knowing only the atmosphere and the maxims of the barrack and the guard-room. It has been a traditional maxim with the party to distrust the merely military class of public men, and to insist that men of purely political experience are needed for political office. It did not violate that maxim in selecting General Jackson for the presidency, for Jackson had had such experience. The Whigs violated it in nominating Harrison and Taylor, who were elected on their military record, and who proved, or would have proved, quite incompetent for the office. General Hancock has been in the army all his life. He has never filled any but military positions. He knows no more of the conduct of political affairs than he has learnt from the newspapers. His elevation to the presidency would be like nothing so much as the old English fashion of detailing a general to take command of the fleet. He would be, even more than General Grant was, at the mercy of the political experts who would gather around him when once in office. If he chose to act independently of their guidance, no one could foretell what he might do, for the Convention itself knew his views on hardly any great question of national policy. He might prove as mischievous as Andrew Johnson was. If he elected to accept their leading, then they and not he would control the presidential authority. With any candidate whom the Democrats may put forward, we run the risk of seeing his personal virtues and good intentions superseded by the bad qualities of the men about him. With General Hancock in the presidency, we should have the certainty that not he, but some man who had no claim to confidence, was managing the office. However excellent the General may be himself, he is but the cover under which other men would attain to power.

The contrast between the two candidates in this respect is most

remarkable. General Garfield is not a professional soldier, although he served usefully and creditably, and rose to a distinguished position. His old commander, General Rosencrans, tells us that he regarded him at first with distrust, as a preacher who had taken to politics and to soldiery, but that the man won his way to confidence and showed himself most useful. From military duties he was called back to political life by the most intelligent and exacting of all the western constituencies—the Western Reserve of Ohio. For sixteen years he has filled, to their great satisfaction, the seat so long held by Joshua R. Giddings. Although he entered the House with but little other prestige than that derived from his constituency, he worked his way to the front, without stooping to any of the arts of parliamentary management. From the House, his state has sent him to the Senate, after long experience of his quality. He knows Washington and the manner of political life there, as thoroughly as any man can know them and remain uncorrupted by them. James A. Garfield is the type of man whom Democratic traditions would designate as fitted for the Presidency. He and not Winfield S. Hancock.

A PROMINENT city official recently expressed his decided dissatisfaction with the methods of higher education supported by the city. He pointed to graduates of the High School and of Girard College who have become, since their graduation, no better than educated paupers. A father, whose son graduated in the High School, still supports him by driving a cart. A mother had two children in Girard College, and secured their nominal apprenticeship to a neighbor in order to obtain their discharge, as there was no opening to bind them out in good faith. They are now known to the police as a couple of the worst "bummers" in the city, and they tramp about the adjacent towns as well, living by their wits, as they go. These, he said, are but specimens out of many cases known to the police. We are creating a new kind of paupers in Philadelphia—educated paupers who have been taught too much to be willing to put their hands to anything like manual work, and for but few of whom there is employment of any other kind to be had. His remedy for the evil is to stop public education at the point reached by those who have received what used to be called the rudiments of a good education.

Our existing system of the higher, public education cannot be regarded as satisfactory. It is open to the objection this official alleged against it. It imparts to a large number of its graduates just the amount of education needed to give them a distaste for the only kinds of employment open to them ; and it does not even aim at endowing them with the technical knowledge needed for the higher professions.

A first step towards a better arrangement has been taken in the establishment of the Towne Scholarships in the University of Pennsylvania. The Towne School is a great technological institute,— whose graduates are fitted to enter upon some one of the higher and more scientific professions. They are trained as chemists, geologists, engineers or architects, to pursue callings for which there is likely to be a steadily increasing demand in this country and in this city. While it is sought to give them some general literary culture, their tastes are formed for some active and useful work, instead of acquiring a distaste for everything but books.

It is not likely that the city will assume the expense of creating a second technological school in Philadelphia : and it is not improper to suggest that she might take steps to enable her public school boys to avail themselves of the facilities offered by that already in existence. We do not urge this on the ground that it would be cheaper. Whether the University would undertake their education at the rate of their annual cost in the High School, we cannot say. Perhaps not ; technological education is generally more costly than that furnished by such institutions. But the difference in the results would be worth more than the difference in price, as the young men thus trained would possess a practical aptitude and a professional training, which would be of much more use to most of them than would any amount of general education with no relation to their work in life.

SOME years ago there originated with the business men of this city a proposal to gather up the poor children from the back streets and the alleys, and send them off to the Park, or up or down the river, for a day's recreation. The plan worked admirably. The money for expenses came in freely. Kind and thoughtful people went along with the children to see that they were cared for and kept out of harm. And the presence of a physician on the ex-

cursion secured medical care and attendance for many cases of disease, which would have been serious if neglected. These children's excursions were something all could agree to help along.

In course of time, they suggested to some of our ladies—Mrs. Turner of Chadd's Ford first of all, we believe—the possibility of doing still better for such children. They turned the day into a week, and got farmers and others to take the children into their homes for that length of time. Of course, there was a certain amount of risk in this, and in one case during the first summer of the experiment, a farmer was annoyed by getting some mischievous children on his hands. We mention this case, as a great deal was made of it in some quarters, and it was looked at through a sort of multiplying and magnifying glass. We understand that it was a solitary one. In the other cases, the children have behaved so well that there was no room for complaint. The fear of not being invited to come next year has been found enough to influence the less orderly. They have made themselves useful about the farm, heartily enjoying the novel sensation of farm-work. Their invitation has been extended from one week to two, three, or even six. It has been renewed for the coming summer, year after year. And substantial Christmas presents have come from these country homes to the little friends whose presence was so welcome.

The effect upon the health and the appearance of the children is said to have been most surprising. They gained enough in a week, with as much milk as they could use, and fresh vegetables to boot, to make them look like different people. Some of them acquired notions of taste and order, which they hastened to apply in homes where there was room for it. And, not least, "the country week" became a green spot in their memories—a thing to hope for in many lives from which the child's hopefulness had been driven away by unhappy surroundings.

We do not say that the children's week has done away with the necessity for children's excursions. It certainly has not made needless such a sanitarium for our poor children, as Mr. Rice, of Baltimore, has just given \$500,000 to establish. But we do say that there are few things in Philadelphia better worthy of the support of all classes, especially as this gives promise of being a very hot summer. Mr. Spangler, so well known as the treasurer of the children's excursions, will receive subscriptions; or they may be sent to the Children's Week Society, at 1429 Market street.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF CICERO.

CONSPICUOUS in the speculation of the present day are three tendencies—the Historical, the Eclectic, and the Agnostic. Every subject is being worked over from the historical point of view; and while the avowedly eclectic movement of Cousin and Morell is perhaps a failure, yet the eclectic spirit is seen in the growing interest in the history of philosophy and in the revival, both in England and Germany, of the teachings of Hume and Kant. Agnosticism is the avowed attitude of the many “advanced” thinkers in Great Britain and America, who look to George Henry Lewes and Tyndal as their prophets.

History points to at least one other period when these three tendencies co-existed, and to one man who, better than any other, embodied the spirit of that age, and who, to a thorough-going philosophical skepticism joined a deep insight into the history of philosophy and a prudent eclecticism. The age referred to was that which immediately preceded the Christian era; the man was Cicero.

Marcus Tullius Cicero was born January 3rd, B. C. 106, at Arpinum in Italy, at which place he also passed many pleasant days in later life. There were the graves of his ancestors, and there was that villa in which his father, “having very infirm health, spent the later years of his life engaged in literary pursuits.”¹

According to a recent writer,² the family attained means by the cultivation of vetches (Cicer.) This occupation, together with all agricultural employments, Cicero held to be most honorable, and by no means to be classed with other manual and ignoble callings. Plutarch, however, gives a very different account of the origin of the name Cicero. He makes it to be a nickname applied to the founder of the family on account of a fancied resemblance of his slit nose to the vegetable vetch.

It is a mistake to suppose that only in old age and in banishment did Cicero turn his attention to philosophy. He repeatedly informs us that from childhood philosophy had been his delight.³ As a young man he listened to the lectures of the greatest meta-

¹ De Legg, ii., 1.

² Froude: *Cæsar*, p. 157.

³ De Off., II., 1; De Nat. D., I., 3; De Fato I.

physicians of his time. The great teachers of Athens and of Rhodes—the Epicureans Phædrus and Zeno, the Stoics Diodotus and Posidonius, and the Academicians Philo and Antiochus, all had a share in forming his early opinions. Doubtless, in giving an impartial hearing at so early an age to skilful exponents of all the existing schools of thought, he laid the foundation of his subsequent eclecticism and doubt. If the ceaseless activity of an advocate and a public officer precluded, for a time, the special study of philosophy, yet the leisure of old age granted him a return with undiminished avidity to studies which in his youth he had found so congenial. As he took again from their cases the long neglected rolls and dusty parchments, we can fancy to ourselves the light upon his face and the smile upon his lips, as he broke forth in that thrilling panegyric:

“O Philosophy, thou guide of life! Thou discoverer of virtue, and expeller of vices! What had not only I myself, but the whole life of man been without you? To you it is that we owe the origin of cities you have been the inventress of laws; you have been our instructress in morals and discipline: to you we fly for refuge, from you we implore assistance, and as I formerly submitted to you in a great degree, so now I surrender up myself entirely to you.”¹

Among the various reasons for again taking up a study from which his attention had been so long diverted, he refers with gloomy forebodings to his enforced leisure. He says: “For the Senate being extinct and courts of justice abolished, what is there that I could do worthy of myself, either in the Senate house or in the forum?”² He sought, moreover, in the Piërian spring surcease from sorrow and a medicine for a wounded spirit. “But now, having been stricken to the ground by a most severe blow of fortune, and being discharged from all concern in the Republic, I seek a medicine for my sorrow in philosophy, and consider this study the most honorable pastime for my leisure.”³

Apart from these considerations, however, he had the laudable desire, not indeed to translate the works of the Greeks, but to render into his native tongue a fair discussion of all the important

¹ Tusc. v. 2.

² De Off. III, 1.

³ Ac. I., 3. See also De Div., II., 2.

questions in speculation which had occupied the Greek mind. He says: "I am girding myself up to what remains, with the desire of leaving no philosophical topic otherwise than fully explained and illustrated in the Latin language."¹

Upon this point Tenneman says [I quote from the French translation of Cousin, the only copy to which I have access.], "Il s'efforça de transplanter sur le sol Romain les theories Grecs; mais ses concitoyens lui en surent peu de gré."²

In spite of the justification of this statement, which Tenneman professes to find in Plutarch, it seems to be contradicted by the following paragraph which occurs in close connection with the words above quoted: "Indeed I already begin to gather some fruit of my labor from those of more advanced years, who are pleased with my various books. By their eagerness for reading what I write, my ambition is from day to day more vehemently excited, and indeed such individuals are far more numerous than I could have imagined."³

The philosophical works of Cicero are all the product of his mature years. They comprise two groups of writings with an interval of ten years between the first and second groups. The first group, comprising the Republic and the Laws, was composed during the fifty-second and fifty-fourth years of his age.

All the rest of his philosophical writings belong to the second group and were written ten years later and within a year or two of his death.

Even within this brief period it is possible to detect a slight progress or change in some of Cicero's opinions. This is true in regard to his skepticism.

In the Republic, and especially in the Laws, his opinions are stated with a clearness and firmness which imply that his own mind was settled and that he hoped and expected to carry conviction to the mind of the reader. In at least two places he seems distinctly to repudiate the doctrines of the Academy, which in his later works he adopts and defends. He says that the wisdom of the philosopher "ought to be steady and his opinions unchangeable."⁴ Again he says, "As to that new Academy of which Ar-

¹ De Div. II. 2.

² Tenneman, Hist. de Philos. : Ciceron.

³ De Div., II., 2.

⁴ De Rep., III., 6.

cesilas and Carneades are the leaders, and who attack all sects and parties, we will implore them not to interrupt us in our present discussion; for if they enter upon these subjects, which to us appear to be settled and arranged with sufficient accuracy and learning, they will do great mischief."¹ To this should be added the negative consideration, that neither in the Republic nor in the Laws does Cicero endorse the philosophy of doubt. On the contrary, when he refers to it, which is but seldom, he speaks of it as a way of thinking foreign to his own mind, nor does he indicate that at that time he had much tolerance for opinions antagonistic to his own. If it be objected that in the treatises which constitute the first group Cicero is dealing with subjects upon which his opinions had been firmly established by a life-long experience, it may be answered that not only in regard to government and laws, but also upon many of the subjects treated in later works, he expresses his opinions with the same confidence. In regard to divination, for instance, he says, "For myself, I sincerely believe that there exists an art which the Greeks call *Μαντική*, or divination." He adds "Doubtless this science and art of augury has to some extent vanished away by age and negligence." If language means anything this is a direct assertion that, although neglected in later years, the art of divination is a possible and true one. In opposition to this, he says in one of his later works: "Let us reject, therefore, this divination of dreams as well as all other kinds." They are all "superstitious errors." Another point of difference discernible between his earlier and later works, is that in the former he inclines to attribute reason and divinity to universal nature, in somewhat of a hylozoistic sense²—a tendency which nowhere appears in the latter. Ten years devoted largely to philosophy is an interval abundantly sufficient to account for changes even more radical than these. Among the historians of philosophy whose works are accessible to me, I can find no allusion to a progress in Cicero's philosophy. Neither Zeller nor Archer Butler review Cicero, Schwegler refers to him only incidentally, and Tenneman but briefly, and even George Henry Lewes, who might have found in Cicero's Pyrrhonism, materials for his own peculiar theory in disparagement

¹ De Legg, I., 13.

² De Div., II., 72.

of metaphysical research, passes him by in silence. Ueberweg notices no difference in doctrine between the earlier and later works of Cicero.

In the early part of the present century, Herbart and Gedike issued adaptations of Cicero's philosophy, designed as popular introductions to the history of speculation. Ritter, in his able and exhaustive review, professes to give rather an account of Cicero's position in the history of philosophy and of his influence upon succeeding ages than a detailed account of the contents of his works.¹ Hence he dwells largely upon his effort to render the Greek philosophy *entbehrlich* to his countrymen. The summary of Ritter's opinion of the great Roman thinker is that although he marked no epoch in the forward progress of speculation, but rather revived and blended the teachings of his predecessors, yet his work laid the "*Grundlage nicht nur der späteren römischen Philosophie . . . sondern auch zum Theil der Philosophie der lateinischen Kirchenväter, des Mittelalters und selbst der Philosophie welche sich nach Wiederherstellung uns verbreitet hat.*"

Ritter speaks of Cicero's departure from the doctrine of the New Academy as shown in *Laws*, I, 13, but does not locate the departure at any particular spot in Cicero's career. In regard to divination, also, Ritter notices the peculiar position taken in the *Laws*, but does not refer it to anything peculiar to the early time of its composition.

In all of his later philosophical works Cicero freely gives in his adherence to the New or, as it is now called, the Middle Academy. According to this school, whose method bears the name of its founder, Pyrrho, it is utterly impossible for human reason to attain any certain knowledge. Hence the wise man will restrain all assent on his part.² When reproached with reviving a phase of speculation which was well nigh obsolete,³ far from renouncing, he resolutely defended his action. He must have been thoroughly grounded in his opinion who could resist the appeal of Lucullus: "Will you, after having extolled philosophy with such panegyrics, and provoked our friend Hortensius, who disagrees with us, now follow that philosophy which confounds what is true with what is

¹ Ritter, *Geschichte der Phil.*, vol. iv., (Edit. Hamburg, 1839, F. Perthes.)

² *Ac.*, II., 21.

³ *De Nat.*, D. I., 4.

false, deprives us of all judgment, strips us of the power of approval, and robs us of all our senses, will you, I say, assert that there is nothing which can be known, comprehended or perceived?" At this point Hortensius, who was also present, and who during the argument of Lucullus, kept expressing his admiration by continually "lifting up his hands," joined in the appeal and besought Cicero to abandon his opinions.¹ The appeal was in vain. Cicero continued to be known among his friends as an Academician, and much of his conduct, at least in later life, corresponded with his convictions.² When challenged to do so, he gave the following account of the rise and history of skepticism. He says that the obscurity of things "brought Socrates to the confession of ignorance, and even before Socrates, Democritus, Anaxagoras, Empedocles, and nearly all the Ancients, who asserted that nothing could be ascertained or perceived, or known; that the senses of man were narrow, his mind feeble, the course of his life short, and that truth, as Democritus said, was sunk in the deep; that everything depended on opinions, and established customs; that nothing was left to truth. They said, in short, that everything was enveloped in darkness; therefore Arcesilas asserted that there was nothing which could be known, not even that very piece of knowledge which Socrates had left himself. . . . This," he adds, "they call the New Academy."³

From this quotation we see, in the first place, that his skepticism arose from a belief in the inability of himself or of any one else to decide between conflicting reasons which seemed "both shrewd and nearly equal," and, in the second place, that he endeavored to justify his position by the example of the greatest philosophers of antiquity, of whose real opinion on this topic, he regarded the so-called New Academy as the true exponent.

For Cicero, everything in Physics was doubtful. In Psychology he seems to have despaired of reaching a satisfactory solution of the elementary problems. After enumerating the many and conflicting opinions, he says, "Which of these opinions is true, some god must determine."⁴ In Ethics he follows chiefly the Stoic

¹ Ac., II., 19.

² César, par Napoleon III., Liv. II., ch. 3.

³ Ac., I., 12.

⁴ Tusc., II.

doctrines, and is more careful in expressing doubt.¹ In Mythology his doubt is so great that he is strongly led to suspect that "ignorance is the cause of philosophy."² He likens this method to that of the advocate who argues upon either side of a question, as the case requires.

It must not be thought, however, that Cicero believed that there is no such thing as truth. Far from it. But, admitting the existence of the true and the real, he simply denied that human reason is able to determine with certainty what is true and what false. He insists that we do not "believe that there is nothing whatever which is true; but we say that some falsehoods are so blended with all truths, and have so great a resemblance to them, that there is no certain rule for judging of or assenting to propositions." While he deems this philosophy "the least arrogant and at the same time the most consistent and elegant," he holds himself open to conviction and conversion. He says; "If any one shall be found to have discovered what may be absolutely called truth, I will then give up the Academy as vain and arrogant." A student of the New Testament cannot fail to recall, in this connection, Pilate's famous query, "What is truth?" We may almost fancy Cicero giving voice to the words of one of Tennyson's *Two Voices*:

"Cry, faint not; either truth is born
Beyond the polar ray forlorn,
Or in the gateways of the morn.

"Cry, faint not, climb the summit's slope
Beyond the furthest flights of hope,
Wrapt in dense cloud from base to cope.

"Sometimes a little corner shines,
As over rainy mist inclines,
A gleaming crag with belts of pines.

"'I will go forward,' say'st thou,
'I shall not fail to find her now.'
Look up, the fold is on her brow."

An objection fatal to pure skepticism could not fail to occur both to Cicero himself and to his opponents. He refers to the objection that "I do not act consistently with myself, when though

¹ Ritter, *Geschichte de Phil.* vol. iv., p. 132.

² *De Nat. D. I.*, 6.

I affirm that nothing can be certainly known, I treat upon different subjects, and when, as now, I am investigating the principles of moral duty."¹

If nothing can be known, why seek to know anything? Why listen to the voice of the Sirens with all their glowing promises of knowledge? Can there be pleasure of profit in seeking after truth ever unattained and unattainable? "Is there any peace in ever climbing up the climbing wave?" Were it not better to give up an impossible task; to fold our hands in rest until life's dream is over?

But despair was no part of Cicero's philosophy. He finds his justification in the doctrine of probabilities, as propounded by Carneades of Cyrene. Although absolute truth is beyond our reach, yet we may attain a degree of probability which is sufficient to guide us in life. He says: "I think myself no otherwise concerned than to inquire for what may seem to be most probable."²

If to us this seem a "weak and impotent conclusion," let us remember that Cicero was destitute of those Christian conceptions which lent such moral earnestness to a Pascal, as, in the midst of his desolate skepticism, he plunged the spiked belt which he always wore, into his flesh and clung to faith as his only refuge from annihilation.³

In view of what has been said, it might pertinently be asked, Had Cicero really any positive convictions of his own? A careful study of his works must, I think, convince us that he had. There was an extreme of Pyrrhonism to which he was unable and unwilling to go. From skepticism he continually fell back upon certain truths in regard to which he could not admit of doubt. One of these fixed points in Cicero's philosophy was the doctrine of innate ideas. Even when arguing that the wise man never assents to anything as certain, he admits that it was not so with himself. There were facts of whose reality and truth he was convinced beyond the possibility of doubt. He says, "When perceptions have made a violent impression on the intellect and senses, admit them."⁴ This is a statement of the doctrine of intuitive truth, not less clear

¹ De Off., II., 2.

² Tusc IV, 21; also V, 4, 11 and 29; De Off. II., 2; De Nat. D., I. 5.

³ I refer to the recent demonstration of Pascal's skepticism, by Victor Cousin.

⁴ Ac. II., 20.

than that of Descartes himself "*Videor . . . illud omne esse verum, quod valde clare et distincte percipio.*"¹ It is an undoubted appeal to the Universal Postulate (as Herbert Spencer would say)—a conviction the negation of which cannot be entertained by consciousness. In addition to the criterion of clearness or distinction by which, in the above quotation and elsewhere in the same book, he distinguishes intuitive truth, he elsewhere gives the further criteria of universality and necessity. The same doctrine is implied in the theory, which he adopted from Plato, of the pre-existence of the soul, according to which, children "have notions of many and such important things . . . implanted, and as it were scaled up in their minds which the Greeks call *εγγυα*."

Similarly the *Consensus Gentium* is for Cicero a ground of certainty. Proof of the existence of the Gods is largely based by him upon this argument.² All the disputants in the treatise concerning the nature of the Gods agree with the stoic Balbus that the Gods must exist because "all nations agree that there are Gods." Further, the immediate deliverances of the moral consciousness Cicero also regarded as certain and final. The excellence of virtue he requires no proof to establish, "it is not admissible for a person to say that he is ignorant about duty."³

Upon at least these three points, therefore, Cicero found, amid the shifting sands of doubt, an abiding foothold.

We will now proceed to examine more in detail the contents of Cicero's philosophy. The study of Physics, he regarded, on account not of the worthlessness but of the profundity of the subject, as quite unfruitful in results, and as little more than a mental pastime—"a sort of natural food," by which we are elevated above the despicable annoyances of life.⁴ While he of course shared the erroneous opinion of his day, that the earth is the centre of the universe, yet he was familiar with the theory of Hiretas of Syracuse "that the sun, and moon, and stars, and all the heavenly bodies, in short, stand still; and that nothing in the world moves except the earth; and, as that turns and revolves on its own axis with the greatest rapidity, that everything is made to appear by it

¹ *Meditationes*, III.

² *De Legg.* I., 8; *De Nat. D.* I., 17, & II. 2, & II. 4.

³ *Ac.* II., 34. See also *Tusc.* V., 1.

⁴ *De Nat. D.*, II. 39; *Vision of Scipio*; *Tusc.* I. 17.

as if it were the heaven which is moved while the earth stands still."¹ His astronomical knowledge appears to have been extensive, but somewhat chaotic and fanciful. His arguments from nature gave occasion for some descriptions in his happiest style.

"How beautiful is the sea! How pleasant to see its extent! what a multitude and variety of islands! How delightful are the coasts! What numbers and what diversity of inhabitants does it contain; some within its bosom, some floating on the surface, and others by their shells cleaving to the rocks! While the sea itself, approaching to the land, sports so closely to its shores, that those two elements appear to be but one."² Above the earth and the water is the air, and above the air is the sky or aether which is a species of fire "composed of a combination of thin air and a moderate solar heat." It encompasses the earth and its atmosphere like an outer envelope. He was undecided whether the ultimate elements of which all things are composed, were four—earth, water, air and fire,—or whether, as Aristotle maintained, a fifth element should be added to account for the soul. It is to be hoped that there did not exist in his own mind the confusion manifest in an explanation which he puts in the mouth of the Stoic Balbus. "That which inclines to the centre, that which rises from it to the surface, and that which rolls about the centre, constitute the universal world, and make one entire nature." He seems to have inclined to the Stoic theory that the whole world at last would be consumed by a general conflagration." Cicero often makes mention of the name of Pythagoras and was evidently much influenced by him in the domain of Physics. Like Democritus he was inclined to give naturalistic explanations of many things which, by the superstitious multitude, were regarded as supernatural. The atomic theory, however, he considered impossible. He says, "you speak of atoms, and spaces between worlds, things which do not exist; and which cannot possibly exist."³ For that peculiar form of the theory which was held by Epicurus he expressed special contempt. What most interested Cicero in Physics was the finality and intelligence which he found everywhere mani-

¹ Ac. II., 39.

² De Nat. D., II. 39.

³ De Fin. II., 23; see also De Nat. D., I., 24.

fested in the universe and its relation to Divine existence and providence."¹

In Psychology, as in Physics, Cicero's opinions can only be gathered from incidental discussions scattered through his various moral and political essays.

The soul whose existence he assumes, has its seat in the head, controls the body and gives expression to the face. It is fiery in its nature and when freed from the body, being swifter than every thing else, it rises through the crass air to the more congenial region of fire which envelopes the earth. "When the soul has once got above this region [the air] and falls in with and recognizes a nature like its own, it then rests upon fires composed of a combination of thin air and a moderate solar heat, and does not aim at any higher flight. For then, after it has attained a lightness and heat resembling its own, it moves no more, but remains steady, being balanced as it were between two equal weights." There it is "supported and maintained by the same aliment which nourishes and maintains the stars."²

Whatever be the nature of the soul, be it fire or air, or, as Aristotle maintained, a fifth element, Cicero is fully persuaded that it is divine. He says: "If in any other obscure matter I were able to assert anything positively, then I would swear that the soul be it air or fire, is divine."³ By divine, however, he does not mean in a pantheistic sense that the soul is a part of God, but simply that it is of the same nature with the Gods.⁴ His belief in the pre-existence of the soul has already been referred to in connection with his doctrine of innate ideas.⁵

Cicero propounded a twofold division of the mind, "one of which partakes of reason, the other is without it," and is the seat of the perturbations or passions. Of these two parts of the mind "one should be in command and the other subject to it."⁶

A theory of sense-perception has always been a test of systems of philosophy. A man's theory upon this point constitutes him a

¹ De Nat. D., II., 37-47; Tusc. I., 28.

² Tusc. I., 19.

³ Tusc. I., 25 and 26.

⁴ Tusc. I., 26; De Legg, I., 8.

⁵ See also De Sen, 21.

⁶ Tusc. II., 20, 21, and I., 33, also De Off., I., 36.

realist, hypothetical realist, idealist, or skeptic. Against the position of Lucullus that "there is the very greatest truth in the senses, if they are in sound and healthy order,"¹ Cicero said, "I do not think that anything can be perceived."² It is probable that this distrust of knowledge gained through the senses lay at the bottom of that skepticism from whose extreme absurdity he was saved only by the fact that when the perceptions were vivid or distinct, he felt compelled to admit their verity. The theory of Democritus, which was adopted also by Epicurus, that perception is, by means of "a constant supply of images, perpetually flowing from innumerable atoms, on which our minds are intent,"³ Cicero expressly repudiated. Self-consciousness, or the contemplation of the mind by itself, although difficult, is possible. "It is, indeed, the most difficult thing possible to discern the soul by the soul."⁴ "The soul has not sufficient capacity to comprehend itself; yet the soul, like the eye, though it has no distinct view of itself, sees other things, it does not see (which is of the least consequence) its own shape; perhaps not, though it possibly may; but we will pass that by; but it certainly sees that it has vigor, sagacity, memory, motion, and velocity."⁵

Memory, at whose power and extent he never ceases to express wonder and admiration, he associates with the theory of innate ideas. It is primarily a recollection of things known in a previous state of existence.—⁶

" Those first affections,
Those shadowy recollections,
* * * * *
* * Truths that wake
To perish never ;
Which neither listlessness nor mad endeavor,
Nor man nor boy,
Nor all that is at enmity with joy,
Can utterly abolish or destroy !"

Imagination is "a vain motion of the mind," by which it seems capable of framing any image to itself in its thoughts."⁷

¹ Ac. II., 7.

² Ac. II., 20.

³ De Nat. D., I. 37.

⁴ Tusc. I., 22.

⁵ Tusc. I., 28.

⁶ Tusc. I., 24.

⁷ De Nat., D. I., 15.

Reason he gave the highest place. Controlling the whole soul and the body, it alone enables us to bear up against the afflictions and miseries of life, to look with indifference upon the hour of death and to hope for a future immortality.¹ It is distinct from the heat of the passions and is divine. "Beasts are not subject to such perturbations, although they act sometimes as if they had reason."²

Of volition Cicero nowhere propounds a clear and consistent theory. Desires and aversions he believed to be called forth by mental ideas of a present or impending good or evil. If the desire is "consistent and founded on prudence," it is by the Stoics [hence by Cicero himself] called *βουλησις*, and the name which we give it is "volition." Hence "volition is a reasonable desire," and all other desires are baneful perturbations.

Hence it would seem to follow that the difference between passion and desire is psychologically one of degree only; ethically, they are totally unlike.

The time of death, unknown as it is to us, is an appointment of the immortal Gods. Death is not an evil, and should be looked upon with the same indifference and contempt with which we regard all terrestrial things. The Stoic, to be consistent, must, in the house of death find his consolation in that same "*Nil admirari*" by which he regulated his life.

Of the immortality of the soul Cicero seemed to have been fully convinced. In one of his works,³ in which he deliberately undertakes to prove the soul's immortality, he presents four main arguments: first, the testimony of antiquity, which, being close upon the origin of man, ought, he thinks, to be correctly informed; second, the fact that departed, and hence immortal, spirits have reappeared upon earth; third, the *consensus gentium*; and fourth, the desire of posthumous fame, which, to Cicero's apprehension, was both *itself innate and ineradicable*, and necessitated a corresponding expectation of being in existence and in a condition to enjoy the fame when attained. He also makes use of Plato's arguments, that the soul is immortal because it is self-moved, and because it is simple and uncompounded, and hence incapable of

¹ Tusc. I., 33

² Tusc. IV., 14. See also De Off. I., 4.

³ Tusc. I, 12 et seq.

being decomposed into simpler elements.¹ Many of these arguments he repeats over and over again, and most of them are seriously and beautifully recapitulated in his treatise upon Old Age. One of his most unequivocal deliverances upon this subject is a fragment: "Let us congratulate ourselves since death gives us something better than we enjoy in life, and not a worse condition of things; for that immortality may truly be termed divine wherein the mind flourishes emancipated from the body, and, being delivered from sensualism, is free from evil."

To this may be added those plaintive yet triumphant words with which, one year before his death, he voiced the swan-song of his closing life: "Oh! glorious day when I shall depart to that divine company and assemblage of spirits, and quit this troubled and polluted scene. For I shall go not only to those great men of whom I have spoken before, but also to my friend Cato, than whom never was better man born, nor more distinguished for pious affections; whose body was burned by me; whereas, on the contrary, it was fitting that mine should be burned by him. But his soul, not deserting me, but oft looking back, no doubt departed to those regions whither it saw that I myself was destined to come. . . . And if I am wrong in this, that I believe the souls of men to be immortal, I willingly delude myself; nor do I desire that this mistake, in which I take pleasure, should be wrested from me as long as I live."²

In the face of all this, Mr. Froude, in a recent work, has asserted, among other inaccuracies and absurdities, that Cicero, so far from believing in the immortality of the soul, in reality secretly shared the materialistic view—that death ends all, which his contemporary Cæsar (Mr. Froude's especial pet) alone had the courage to avow.³ One single sentence should be sufficient to end dispute upon this point. Cicero says: "Nor do I agree with those who have lately begun to assert this opinion, that the soul also dies simultaneously with the body and that all things are annihilated by death." I cannot forbear to present in this connection his stately peroration, as he himself calls it. Let us "prepare ourselves for [death] with a cheerful and grateful mind, thinking ourselves

¹ De Sen., 21, et seq.

² De Sen: 23.

³ Cæsar; a Sketch: by Froude, pp. 156, 157.

like men who are delivered from a jail and released from their fetters for the purpose of going back to our eternal habitation", where "we have a retreat, and haven prepared for us, which I wish we could crowd all sail and arrive at; but though the winds should not serve and we should be driven back, yet we shall to a certainty arrive at that point eventually, though somewhat later."¹

A lofty standard of morals, with exceedingly little that is faulty, pervades alike the earlier and later philosophical works of Cicero. He says: "The pollutions of the body may, indeed, be removed by a few ablutions of water, or in a few days; but the stains of the conscience cannot be obliterated by any lapse of time, and all the rivers in the world cannot wash them out." This high standard, with which he started his philosophical career, he fully maintained to the end. He even went so far as to consider doubt in the sphere of morals to be itself criminal.

In general Cicero adhered to the intuitional as distinguished from the utilitarian theory of ethics. Virtue and vice, according to him, are distinguished not as tending to enhance or to destroy happiness, but as essentially, intrinsically, unlike in their natures. Each has its own inherent character, and is immediately apprehended and identified by the moral consciousness. "We must discriminate between the honorable and dishonorable by reference to the essential nature of the things themselves." His numerous moral essays abound in such sentiments. "Utility", he says, "can never compare with virtue." We should do good not for our own advantage, but because it is right and imperative. Against those who form friendships from a selfish motive, he hurls the bolts of a withering scorn, likening them to men who would remove the sun from the universe.

In the face of these stern principles, must we record that he himself sometimes forgot his own high utterances? Were these theories too delicate to stand the dust of the shambles, or to serve the purposes of one standing for the consulship at Rome? He writes to his brother: "You must make friends of every sort—friends for show."¹

Virtue, which is "a thing to be sought for by reason of its own intrinsic excellence," Cicero calls the honorable (*honestum*).

¹ Tusc. I, 49.

¹ De Debt., Con. 5. See also Ib., 8.

The question, Is virtue the only good, Cicero considered a dispute rather about words than about realities. The Peripatetics maintained that virtue was indeed the chief good, but that there were other things, which, although inferior to virtue, were also goods. With this position the Stoics took issue, saying that virtue alone deserved the name of a good, and that all other things were simply "things preferable." To Cicero's mind, this was clearly a dispute about words. Whether virtue, in and of itself, be sufficient for a happy life, he considers a more important and more difficult question. He devotes to its consideration a treatise of some length, and frequently returns to it in his other writings. He is inclined to answer it decidedly in the affirmative.² Hence he is compelled in consistency to assert that the virtuous man will be happy even upon the rack, and "even to the moment of execution." He does this, however, by stretching the meaning of virtue so as to make it include happiness in its very definition. "All who are possessed of virtue are happy." Conversely, any thing which "a man may enjoy an abundance of, and yet be most miserable" "cannot be considered good" or virtuous. When he returns to the ordinary ideas in regard to virtue he appears to doubt that for which he had contended so earnestly. He says: "How vague and unsubstantial are those speeches about the power of virtue, which they make out to be so great that it can, by itself, secure the happiness of man." In this uncertainty, he is at times disposed to adopt the distinction made by Antiochus of Ascalon between the *Vita beata* and the *Vita beatissima*. According to this distinction, virtue does indeed constitute a happy life, but not the happiest possible life. This is based upon a threefold classification of the goods. After virtue, which is the chief good, come bodily goods, such as health and soundness, and finally external goods, such as competence. Cicero, while he felt that logically and consistently he must say that virtue is sufficient for a happy life, and that the virtuous man can be happy even on the rack, yet was compelled to admit that even a virtuous man when in safety, in health, and possessed of competence would enjoy a higher degree of happiness than when deprived of all these. He admits, however, "I am perplexed here; at one time the one opinion appears to me to be more probable, and at another time the other does."

² Tusc. V. 25.

At other times he reproaches himself for entertaining such opinions, and finds a surer refuge in the eternal nature of virtue itself. From the unity of virtue Cicero inferred, on the one hand, that whoever possesses one virtue possesses all; and conversely, that a man is virtuous only if he possesses all virtue. Hence, as the sin is in the inception and intention rather than in the act, the smallest offence is a vice as well as the greatest. In this sense, "all misdeeds are in themselves equal, and good deeds the same."

With the doctrine of inherited depravity, Cicero appears to have had no sympathy. On the contrary, he propounds a species of naturalism worthy of the author of *Emile*. He says: "The seeds of virtue are natural to our constitutions, and were they suffered to come to maturity, would naturally conduct us to a happy life; but now, as soon as we are born and received into the world, we are instantly familiarized with all kinds of depravity and perversity of opinions; so that we may be said almost to suck in error with our nurse's milk. When we return to our parents and are put into the hands of tutors and governors, we are imbued with so many errors, that truth gives place to falsehood, and nature herself to established opinion."¹

Adopting the Stoic doctrine, Cicero made virtue to consist in living in accordance with nature. In the case of man, whose nature is twofold, both soul and body must be consulted. To live in accordance with either soul or body alone, although the soul is vastly the more important of the two, is but partial virtue.

In accordance with the four sources from which they all rise, Cicero makes a fourfold classification of the virtues. They are, prudence, justice, fortitude (or magnanimity) and temperance (or frugality). This classification, however, was known long before the day of Cicero. The highest of all virtues is wisdom, especially as applied in the conduct of government.

Against all attempt to separate the expedient or graceful (*Decorum*) from the morally good (*honestum*), Cicero protested most earnestly. He contended that the names are co-intensive, and the realities indiscernible, the one from the other.

Although what is wrong may occasionally seem to be expedient, it does so simply because it has assumed a delusive appearance, when stripped of which its true inexpediency appears. Let all

¹ Tusc. III, 1.

such "appearance of expediency be disregarded," says Cicero; "let virtue prevail."

In his extreme reverence for the ties of friendship he seems, in one instance, to have countenanced a departure from this high standard. He says: "If, by any chance, it has happened that the less honorable wishes of our friends have to be forwarded, in which either life is concerned, or their reputation, then you may decline a little from the straight path, provided only extreme infamy do not follow."¹ This sort of casuistry, however, he elsewhere repudiates, saying, "We expect from our friends only what is honorable, and for our friends' sake do what is honorable." Further, "it is no excuse for a fault that you committed it for a friend's sake." Apart from this general decorum or expediency, however, there is a particular decorum, which is "the knowledge of acting according to the fitness of a conjuncture." For example, when Sophocles, during the performance of his duties as a magistrate, inspired by that love of boys which it is so hard for us to understand, cried out to his colleague Pericles, "What a charming boy, Pericles," he received, justly according to Cicero, a rebuke, because the remark, proper enough elsewhere, was unbecoming in a magistrate while on duty.

The duties, Cicero derived from the four sources of virtue. He enlarges upon them with great fulness, especially in his treatise *De Officiis*, in which he also discriminates between the duties of youth and age, of parent and child, of magistrate, private citizen and stranger. He even descends to the proprieties of person, of speech, of manner, and even of gait. He carried his love of order so far as even to attribute to national manners and customs the authority of law; a principle not widely different from that upon which Hobbes founded his *Leviathan*. He is disposed to allow the Stoic doctrine of a higher and lower code of duty—the one (*rectum*) for the wise alone, the other (*media officia*) for the common people. On the other hand, he entirely repudiated the opinion of that sect, that suicide under certain conditions is justifiable. He agrees with Pythagoras in holding that suicide is "a desertion" of the "duty of a man which has been assigned by God."² Between the Stoics, who held that nothing is good but the honorable

¹ *De Am.*, 17.

² *Vision of Scipio*. See, also, *Tusc.* I, 30.

(*honestum*) and the Peripatetics, who spoke of several kinds of good, so far as their dispute involved more than a mere difference of words, Cicero was unable to choose. Starting with the proposition that a desire of self-preservation is implanted in us by nature, and is the primitive desire (as opposed to the desire of pleasure, which Epicurus thought to be primal) he argues, at length, that in order to preserve ourselves as we are, we must have regard to both soul and body. Hence, the chief good must be compound, containing elements pertaining to the soul, which are vastly the more important, but also elements relating to the body.¹ From his saying that the Peripatetics "express themselves more conveniently," we may suppose that upon this point he took sides against the Stoics. From his absolute indifference as to the decision reached, it would seem as though his argument here were little more than a species of mental gymnastics. For the opinion of Epicurus upon the chief good, he expresses especial contempt. He accuses him of inconsistently combining the *summum bonum* of the Cyrenaics (pleasure) with that of Hieronymus (absence of pain), and of taking refuge, alternately, in each theory when the other was attacked.

Underlying all his theories and arguments, seems to have been the doctrine that practically the great end of human endeavor was a happy life. He says that every thing is referred to the happy life. The value of virtue he expresses in terms of its ability of render life happy. The hope of attaining it is the incentive which originated and which sustains all philosophical research. It must not be thought, however, that the happy life here placed so high is a life of pleasure. For such an existence he had an extreme contempt.³ With happiness he inseparably joined virtue. "Therefore, as no man can be happy if he is wicked, foolish or indolent; so no man can be wretched, if he is virtuous, brave, and wise . . . we are, therefore, to look upon whatever is worthy of praise, as at once happy, prosperous, and desirable."²

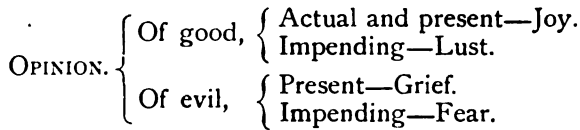
With this definition of happiness, he can, of course, while recognizing it as a paradox, still argue that virtue is of itself sufficient for a happy life.

In this theory of the perturbations (by which word he translated

¹ See Ritter, Vol. IV, p. 133.

² Parad. II, also Tusc. V, 10.

the Greek *παθη*) Cicero was a true Stoic. According to him, the appetites are either natural or superfluous. The superfluous appetites, which are the perturbations, all arise from a mental idea or opinion. His scheme of the passions may be shown in the form of a diagram as follow :



Under each of these there are, of course, many subdivisions. The passions all have their seat in the lower soul⁴ and must be controlled by the higher reason, which is given us for that purpose. They are all under the control of the will and in our power. His theory in regard to the perturbations depends largely upon the fact that he includes in their definition the ideas of faultiness, pollution, and misery. They are as wild beasts let loose upon us. Even grief, perhaps the mildest of perturbations, "is a frightful, miserable, and detestable thing, which we should fly from with our utmost efforts—with all our sails and oars, as I may say." Hence they should be not only opposed, moderated and controlled, as the Peripatetics contended, but absolutely banished. The passions once started, are uncontrollable and are "so many furies let loose upon us." They have the power to deprive a man of liberty and to lead him captive at their will. The only safety is in being entirely free from all perturbations. One effectual way of accomplishing this is, on the one hand, to endeavor, as far as possible, to foresee impending evils and to prepare for them, and, on the other hand, constantly to steel the mind as well to the endurance of present evil as to the realization of the fact that its occurrence is possible at all times. So trained, the mind is always on its guard that nothing can befall him (the wise man) which is unforeseen, nothing which is unexpected, nothing, in short, which is new."¹ He would repeat to his soul the creed of the "*Nil admirari*" until its motions had attained the mechanical regularity of clock work. Against the objection that some of the greatest exploits have been performed under the inspiration of the passions, he argued that the greatest warriors have always fought without anger, and that the vehemence of oratory is only feigned. So

¹ Tusc. IV, 17.

much for his own words. When, however, we listen to the wail of his lamentations over the ruin of his country, when we read of his tender affection and touching grief for his departed friend Cato, and as we feel his heart beating in unison with the great heart of humanity, we know that, judged by these principles, Cicero was gloriously inconsistent.

There can be no doubt that Cicero had serious religious convictions. He says: "Who is there who, when he thinks that he is an object of Divine care, does not feel an awe of this Divine power, day and night."¹ He believed that man is by nature a religious creature, made as it were on purpose to contemplate the heavens and the Gods, and to pay adoration to them." Sometimes indeed, even in the sphere of religion, he gives play to his habitual doubt. Especially in reference to the relation of the Gods to the visible universe, he says: "At one time I think one doctrine more probable, and at other times I incline to the other. All these mysteries, O Lucullus, lie concealed in darkness so thick that no human ingenuity has a sight sufficiently piercing to penetrate into heaven, and dive into the earth."² He even puts into the mouth of the Academician Cotta, expressions which fall little short of atheism and blasphemy. He declares that reason, that gift from the immortal Gods, is not a beneficent gift;³ that human crimes are ultimately referable to God, who might have created man incapable of sinning; and that the Gods are sometimes neglectful, without even the excuse of ignorance. But in addition to the fact that we have no means of knowing how far these skeptical expressions, used by Cotta in debate, represent anything subjectively real in the mind of Cicero, we do certainly know that beneath his skepticism, and beneath the superstition of the masses, he recognized a true spiritual worship. He wrote at least two large books⁴ for the purpose of advocating the expurgation from mythology of everything fanciful or pernicious, such as the story of Ganymede, and of the carousals and passions of the Gods, the practice of divination and the interpretation of dreams. "I thought," he says, "that I should be doing an immense benefit, both to myself and to my country, if I could entirely eradicate all those superstitious errors. Nor is

¹ Ac. II, 38; 2 Tusc. I, 28.

² Ac. II, 38 & 39.

³ De Nat. D., III, 27-31.

⁴ De Div., II, 72.

there any fear that true religion can be endangered by the demolition of this superstition." On the other hand, he believed it to be for the interest both of religion and of the state, to maintain the ancient rites which they had received from their ancestors, and even to permit the private worship of strange Gods.

If we except the treatise on the laws (one of his earlier philosophical works), Cicero nowhere teaches Pantheism. The passage referred to seems to indicate that, at the beginning of his philosophical career, he inclined to the Stoic Hylozoism. His later works, departing from this doctrine, draw a clear line of distinction between the Creator and his works.¹ Even the soul, although divine, and hence connatural with the Gods, is not confounded with them,² but has a distinct existence. Perhaps the truth is that, from a Stoic stand-point, he worked his way up to a purer theism.

His belief in the universality and uniformity of the law of causation, by which he understood not "a mere antecedent but an effective antecedent", led him to a moderate belief in fate: "Do what we will, that which is fated to happen must happen." The human will, however, he expressly excepts from the chain of cause and effect. He shrinks with abhorrence from the position of those philosophers who introduce a chain of eternal causes of absolute necessity, "and despoil the human soul of its free will, and bind it hand and foot in the necessity of fate." In reference to any such theory he says, "I despise fate." That God exists and can be known, he everywhere maintains. In the treatise *De Naturo Deorum*, the three speakers are an Epicurean, a Stoic and an Academician. Both the Stoic and the Epicurean begin their exposition of the nature of the Gods by a proof of their existence. To the Academician is assigned the negative part of criticising the doctrines of the other two. The Epicurean, who speaks first, bases his argument for the existence of the Gods mainly upon the fact that a knowledge of the Divine existence "is implanted in our mind, or rather innate in us." "We have naturally the idea or pre-notion of the existence of the Gods." The Stoic, among six or seven reasons, gives special prominence to the argument from the design which he detects alike in the spheres of physics, astronomy, biology, reason and religion. This last seems to have been a favorite argument with Cicero.

¹ This against Ritter, Vol. IV, p. 152.

² See, also, Ritter, Vol. IV, p. 147.

Although himself, in early life, a writer of verses, Cicero is greatly incensed, as Plato was before him, against the poets, who, he complains, "have represented the Gods as enraged with anger and inflamed with lust; who have brought before our eyes their wars, battles, combats, wounds; their hatreds, dissensions, discords, births, deaths, complaints, and lamentations; their indulgences in all kinds of intemperance; their adulteries; their chains; their amours with mortals, and mortals begotten by immortals."¹

From the fact, that the soul is, according to Cicero, like in nature to God and is also of fire or air or a fifth element, Ritter argues (p. 149) that Cicero held that God has a material body, probably of fire, and that Cicero never rose to the conception of a purely spiritual being.

The question whether or not there is a Divine providence, whether or not the Gods take cognizance of the affairs of men and have the ability as well as the inclination to help them, he justly considered of prime importance. Both his earlier writings and, in spite of some passages in which doubt is expressed, his latter works also, assume the doctrine of providence. To chance or fortune, which he recognizes as a vast and important factor in life, he is inclined to fix, albeit beyond our ken, limits which subordinate it to the Divinity that shapes our ends. He urges that the Gods should be worshipped with purity of heart rather than with ceremonial cleansings, and that all hindrances to a free approach to God should be removed.

Of the frailty of human nature, Cicero had a lively apprehension. For certain minor faults he speaks of an expiation by the public priests, but before the bar of Eternal Justice he knew of no expiation for guilt. He says: "There is no expiation for the crimes and impieties of men. The guilty, therefore, must pay the penalty and bear the punishment; not so much those punishments inflicted by courts of justice, but those of conscience; while the furies pursue and torment them, not with burning torches, as the poets feign, but with remorse of conscience and the tortures arising from guilt."² The age of Cicero was ripe for the coming of Christianity. Although, when he thought of human weakness, he was almost driven to the necessity of offering up

¹ De Nat. Deorum, 16.

² De Legg. 14.

prayers for help, yet he finally finds refuge, not in the hope of Divine Assistance or in the efficacy of prayer, but in virtue itself. Nor is virtue a gift of the Gods for which we are to be thankful,¹ but it is a personal merit arising from ourselves, and is attained by philosophy alone. To philosophy, therefore, he fled for refuge, and so returning in his old age to the pursuits of his youth, he "had recourse to the same port whence he set out, and, after having been tossed by a violent tempest."

The eschatology of Cicero is vague. Death, according to him, is not an evil, and should be looked upon with indifference and contempt. Of the place of departed spirits he speaks variously. An endless felicity awaits the good, especially the patriotic.² Heaven is mystically described as the outermost of "nine circles or spheres, comprehending all the rest," "and inhabited by that all powerful God who bounds and controls the others." The doctrine of endless punishment he seems to have repudiated, or rather to have ignored. While the oriental doctrine of metempsychosis, as introduced into Greece and Rome by Pythagoras, so far as it taught the transmigration of human souls into the bodies of animals, formed no part of Cicero's creed, yet he speaks of a transmigration or change of souls which, in the case of some, confined them for a time to the earth.

"Death is not so entire a destruction as wholly to abolish and destroy everything, but rather a kind of transmigration, as it were, or change, which is, in the case of illustrious men and women, usually a guide to heaven, while, in that of others, it is still confined to the earth, but in such a manner as still to exist."³ All men return eventually to heaven, but some more speedily than others. Of this species of purgatory for wicked, especially sensuous souls he says further: "such souls, having escaped from their bodies, hover round the earth, nor do they return to this place (heaven) until they have been tossed about for many ages."

Upon the subject of divination, Cicero's mind, as already remarked, seems to have undergone a change. In the *Laws* he says: "For myself, I sincerely believe that there exists an art which the Greeks call *Mantia*, or divination."¹ The force of this avowal is not

¹ De Nat., D II, 36.

² Vision of Scipio.

³ Tusc. I, 12.

diminished by his admission that the art has been suffered of late years to fall into disuse.

Ten years later, in treating of the same subject, he says, "I do not believe that there is any such thing as divination." He subsequently wrote one of his longest books to discredit divination. He adds, ironically, that it is "a truly splendid and serviceable gift, *if it only exists in reality.*"

For Cicero, the end of all speculation was active life, and of all spheres of life the noblest was politics. Banishment he considered the greatest evil. The best possible of governments would be one in which royalty, aristocracy and democracy were combined in salutary proportions.¹ In such a government the people would have their rights, and the best educated and noblest would maintain the supremacy, while the sovereign, although held in salutary check, would still be able to act with rapidity and decision. Of existing governments the democracy, on account of its continual tendency to lawlessness and communism, is the worst: the best is the kingdom, especially that of Rome under the early kings. As a check upon tyranny, into which royalty was constantly prone to degenerate, Cicero countenanced and even lauded tyrannicide. In the rise and fall of governments he noticed, as Plato had done before him, a periodicity of revolution and return: "This, however, is like the ball which is flung from hand to hand: it passes from kings to tyrants, from tyrants to the aristocracy, from them to the democracy, and from these back again to tyrants and factions."² In a different spirit, Tennyson says:

"Name and fame! to fly sublime
Through the courts, the camps, the schools,
Is to be the ball of Time,
Bandied in the hands of fools."

A commonwealth he defines as "a constitution of the entire people," the people being "not every association of men, however congregated, but the association of the entire number bound together by the compact of justice, and the communication of utility."³ The unit of society is the family, which, by enlargement, becomes successively the city—the commonwealth. Although he once speaks of society, (which, for all he knows, may have existed

¹ De Rep., I, 29 & 15.

² De Rep., p. 144. See also De Div. D, 2.

³ De Off., I, 17.

for four hundred and seventy thousand years or more,) as introduced among men by the Gods, and elsewhere as inaugurated by some enterprising man, yet he usually represents society to be the result of an innate tendency in men. The social instinct is inborn; it is "a certain spirit of congregation which naturally belongs to" man.¹ The bonds which keep society together are community of speech and manners, justice, virtue and good offices mutually conferred and received.² Great aid is derived, also, from education and religion.

For law, Cicero has the greatest reverence. It is either the source of, or co-eternal with, justice. This refers, of course, not to civil enactments, (to which he does, indeed, occasionally attach unusual authority, but which, he acknowledges, may vary with the people or the sovereign), but it refers to the law of nature written on the heart. This law is eternal and immutable, and is nothing else than the expression of the mind of God himself, with whom it is coeval.³ Hence Gods and men constitute, as it were, one vast commonwealth, and are subject to the same eternal law. In respect of all civil enactments, the will of the people is the supreme law.

In closing this review of Cicero's philosophy, it may be said that, judged from his philosophical works, he appears as the noble patriot, the stern moralist, the sincere theist, and, above all, as the earnest inquirer after truth. These are traits of a character from the lustre of which his egotism, vanity and indecision can detract but little.

B. F. CLARK.

THE CAMPBELLITES OR DISCIPLES.

THE fact that the Republican nominee for the Presidency belongs to this western denomination, and formerly preached in its pulpits, has excited some degree of interest in its character and history, while but little is known of it east of the Alleghanies. In trying to give some account of it, I shall write as an outsider to the body, having no special affiliations with it, but interested in a friendly way in its history and its ecclesiastical position.

¹ De Rep. I, 25; De Off., I, 4

² De Off., I, 16 & 17.

³ De Legg., II, 4; De Rept., III, 22.

The Disciples, or Christians, or Campbellites, as they are variously called, originated as a church early in the present century, with the teaching of Thomas Campbell and his son Alexander Campbell, who came to this country from the north of Ireland. Thomas Campbell had been the minister of the Seceder Presbyterian Church of Ahorey, near Richhill in the county Armagh. He had been distinguished for the faithfulness and thoroughness of his pastoral instruction, and especially for his drill of his people, old and young, in the Westminster Assembly's Shorter Catechism. When I knew his parish, some twenty-five years ago, his memory still lingered among the old people at Ahorey, who were sorely puzzled by what they had heard of his subsequent career in America. But even in Ireland, there were signs that Mr. Campbell and his son Alexander were not satisfied with their position in the church of the Erskines. The neighboring town of Richhill is now chiefly remarkable for the decay into which it has fallen, and which its people trace to the fact that a Quaker was hung for murder in it. It contained then, and still contains, a little Congregational church. Too feeble in those days to maintain a pastor of its own, it depended on supplies granted it by preachers from other parts of Ireland and from England; and when any such appeared, the two Campbells were commonly found in the little chapel on Sunday evenings, listening to speakers whose views took in a wider range than was to be found within the horizon of the Seceder Church.

Alexander Campbell had already graduated at the University of Glasgow, when his father and he determined to emigrate to America. The father came hither some three years before the rest of the family, and was employed some time in supplying vacant churches of the Seceder denomination in western Pennsylvania. They reached this country in the midst of the great revival of religion, which culminated in 1819, and which, whatever its extravagance, was the first to stem the tide of infidelity and indifference, which had been increasing since before the war of Independence. The two Campbells applied for admission to a Pennsylvania Presbytery, but instead of accepting their Irish credentials as to character and standing, or examining them to ascertain their doctrinal soundness, the Presbytery questioned them as to the evidence they had of their being "really converted men." This at once touched upon a fundamental difference between the old-

fashioned Presbyterianism in which they had lived, and the American Presbyterianism which had been modified by Methodistic views. In the view of the former system, a conscious conversion, of which one might predicate the day and hour of its occurrence, was so far from being a requisite to membership, that it was hardly believed in as possible. The Presbyterian Church, like all the churches of the Reformation, proceeded upon what was called "the judgment of charity" as regards all who had received Christian baptism and had been brought up among Christian influences. In the absence of clear evidence to the contrary, it assumed their Christian character; and when they came to years of discretion, it provided for their further instruction with a view to the admission to full membership in the church. It was noted by Principal Baillie in his letters from the Westminster Assembly that the Congregationalists differed from the Reformed churches in repudiating this "judgment of charity," and demanding more explicit evidence of Christian character. And this old-fashioned rule both was and is the law of the Presbyterian Churches of America; but in so far as they have been affected by Methodist influences, they have departed from it in practice. They require, in addition, the evidence of conversion, i. e., of a consciousness of enmity to God transmuted into a consciousness of love to God. The examination of the Campbells on this point was unsatisfactory, and they were refused admission to the Presbytery.

Such a decision must have moved the two men very profoundly, and their characters were well shown in the action to which it prompted them. They determined to make a thorough examination of the New Testament as regards the nature of the church and the requirements for its membership, and this they did with care and deliberation. They discovered, or thought they discovered, that the New Testament conceptions on these two points have been obscured in all the churches. They concluded that the church recognized in the New Testament was a body devoid of the narrow and sectarian peculiarities which had been imposed on the various sects by their creeds and confessions. It had no name for its membership except Disciples or Christians. It had no creed or confession of faith except the scriptures. It had no pre-requisites for admission to membership except the confession that Jesus Christ is the Son of God, and the reception of baptism (by immersion) for the

forgiveness of sins. In conformity with this, they organized a church at Brush Run, in Washington County, Pennsylvania, on the basis of the Bible as the only confession of faith. It was subsequently that they were brought to the view that immersion was the proper mode of baptism.

These conclusions naturally turned their attention to the Baptist denomination in their neighborhood. They sought its fellowship and were received as brethren. No doubt there was some exultation at the accession of two such able men. Alexander Campbell especially was a man of fine personal presence, of great eloquence and mastery of the English language, and of learning unusual for that time and that region of our country. But the Baptist body soon found reason to regret that it had admitted them to its communion. While they agreed with their new associates on the one point, that Christian baptism is the immersion of adult believers, every other point in the result of their search in the New Testament brought them into collision with the Baptists. Neither as regards the nature of the church, nor as regards the prerequisites for its membership, was there any real agreement between them. The latter was the practical question, and the one which made a separation inevitable. The Baptist churches were not disposed to accept men to their membership on so brief a profession of faith, or without any evidence of a conscious conversion. They were not accustomed to point their converts to the baptismal pool as the place where they were to seek remission of their sins. The Methodist movement had profoundly affected the Baptists as well as other denominations; and the Campbells discovered once more that "a man's foes shall be they of his own household."

A lively controversy sprang up within the denomination, in which Alexander Campbell, to say the least, had far from the worst of it. He had the pugnacity of the Scotch-Irish race. He enjoyed conflict. He was possessed of a style, which if not elegant, was singularly clear and strong, and therefore popularly effective. In this respect he was of kin to Cobbet and to De Foe. His statement of his views was spread broadcast through the Baptist churches of the south and west, and even beyond their limits into other denominations and into the British Islands. It soon became evident that the Campbells could not remain in the denominational home they had chosen, and that when they went out they would

carry with them a large number of its adherents. When the division came, in 1828 and the years following, it rent churches and associations asunder. Men who had labored side by side all their lives, were parted for life. One was taken, and the other left. It was a time of bitterness, of heart-burnings, of sad separations, and when it was over it found a new denomination added to the many monuments of the earnestness with which devout men have tried to re-read the New Testament.

The new Church called itself "the Brethren," "the Disciples of Christ," or simply "the Christian Church. It was a part of the very purpose of its founders to strip from it everything local, accidental and sectarian, and to reproduce the Church of the Day of Pentecost on American soil. It grew out of a yearning for such a Church as would exclude none who had a right to the Christian name—a desire to tear down all man-made fences and barriers by which any true believers might be excluded. As such, it was one of the signs of the times; an indication of the profound yearning for spiritual unity which had begun to move upon the face of Protestantism, and which was to bear fruit in Irvingite and Puseyite movements, and many others.

Yet its enemies stamped upon it the name Campbellite, and that name it has never been able to shake off. There was some excuse for the name. After all, the body and its creed bear the marks of Alexander Campbell's idiosyncrasy. Its intense antithesis to Methodism in every shape, grew out of his personal history. Its reading of the New Testament was his reading. And while the denomination recognized no ecclesiastical authority higher than the vote of a Christian congregation, Mr. Campbell held a commanding position in it, which was without parallel in any American Church. His writings formed the chief bond which united its congregations, and possessed practically a sort of deuterocanonical authority for its membership, even while in theory they had nothing of the sort. This Church, which had no authority but the New Testament, and no expositor of that except the understanding of the individual believer and the local Church, had yet at Bethany, in Western Virginia, a Pope whose word had weight in all its councils.

Mr. Campbell's polemic zeal carried him into other arenas than that in which the pen is wielded. His three great public debates,

with Archbishop Purcell of Cincinnati, with Dr. Rice of the Presbyterian Church, and with Robert Dale Owen, were theological tournaments whose fame has not yet expired. Those who knew him in those days speak of the impression made at once by his grand bulk, his fervid eloquence, and the intensity of his character. When he died, in 18—, he left a gap such as could have been caused by the death of no other American churchman.

The Church of the Disciples is one of the largest denominations in the West and the South-west of our country. Exactly how large it is, no one can say. It has no centre of denominational unity, no periodical re-union of the whole body; no system of statistical returns. In such a case, only vague estimates of a church's numerical strength are attainable, and these are always exaggerated. We have seen it said that there are over a million Disciples; but this is denied by outsiders—we think with justice. The quality of the denomination is as hard to define as its quantity. It possesses some homogeneity, but as it has no general conference for interchange of views, and is characterized by vigorous individuality, the various local churches are but slightly assimilated to each other. In some communities, the Disciples are the most intelligent and the wealthiest people; in others, they verge on the Anti-mission (or Hard-shell) Baptists in obnoxiousness to the charge that they regard ignorance as a means of grace. As Hiram College and Transylvania University show, the Disciples are not indifferent to educational influences; but no educational qualifications are prescribed for their ministry, and in many places there is hardly such a thing as a recognized ministry in the churches. The right to preach is rightly recognized as co-extensive with church membership. So that General Garfield's exercise of his gift in their pulpits does not imply any assumption of a clerical character on his part.

The relation of the Church of the Disciples to other denominations is not even so friendly as is usual. This is due to two circumstances. The first of these is its different basis of church membership. Methodists and methodized Christians of other names regard it as lowering the popular ideal of the Church and of the requisites for admission to it. All its prominent peculiarities are the contradiction of what is held in common by the principal denominations around it. And the contradiction is the more

marked, because it agrees with them in all the greater doctrines of Christianity. It does not, like the Unitarian, the Universalist, and the Christians,* take up a position which can be impugned as heretical or fundamentally unsound. But this fact rather increases than lessens the antagonism. With a man who differs from you *toto cælo*, you can live in peace to a degree which is quite impossible as regards one who is separated by an impalpable line.

The other circumstance which tends to prevent friendly relations, is the exclusive attitude taken up by many, perhaps a majority, of the Disciples. Having discovered, as they believe, the true nature and basis of Church organization, they assume that other bodies are not churches in any proper sense of that word, but merely sects of human origination. They cannot recognize them in any way as churches, nor even their members as Christians; for those who have not received "baptism for the remission of sins," have not complied with the very first condition of Church membership. Alexander Campbell aimed at breaking down the barriers with which men had encompassed the Church, and by which they were excluding from fellowship many who had the fullest right to recognition. But the final outcome of his efforts seems to be the erection of a barrier more exclusive, and the sanctioning an exclusiveness more repulsive, than those which justly offended him. It was impossible that it should be otherwise. Such must be the end of all attempts to make or remake the Church, however broad or inclusive the purpose which actuates them. Only the attempt to discover it, as already made, can deliver us from the narrowness.

A part, and we believe a growing part, of the denomination, are clinging to the spirit of Mr. Campbell's movement, to the neglect, in some degree, of the letter. Taking their stand on the broad principle that wherever a genuine Christian life exists, there the Church exists also, whatever the defect of its organization, they refuse to assume an exclusive and needlessly hostile attitude towards the other denominations. They give their adherence to what Mr. Campbell loved to call the Current Reformation. They look back to his change of views in 18— as an event parallel in

* This denomination originated somewhat earlier than the Campbellites, arising simultaneously in New England and in the West. Like the Disciples, it rejects creeds and confessions of faith, but its affinities are rather with the Unitarians than with what are called "the Evangelical Churches."

importance with Luther's theses of 1517. They hope to see the movement, which then began, result in the overthrow of sectarianism and creedism throughout the world. Mr. Isaac Errett, the editor of one of their newspapers, is regarded as the leader of this wing of the body, and it could not have a worthier leader. But their position is hardly a tenable one. Either the Church of the Disciples is the one true Church, or it has no reason for its existence.

The Church of the Disciples I do not regard as any finality in the development of Christianity. I must class it with other attempts to reconstruct the Christian Church out of New Testament texts—as a predestined failure. But it has great value as a criticism upon bodies older than itself. It puts great questions to these bodies, and it puts them vigorously. It anticipates, in some degree, the line of objection taken up by Dr. Bushnell in his *Christian Nurture*, and by the Broad Church party in the Church of England, while it presents a solution of the practical difficulty widely different from theirs. We think that Mr. Campbell was less happy than they in this respect, chiefly because of his imperfect equipment for approaching the problems. He had learnt nothing of that historical method, which Savigny and Niebuhr were beginning to apply in Germany, and by which reverence for established fact is reconciled with reverence for the conclusions of right reason. Had he learnt it, he might have vindicated his resistance to what he felt to be wrong and exclusive in the existing churches by an appeal to their own history—an authority which they could not reject; and, instead of setting up one more sect in our great Babel, he might have helped them all nearer to a common understanding and a real unity.

JOHN DYER.

THE THREE CLIMATES OF GEOLOGY.

[THIRD PAPER.]

HAVING attempted to explain the warmth and uniformity of the First Geological Climate, and to reply to sundry objections, I now shall consider the Second, that of the era of the Glaciers.

The latter part of the Tertiary was remarkable for a climate much cooler than any previously known. Imperceptibly the temperature fell lower and lower until all Tertiary life either perished, or was crowded towards the equator, and ice and snow covered the higher latitudes to an enormous depth. The glaciers thus formed have left their traces over a large part of the world, in scratches upon the rocks, in moraines, and less directly in the drift which now forms so large a part of the surface material of the earth.

Various theories to account for this cold have been offered. Some have thought it due to the Gulf Stream having been cut off by a barrier made by the elevation of a sub-oceanic ridge between Africa and South America ; or to the depression of the Isthmus of Panama, permitting its warm waters to pass into the Pacific Ocean. To this it is objected that (1) there is no evidence whatever in its favor, and (2) that when the Champlain period opened, the Gulf Stream ran as now, the beaches north and south of Cape Cod containing the same species of fossils as now live on those coasts.

Dr. Croll attributes the cold to the earth's passing through an era of greater eccentricity. To this theory I have already pointed out some of the objections, and, in any case, as Prof. Dana remarks, "this cause alone appears to be totally inadequate."

The great quantity of ice and snow has been attributed to an increase of moisture in the air and therefore of precipitation. To which it has been replied that the average precipitation is unalterable except by a change in the elevation of the land, or in ocean currents.

Changes in the constitution of the sun's atmosphere have also been invoked to explain the mystery. To this it is answered that a sun emitting less heat would make cool tropics along with the cold Arctic regions. Whether this is a sufficient reply, may, perhaps, admit of question. A cooler equatorial zone would make, of course, less rapid evaporation, but if the circumpolar regions were cold enough to condense and keep the vapor, there would be an accumulation of snow and ice which would go on until the ice by its own weight moved equator-ward into regions where the heat was sufficient to melt it. The process would be slow but none the less sure.

The great difficulty with all these attempts to explain the climatic problem is that if we accept them, we are no better off, so

far as absence of seasons and identity of species are concerned, than before. Not one of them approaches these questions, and, as to the cold, it is not necessary so far as I can see, to invoke any of these causes.

By the end of the Tertiary, the "warm blanket" of carbonic acid and aqueous vapor had been reduced to its present density. While the axis was perpendicular, the annual supply of heat, as was pointed out by Mr. Meech, was less than at present in circum-polar regions, while in low latitudes it was greater. There resulted a fall of temperature in high latitudes below what would have prevailed had the axis been oblique; or in other words below that which is now found in those parts. It was as if now the sun rose scarcely above the equator.* At present the accumulations of each winter are swept away by the intensity of the Arctic summers. But at that time there were no long Arctic days, no intense heat; absolute uniformity prevailed throughout the year. Hence there was a constant storing of snow and ice. Where it was once cold enough for ice to form, there it would remain. Moreover, the increased heat of the low latitudes, by causing a larger and more rapid evaporation, gave the most favorable conditions for such accumulations. There resulted a covering of snow of enormous thickness; and this in turn, by raising the general surface of the land, added to the cold. These causes would of themselves have resulted in bringing the line of perpetual frost far below its present position.

In addition there were very extensive high-latitude uplifts. The close of the Tertiary, and just after it, was distinguished for such movements. Such an elevation of the land was potent in reducing temperature, and, added to the causes already mentioned, seems amply sufficient to explain the cold of the period which followed the Tertiary.

If while the cold prevailed, the axis from some cause was

* Dr. Croll "*Climate and Time*," page 416, puts this so well that I quote his words: "Suppose the earth's axis to become perpendicular to the plane of its orbit, it is perfectly true that day and night would be equal all over the globe, but then the quantity of heat received by the polar regions would be far less than at present. It is well known that at present at the equinoxes, when day and night are equal, snow and not rain prevails in the Arctic regions, and can we suppose it could be otherwise in the case under consideration? How, we may well ask, could these regions deprived of their summer, get rid of their snow and ice?"

tilted to $23\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$, and the land sank to its present level, and even below it, we have in this a reason why the cold disappeared, and the seasonless uniformity of the pre-glacial climate did not return.

There remains to be considered the Climate after the Glacial Epoch.

The existence of a true Arctic flora and fauna from the Glacial Epoch to the present, leaves no doubt as to the earth's axis being inclined from that time as now. Yet there are variations of temperature indicated by the Geological record that demand explanation. During the period next after the Glaciers, a climate more genial than the present appears to have prevailed from temperate regions towards, and perhaps beyond, the polar circle, but not to have reached the latitude of Spitzbergen. This is known as the Champlain Period. It was followed by a time of cold, much less intense than during the Glacial Period, and this in turn by present warmth. It is this alternation which offers the chief difficulty in explaining post-glacial climate.

Does Dr. Croll's theory with its alternation of hot and cold periods, offer a solution of this problem?

The lack of axial obliquity makes Dr. Croll's theory inapplicable in pre-Glacial times, but may his theory afford an explanation of the climatic conditions after the inclination had been increased? To answer this question intelligently, we inquire what must have been the characteristics of climatic changes produced by variations in the eccentricity of the earth's orbit. (1) There must have been a series of alternations, many years of cold, followed by many years of heat; a cold epoch and then a warm one, and these repeated many times. (2) Each epoch must have affected both Continents at once. (3) The alternations must have come on very slowly, occupying, according to Dr. Croll, 10,000 or 12,000 years from the culmination of a warm period to that of a cold one. (4) The latest possible date for the end of the Glacial Period must be 80,000 years B. C. These are crucial tests, the failure of any one of which is fatal to his theory.

That there were cold and warm periods, at least in some parts of the earth, after the glaciers, is, I think, true, but this is a matter of no consequence so far as Dr. Croll's theory is concerned, unless they were bi-continental, and of this there is great doubt. Prof. Dana, who has no theory to support, says of a second glacial epoch

“it has not been made out clearly in North America.”* Nor can its absence be explained by the influence of warm ocean currents, for these affect temperature far less in America than in Europe. To account in this way for the greater cold of Europe during the Reindeer period, the Gulf Stream would need to be reversed.

The third characteristic of a climate due to the astronomical causes named, would be the slowness of the change from cold to warmth. But instead of requiring ten or twelve thousand years, it came, in the words of Prof. Dana, “in a single night.” In some cases the carcasses of elephants and other creatures of those days, had not time to decay before they were encrusted with ice. The rapidity of the effect points rather to some comparatively sudden elevation of the crust, perhaps to an uplift of the mountains on the south of Siberia and of Europe.

These seem to be fatal objections to accepting any theory founded upon astronomical conditions, even in reference to post-glacial times. But Dr. Croll requires also that 80,000 years have elapsed since the end of the Glacial Period. Here, too, are difficulties. They arise from the absence of certain erosive effects proportional to such an enormous length of time. It would seem that 80,000 winters of rains, frosts, and snows, with annual meltings, would have washed away all the finer materials. Perhaps in valleys and on plains, the loss might have been made good by the in-wash from higher lands, and they in turn have been supplied from lands yet higher. This is the explanation which Dr. Croll offers in reference to the general face of the country. But I submit that it does not meet the case of those isolated hills whose tops are yet covered to a considerable depth with soil. The Alps, for example, are of pre-Glacial formation, and hence must have passed through that Period, which according to Dr. Croll, lasted about 160,000 years, yet among them are many high meadows with abundant soil, where materials could not have been brought from higher levels. One instance will suffice. On the Rochers de Naye, near Montreux, there is a beautiful meadow of six or eight acres, 7,000 feet above the sea. Its surface slopes quite rapidly, so much so that it is not easy to walk up the south-west half, yet it is covered with a soil on which no outcrop of rock, nor even loose stones are visible. It is not easy to see how such a soil

* Dana's *Man. Geol.*, page 556.

could be formed by disintegration. Hard points would in that case project above the general level, or fragments would remain.

Since the bed-rock slopes at least as rapidly as does the surface, (it crops out at the upper and lower edges), it is even more difficult to see how the disintegrated materials could be retained so as to accumulate. There is no higher ground from which it could have been transferred, yet if Dr. Croll's theory be true, Alpine frosts and rains for 80,000 years, and the intenser action during the Glacial Epoch for 160,000 years more, have been carrying off this soil, and have nowhere reached the bed-rock. Now when we reflect that more than a foot of drift is being removed from the general surface of the country every 5,000 years or so (*Climate and Time*, p. 342), making 16 feet since the supposed date of the glaciers, and that during the Glacial Epoch the rate must have been something enormous (*idem*, p. 136), say one foot in 1,000 years, there would be a grand total of 176 feet taken away since the period of ice began. If so large an amount was removed from the general face of the country, how much more rapid must have been the denudation where the soil was friable as upon this Alpine meadow.*

Again: Dr. Croll attributes the terraces and old sea beaches to the same causes as those which produced the cold, together with a variation in the obliquity of the earth's axis of nearly $1\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$. The latest possible date to be assigned in his theory to those formations is 11,700 years ago.† But here a similar difficulty meets us. The terraces and old sea-beaches are much more readily eroded than is the general surface of the country, partly from the nature of their materials, and partly because on the sloping side the erosion is so rapid even now, that there is but scanty vegetation. Moreover, as, on this theory, the terraces were several thousand years under water, no land vegetation could have survived, and until plants could spread from the neighboring higher ground and overgrow the exposed new surface, the erosion must have been enormously rapid. After so long a period as 11,700 years, it seems that not a vestige of the terraces ought to remain.

Dr. Croll feels the force of this reasoning, and employs it to re-

* It only makes the argument stronger when we reflect that this meadow was uplifted from beneath the waters before the Glacial Period.

† *Climate and Time*, p. 403, also 407.

strain those who would refer the Glacial Epoch to a time of yet greater orbital eccentricity—several hundred thousand years further back. I doubt his willingness, but for the needs of his theory, to grant anything like 80,000 years for the date of the end of the Glacial Epoch, or 11,700 years for the terraces and old sea-beaches. Less than these he cannot have without giving up the theory itself.

With prejudices originally much in its favor, the consideration of the facts which have been set forth, has led me to the belief that neither before nor after the Glacial Period, does Dr. Croll's theory present such an accordance with the known conditions as to entitle it to be considered anything more than a curious and ingenious hypothesis, an hypothesis which, even if true, would leave unexplained the most perplexing part of the climatic problem, viz: why, in spite of such causes of variation as are implied in the long polar days and nights, there was in Pre-Glacial times that equality of temperature all the year round; and why, even if the warmth was accounted for, there was in high and low latitudes that identity of species, in spite of environments so very unlike as are implied in the vast difference in the days and nights of Spitzbergen and Florida; and why, if there were, as he says, so many Glacial Periods, there is a lack of breaks in the continuity of species. If Dr. Croll's theory be true, all these remain to be explained.

What solution, then, of these climatic alternations can be offered? Seasons, unequal days and nights, the long and light arctic summers, and the equally long and dark winters find an easy explanation after the Glaciers in the obliquity of the earth's axis, but the warmth of the Champlain, and the cold of the Reindeer period, and the milder climate of to-day cannot thus be accounted for. The solution of this problem is to be found, I think, in a continuation of high latitude movements. During the Glaciers there was an uplift; during the Champlain a depression; during the Reindeer, a more moderate and less universal uplift, and then again a depression to present levels.

In conclusion:

If I have read aright the history of our world, there have been three distinct types of climates, which may appropriately be named

the Theral, the Cheimena (or Glacial), and the Thero-Cheimena.

The first was characterized by a summer-like warmth almost or quite to the poles, by an absence of seasons, and, consequently, by uniformity of temperature through the year. The warmth was due to the presence in the atmosphere of a larger amount of carbonic acid and aqueous vapor than now exists. The absence of seasons, of course, was due to the earth's axis being nearly perpendicular to the plane of its orbit. The uniformity of temperature was due to the same cause, and to the corresponding invariableness of the aerial and ocean currents.

The second, or Cheimena climate, is known for the intensity of its cold. It finds its explanation in the increased purity of the air, which permitted the earth's surface to radiate its heat more rapidly; in the smaller amount of solar rays received in circumpolar regions than now; and to a general refrigeration, due to the elevation of the surface in high latitudes.*

The last, or Thero-Cheimena, climate is distinguished for the absence of uniformity in temperature, for strongly marked zones of climate, and for the existence of seasons. These are owing to the greater axial obliquity.

The temperature of the Thero-Cheimena, or present climate, is far milder than that of the Glacial. This is due partly to the greater amount of solar heat received in high latitudes after the axis became more oblique, but principally to a general lowering of the surface from the melting of the ice and snow, and from the sinking of the land back to, or even below, its former level.

During the early part of this period, there were minor cold and warm periods of comparatively limited extent, rapidly changing from one to the other. These seem best explained by local movements of the earth's crust.

After all, another and very distinct question arises: "Granting that such an increase of the obliquity of the earth's axis took place, what caused it?" But it must be remembered that our inability to answer this question, has nothing to do with the argument in these papers. Astronomers tell us that at some time, and some how, the earth's axis got its present obliquity; my inquiry, thus far, has

* This last was a double effect due in part to an actual elevation of the earth's crust and in part to the accumulation of snow which carried up the surface some miles higher.

been confined to determining when it occurred. The other and far more difficult question—the cause of such a movement—I do not at present propose to consider. It is enough for my present purpose that it did occur.

NOTE—Since the above was written I have seen Mr. O. Fisher's letter in *Nature*, vol. 20, p. 577, in which he shows, by a simple mathematical demonstration, that if (as Dr. Croll says), the temperature of space be 239° F., then the temperature of the same place in latitude 0, in January should be 21° higher than in July. This difference cannot be masked by the North-east trade winds, for these could not reach a place on the equator, and in July their extension towards the equator is least. In similar manner South-east trade winds would be weakest in January and have least effect in bringing hot air from the Indian Ocean.

To this Dr. Croll replies (*idem.*, page 602), "The temperature to which Mr. Fisher refers is simply the temperature of the air. I do not think it difficult to explain why the air at the equator in January cannot be much hotter than in July." In a future letter he promises to show how this can be.

On page 626 Mr. Fisher answers; "I continue to think that if what seems to me the fundamental propositions of this theory—Dr. Croll's,—be correct, and if the manner in which he and his reviewer have applied it be also correct, then we ought to find those differences in the air temperatures which my equations indicate. I say air temperatures, because in Dr. Croll's theory changes of climate are referred to the varying distance of the sun, and climate depends on the temperature of the air."

All this is really only a verification of what has all along been said by astronomers, viz. : that the amount of solar heat received between the equinoxes is exactly the same for either part of the orbit, since the earth's longer exposure in the one, compensates for its less distance in the others.

C. B. WARRING, PH.D.

"HERZLICH THUT MICH ERFREUEN."

TRANSLATED FROM JOHANN WALTHER, BY HARRIETT R. KRAUTH.

The name of Johann Walther is chiefly associated now with Luther's labors. From 1520 he was Cantor (or Songmaster) at the Court of Frederick the Wise, in Torgau. About 1524 Luther invited him to Wittenberg, to assist him in preparing the first order of service in the German language. He resided for some time with Luther, and was co-editor with him of the Wittenberg Hymn Book, 1524, containing 5 Latin and 32 German hymns, and published successively in four editions, the last in 1551.

After the death of Frederick he seems to have lost his position at Court, as we find him about 1530 in Wittenberg, as a B.A. (Magister and Docent.) In 1537, however, he again styles himself "Songmaster of the Elector of Saxony." In 1547 he removed to Dresden, where he died, a very old man, sometime after 1566. His last publication (1566), was a composition of Luther's, *Erhalt uns Herr bei deinem Wort*.

The song, *Herzlich thut mich erfreuen*, appeared first in Wittenberg 1552; Marburg, 1555; Dresden, 1557 (this edition containing for the first time the 33d stanza), and in 1561, published by Val. Neuber.

I.

Leap forth my heart rejoicing,
 To that glad summer-time,
 When God restoreth all things
 In never-waning prime;
 New heaven and earth are fashioned
 By His almighty hand,
 And pure, and fair, and glorious,
 Doth every creature stand.

II.

Sun, moon, and stars are radiant
 With new and clearest light;
 Never was noontide glory
 So marvellously bright.
 The firmament in splendor
 At God's command is clad,
 Quick with surpassing lustre,
 To make His children glad.

III.

In such resplendent beauty
 Shall all things new be made,
 The earth laughs out for gladness,
 In queenly robes arrayed,
 That, decked with precious jewels,
 With ornaments of gold,
 And pearl-embroidered borders,
 Her stately form enfold.

IV.

Of that eternal glory
 No tongue can fitly speak ;
 With naught can we compare it,
 Our words are poor and weak.
 We quit the vain endeavor,
 We wait the final hour,
 That, face to face, shall show us
 God's presence and His power.

V.

For God will soon awaken,
 With mighty trumpet-tone,
 All tribes, and tongues, and kindreds,
 In Jesus Christ His Son.
 When He shall come triumphant,
 The rising dead shall see
 His glory manifested,
 And own His majesty.

VI.

Our body, sown in weakness,
 God will give back again,
 The same, yet raised in power ;
 His promise is Amen.
 Body and soul transfigured,
 Bright as the sun appear,
 And rich in full possession
 Of all we longed for here.

VII.

Then, His elect to gather,
 Shall Christ His angels send ;
 Those whom His love hath ransomed
 He loveth without end.

Received, with saints in glory
 Forever to abide,
 The eternal arms about us,
 We shall be satisfied.

VIII.

We shall with joy exceeding
 Before the Saviour come,
 Who, by His Blood and Passion,
 Opened that heavenly home.

There are the holy prophets,
 And patriarchs of old,
 With martyrs and apostles,
 In numbers all untold.

IX.

As brethren well-belovéd,
 By them shall we be claimed ;
 To have us mingle with them
 They will not be ashamed ;
 At Christ's right hand exalted,
 Shall all of us appear ;
 We shall, as God, adore Him
 Who still our flesh doth wear.

X.

We at His right hand gathered,
 Shall hear the friendly word :
 " Enter My rest and glory,
 Ye blessed of the Lord.
 My heavenly Father's kingdom
 Your heritage shall be ;
 What I for you have purchased,
 Hath made you heirs with Me."

XI.

Then God shall judge uprightly
 The godless, wicked world ;
 And sin receive its wages
 To deep destruction hurled ;
 The Devil and his angels,
 And hypocrites are there ;
 And he who worships Mammon
 Their shame and scorn must share.

XII.

The King will turn in anger
 To those at His left hand,
 The same just sentence giving,
 The terrible command :
 “ Depart from Me, ye curséd,
 In Satan’s toils ensnared,
 To endless death and burning,
 For him and his prepared.”

XIII.

Thus God will fully save us
 From every evil thing ;
 From want, and anxious striving,
 From scorn, and suffering,
 From grief, and woe, and mourning,
 From sickness, ache, and pain,
 From care, and fear, and faintness,
 With all their gloomy train.

XIV.

Then shall the Saviour bring us,
 His Church, His Bride, His Own,
 With gladness and rejoicing,
 Before His Father’s throne.
 His friendly smile shall greet us,
 His hand shall make us fair,
 The oil of joy bestowing,
 And jewels rich and rare.

XV.

The Bride will God apparel
In His own Righteousness ;
Of gold and silk her clothing,
A new, all-glorious dress.

In token of betrothal
She wears a golden ring,
And veiled in pure fine linen,
Awaits her Lord and King.

XVI.

Our God will turn toward us,
And on each head will place
A golden crown of glory,
With tenderest caress ;
Close to His breast will fold us,
With all a father's love,
While gifts for soul and body,
His grace and bounty prove.

XVII.

To Paradise forever
Our joyous steps are led,
Where, for His praise and honor,
The marriage feast is spread ;
There pure delight and rapture
To loyal loving hearts,
New with each day's renewing,
God's treasure-house imparts.

XVIII.

There is the sound of harpers,
Harping on golden strings ;
To heaven's full glory, Music
Her perfect tribute brings ;
Forever, in God's kingdom,
The angels join in praise,
And Holy, Holy, Holy,
The heavenly voices raise.

XIX.

What God hath there provided
 It doth not yet appear,
 What joys shall be, discerneth
 Nor human eye nor ear ;
 Yet we shall look upon Him
 In free, unclouded sight,
 These very eyes beholding
 The true, eternal Light.

XX.

The Godhead recognizing,
 The Holy Three in One,
 God's saints, with love enkindled,
 Shall know as they are known ;
 His thoughts and ways, long hidden,
 Lie open in that hour,
 To those He calls His children
 In very deed and power.

XXI.

And thus, pervading all things,
 God's power shall be displayed ;
 He, through His Life and Spirit,
 Shall All in all be made ;
 Himself will give, in fulness
 With each of us to dwell,
 And shew us all His goodness,
 In Christ made visible.

XXII.

As guests 'at God's great supper,
 We shall sit down with Him ;
 No mortal taint can reach it,
 Its glories grow not dim ;
 The tree of Life forever
 Its richest fruit shall yield ;
 With God the cup be lifted,
 From living fountains filled.

XXIII.

Yea, for the slightest wishes
 That rise within our breast,
 The wish shall be fulfilment,
 Incomparably blest ;
 For this will we, rejoicing,
 Praise God eternally ;
 And ever love each other,
 In truth and constancy.

XXIV.

Before the throne assembled,
 We join the happy throng,
 Continually uplifting
 That new and wondrous song ;
 " Strength, honor, glory, power,
 To Father and to Son,
 And to the Spirit, blessing
 For all that He hath done."

XXV.

So joyous, so exultant,
 The song of praise shall swell,
 When God's elect, their gladness
 And thankfulness shall tell,
 Their joy abides forever,
 Nor evermore grows old ;
 The rapture in God's service,
 That may not here be told.

XXVI.

In such anticipation
 My spirit laughs and sings ;
 My heart leaps up within me,
 In scorn of earthly things ;
 Upborne by mighty yearning,
 My fettered soul would rise ;
 This world hath no enchantment
 For heaven-illumined eyes.

XXVII.

Therefore, be not disheartened
 Though sorrows round thee throng,
 And though the world harass thee,
 A cruel foe and strong ;
 But bear thy cross in patience,
 In quiet confidence,
 God's word thy stay, His favor
 Thy comfort and defence.

XXVIII.

For thou who wouldst inherit
 The kingdom God prepares,
 Must suffer persecution,
 Must bear the weight of cares,
 Still strengthened by the promise :
 Thy help is very near ;
 A little while be patient,
 The Lord will soon appear.

XXIX.

Meanwhile a world of scorners
 To mock at God may feign ;
 Wise in its own opinion,
 May kneel and fawn for gain ;
 May bend with subtle cunning,
 To every passing wind ;
 May strive, as now it striveth,
 The dreaded truth to bind ;

XXX.

We can resist its fawning,
 Its fiercest rage can brave ;
 Thank God ! there sits in Heaven
 One that is strong to save ;
 He who is Judge of all things,
 Whose wrath shall burn for aye,
 E'en now in might ariseth,
 E'en now is on His way.

XXXI.

Soon shall we hear the summons :
 " The Bridegroom comes at last !"
 Grant Lord we be not sleeping,
 By sin and sloth held fast ;
 Grant that we may be ready,
 With lamp, and oil, and light,
 To follow to the marriage,
 Nor turn us from Thy sight.

XXXII.

Soon will the Monarch enter
 The wedding guests to see,
 And those unfit, stand speechless,
 To meet His stern decree.
 Lord grant, so I may truly
 The wedding garment wear,
 Thy gift of Faith, and teach me
 To answer rightly there.

XXXIII.

Lord, by Thy loving-kindness,
 Lead me in Thy right way ;
 Dear Saviour, guard and keep me,
 Lest I should go astray ;
 And though the days are evil,
 In Faith still hold Thou me,
 Ready, when Thou dost call me,
 Gladly to follow Thee.

XXXIV.

Here shall the strain be ended,
 The joyful Summer-song,
 The eternal summer beauty
 Shall bud and bloom ere long ;
 The eternal year shall open.
 God grant that we may see
 That year, and share its harvest.
 Amen. So let it be !

EDUCATIONAL REFORM IN FRANCE.

ON the 21st of May took place the first meeting of the new "Superior Council of Public Instruction," at Paris, to sit ten days. For the first time in the history of the University of France—which means the universal public school system of the Nation—a general reform of the system is proposed, and the importance of the object now seriously kept in view cannot be exaggerated.

The reform projects of M. Ferry relate essentially to what is called the "Secondary Instruction" of the Republic. The Council now sitting resembles one of the special committees of the English Parliament, and perhaps still more closely one of the standing committees of Congress in the United States. The members of this Council seem to be quite in accord with the Minister of Public Instruction upon both the principles of the reform and most of the modes of its practical application. At all events, it looks as if the resolutions would be passed by large majorities.

The plan in general may be sketched out thus :

The ten classes of the Lyceums or Colleges will embrace three courses of instruction, or cycles, each a complete whole in itself, viz: 1. A French section; 2. A Latin section; 3. A Greek section.

The French section, which will comprehend the ninth, eighth and seventh classes, and in which children will remain until their 11th or 12th year of age, will correspond to a very good *primary school*, teaching French, the elements of German, the history and the geography of France, arithmetic, and natural history.

The Latin course will have three classes and three years, commencing the study of Latin (two years later than by the present system), and continuing the study of French and German (perhaps also of English) and the elements of the sciences; the history of France will be replaced by that of Greece and Rome. This course will correspond then to a *superior primary school*, like those of Paris; the scholars remaining in it up to their 14th or 15th year, whatever may be their subsequent career, whether commerce, industry, letters, or science.

The Greek course will extend into philosophy, commencing with the language of Homer and Thucydides; reading numerous Latin authors, completing history by the study of the Orient.

Four years will be given thus to what is known in University parlance as "the Humanities," but without neglecting the modern sciences.

Very severe examinations at the close of the first and second courses will determine whether the scholar be or be not admitted to the third course. Under no pretext and by no favoritism shall an incompetent scholar be allowed to matriculate in his third course; and thus its professors will no longer waste their time and strength in carrying along dead weights by main force, but be occupied solely in leading forward live pupils as fast and as far as they can advance. The sovereign injustice will be avoided of encumbering the French Lyceums with lazy or incapable scholars, whom the wealth or social standing of their relatives keep in their seats, and sometimes in endowed seats, of which less recommended but more worthy claimants are robbed.

The secondary instruction of the schools is very expensive to the State. The expense is only justified in view of public services to be returned in after years by the scholar—services to society as a whole—services rendered by instructed officials, lawyers, doctors, clergymen, men of science, inventors, etc.—plants grown in these nurseries of the State—scholars of ability and virtue superior to those of the common run of youth, for whom the primary instruction of the State is for the good of society an indispensable necessity.

But what profit can society gain by continuing to instruct a lot of slothful or half-idiotic fellows, who, after spending years in rolling about the school benches, finish a series of wretched examinations, by getting a diploma through some happy accident, some hit or miss answers to a few questions at a final examination?

It is considered quite important that the secondary instruction (3rd course) should be a simple continuation of the primary (1st and 2d courses), and M. Ferry's plan would realize this desideratum.

It is urged by advanced minds, furthermore, that the 3d course instruction should be made to take on a very large, general, and philosophical character. Readers who wish to see discussed these views will do well to read in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* (which can be found in the reading rooms of Philadelphia) the programme of M. Fouillée, a distinguished French University professor.

M. Fouillée would cross the four years of superior (Lyceum) in-

struction with a graduated course of philosophy, commencing with personal and social morality, and comprehending the elements of law and political economy—replacing the old and false rhetoric by a logical study of the beautiful in arts and letters, indicating the rational principles which guide both men of science and men of learning in their researches.

This is not a new idea, except in the sense that has been generated in the present century by the exigencies, the difficulties, the struggles, wishes and hopes of men of modern research, and by the opposition of all kinds which they encounter both in their own improperly educated minds and from a still more incorrectly and inadequately educated public. I think it of doubtful propriety to institute chairs for this sort of instruction, unless it should be to bring its ideas prominently forward and make them in vogue among instructors as a class. Certainly, all professors and teachers should include in their perfunctory instructions a voluntary (one might perhaps designate it as an involuntary) course of the beautiful and reasonable as such, and as applicable to all modes and stages of education and edification of the human mind.

M. Fouillée insists also on the need of the schools for instruction in the past of man according to a different plan and in a different spirit. The study of antiquity has been too much *by words*, too much a study by lexicon and grammar. It should be a study by facts, by manners, by movements. The class-room walls should be covered with maps, plans, elevations, pictures, attempts at restoration, reproductions of the objects of art and engineering, beautiful and useful, which have been spared to us by the ravages of time, as examples of the life of the world of our ancestors. Every schoolroom should be more or less a little museum, a little gallery of statues and paintings and models of antiquity.

Surely our little ones would feel less of *ennui* while they were confined in their schoolrooms, and leave them better instructed and more curious to learn what open air and common life have to teach them.

But the plan of studies is only one of the three elements of the great reform contemplated. The methods of teaching are to be radically transformed; and in the third place the programmes of examination for the baccalaureate. It will be necessary to institute a mode of examination which will compel a knowledge of sub-

jects, which shall be serious, reasonable and reflective, and which shall turn back or turn off candidates merely dressed up intellectually and made to act their parts like *automata*. Frenchmen who oppose the Jesuit propaganda ask why the scholars of Jesuit seminaries have such success, and they answer, because the civil examinations seem to be arranged by casuists. They are prepared for by manuals in which all the questions are stated beforehand and numbered, just as cases of conscience have been catalogued by Father Gury. They say: "We must change all that."

J. P. L.

NEW BOOKS.

MIND IN THE LOWER ANIMALS, IN HEALTH AND DISEASE. By W. Lauder Lindsay, M. D., F. R. S. E., F. L. S., Honorary Member of the New Zealand Institute. Vol. I. Mind in Health, xvii, 543. Vol. II. Mind in Disease, v. 571. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1880.

Between the enthusiastic admiration of the qualities of the animal, the therio-mania which is the fashion, and the enthusiastic practice of vivisection and of various other like horrors, which is also the fashion, between the theories which exalt him toward man, and the practices which handle him with as little pity as if he were a stone, the animal has a considerable oscillation in the sphere of Science just now. Could he estimate his position, he might be at some loss to determine whether this is his iron or his golden age.

If he could know what Dr. Lindsay has written about him, he might be in danger of losing his humility, of having his moral sense obscured, and his religious feeling lowered. For Dr. Lindsay, at least, may claim to have wiped away for himself the reproach which Schopenhauer makes so sweepingly against the Occidental mind. Dr. Lindsay at least, does not undervalue his fellow creatures of the less ambitious sphere; he has a charity for them which believeth all things, a contagious enthusiasm which carries the reader with him, as long as the reader is too warm to reason for himself, or to detect fallacy in another.

These volumes reveal immense reading, and large observation, on which they maintain the theory that the lower animals possess "the higher mental faculties as they occur in man, of reason, as distinguished from mere instinct."

The work is thoroughly popular in its general style, boundless in anecdote, and in every way easy to follow. The drift of the book is as much as possible to lower man and elevate the animals, so as to bring them, as near as may be, to a common plane. It often compares the highest of the animals with the lowest of men; contrasts the animals who have been most completely educated by man out of themselves, with the men who are most degenerate and debased. It puts side by side, canine and simian Hyperions with human Satyrs. It groups all the manifestations of mind, from all parts of the animal world, and sets them forth in parallel with the mental characteristics of individual man. All the facts which Dr. Lindsay accumulates, are only at last illustrations of the ancient conception of man, as the microcosm, the miniature, the reflection of universal nature, and, under God, supreme in it. All this special pleading, in its array of facts, only makes it more conspicuously true, that the whole realm of merely animal nature, has, in the total mass of its intellectual powers, nothing to compare with the sound mind of a single man. All the endowments of the animal world, from the creation to this hour, brought to a focus, would not be adequate to the production of the simplest sentence in Dr. Lindsay's book. The supremest exercise of mind in the highest animals, is not equal to the higher forms of idiocy in man. A child whose range was as narrow as that of the most sagacious dog which has ever been chronicled or invented, would be regarded with profound sadness.

The rhetoric of Dr. Lindsay is simply prodigious; his inability to see the fallacy which runs through every page of his argument seems invincible, and the general estimate we feel compelled to make of the book, is, that while it reveals a wonderful knowledge of facts in regard to animals, it shows a complete ignorance or ignoring of the primary principles of psychology and ethics. As an argument for its theory, it is as complete a failure as is conceivable in the case of a man of distinguished ability. But whether the theory be dropped out of sight totally, or simply treated as an element of intellectual interest, which does not even seriously raise the question of conviction, the rich matter and luminous presentation make this book not merely very valuable, but exceedingly fascinating.

EURIPIDES. By J. P. Mahaffy. [Classical Writers. Edited by John Richard Green.] Pp. 144. New York, D. Appleton & Co.

The most modern of the Greek poets has fallen into good hands. Mr. Mahaffy is known as one of the eminent group of literary men who are sustaining the ancient renown of Trinity College, Dublin; and both by his writings on Greek life and literature, and

by theses on the philosophy of Kant, he has made himself an honorable name. His study of the life of Euripides has been careful and thorough; and the analysis of his work is the best we know.

Euripides has exerted a greater influence upon later literature than all the other great Greek poets, except Homer. He has been the darling of Milton, Racine, Alfieri, Shelly, and the two Brownings. He stands in closer affinity to modern literature than any thing that was written before the age of Boccaccio and Chaucer. He is more a modern than Dante. He owes this, we think, to the great influence Socrates exerted over his thoughts—an influence to which Sophocles was as insensible as the mocker Aristophanes himself. It has made him a poet for all ages—a singer whose heart beat responsive to that of mankind. And yet he has been the most depreciated of the great poets. The filthy jester who stood at the head of the Athenian comedy, was never weary of ridiculing his works, and discounting his genuine pathos as the effect of stage trick, while he assailed him as a destroyer of the joyous, unreflective, artistic life of old Greece. The critics drove him from Athens. The modern French criticasters, of the school of Boileau, harped upon his irregularity, and thought his imitator, Racine, a fine poet. Even A. W. Schlegel, in vindicating the rightful fame of many another great man, depreciated Euripides. It is Mr. Browing who has done the most to restore him to the honor which is his due. But English and French editors and critics, arrayed against the German worshippers of Aristophanes, have labored to the same end, and the great poet is likely to come to his own again.

Mr. Mahaffy writes in behalf of his author, and of the sounder and juster criticism which has rendered him justice.

American Health Primers. V. THE THROAT AND THE VOICE, by J. Solis Cohen, M. D., of Jefferson College, Philadelphia: pp. 159, 16mo. VI. WINTER AND ITS DANGERS, by Hamilton Os-good, M. D., of the *Boston Medical and Surgical Journal*: pp. 160, 16mo. X. BRAIN-WORK AND OVER-WORK, by Dr. H. C. Wood, of the University of Pennsylvania: pp. 126, 16mo. Philadelphia; Presley Blakiston.

Some time ago, in noticing the republication of an English series of Health Primers, we pointed out their general want of adaptation to the climatic and other specialties of our American environment. The present series is not open to this objection. It is edited by Dr. Keen of this city, and its volumes are prepared by physicians of our own city, and by a few from New York and Boston. Drs. Burnett, Richardson, Wilson, Harlan, Cohen, White, Hartshorne, Wood and Packard, are names well-known to Philadelphians: and a series of popular text-books by such men cannot fail to command confidence.

These primers are written upon the wise plan of telling the lay world what it ought to know, and what precautions it ought to take, but not making "Every Man his own Doctor." Dr. Cohen, for instance, in discussing diseases of the throat, repeatedly calls a halt after explaining the nature of the disease and describing its symptoms, and bids the sufferer to send for the doctor, rather than attempt any home treatment. They are, therefore, such books as the regular physician can recommend to his patients, as they draw the line wisely between what the patient can do for himself, and what should be done only under competent and discriminating advice.

Professor Wood's little manual on Brain-work and Over-work, is one which is especially timely, as it touches on the sorest spot in our social hygiene. Its good points are innumerable. We are glad to see his protest against teachers by profession undertaking Sabbath-school work. But we regret to see that the Professor has not thought out the Sabbath question so thoroughly as to give us a medical defence of this greatest safeguard of social sanity.

A STROKE OF DIPLOMACY. By Victor Cherbuliez. THE RETURN OF THE PRINCESS. By Jacques Vincent. D. Appleton & Co., New York.

The reputation of Cherbuliez is so thoroughly established as to secure a warm welcome for anything new which may fall from his pen, and in "A Stroke of Diplomacy" we find that careful treatment of the subject, and that delicate touch of humor, which he himself has taught us to expect from one of the most successful story tellers of the day.

The "*affaire du cœur*" in which the clever old diplomat finds himself pitted against an intriguing young widow and her mother, is amusing throughout, while the character of the hero, an ardent Egyptologist, is well conceived, although his archæological love-making is somewhat overdrawn; the denouement is well managed, and the little book will prove a pleasant companion in a leisure hour.

"The Return of the Princess," included in the same "Handy Volume Series," ranks far beneath the preceding story in all respects; the letters of a young Egyptian girl, who has been educated in France, tell the impressions produced by her return to her native land, and her experiences of harem life. A weak sentimentality prevades the work, and the reader will feel no regret when the heroine contrives to escape her complications through the classic but familiar medium of the bite of an asp.

RODMAN THE KEEPER. Southern Sketches. By Constance Fenimore Woolson. New York, D. Appleton & Co.

To compress within the narrow limits of a magazine article a story of clear construction and sustained interest, is a work requiring more talent than is generally possessed by those who attempt it, and it is to her success in this somewhat difficult department of literature that Miss Woolson owes her place among the best of our magazine contributors.

In these sketches, each of which has appeared from time to time in different periodicals, the writer has been peculiarly happy in finding themes so well suited to her own characteristic style; living in the South for several years, she has acquired a just appreciation of the present state of society in that sunny land, which is to many of her readers an unknown country, and in her own graceful way she tells these stories of southern life and manners, exercising her subtle humor upon its faults and foibles, and dwelling with pathos upon its sorrows and regrets. A woman's sympathetic heart ever guides the pen of this charming writer, who is always natural, but never commonplace, and who will win an admirer in every reader of "Rodman the Keeper."

THE AMAZON. By Dingelstedt. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

This is a very sprightly record of the troubles and cross-purposes of a quintette whose ruling power is the Amazon, an opera queen, charming, erratic and irresponsible, as is the wont of those sovereigns. It is admirably told, well translated, and better worth the trouble than the majority of the novels given to the English reading public as *chef d'œuvres* of its German kinsmen. It is a book of action, not of metaphysics, full of life; clever hits at music and artist foibles; with fine character-sketches in the servants—respectful counsellors who are gems. The petty ambitions of the bank-princess are balanced by her good heart; and the two artist-souls may not be brought under the rules of criticism bearing on the less gifted and more earthly, while the social and love complications of the whole circle are told with a directness and simplicity that are very attractive.

POEMS OF THE PRAIRIES. By Leonard Brown. Des Moines: Mills & Company; 1879.

Such a book as this is a humiliation, bearing, as it does, testimonials from men whose weighty names are given in support of a farrago of nonsense. That the would-be poet is ignorant, untrained, and no poet, might pass; but the assumption and egotism on every page are seriously offensive. The work is, in a great degree, autobiographical, including his correspondence with Nannie

during the long, and, to him, mysterious opposition of her parents to his courtship. In poetry and prose there is great bitterness and jealousy of money and culture, especially eastern; and the writer sees in himself a heaven-appointed martyr in the crusade against gold.

Appleton's New Handy Volume Series. THE WORLD'S PARADISES.
By S. G. W. Benjamin.

Mr. Benjamin has attempted too much in treating of twenty resorts in so limited a work. The sketches given begin with Damascus, and end with the Sandwich Islands, travelling over the world between these two, and amount to much less than the gazetteer would give, the experiences being personal and without interest to invalids, for whom the work is designed.

SUMMER SAVORY. By Benjamin F. Taylor, LL.D.; Chicago: S. C. Griggs & Co.; 1879.

Summer Savory is the name of a collection of stories of rambles among ideas and places, written, at times, with extreme vulgarity, which is intended for wit. There is nothing natural or restful in the book, which consists of a series of disconnected and forced paragraphs. Like all Grigg's publications, this (which is printed waste-paper) is excellently printed and bound.

Knickerbocker Novels. A STRANGE DISAPPEARANCE. By Anna Katharine Green. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons; 1880.

This book is in the vein of the Leavenworth Case, recounting one of those mysteries where the difficulty lies in the inventing, but drags a little in the effort of unravelling. In this field the French novelists work better; if they are bolder than we in drawing evils, they are more appreciative of fitness and harmony of detail. This last work of Miss Green's is not an advance upon the ground gained by her first effort.

Appleton's New Handy Volume Series. COMEDIES FOR AMATEUR ACTING. Edited by J. Brander Mathews.

These are introduced by a preface, showing the pitfalls and dangerous ambitions of amateurs who attempt great plays, while they should avoid all competition with established types. The Comedies presented are, with one exception, from the French; bright, witty, and a useful contribution to parlor-acting literature.

THE
PENN MONTHLY.

AUGUST, 1880.

THE MONTH.

MR. FORSTER'S new bill for the cessation of evictions in Ireland, is only intelligible in view of the provisions of the Irish Land Act of 1870. That law provided that so long as the tenant paid his rent with regularity, the landlord could not eject him from his holding, without having to make a considerable payment to the tenant, for disturbing him in possession. From the time when the bill was passed up to the present period of distress, this provision has worked fairly well. There are few Irish landlords rich enough to pay the compensation, as the Earl of Tyrone did to his tenants; and there are still fewer whose malevolent passions are strong enough to make them indifferent to the loss thus incurred, as was his case. Hence the nearly complete cessation of landlord outrage and agrarian crime in Ireland. But the failure of last year's crops throughout large districts of Ireland has put the tenants of those districts into the landlord's power. By taking advantage of the current distress, they can put their estates outside the scope of the Irish Land Act, without incurring any fine for the disturbance of their tenants. They can throw farms into grazing-land; they can take up large portions of arable land for cultivation by a bailiff, or in some other way to which the Land Act does not apply. Hence the indecent displays of autocratic cruelty, which have been made in the very parishes whose cry for bread has

aroused the sympathy and called forth the benevolence of a great part of Christendom. The very people whom America and Australia have been feeding, their own countrymen, with the aid of the whole resources of the government, have been expelling from their wretched dwellings, and sending forth into homeless exposure to all the elements. The notices of eviction, the Irish Land League declares, average a thousand a week, and even English observers foresee another Irish rebellion as the necessary result, unless the hand of the evictor is stayed.

In any part of Europe outside of the British Islands, these cruelties would be impossible. The land-laws of the Continent are based on the Civil Law of Rome, which threw the burden of such calamities as the failure of crops equally on the landlord and his tenant, and held that the terms of all leases and contracts were changed thereby, as "by the act of God." No other law than the British allows the landlord to claim anything more than the reduced crop would warrant the tenant in paying, even though the tenant's savings in previous years have been amply sufficient to enable him to pay the full rent of the year of calamity. But the British land-laws have been made by landlords for landlords. They throw upon the tenants the whole burden of the disaster, and make every reduction of rent in consequence purely an act of grace on the landlord's part. It may be said that the British law assumes the existence of humanity and right feeling in the landlord. But it is never just to leave men's rights dependent on such possibilities, as our own experience of negro slavery showed; and in this case, as in that of the slave and his master, these expectations have been belied by the fact.

Mr. Forster, as Chief Secretary for Ireland, proposes to stop these evictions as far as is possible. He does not propose to interfere with them in any part of Ireland besides those in which the distress has been markedly great. Nor does he ask that any evictions which are already complete shall be reversed. Nor does he propose to give security in possession to a tenant who will not pay as much rent as the judges of the county courts think him able to pay. But in the distressed districts he will not allow any farther processes of ejection to be completed, unless under this judicial sanction. A more cautious and guarded measure it is impossible to conceive. It reflects the processes of the mind which

devised that wonderful arrangement of checks and balances, the English Education Act. But if it had been a measure for the wholesale confiscation of Irish estates, it could hardly have roused more indignation. The landlords saw before them a great opportunity,—the opportunity of escaping from the restraints and penalties of the Land Act. But Mr. Forster steps in to rob them of their opportunity, and to tell them that they can only get rid of the Act under such circumstances as it contemplated, and with the conditions it lays down.

While far from being any solution of the Irish Land Question—being indeed no more than a necessary supplement to the Land Act,—the Bill is highly creditable to the new administration. It shows that they can at least do what their predecessors in office could not. They can look at the Irish side of an Irish question. And their action should bring blushes to the cheeks of many American editors, who have been retailing to their readers the London view of the Irish difficulty, and assuring us that the Irish tenant has no just grievance against any one.

THE old Malthusian lie, invented by some apologist of English rule, and repeated even by respectable economists like Mill and Quetelet, has been furbished up by *The Times* to explain once more the causes of Irish distress. "Ireland is over-populated. Her people increase at a ratio which makes it impossible to find food for them. Emigration is the one cure for Irish misery." There is no census of Ireland earlier than 1811. Up to that time we have only vague estimates, founded on the returns from certain taxes. The censuses of 1811, 1821, 1831 and 1841 show that the Irish people were increasing a good deal more slowly than those of England and Wales, although there was about as little emigration from Ireland as from the sister island. They showed that Ireland, even on the eve of the great famine, so far from being over-populated, was decidedly under-populated, as compared with Great Britain, Belgium, Switzerland, or any other of the fully settled districts of Europe. They showed that the country, which is more fertile than England, could maintain thrice its largest population under a better administration of the land. And since the great depletion by that famine, and the wholesale emigration which followed, the population of Ireland has remained nearly

stationary, without any increase in the prosperity of her people. The traveller from Dublin to Killarney passes through districts in which he will not see the smoke rise from one of the scores of chimneys which mark the country-side. He will see reaches of pasture-ground and flocks of sheep, where there once was farming. When is this depopulation to reach the point which is consistent with the prosperity of the people? If *The Times* and its like were to answer honestly, they would say that Ireland will be overpopulated so long as there are enough Celts left to form a Fenian lodge, or any industry remaining, except grazing cattle and sheep to furnish food for the English market. *Solitudinem faciunt, pacem appellant.* There is a large class of Englishmen who wish to see the utter extermination of the Irish people, so that the country may become an English pasture-land. *The Times*, some years ago, avowed that desire. Mr. Disraeli echoed it back when he said that the famine had done more for Ireland than English statesmanship could have done. But Mr. Gladstone, while obtuse enough as to some of the chief sources of Irish misery, is not the man to denounce a selfish policy as regards the Eastern Christians, and then consciously to pursue such a policy in Ireland.

The opponents of the new Bill are quite right in maintaining that such interferences with proprietary rights are generally objectionable. The best arrangement of the relation of landlord and tenant is of course that in which they are governed, as in America, by the naked principles of contract, and treated as identical with the relations between any other kind of debtor and creditor. The Irish landlords make their appeal to a very deeply-rooted conviction of the English mind, when they claim the right to do as they please with what is their own. But in Ireland this maxim is no longer tenable, not so much through the landlord's fault, as through the faults of English misgovernment during the last two centuries. The landlords are a portion of the English system, and they are now suffering for others' sins as well as their own. For the English, having deliberately destroyed all alternative occupations in Ireland, by abolishing Irish manufactures, and having thus reduced the Irish people to uniformity of occupation, find that the principles of free contract no longer apply to Ireland. The Irish tenant is not free. He has no choice but to take a piece of land on such terms as its legal owner will rent it. Either that or starvation,—

and well for him if it do not prove that even that will not save him from starvation. And so they have to create by legislation those imperfect and ill-defined rights, of which we are happily rid, and to enact that Irish land is not the subject of that sacred maxim upon which their Free Trade policy rests.

THE amount of resistance to their reformatory measures encountered by Mr. Gladstone's ministry has evidently proved much greater, even in the House of Commons, than they had anticipated. Rather than protract the session past the beginning of August, when the grouse-shooting begins, they are ready to abandon some of the measures on their list, and also to refuse time for any other bills than their own. It is true that the Liberals who sit below the gangway have expressed themselves ready for a September session. But they are the radicals, who generally despise field-sports, and have no sympathy with the demand for an early adjournment. And so, in order that the young nobles and squires may shoot grouse, the bill allowing the farmers to shoot rabbits goes over till next winter.

The Irish Relief Bill has passed the House by a good majority, and the Bill to stop evictions has got through Committee, but with what majority, or how amended, the despatches do not say. Our newsmongers take care to let us know exactly the score made by every rifleman at the great matches, and every dispute as to the pedigree of a successful racer, but nothing beyond three lines about the fate of a bill whose rejection will plunge a kingdom into a condition little short of civil war. From what is said, it would seem that the Home Rulers opposed the measure as amended, so that it either has been shorn of its strength to such a degree that the Peers will pass it without much objection, or, if not so emasculated, then it has been robbed of the support needed to make its passage by the upper house imperative.

The outcry against the bill is nearly without parallel as regards measures for temporary relief. Even the Land Act of 1870, which enacted a permanent interference with Irish land-ownership, was not more bitterly denounced. The chief contention is that the Act of 1870 was meant as a final settlement, and that Mr. Forster is deliberately disturbing it. But, as Mr. Gladstone showed in the debate on the second reading, the new measure contemplates only

a re-enforcement of that law by extending its principles to a situation which its authors had not foreseen, and which had been used to set aside the legislation of 1870. And he did well to remind the landlords that they uttered such complaints with a bad grace, seeing that the Government had loaned them four million dollars at an almost nominal rate during the present distress, to enable them to undertake improvements which would furnish employment to the people.

But, generous as Mr. Gladstone's spirit is, and conscientious as he has shown himself, he has never yet obtained any insight into the true source of Irish misery. If he could restore to Ireland the manufactures which the Union destroyed, and bring them to such a development as would furnish a proper balance to her agriculture, then he might leave free contract to adjust the relations of landlord and tenant in Ireland as elsewhere. . . . The *Pall Mall Gazette* very properly urges that the bill is a measure to prevent confiscation,—the confiscation of those imperfect rights in the land which it was the purpose of the Act of 1870 to create. The Attorney General's amendment, by which Mr. Parnell was alienated from the support of the bill, merely provides that if the landlords can furnish the tenant with a successor, who will pay him a reasonable price for the tenant-right, he may thus get rid of the incumbent. This would amount to little in practice, as such tenants are rarely to be had, and are not over ready to take the lease of land on such conditions. No man wishes to pay hard money for the hate of a county-side. But the Land League represents the Irish sentiment that the tenant has a right to his home so long, at the very least, as he does his possible to pay the rent. And against this sentiment the amendment offends.

But the main difficulty of the Ministry, as the same paper says, is that the present Parliament does not represent the country as truly as Mr. Gladstone does. It was elected chiefly on the issues of foreign policy, and not much attention was paid to the views of its members as regards matters nearer home. Consequently, it is filled with employers, land owners and the like, when the great need of the hour is legislation to which men of this class are likely to give a cold support. This statement is the more remarkable as the same paper, not long after the opening of the session, charged the Ministry with being less radical than the Parliament.

EUROPE has drawn the new boundary line between Greece and Turkey. It is not one specially favorable to Greece. It includes indeed Janina, and as much of the western half of the Peninsula as could be taken without giving the Albanians a chance to resist. But on the western side of Mount Pindus, the line does not run much farther to the north. It follows the valley of the Salembrias river, leaving a good slice of northern Thessaly to the Turks. But, favorable as it is to Turkey, the Porte is preparing to resist. Only a single member of the Sultan's ministry counsels submission; the rest are divided only as to the best manner of resistance, some favoring a more passive, others a more active course.

The only indication of the course which united Europe will pursue, is found in the speech Mr. Gladstone made at the reception of the King of Greece in London. Referring to the Conference, he said, that "the assembled wisdom and might of Europe, when it speaks to the world, speaks in accents which denote reality, and which are destined to have practical effect." This *sounds* as if the English Premier meant business, and yet it is just vague enough to leave room for uncertainty. It is all but certain that if the decision of the Conference is to be enforced, then England and Russia will have to do the police work. Perhaps it will be England alone. Russia is jealous of Greece as a possible leader of Oriental Christendom,—a possible heir to Constantinople. Austria detests her for her pretensions to leadership in the Balkan peninsula, the whole of which the Hapsburgers covet. Germany has no interest in the matter apart from those of Austria. Italy is in a state of disinterest, because her own claims to territorial extension have been ignored. France is as good as committed not to use force against the Porte. It may fall to England alone to give practical effect to the conclusions of the Conference; but as, in Mr. Gladstone's view, Greece lost her chance of new territory in 1878, through complying with England's urgency and believing in England's promise, it is likely that he will not shrink from the responsibility.

THE friends of an Imperial Customs Union are working hard at their desperately up-hill work. Sir A. T. Galt seems to have persuaded the representatives of the Australian colonies, or some of them, to unite with him in urging the plan upon the attention of

the British public, and in preparing the way for the Convention which is to be held in London next winter, just before or after the opening of the session of Parliament. As the opposition of the Australian Colonies to the plan was counted one of the chief obstacles to it, it must be confessed that this is rather a feather in his cap. But it still remains to be seen whether the colonists will take kindly to what has pleased their agent in London, and also, whether their approval, if ever given, will outlast the discussion of the details of the plan.

In Canada, the political leaders are using this *ignis fatuus* to divert attention from the more practical proposals for a Customs Union with America. That Canada must move in some direction, seems to be generally felt. She has not succeeded either as a group of colonies, or as a Dominion,—either as a Free Trade or as a Protectionist country. That she will move next towards closer association with America is feared; many of her French people seem to desire that, and so do many of her native-born people of other stock. And so this Imperial Customs Union is held forward as the glittering alternative. Every little gain made by Sir A. T. Galt is kept before the people, and Manitoba is spoken of as the great source of future wheat supply to the hungry millions of England. It begins to leak out in letters to the newspapers that this new land is far from being the paradise it was represented. It has a very long and bitter winter, lasting more than half the year, during which cattle must be fed under cover, and on food saved during the brief summer. Its lands are no better and no cheaper, if so cheap, than those of Dacotah and other American territories, where the climate is far less severe; and the Government land-agents, instead of showing sympathy to the disheartened and disappointed settlers, treat them with the most supercilious disdain. As a consequence, the emigration from Manitoba is now greater than into it; and it seems far from likely that the country will soon be in a position to make England independent of the United States for her grain supply, as is contemplated by the champions of the Imperial Customs Union.

But the Canadian Government is still hopeful of its Great North-west. It has offered free passage and employment on the Pacific Railroad to five hundred English navvies, although it is besieged in every Canadian city by the appeals of men who have no

work, and are ready to take the roughest and least remunerative job; and it is said to be negotiating with an English syndicate, who propose to undertake the construction of what is left of the road, on condition of receiving large grants of land in the territory to be opened up. Sir A. T. Galt's words must indeed have accomplished the prophetic miracle of causing "the wilderness and the solitary to be glad, and the desert to rejoice and blossom as the rose," if he has drawn such a picture of that Great Northwest as has induced English capitalists to put their money into such a scheme. Even his talented father never achieved such a success in fiction as this must be. Sir Alexander should give up statesmanship, and take up the paternal pen, and give the world something "of imagination all compact," and better than *The Annals of the Parish* or *The Ayrshire Legatees*.

THE scheme of a South African Confederation of the British Colonies, to effect which Mr. Gladstone insisted on retaining Sir Bartle Frere at the Cape, has fallen through decisively. The policy which created the Dominion of Canada out of a number of colonies with no community of interest, has failed in this new field. Cape Colony ranks in South Africa as the colony of Canada did in North America; in Cape Colony Sir Bartle Frere was supposed to exercise an important and wholesome influence over both officials and people. But the ministry now in power have been forced to withdraw the proposal for even a preliminary conference to consider the feasibility of confederation, as the opposition of the colonial legislature was so strong that they durst not risk a vote.

The decision is not to be wondered at. Cape Colony is now far removed from the danger of a Caffir war. The independent tribes now lie so far from her frontier, that for thirty years she has not seen a Caffir in arms. Confederation would involve her in outlays and responsibilities of a military kind, of which she at present knows nothing. The new Confederation, like Canada, would be left to defend itself. That is one of the chief objects of the policy. But the burden of the defence would be thrown upon the Colony which is the richest and yet the farthest from danger. To the people of the Cape, confederation means little more than the transfer of the defence of the Northeast frontier from the home gov-

ernment to themselves, and for that they are not prepared. Hence their solid and successful resistance to the blandishments of the colonial office. They have refused to hear Mr. Anthony Trollope, who first came out as the persuasive voice to charm them into confederation. They now refuse to listen to Sir Bartle Frere, however great their respect for the pious author of the Zulu War.

That war was begun to remove the chief obstacle to confederation. It was hoped that when the military empire of the great Caffir chief was broken up Cape Town would see that the responsibilities assumed by confederation were but trifling. The war was deliberately and needlessly provoked in the interests of that policy. It was a transaction which might be put alongside the fine movements of Cæsar Borgia, which Machiavelli describes in *The Prince*. But the new Borgia seems to have overreached himself. The war elicited new proofs as to the bravery of the Caffir race. Its opening disasters produced an impression which its closing victories have not effaced. The Cape Colonists perhaps remember the need of "a lang spune," which, according to a Scotch proverb, is required by those who would "sup soup wi' Clottie." And they are of the mind that to reduce the distance between themselves and Zululand would not be to add to their comfort. They understand what "a scientific frontier" is, much better than Lord Beaconsfield does.

It is not impossible that they have learnt enough about the results of confederation in Canada to prevent their being enamored of that process. It is true that in South Africa confederation is not burdened with such absurd conditions as it was in Canada. It is not proposed that the new Dominion shall run a railroad across a continent, with not local traffic enough to pay for the grease for the wheels. But in both cases there is the same project of uniting a number of colonies which have no common interests and no mutual commerce, with the hope that thereby British interests will be strengthened and British expenses reduced. It was a selfish motive which prompted the decision just made at Cape Town. But it was merely the opposition of selfishness to selfishness.

The failure of confederation will inflict a blow upon Mr. Gladstone's prestige. For its sake, and because Sir Bartle Frere was supposed to be the only man who could secure it, he kept that proconsul in office. He did so at the expense of a quarrel in the

party and, it is said, of almost a resignation from the Cabinet. And yet it now seems that neither the Commissioner nor any one else can effect confederation. And Mr. Gladstone will have to bear all the responsibility of the mistake. It is true that the blame thus given may be quite unjust. It may be that the Commissioner had a better chance of doing the work than any one else would have had, and that his retention was just and proper. But public judgment is of the rough and ready order. It will not excuse failure.

THE question of the propriety of a Customs Union with the United States is evidently becoming one of living interest in Canada. The papers have taken it up with vigor; and while the most of them are not friendly to the movement, they are evidently awake to the fact that this is the live issue of Canadian politics. Whether its avowed advocates are many or few, it has the unconscious support of great multitudes of the people, who are flocking across the Custom House line to find a home under the oppression of a high tariff and a restricted market. One-sixth of all the native Canadians are now residents of the United States. Through Port Huron over sixty-eight thousand have passed during the last eight months, on their way to homes under the American flag. This emigration is not to be attributed to the National Policy. It is but a continuation of what went on before that policy was thought of. And unless the leaders in Canadian politics take some steps toward a permanent removal of the disadvantages of the colony, the country will perish of inanition.

The opponents of a Customs Union with America have but two answers to the many arguments in its favor. The first is, that it means annexation. We have given our reasons to the contrary. But if it does, what then? "Annexation" can only come because the Canadian people discover that their interests lie in that direction. In the strict sense of the word, Canada can never be *annexed* to the United States. Annexation is the work of a conqueror; and Canada can only enter the Union with her own good and free will.

The other argument is, "Shall we cease to trade with the 1,400,000,000 of mankind, for the sake of closer intercourse with the 50,000,000 of Americans whom your new line would rope in?" The Canadians who have been flocking across our border ever

since the growth of our manufactures began, seem to think that it would be a good exchange. They have left this commerce with mankind, this choice of two markets, this freedom to sell in the dearest and buy in the cheapest, and all the other blessings of Free Trade, to find a living and a prosperity where the tall chimneys smoke. They left, in some instances, finer natural advantages than they came to find. But they have not gone back. There are no *vestigia retrorsum* northward. What does such a migration mean? It may be explained and excused when it means the passage from an old country to a new. But it means failure and defeat to a new country, when *its* people are seen to flock to other lands.

OUR kind friends of the Cobden Club are going to make one more disinterested effort to enlighten the American people as to the folly of Protection and the wisdom of Free Trade. That which was begun a few years ago, in the way of transplanting a section of the Club to America, and putting that "great American economist," Mr. David A. Wells at its head, does not seem to have produced much fruit. Mr. Wells' name is not exactly the one to conjure with in this country, as the American Social Science Association could have told the Cobden Club, and as the Club itself knows by this time.

It is the American farmers who are now to be addressed, and a pamphlet has been prepared to show them their vast annual losses under the protective system, and how much they would gain by buying manufactured goods of England instead of their own countrymen. We have confidence enough in the American farmer's shrewdness to believe that he is not a bird to be snared by this sort of chaff. His weakness is to suspect every one of some attempt to profit by his supposed simplicity. And his first impulse will be to ask, "Why is it worth while for these English noblemen and gentlemen to print pamphlets for gratuitous circulation in America? What do they expect to gain at our expense and at the expense of the country?"

If the Western farmer knows anything of the commercial situation,—and thanks to Mr. Mason of the *Inter-Ocean*, and to Mr. Cyrus Elder, he is not unlikely to have had some light on it,—then he will be able to put some questions for which it will be still more difficult to find a ready answer. He will ask, "Is my position

as a producer of food to be improved by reducing the number of those Americans who are engaged in other work than the production of food? And will I prosper better by driving those who consume four-fifths of my wheat crop to becoming my own rivals in my own business?" He will be keen enough to see that the whole of this Cobden Club propaganda is nothing but a piece of British egotism, the English supposing that, because they consume a share of the American wheat-crop, they are the American farmer's chief and best customers, and therefore best entitled to discuss with him the conditions under which his business could be conducted most profitably.

We do not fear any results of this modest English propaganda. As nearly every Free Trader now confesses, that theory will never get a hearing in this country so long as it is recognized chiefly as the policy of the country whose selfishness we best understand, and whose advice in all such matters we most distrust. This new movement will but give us one more safeguard against "British Free Trade." The English fully appreciate the force of such considerations, as regards their own people. They would deprecate any attempt to urge even a much needed reform on their own people by a propaganda conducted by an American Society. They would see that, in the interest of the reform itself, outsiders would do well to abstain from the appearance of interference. They supported Mr. Gladstone the more heartily, because Germany and Austria seemed ready to throw their influence against him. But as regards America, they do not credit us with any such sensitive self-respect. They cannot even imagine that Americans feel on such subjects just as keenly as they do, and, wherever the interference is threatened from any English quarter, far more keenly. If they want to help on Free Trade in this country, they cannot do better with their money than spend it on the ill-paid professors and lecturers who have been doing their work, and in buying, for general circulation, those American publications in its defence, which have now so little chance of reaching the general public.

It is proposed to hold a National Convention of Shipowners in New York, to consider what means shall be taken for the restoration of American shipping to the proud position it once held in

the mercantile navies of the world. The authors of this proposal, we are told, wish to be understood that its aim is not to echo or emphasize any demand for Free Trade in ships. They desire the presence of those who are opposed to such proposals, as well as of those who favor them. They hope that there will result from the deliberations some plan of action which will receive the support of all who are interested in the question, and it is even hinted that the plan will prove of a nature more in harmony with our national policy than is our present practice in this regard. So far as we have been able to observe, the Free Trade papers are not favorably disposed towards the Convention, although they would have given very hearty support to one which was pledged beforehand to agitate for "Free Trade in ships."

The truth is, we have had too much "Free Trade in ships" already. Our merchant shipping is one of the points to which we never have applied properly the principle of the Protective Policy. An English ship in an American port is just as well received as an American would be. She pays no discriminating duties. She may represent a line—she is certainly engaged in a trade—which has been built up by subsidies granted from the English Treasury. But she is put on the same footing in our harbors, as are the vessels to which our Government refuses subsidies. She is given the carrying of the American mail at such prices as her owners choose to accept, while the one American line is required to carry them on such terms as the Post-Office chooses to give.

To redress this inequality, we propose a sufficient tonnage duty on the vessels of foreign register entering American harbors. This will make it worth while to build and navigate American vessels. It is true that subsidies would seem the fairer, and less open to foreign retaliation; but as it is easier to raise an outcry against legislation which proposes to take money out of the Treasury than against that which proposes to put money into it, we think the friends of real American shipping would do well to abandon subsidies and to advocate a tonnage duty on foreign-built ships. By a real American shipping we do not understand ships built by European labor out of European materials, and brought under the flag by the money of American capitalists. We can better wait for shipping, than put up with that sort.

THE necessity for national regulation of our railway system increases with every day of its existence. Two circumstances especially call for such regulation. The first is, the vigorous assertion in legal decisions of the responsibility of the railroads to the community. Ten years ago, these companies were regarded chiefly from the stock-exchange point of view. "Their franchises were a species of property like any other, and just as free from question in any court as the farms and homesteads through which they ran. The State might refuse to charter such companies, but its consent to their existence once given, they passed beyond its control. To attempt to dictate in what manner they should manage their business was as preposterous as to dictate in what order any private citizen should plant the crops which occupied his fields." We do not say that this was the view taken by the legal profession, nor that entertained even by the better instructed class of business people. But it was the one current among the great majority of business people, and the way in which one or two companies controlled or dictated the legislation of great Commonwealths gave this understanding additional currency. It was hard to live in Pennsylvania and New Jersey, and yet attach any meaning to the statement that railroads are the creatures of the State.

Since Wisconsin and Illinois began, amid great objurgation, to control the action of their railways, a great change for the better has come over the business community. The notion of what the functions of the common carrier are, and that of the responsibility to the State of companies in whose favor the State has exercised its right of eminent domain, have grown clearer. The bench has done its duty in this work of education. Its lessons have been well summed up in the words of a decision pronounced by the Maine Supreme Court :

"Railroad charters are contracts made by the Legislature in behalf of every person interested in anything to be done under them. In consideration of the franchise they receive from the state, railroad corporations agree to perform certain duties toward the public. The power of determining those duties, and enforcing their performance, is vested in the appropriate tribunals of the state. * * * Being creatures of the law, they are entrusted with the exercise of sovereign powers to subserve the public necessities and uses, and are bound to conduct their affairs in furtherance of the public objects of their creation."

But this very attitude of the government towards the railroads demands a broader control than the State can exercise. At every step taken to exercise State control, the public are met with the outcry that the railways in question will be ruined by it, or at least the railroad development within the State will be checked, as the roads of other states are free from such restrictions. And as no concert of action among the states seems possible, as there are states shortsighted enough to submit to railroad dictation, or to seek to build up their railroad systems at the expense of the community, there is in some cases a serious hardship involved in the regulative legislation. It is a case somewhat parallel to the different systems of taxation in different states. The motive to such differences is often to be sought in the desire to attract certain classes of investment for the development of local resources. Thus the auction business was bribed to transfer itself from our own city to New York by exemption from state taxation, and the exemption of machinery from taxation in this state has had a similar purpose and effect.

For the present, at least, the states must be left to devise their own systems of taxation. But the demand for a national regulation of railways is so general and urgent, that it cannot well be postponed. Every community is now awake to the necessity of it. Every one is embarrassed by the attempt to apply merely local remedies to the evil.

A second circumstance which demands a national regulation of railways is the growth and consolidation of their power. The single lines chartered by the states have fallen into groups of connected lines, under a single management, which command an amount of capital and a degree of political influence so great, that the state might well have hesitated to grant them charters, if these accretions could have been foreseen. The four great trunk lines from the Mississippi Valley to the seaboard, were the first instances of these coalitions. Their example was followed in several Western localities, particularly by the Chicago and North-western road. Recent instances are found in the extension of the Reading Railroad, and in the consolidation of the lines which run southward through Nashville. The very latest is the consolidation of a series of lines running south-west from Richmond through Danville and

thence across the Carolinas into Georgia, and into Tennessee. The Syndicate which has formed the coalition has also purchased the Pennsylvania Railroad's controlling interest in the Richmond and Danville road, and also its ownership of the railroad from Charlotte, S. C., to Augusta, Ga. These possessions represent large plans of control in the South,—once formed by the great northern corporation, but now abandoned.

The peculiarity of this new coalition is that it will control the traffic and aid in the industrial development of the most promising region in the South. It does not run to any great extent through the old Plantation District, but through the uplands, where farms rather than plantations have been the rule, and where the people lost less by the abolition of slavery, and have gained more by the impulses to improvement since the war, than in any other part of the South. They have carried the cultivation of cotton into their hills by the use of fertilizers, and have given the cotton crop a stability in its amount which it never had before the war. No news can be more grateful to patriotic Americans than the assurance that the South, or any large portion of it, is enjoying a marked prosperity. Between the depression produced by slavery and the disgrace it attached to labor, and the losses of the war, it seemed as if this part of our national domain were doomed to become another Ireland,—the home of poverty and discontent. If the new railroad combination will contribute to the development of the fine resources of the South Atlantic States, we shall rejoice at the result. But its formation is one more sign of the growth of great corporations too strong for state control.

THE Department of the Interior has been making itself worse than ridiculous by the despatch which it has sent throughout the country in regard to its arrest of Col. Tibbles during his visit to his clients, the Ponca Indians. That arrest was a most unwarranted exercise of arbitrary authority. It is true that, through some fault or defect of our legislation, an amazing reach of authority is now vested in the Indian Agents of this Department. Throughout an area as large as the New England states, the agents are supreme and absolute rulers, with power to arrest, to try and to punish at their pleasure. Any citizen of the United States may be seized by these pro-consuls as soon as he sets foot within their jurisdic-

tion, and it is purely owing to their good pleasure, or that of the Secretary of the Interior, if he is ever released, or if his friends ever hear of his arrest. Mr. Tibbles alleges that there have been very serious abuses of this power at no distant date. It is not necessary to accept this as fact in order to reach the conclusion that no man inside a free country should be allowed to exercise such a control of the persons and the liberty of free citizens.

Mr. Tibbles went to the Ponca Reservation on a perfectly legitimate errand. The Department says it was to "stir up dissatisfaction among the Indians." Even if it were so, his errand would have been legitimate. To stir men up to dissatisfaction with such villainy as has been perpetrated upon the Poncas, is to save their manhood from extinction. But Mr. Tibbles had no need to excite dissatisfaction. It was, as the whole country knew, already in full vigor in every Ponca breast. They had made him their attorney, to sue out their rights to their lands before Congress and before the Supreme Court. Knowing that it would be useless to ask their agent for a pass to visit them, he went to his clients without it. Forthwith there came *from Washington an express order for his arrest*. The Department cannot tolerate inquisitive editors looking into its misdeeds. It takes a most anti-American way of stopping them. Its head was brought up, be it remembered, amidst the bureaucratic methods of the old Prussian government. He, or some underling who knew his mind, flashed the order across the continent to treat this public man and ex-army officer as a criminal and an interloper, because he, though on the soil of his country and offending in no way against its laws, has insulted the powers that be, by demanding justice for the oppressed. We do not question the technical right of Mr. Schurz or his agent to make the arrest. But in the exercise of power due regard must be had to the motive which prompted the nation to confer it. And certainly this questionable authority for arrest and detention was never conferred to enable the Department of the Interior to get rid of or annoy unpleasant critics.

Secretary Schurz, we are told, takes his stand, as regards the Poncas, on the action of Congress. It ordered their removal, and it has never ordered their restoration. This statement of reasons for inaction would be quite conclusive if it were true. Congress ordered their removal, *if they were willing to go*. At the earliest

moment when they could manifest their utter unwillingness to go, they did so. If the Secretary of the Interior needed any authority for their replacement in their homes, he would find it in the very law which he quotes as his justification for removing them. The truth is that throughout this whole business Mr. Schurz has shown a narrow bureaucratic officialism, which has prevented his seeing that he has become the accomplice in a great act of wrong-doing to an unoffending people.

THEOLOGICAL EDUCATION IN AMERICA.

EVEN those who are not active in the membership of any church, must recognize the great and growing importance of the education of the ministry who are to fill the pulpits of the churches. The American ministry, in spite of the efforts of the newspapers to tempt its members to exchange wholesome influence for morbid notoriety, are a power in the land, whose use for the best ends is a matter of interest to every public-spirited citizen. It is true that the American people are very generally free from the tendency to ascribe a social and moral weight to a minister or priest, because of his ordination or consecration. They expect a man to pass for just what he is worth, and not, like a new silver dollar, for what some authority has stamped on him. But the American ministry, as a rule, will stand this test. They make themselves felt in society and in public life. They are recognized as worthy leaders in great social reforms. They weigh more than they count in society. Their fellow men recognize in them an order of more than usual earnestness and devotion,—men whose master-wish it is to do the right thing and to see righteousness prevail.

Not only are they a superior class, but their position fits them to bring their power to bear on society. The pulpit, as Mr. Carlyle says in *Past and Present*, is a vantage ground whose greatness even its occupants do not appreciate. It is a point from which a man may speak from the heart to the heart, as nowhere else in this world. And where it is made the channel of really thoughtful and earnest utterance, by a man born for the work, no greater engine for civilization and enlightenment can be imagined.

It is not possible to claim that it is always, or even ordinarily, so used. Those whose experiences in this regard have been the happiest, can probably recall no drearier hours in their lives than some they spent under "the droppings of the sanctuary;" and great is the number of ministers whose vocation must be a secret between themselves and heaven,—a secret into which other men have never been admitted. But after all deductions have been made, the pulpit remains a unique instrument for the moral purification of society. The Press is sometimes disposed to claim that it has superseded some of the pulpit's functions; but the claim cannot be substantiated. Just in so far as it does its own work well, the newspaper must reflect society in a broad, indiscriminate way, whose constant contemplation tends rather to depress than to elevate the moral nature of the majority of readers. It is the pulpit's privilege to deal with life not less truthfully but yet more discriminately, to insist on those aspects of it of which our moral remissness tends to make us oblivious, and to emphasize righteousness as the great end for which all this complex hurly-burly exists. It can turn men's thoughts away from the details, to the great central realities of human existence. It can divert their minds from the makeshift and incorrect standards of human judgment, to that perfect standard by which all acts are finally appraised. It can set itself against low and Mammonitish ideals of success, and call upon men to live for the great unselfish ends of human welfare. All this the pulpit can do, and in some measure has done. It is among the under-valued agencies of society, whose vast worth we should begin to discover in the great losses which would follow its removal.

It is true that the progress of time has robbed the pulpit of some of its functions. It is no longer, as it was in the age of the Reformation, the one centre of intellectual interest, to which the great mass of men had any access. In a day when there were no newspapers, no magazines, and no light literature, and when the political divisions of Europe had reference to theological distinctions, it was easy to listen to sermons which lasted for hours, and which had a freshness for their first hearers that no human being can now find in them. But it is also to be remembered that the pulpit of those days was often as unconventional as suited its unique position. Those who know Bishop Latimer's mother-wit,

or have read the sermons of the English Chrysostom, Henry Smith, are aware that the pulpit of those days was free-spoken, witty, and, even to our jaded palates, not devoid of a racy flavor. Wit, as distinguished from humor,—the gift of raising a scornful laugh *at* an objectionable person or thing, rather than a sympathetic laugh *with* them—was thought eminently in place in the early Protestant and the Puritan pulpit; and he who can read through Henry Smith's sermon on the text "Take heed how ye hear," without being amused as well as edified, has no eye for the good things of our older literature.

While the pulpit has shifted to a narrower and more conventional ground than in those days, it is not to be supposed that it employs less intellectual power in its cultivation. The volumes of sermons which appear every publishing season are enough to refute such an assumption. There are people who, from early misfortune, have acquired a horror of sermon literature,—who can only be induced to read Sterne's witty sermonettes by the knowledge that they were never preached. They would toil through a score of the heaviest productions of the second-rate Elizabethan play-wrights, and persuade themselves that they had found pleasure in the operation. But they shun the wit of Latimer, Smith, Fuller, Charnock, Gurnall and South, because these are clothed in sermon form; and, for the same reason, Barrow's profusion, Taylor's delicate eloquence, and Whitchcote's broad sense are forbidden ground to them. They will not admit that a proportion of our best literature, larger than of any one species of poetry, consists of sermons. And in our own age the sermon part of our literature is of greater importance than ever before. It is true that for only a small part of its volume can the claim be made that it is to take a permanent place in English literature. Yet even this may fairly be said of the sermons of William Ellery Channing, Cardinal Newman, Frederick Robertson, Frederick Maurice, James Martineau, Charles Kingsley and Philips Brooks. These are books which the world will not suffer to lapse out of memory, any more than it has allowed the sermons of St. Bernard, Martin Luther, Jeremy Taylor, Bossuet, Frederick Schleiermacher and Thomas Chalmers to be forgotten. And along with these works of the best minds, are a great multitude of volumes which deserve to rank with the best writing our age has to show.

It cannot, therefore, be a matter of indifference to us how men are trained for this unique office, and fitted to exercise a power which thus touches on men's lives at the motive point. It is true, indeed, that all great preachers are fitted for their work by nature. They are endowed with an instinctive sympathy with the spiritual side of every question, and with the spiritual wants of human nature. Thrust them into a social condition in which there is no pulpit, and they will find some other, if less suitable, channel of utterance. They will button-hole men, with Socrates; they will write pamphlets, or discourse to their social circle, of duty and the ideal. It is in them to carry other men's spiritual burdens, and the pulpit is simply the most natural way of letting it out of them. But *poeta nascitur et fit*. Even the inspired singer has to learn his trade. Tennyson owes half his power to his taking to heart what was said in Coleridge's *Table Talk*, of his defective mastery of the technique of his art. Mozart is greater than Beethoven, because to an equal genius he added a more thorough culture. And even the born preacher needs to be *made* a preacher,—needs the cumulative experience of other ages and times, to save him from the necessity of making a thousand mistakes. The practice followed by the principal Christian denominations of this country, of requiring evidence of a personal vocation to the work of the ministry, and yet prescribing a prolonged course of general and theological study, is one which has been declared to contain a gross contradiction. It has been said, that if the man has a vocation, that is enough; and the exploits of some one uneducated preacher are held up as proof that theological training is a superfluity. But the average quality of the lay preacher, it must be remembered, is far below that of the ministry; and the one or two individuals who have achieved success without the training, only serve to bring into stronger light the dreary and weary thing that passes for lay preaching in our great cities. Any one who has taken the trouble to attend the labors of the zealous brethren who address the public on our empty lots on a Sunday afternoon, will discover that there is a deeper depth in this matter than bad sermonizing.

In this country the training of the Christian ministry has occupied a fair share of public attention. It was for their sake that nearly all our colleges were established. Harvard's motto, *Pro*

Christo et Ecclesiâ, equally with the story of her first foundation, shows us that this was the chief object of her existence. Yale sustained the same relation to the churches of Connecticut; and when Samuel Johnson became an Episcopalian, his removal from his Yale tutorship followed as a matter of course. The College of Philadelphia, now the University of Pennsylvania, forms an apparent exception; but the chief difference was that in its field there was no established church, no church of the majority even for its patron, and consequently it served as a rallying-point for all the denominations of the city and state. As a rule, the institutions for higher education in America owe their very existence to the zeal of the churches of America, and to their purpose to possess an educated ministry. This is true even of those in which the connection is not directly traceable. It was the churches which made possible to us even our purely secular colleges, for it was they that awakened and cherished the popular respect for the kinds of knowledge which cannot be converted into dollars and cents. Without the churches, we should have had no Yale or Harvard; without Harvard and Yale, we should have had no Cornell or Johns Hopkins.

The American churches of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries followed the English traditions, as regards theological education. The candidate for holy orders usually pursued a course of university study, in which several branches were included expressly with a view to his future vocation. The bishop's examining chaplain required, besides the college degree, a more or less careful acquaintance with certain theological text-books. This acquaintance was acquired by private study, or if any aid was procured, it was that of some clerical friend or professional coach. In like manner there were theological elements in the course of the ordinary American college, whose presence could only be explained by reference to the leading purpose for which the college was founded. But these were not ample enough for the requirements of the ecclesiastical bodies, and must be supplemented by the private study of such recognized text-books as would fit the student for his "trials" before Presbytery or Association. And what was sometimes done in England became the usage in America,—the student pursued his special theological studies under the oversight of some learned and experienced minister

under whose care he attained some familiarity with the practical side of the work. This was the posture of affairs at the close of the last century, when it was judged necessary to make theological training more thorough and systematic than it had been hitherto. The colleges, as we believe, had so far yielded to the growing predominance of the secular spirit in American society, that they were contributing less to the special end for which they were created, and were laboring harder for the simple promotion of liberal education. They had nearly lost consciousness of their relation to a special class of their students, and construed their work as equally related to all the learned professions,—of which the other two were rapidly becoming as important as the ministry. At the same time, the reasons for institutions for the especial education of the ministry were brought into prominence by observation of what was done abroad, where English Dissenters especially had set the example of imparting a technical theological training to candidates for the ministry.

Hence the rise of the first *theological seminaries* in the United States, during the last decade of the eighteenth and the first of the nineteenth century. The term seminary (*seminarium*) was not a new one. It was introduced, we believe, into the theological vocabulary by the Jesuits. They gave this name to the special training schools in which they prepared their novices to enter the Order. For a long time, in English history, "seminary priest" was another name for a Jesuit; and their Seminary at Rheims was regarded as the headquarters of enmity to English Protestantism. The history of such words is worth watching. From the Jesuits came the technical use of the word *conversion*, as it was they who first insisted on a stage or period of tense religious feeling as the proper beginning of a Christian life. And from the Jesuits came this word *seminary*, as it was they who first devised separate and purely clerical institutions for the training of the priesthood. It is true that other orders and the regular clergy followed their example. Every Bishop was expected to have his diocesan seminary for the same purpose; and the Sulpicians at least have been as zealous seminarists as their models the Jesuits.

With the Jesuits then originated the idea of clerical education in more limited institutions than the Universities, and in a tenser atmosphere of clerical feeling. From them it passed to the Eng-

lish dissenters. The imitation was not intentional ; it grew out of the circumstances of the case. After the Restoration, the Universities were closed to all but the members of the established Church. It was not merely impossible to take a degree in them. Such was the discipline and oversight exercised, that no self-respecting dissenter could matriculate in them. But the old Puritan tradition which demanded an educated ministry, was still in vogue. They could not agree to see uneducated men in Owen's and Manton's places. On the other hand, they had no one except their ministry to receive an education higher than could be given at an ordinary academy. Few dissenters thought of entering the other learned professions. So far as they did so, it was by graduation from the shop of the country apothecary or the office of the country attorney. Consequently it was most natural that their schools of the prophets should assume a peculiarly theological character. What was taught of general literature, science, mathematics and the classics, was limited in quantity. Room must be made for lessons in Hebrew, New Testament Greek, Dogmatic Theology and the art of preaching. They did not, like the Jesuits, devise such institutions of set purpose to isolate their pupils from the broader scientific life of their nation. They had little or no choice in the matter.

From England, we believe, the theological seminary was transplanted to America. But it at once took a new character on our soil. Instead of a substitute, it became a supplement to the college or university. Ordinarily, it accepted no student to its course of study, who had not received a college degree. It merely undertook to do more thoroughly the work which individual ministers had hitherto done for young men who were candidates for the ministry. And of course it did it much better and more thoroughly. There was from the first a division of labor among the professors, which enabled each of them to do his work carefully. The professor whose business it was to teach Hebrew, was likely to be much more at home among the square black letters, than would the pastor of a church who had just "rubbed up" his Hebrew, so that his young friend might not catch him tripping. In some of the smaller bodies, it is true, the seminaries were manned by ministers in active work. But even in this case, the teaching might be expected to be better, since each of the reverend

gentlemen thus employed had but one branch on his hands. The only loss in the seminary system seemed to lie in the want of contact with practice. The student whose one teacher took him to the bedside of the sick and the dying, learnt something which no Seminary Faculty could well impart to him. But such losses accompany all gains, in this world of compensations.

In conceding that the establishment of theological seminaries was an improvement, we take leave to question its being the best thing that could have been done; or even if it was the best possible step in that period, it may be still be doubted if it is the best for our own.

Such seminaries are not the only means to secure thoroughness in theological training. The country which has done the most for theological science has very few such institutions as these. Protestant Germany has a few,—as for instance that at Wittenberg, over which Richard Rothe so ably presided. But the great majority of her theologians are trained in the Universities, and not in separate seminaries. With some, the very mention of Germany as an example is a sufficient argument against the practice. But it is to be remembered that, whatever objectionable features there are in the development of the theology and the church life of Germany may be traced to other circumstances than her educational methods. And under those methods there have been and are Universities in which the theological teaching is of the most conservative type, and to which students have been attracted from all parts of Germany. Such was Halle in Tholuck's best days. Such are still Erlangen and Rostock, and, we believe, Leipsic and Göttingen. With the exception of Tübingen in F. C. Baur's time, and Heidelberg since Schenkel became the ruling genius, it would be hard to specify a theological faculty in Germany that has not worked for the last fifty years rather against than with the negative tendencies of German theology; while the most objectionable of the German theologasters are those who never obtained a seat in any theological or other faculty,—Strauss, Feuerbach, Bruno Bauer, Schopenhauer, Büchner, and their like. But even were it otherwise in this regard, the burden of proof would certainly lie upon those who might maintain that the negative drift of German theology could be traced to the organization

of the theological faculties, and not, as C. B. Hundeshagen* has shown, to the serious social evils inherent in the national life of Germany.

The advantages of the University method of theological education may be considered under three heads. The first is the nature of this science and its relation to the idea of a University. The second is the effect of the University method on the teachers. The third is the effect on the students.

I. The idea of the university† is one which we have hardly accepted as yet in America. It is evoked by the experience that different branches of knowledge have subtle internal relations,—that there exists a substantial solidarity among them all. Each science can render services to all the rest, services of either a substantial or a methodical kind. For this reason, the mere specialist is not even the best man in his own department, and the first prerequisite for special studies is general culture. Hence, in a well-ordered University, the Faculty of Arts, or, as it is called in Germany, the Philosophic Faculty, serves as the vestibule to each of the other Faculties, and no one is allowed to proceed to the study of law, or medicine, or theology, without first taking his degree in the Arts. This rule, as we have seen, is generally enforced by our Theological Seminaries. But, in our American system, the Theological Faculty, while retaining this confession of its relation to a sisterhood of Faculties, stands in an isolated position from the rest. Theology in America deliberately breaks the band of academic fellowship, sanctions the practice of setting up isolated technical schools, and repudiates the University idea.

Both this particular science and the University itself lose something by this unnatural severance. The University loses by the want of a recognition that theology is a co-ordinate science, of equal honor and authority with the rest. It needs the constant reminder that there is a view of the universe which is not that of the physicist and the legist, but whose representatives have their word to say upon the problems of law and physical science, while they invite criticism of their own problems. The service of this

* See his remarkable book, *Der Deutsche Protestantismus*, 3d Edition, 1848.

† We use this word, not as excluding any institutions which have not assumed the name (such as Yale College), nor as including all those which have, but, as including all educational institutions which contain more than a single faculty.

constant reminder is of incalculable value. It cannot but affect the teaching even of the indifferent. For the theological hypothesis of the universe meets so many instincts in every human mind, and fits into so much of our involuntary reasoning as regards life,* that no man can live amid such reminders of that hypothesis, and keep himself impervious to their influence. Theology proclaims that there is a background of the infinite, which gives a deeper significance to all human affairs. It asserts an "Intelligence at the heart of things," whose care reaches somehow to the alighting of a sparrow and the fall of a hair. It declares that there is a great order established and developing in the world's history, by which the scattered fragments of humanity are to be gathered out of their isolation, their sorrows, and their enmities, into the unity of a joyous and unselfish brotherhood. It discloses the conception of God and of the divine, in which our civilization is rooted, and shows us, by contrast, those opposing conceptions in which other civilizations,—the Mohammedan, the Classical-Pagan, etc.,—had their roots. It asserts the instinctive belief men have in their own freedom and responsibility to be their grasp of a great truth, which no experience of the world's uniformity and the regular operation of law should lead us to abandon. Such are some of the aspects of the theological view of the universe. No sensible man should deny that they are capable of scientific investigation (using that term in its largest and truest sense) as to their truth or falsehood. And no such person will think of pronouncing it a matter of no moment whether they be true or false, or that any man who accepts their truth can think on other topics exactly as if he had never adopted these views.

If then this theological view of the universe be true, and we are arguing here only with those who accept it, its truth touches on all other truths, and should not be ignored in the treatment of those others. There is nothing in this view to check the zeal of the searcher into the sciences of history and of nature; there is much to stimulate that zeal, much to give it wise and fruitful

* As was remarked by the Ishmaelite who formerly contributed from his Note Book to this magazine, the habit of profane swearing, especially when practiced by avowed atheists like Col. Ingersoll, is of itself a confession that the mind demands a background of the infinite for human life. And it is a *reductio ad absurdum* of atheism, that it does not leave of the universe "enough to swear by." Hence the inconsistency so often observed in atheists, who continue to pray,—profanely.

direction. Faraday, and Liebig, and Simpson, and Forbes, and Carpenter, and Agassiz, have been no less successful in their own lines because they believed that their work was part of a great and intelligent order, whose results were not left to chance or to self-acting laws of development. And if theology can give the world of scholarship the assurance of such an order, it has the right to claim for itself the place of service and benefit to every other science. The Scholastic Theology* claims, indeed, that each of the others was her servant (*ancilla fidei*). But this was exactly to reverse the true relation. "Let him that would be chief among you be the servant of all" is the wiser maxim. It is one whose conditions theology alone can fulfil. For this is the centre of the sciences, not to be ministered unto, but to minister.

A university with no theological faculty, and a theological faculty standing in no relation to a university, are each forms of denial of this great truth of the relation of theology to the other sciences. Those who reject all theological science may rejoice in their mutual isolation. Those who hold, as the great majority of Americans now hold, that we have other light on man's life and destiny than can be gathered from natural science, should regret to see any arrangement which tends to isolate that light from those which the natural and historical sciences cast upon our path.

A further inducement to bring the teaching of theology back to our universities, is found in the possibility of a proper reconstruction of our university system. The present relation of the governing bodies to the teaching bodies of these institutions is eminently unsatisfactory. A board of trustees, generally a close corporation, with no especial pretensions to either learning or educational experience, and many of them men who have never received a college education of any sort, exercise at present the

*The fairest view of the attitude of the Scholastic Theology towards the other sciences, is found in Bonaventura's treatise, *De Reductione Artium ad Theologiam*. We quote a few sentences from his conclusion:—"Thus it is manifest in what wise the multiform wisdom of God, which is clearly delivered to us in sacred Scripture, is hidden in every kind of knowledge and in all nature. It is manifest, also, how all forms of knowledge minister to Theology. And, therefore, she assumes and makes use of words which belong to every part of knowledge. It is manifest, also, how large is the path of light, and how, in everything which is felt or known, God himself is latent. And this is the fruit of all sciences, that in all Faith should be built up. God should be honored, manners should be softened and harmonized, and divine consolations imbibed."

highest authority over our learned institutions. The several professors are nearly as much at their disposal as is a country school-teacher at that of the local school-board. The trustees can arrange courses of study, elect or remove professors and instructors, open or close technical schools, and even confer honorary degrees with or without the recommendation of the faculties concerned. And the notion of their omnipotence has become so general, that they find their authority evoked to set aside that of the faculties by exempting offenders against college law from the consequence of their acts. In many cases the college is so situated that the trustees can meet but once a year, and are obliged to leave matters to the control of the president and the faculties during the long interval. A former President of Yale is quoted as remarking that he would tremble for the future of that venerable college if its trustees met twice a year!

The reason advanced for this American arrangement is the supposed financial necessity. It is believed that the affairs of the college would be badly managed, and that it would be impossible to raise funds in case of need, unless the government of the institution were in the hands of such trustees. The example of the English colleges is certainly not confirmatory of this apprehension, nor does it justify the anomaly of putting our learned institutions under the control of unlearned bodies, and investing men who have no special fitness for the exercise of such responsibility, with the power of changing at pleasure the methods and *personelle* of great educational institutions, and with the right, *proprio motu*, to confer honorary degrees.

The Scottish University Act points to the proper and natural remedy for this state of things. The control of the universities was vested in the Town Councils of the cities in which they were situated, and candidates for the chairs were obliged to make their court to each of these gentlemen, when vacancies occurred. The attention of the Imperial Parliament was called to this unsuitable arrangement, and, in spite of the local resistance, they abolished it. All the powers heretofore vested in the Town Council were transferred to the University Senate, a body composed of all the faculties, and invested with all the university franchises. No financial mismanagement has resulted from this step, and the universities themselves have acquired a new vitality and energy since the de-

cision of all questions has passed into the hands of men who are or ought to be expert in such matters. It is to this precedent we would look, and not to any furnished by the German universities, as indicating the point at which the reform of our university system should aim. In Germany the bureaucratic system is applied to this as to all social arrangements. The Minister of Education and Worship fills vacant chairs and appoints *privat-docents*, but, as a rule, only upon the recommendation of the faculty or the Academic Senate, or both. So that even under the form of bureaucracy, the German universities enjoy a degree of self-government.*

We do not insist on the completeness of this parallel. The trustees of our American institutions are certainly men of an order superior to the linen-draper and tallow-chandler who composed the Town Councils of the Scottish cities. But, however estimable in themselves, they possess in few instances the fitness required for the decision of delicate educational questions. They fall very naturally into the habit of deferring to some one of their number, who is supposed to know something of the matter in hand, and accept his *ipse dixit* as final, because they have not the materials for an independent judgment. The conclusion thus reached is supposed to carry with it the weight of judgment represented by A, B, C, up to X, when in truth it reflects Mr. A's view alone.

The parallel fails also as regards the method by which any change must be effected. We have no omnipotent British Parliament, to set aside vested rights in this case. The existing authorities cannot be forced to abdicate. They will yield only to a public

* The demand, made in some quarters, that the control of the universities shall be vested in the whole body of the alumni, or that the trustees shall be chosen by them from their own number, is valuable as showing the sense that exists of the propriety of self-government. But the government of the alumni would be no better than that of the trustees, if so good. (1.) The more active part of the alumni consists always of the more recent graduates, who are full of unjust prejudices against some professors, and of equally unjust prepossessions in favor of others. This of itself disqualifies them for government. (2.) The alumni would know nothing of any educational methods except those in force in the institution itself. They would either avoid change, or they would make changes wildly. The professors, and even the trustees in most cases, have a wider range of educational experience. (3.) The alumni would naturally prefer one of their own number to every vacant chair, and thus stereotype the educational methods of the institution. (4.) The English usage upon which this demand originally based itself, represents the mediæval relation of the graduate to the university, and not the modern.

opinion whose justice they recognize, and after the new method has been tested by experience and found to work well.

Now in case such a change should be effected, it would be nothing less than unfortunate if we should be found to have no theological faculties in the new University Senates. For these bodies would then represent a weight of learned authority, such as now nowhere exists in this country. They would be courts of final appeal upon subjects which lay within their purview. They would, on remote and exceptional occasions, make their voices heard in the management of public affairs, as the German universities do. They would investigate and suppress current charlatanries. They would give direction to the anarchical movement of public opinion, and depose our newspaper kinglings from their seats of power. It is true, indeed, that the American clergy would have their representatives. The long tradition growing out of the ecclesiastical origin of nearly all our universities and colleges, together with the ecclesiastical control still retained in some of them, results in their election to many chairs in the Faculties of Arts and to some in those of Science. But they would be there as representatives of their respective sciences, as Professors of Greek, or of Mental and Moral Philosophy, and not of theological science, which would be absolutely unrepresented. This would be regrettable, not so much for the sake of the churches as of the public. Many of the problems upon which our universities will have to pronounce are theological, if not in their character, at least in some of their important bearings. And the decisions reached will not be more acceptable to the public or more accordant with eternal fact, because of the exclusion of theological experts from the University Senates.

II. A second reason for making theological education a part of University education is found in its probable effects upon the Professors of Theology. In the first place, it would keep them in contact with a broader intellectual and scientific life than can exist in a technical school of any sort. Every line of intellectual pursuit has its own weaknesses and temptations,—its *idola specūs* which come between the vision of its followers and the truth. The best practicable correction of these relative imperfections of vision is found in the friendly adjustments furnished by men of some other profession. The weakness of the purely theological temper of mind is seen most clearly in the monks and monkish

professors of the middle ages. Living in the ceaseless contemplation of the final Cause of things, they failed to grasp the great order of secondary causes amid which our life has been placed. They saw in every notable or unexplained event a miracle, a direct interposition of Providence. The large truth obscured to them the lesser truths, which are no less portions of the divine order. This characteristic weakness in the mere theologian comes into view every time a great popular calamity, such as an epidemic, comes upon society. We are then told "It is a judgment on us" for this or that sin, which the theologian thinks particularly heinous. Thus the cholera is sent to punish our Sabbath-breaking and the like. A more reverential attitude of mind towards the divine order, would enable us to see that such calamities do come on us for the violation of physical and social laws,—that their advent is a *judgment* of us, in the true and proper sense of the word, viz.: a trial whether we have been obeying or breaking those laws. And the pestilence, by attacking first the poorest and most neglected classes, is a test of us, whether we have been living in neglectful indifference towards them of whom we were in duty bound to take the most care. An old divine says: "You may read your sin in the light of your punishment." Translate his saying into our modern speech, and it means that the law of cause and effect governs such matters, without removing them from the sphere of ethical responsibility.*

The theologian, therefore, needs the constant contact of other minds, just as do other specialists of every class. He needs to be constantly reminded of those principles of scientific method, which it is his temptation to forget. And in this age, when the intellectual tendencies are often unfriendly to the recollection of the truths he has to proclaim, he needs to be able to put himself into other men's shoes, if he is to speak to them effectually, and without making assumptions which they cannot agree to. We here touch upon one of the most prominent sources of the theologian's failure to reach and influence his fellow men. Too often it seems as if he cannot begin at the beginning of the great subjects he attempts to discuss,—at the point where he can force other men to

* That theologians have not all learnt this great truth, is evident from Dr. McCosh's recent utterances in regard to the outbreak of malarial fever among the students of Princeton College.

start with him. Most of the attempts made to discuss the relations of Science and Religion, remind one of the answer made by a young and zealous missionary, who was setting out for India. "Where do you mean to begin in your teaching the natives?", a friend asked him. "Oh, at the very beginning, with justification by faith," he replied. He had not the faintest idea of the long propædeutic required to enable a Hindoo to understand the word *justification*, or that he was dealing with a people into whose speech he could not translate the first verse of the Bible!

In the second place, a university position would give the theological professor an independent position which he does not enjoy in a theological seminary under denominational control. He would be able to feel that his business was with the whole truth of the subjects he taught, and not with so much of it as could be brought within the lines of denominational belief. It is, next to her philosophical culture, this freedom of teaching which makes the theology of Germany so fruitful, and makes the rest of the theological world her debtors. The liberated theology of that one country has made more great advances in science, even when judged by a strictly orthodox standard, than has been made throughout all the rest of Christendom. And no sensible man now thinks of treating with thoroughness any theological topic, without asking what the Germans have already said and thought on the same subject. They are our masters in Exegesis, in Church History, in Dogmatics, in everything but Pastoral Theology. They are inferior to English and Americans in preaching, as their language is one in which few people can be eloquent; and as regards the other branches of pastoral work, the social conditions are so different that we can learn but little from their elaborate and careful treatises.

Now the American professor of theology is one who is denied not all freedom of movement, but a great deal which is necessary to energetic progress. He generally subscribes to an elaborate Confession of Faith, as a condition of holding his chair. In many instances he must renew his subscription as often as the seminary authorities require. He eats the church's bread, not that of science. He is of all men the most watched, lest any outburst of freedom in utterance should corrupt the minds of the young theologians. In the opinion of many good people, he has done his duty best when he

has most thoroughly crushed in his hearers all disposition to question conclusions formulated a quarter of a millennium ago, and has put them in an attitude of thorough and uncompromising hostility to all the tendencies and questionings of his own time. Let us not be construed as saying that he always, or even as a rule, complies with this ideal of his position. It is indeed wonderful how well he often serves science, under such unhappy conditions, and how happily he reconciles the claims of denominational loyalty with those of loyalty to scientific truth. It is the position of which we complain, not the men.

It may be said that orthodoxy is conserved by this arrangement, that the inroads of heresy are prevented, and that those who regard orthodoxy as the whole and simple truth have every reason for maintaining it intact. We take the liberty of questioning this supposition. We believe that the general influence of our orthodox denominations on public thought is very decidedly weakened by this display of timidity. The theologians are discredited before the world by the general notion that they are saying, not what they have concluded on scientific grounds, but what their denomination requires of them. And when a professor's bread is made dependent upon his maintenance of a given thesis, no great weight will be attached by the average man to his advocacy of that thesis. The world's summing up will be that of Tennyson's Northern Farmer:—

A thout he said what he owt to ha' said
An a coom'd away.

We have assumed that the theological professor in a University would enjoy the liberty of teaching which would make his loyalty to his church and her orthodoxy a purely voluntary loyalty, and thus give it its proper weight in the community of opinion. But we say so on the assumption that the restrictions now imposed in colleges which are under denominational control will be removed. For, at present, the professors in such colleges are not free. Prof. Toy, a rising Hebraist, was recently removed from his college chair because he took a view of the meaning of a passage in Isaiah of which the religious newspapers did not approve. Prof. W. Q. Scott has just been dismissed from his chair in the Presbyterian College, at Wooster, Ohio, because of some undefinable heretical tendency in his teaching, the Trustees refusing him even

an investigation or trial, and declining any definite explanation of their action. Nor are these the only cases of recent date. Those who inflict such penalties are among the worst enemies of the cause they claim to represent. They would rather see intellectual stagnation in our theological life, than have the waters stirred by any hand that did not move in a prescribed direction. But they are weakening the public influence of every intellectual representative of their own cause, by creating a feeling that those who represent it are intellectual slaves, who dare not speak otherwise if they would.

Such an impression would be especially unhappy at the present time. There is forming in America a literary and intellectual class such as was hardly known fifty years ago. It already exerts a great influence over the American people. The minister meets that influence in his pastoral visits; the Sunday-school teacher encounters it in his class. It is an influence which works against the Church, and even against earnestness in feeling and seriousness in life, as often as with them. The scepticism diffused among this class is a new thing in America. Blatant infidelity of the Ingersoll type is not new; there is less of it now than in the days of Paine, Fannie Wright and Abner Kneeland. But the new unbelieving tendency, nourished on European scepticism, is a different matter. It is more reasonable, more courteous, always decent in its treatment of what it disbelieves. It is for the Church a matter of great moment that her representatives should enter this class as its equals, and fuse with them, so as to turn the influence of our literature into less objectionable channels. But they will never do so, so long as they are distrusted as retained advocates, instead of being regarded as men of free and independent judgment. The "open sesame" to these circles, for any man of capacity, is the evidence that he is free to think, and free to speak, according to his best insight into the truth.

III. The influence of the University teaching of theology upon its students would be beneficial. The atmosphere of a technical school is not the best even for the growing specialist. No one, we believe, who has watched his own states of mind, ever passed from college to the Theological Seminary without observing a decided change in the atmosphere. He is impressed, of course, with the gravity, the devotion, the learning of the new set of

professors. But the air of the place is less free. He may like it for that. His temperament may make him enjoy the moral tension of the Seminary. His intellect may be pleased by the unity of the impression it receives. But the mind grows less in breadth than before. The graduate comes away from the Seminary with his whole thought shaped in conventional moulds of a given pattern. He is now nothing if not theological. He is too much so, even for the uses of the Church. His earlier attempts at preaching lack contact with life. They remind you only of the lecture-room. To use Leighton's fine comparison, he is, for the time, a sheep that grows grass on its back, and not wool. After a while, if the man has any capacity, this wears off, and the student discovers that the formulas of the lecture-room need a little enlargement to fit this actual world, and that there are things in heaven and earth of which even Prof. Park has never dreamed.

Such a temporary exaltation as this would be, perhaps, unavoidable under any system of theological education. It represents a stage of mental growth, which is harmful only to those few who never get beyond it. But theological training in a university would be much less likely to produce it. The student also would be affected by the larger atmosphere. He would be tempted to combine with his theological studies others, such as physiology or natural history, which would be of vast use to him in later life. He would come, perhaps, into some contact with professors of other faculties, and certainly with their students. He would need less time to settle down to his real work; and he would possess outlooks upon life which would bring him into closer sympathy with his fellow-men.

A further advantage would be the attraction to the study of theology of young men of ability, who otherwise would adopt no profession or a different one. The university's recognition of law and medicine as substantial sciences gives them advantages over theology. They are the first to present their claims, unless the home influences favor theology. The bar gets many men whose truest vocation lies in the pulpit, and whose natures respond to its demand for a higher self-denial and a warmer sympathy with the spiritual wants of men. Some of them, like Dr. Herrick Johnson, at last find their way to the pulpit. The majority go on, spending on the law capacities which better fitted them for the other work.

Had the three great professions been presented to them equally and continually by the life and organization of their own university, —had theology not been kept in the background and in the monastic seclusion of a distant seminary, their choice might have been different. Almost any young man feels a certain reluctance in following even a real vocation to theology. He is apt to think of it as involving professions, on his part, which may seem to his associates worse than ridiculous. It surely is a mistake to adopt any arrangement which increases this difficulty, and which tends to co-operate with natural ambition in deciding him against the ministry.

The other two "learned professions" are more than full. There are three times as many doctors in these United States as the people require. Lawyers are now manufactured at a rate which far exceeds the demand. Hence the tendency of the former to take to farming, and the latter to politics. The lawyers of America would starve, were it not for the constitutional enactment by which they are given all the offices. But of fairly good ministers, there are not enough, nor anything like enough. The want would be visible, were it not that the churches try to fill up the want by a bad educational policy, and bring into the ministry scores of men who have little or no fitness, and whom no congregation will continue long to hear. The policy which we condemn is that of carrying a man through his curriculum of study on the shoulders of an educational society or board, instead of letting him plunge in and fight his way through, as the rising doctor or lawyer must. In theological study there is little or no conflict for existence, and consequently no extinction of the unfit, no survival of the fittest. If all such societies and boards were abolished, and cases of special hardship left to the provision which private persons would make for them, the whole matter would arrange itself. And until it is so left, the measures taken to secure many students, will exclude some good ones. Young men are repelled from a course which excludes effort, and in which any shiftless, lifeless dolt may make out as well as the best.

When Paul went into Arabia to study, no educational society took him on its hands. There, as in his later ministry, he worked for his living with his own hands. And many of the best men

who have found their way into the pulpit, had to live after the same fashion on their way to it.

In concluding these suggestions, we have to declare that we have been moved to make them solely by the desire to see theological education put upon a better footing, and to have the Christian Church and its pulpit become a still greater power for good in the whole land.

JOHN DYER.

R. D. BLACKMORE AS A NOVELIST.

THE novel is a form of writing almost peculiar to the present stage of civilization. It can hardly be said to date farther back than the reign of George II, although there are premonitions and anticipations in Cervantes and Defoe, and perhaps in that wonderful book, Von Grimmelshausen's *Simplicissimus*, a picture of German life in the Thirty Year's War, by an actual observer of the scenes he describes. The old Romance literature, which so abounded in Spain and France, differed from the novel in its lack of verisimilitude, its preference of the improbable, its general want of contact with domestic life. The whole interest of the genuine novel turns upon the relation of the story to household existence. It centres at the hearthstone. While there may be in it a sprinkling of adventure in the world of public life or amid natural dangers, this must always be secondary; and the most natural theme for the novelist is that old but ever new story of love and marriage,—of young souls discovering each its own incompleteness, and finding its necessary complement in one of the other sex.

This generation has seen more than one great novelist pass away from us. We have lost Bulwer and Thackeray, and Charles Lever, and Hawthorne and Dickens, and the two Kingsleys. We have seen Disraeli and George Eliot lay aside their pens; and at times we are moved to ask whether the succession of good writers is to be maintained worthily, or we are to look back, as Germany does, to the days when we had great novelists, and had not to glorify Spielhagens, and Freytags and Sacher-Masochs. But we

see no reason to fear any lapse in the succession, even although we have none left of the same power as Thackeray and George Eliot. Mr. George Macdonald has given us a new type of novel and has founded a school of his own. We are proud to know that his first American welcome recognition as a good novelist was uttered in our own pages. Mr. Wilkie Collins, Mrs. Oliphant, Miss Thackeray, Miss Ingelow, the two Trollopes, are still productive writers; and in William Black and R. D. Blackmore we possess writers who form a school by themselves; and may fairly be classed together in spite of their great and manifold differences.

Messrs. Black and Blackmore may be called the picturesque school of novelists. To the ordinary, uninterested observer, as a rule, landscape paintings form about the least interesting class of pictures. Even Mr. Ruskin repudiates landscape in which there is no human centre of interest. But the least observant visitor to an Art Gallery is often fascinated by some picture of natural scenery, in which the artist, without having recourse to exaggeration, has managed to transfer the very life of nature to his canvass. The bit of a picture may contain nothing very striking. It may not even be a happily selected subject. But it makes you feel that the painter has got at nature from within, not from without,—that he has caught her secret and is imparting it to you. As you stand there, you almost forswear your prejudice against landscape, but the rest of the catalogue restores your first feeling, while you are forced for the future to make an exception.

Far worse and more unpopular than all attempts to put nature on canvass, have been the efforts to present her through the medium of literature. It has been done best by those great masters who have rested content with a few suggestive touches, and who thus appealed to the imagination of the reader to help them out. But the ordinary attempts at more elaborate description, whether in prose or in poetry, are generally bad in themselves, and even when good they are not loved by the uninterested public. Who ever lingered over Scott's descriptions of scenery? or Bulwer's? or Thackeray's? It might be alleged that Dickens is an exception: but if he be, it is through his drawing his pictures from an imaginary, grotesque world, which is novel to his readers. A more real exception is furnished by such passages as that wonderful description of Florence, with which *Romola* opens.

But in this respect a new era in English literature opened with Mr. Ruskin's *Modern Painters*. Mr. Ruskin began his career as the student of Turner, of the one painter who was not half color-blind, and who has revealed to us the effects of light, shade and color, which the more developed eye of coming generations will find everywhere.* From Turner he learnt the subtle secrets of nature in all her moods, and put into words the fine effects which every one has felt, but none had ever described. Even those who dispute Mr. Ruskin's claim to rank as a great art-critic, are fully prepared to assert his worth as a literary interpreter of nature, and to pronounce him the author, in this regard, of a new species of literary art.

We do not say that our picturesque novelists owe anything consciously and directly to Mr. Ruskin. They may or may not have been ardent students of the "Oxford Graduate's" brilliant and indignant pamphlet on Turner's pictures. But we do say that their genius owes much to the new atmosphere which Mr. Ruskin created, and that but for his writing, their own books would have been different.

In tempo and temperament the two differ very decidedly. Mr. Black is a man of society. His "origin of co-ordinates" is in Rotten Row. He loves nature with the passion of one who sees her in contrast to his ordinary surroundings, but who recalls his childhood's love for her beauty. Whether he describes his native Scotland, or the quieter scenery of central England, or the bare cliffs of Cornwall, you are looking through the eye of an adopted Londoner, who is laboring to make the children of the Land of Cockayne understand and feel his writing. His *Princess of Thule* has given him rank forever as a descriptive writer, though, for our part, we do not put *The Strange Adventures of a Phacton* a whit behind that masterpiece.

Mr. Blackmore, on the contrary, writes from the forest depths,

*It is now known that the perception of color has been a thing of very slow growth within even recent and historic times. The adjectives employed to designate color in the ancient literatures, are few and indiscriminating. The color-blindness which still afflicts so large a proportion of the race, was then universal; and Mr. Turner, so far from having diseased eyes—as a French physiologist has suggested,—probably differed from other men in seeing more truly, as standing at a more advanced point in the development of sight. "I do not find such effects in nature," a young artist once told him. "Don't you wish you did?" was his reply.

not for Londoners, but for all men. An Oxfordshire man by birth, he gives us his native scenery in *Cripps the Carrier*, but he is far from insisting on that phase of English nature. His stories are a series of studies of different localities. *Cradock Nowel* brings before us the woody depths of the New Forest, and the adjacent south coast. *Lorna Doone* is laid in western Somersetshire, in the time of the later Stuarts. *The Maid of Sker* describes the adjacent Devonshire, and the coast of South Wales across the Bristol Bay. And his last story—we have omitted several,—*Mary Ancrley*, is placed at Flamborough Head, and in the adjacent part of Yorkshire. Should he continue the series, his novels might be regarded as a new *Picturesque England*, with the local coloring of character as well as scenery.

While it is true that a sensible and appreciative reader will rather look out than skip over the descriptive parts of Mr. Blackmore's novels, it is equally true that the interest in the human element of the story is never allowed to flag. His plots, indeed, are generally of awkward construction, and highly improbable. *Cripps the Carrier* is perhaps the worst in this respect. The stock properties—stolen children, lost heirs, mysterious murders,—are drawn upon very freely; and, like Sir Walter Scott and Charles Dickens, Mr. Blackmore seldom takes the trouble to finish his stories in as good style as he begins them. But the people of the story are always interesting,—well conceived as local and class types, real souls in real bodies, and overflowing with genuine human nature. We part with regret from these representatives of solid Anglo-Saxondom, with their phlegmatic temperaments and their huge appetites.

Of all Mr. Blackmore's books, *Lorna Doone* is the masterpiece. It is an historical novel, being based upon the story of an actual band of outlaws, which inhabited the Doone Valley, in Somersetshire in the seventeenth century, and kept the surrounding country in terror until put down by the county militia. The countryside is still full of the horrors of their doings; and Mr. Blackmore has worked into his narrative more than one of the dark deeds and heartless sayings of the gang, as preserved by this local tradition. The hero of the story is the "grit Jan Rid" whose father has been killed by the Doones, but who finally suppresses them. Into his mouth the narrative is put, and it he who finally marries

the beautiful Lorna, whom he has rescued her from their hands. Jan is a wonderful compound of native knighthood, shrewd humor, and Anglo-Saxon watchfulness for "the main chance."

Of the descriptive parts of the story the best is the account of the severe winter of frost and snow, in which the campaign on the Doones was begun. One of the peculiarities of Mr. Blackmore's descriptive style, in this and some others of his earlier works, is the peculiar and marked rhythm of his prose. As Mr. Coventry Patmore has shown, all readable prose has a rhythm less marked than that of poetry; and he instances the 12th and 13th verses of the Epistle of Jude in our English Bible as a passage exceedingly difficult to read, because of its wide departure from the established rhythm of English prose. In some prose writings this is more marked than in others. It is so in the English Bible generally, especially in the poetical parts of the Old Testament; also in the English Prayer-Book, and, as Prof. F. A. March shows, in parts of Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*. In *Lorna Doone* the rhythm is too marked to be accidental, though not so marked as to escape an unobservant reader; sometime the natural order of the words is changed to secure it. The effect will be different on different readers, but most, we think, will be pleased with it, if they observe it at all.

The Maid of Sker is hardly less exciting, although the scene is laid in the time of "Boney's Wars." A worshipful Devonshire parson plays the part of the villain of the story, and is either a transcript from life, as the author seems to claim, or a wonderfully good conception. Davy, the narrator, is a Welshman and humorist, who has come over into Devonshire to escape the unpleasant consequences of some of his acts. In him we have distinctly a new type of humor, the Welsh type. The nursery rhyme is no doubt unjust to the nature of the principality in its actionable statement:

Taffy was a Welshman,
Taffy was a thief;

but it does no injustice to this Taffy. A more delightful rogue never breathed. Although from first to last he is cheating every human being he comes in contact with, yet he all the time retains the strongest conviction of his own sterling integrity, and if the reader be not on his guard, he will nearly persuade him that it is a fact. And although the author nowhere steps in to contradict his

braggart statements of his own prowess, yet everywhere he is lying about his brave deeds. We know of no unheroic conception in modern literature which is more racy and original than fisherman Davy. But he divides the interest with Davy's "little maid,"—the heroine of the story, who has drifted ashore in an open boat. There is no more beautiful picture of child life and character than this. Mr. Blackmore wrongs himself in not having devoted his attention more to this side of his art. He might be our English Victor Hugo, if he would. In this story it is the terrible sand-storm which furnishes the chief piece of description. These storms have been greatly destructive of life and property on the shores of the Bristol Channel, and present a phenomenon with which we are little familiar.

Passing by his other stories,—although the description of the great wind-storm in *Cradock Nowell* might be mentioned as Mr. Blackmore's masterpiece—we come to his last. *Mary Anerley*, as we have said, centres at Flamborough, on the Yorkshire coast, in a promontory shut in by the Dane's Dyke from the rest of the shire:

"A thousand years ago the Dane's Dyke must have been a very grand entrenchment, and a thousand years ere that perhaps it was still grander; for learned men say that it is a British work, wrought out before even the Danes had ever learned to build a ship. Whatever, however, may be argued about that, the wise and the witless do agree about one thing—the stronghold inside it has been held by the Danes, while severed by the Dyke from the inward parts; and these Danes made a good colony of their own, and left to their descendants distinct speech and manners, some trace of which are existing even now. The Dyke is nothing more than a deep trench, skillfully following the hollows of the ground, and cutting off Flamborough Head and a solid canth of high land from the rest of Yorkshire. The corner so intercepted, used to be, and is still called 'Little Denmark;' and the in-dwellers feel a large contempt for all their out-door neighbors."

"Flamburians speak a rich burr of their own, broadly and handsomely distinct from that of outer Yorkshire. The same sagacious contempt of all hot haste and hurry (which people of impatient fibre are too apt to call a 'drawl') may here be found, as in other Yorkshire, guiding and retarding that headlong instrument, the tongue. Yet even here there is advantage on the side of Flamborough—a larger resonance, a larger breadth, a deeper power of melancholy, and a stronger turn up of the tail of discourse, by some

called the end of the sentence. Over and above all these there dwell in 'Little Denmark' many words foreign to the real Yorkshireman. But alas! the merits of their speech cannot be embodied in print without sad trouble, and result (if successful) still more saddening. . . . When they are left to themselves entirely, they have so much solid matter to express, and they ripen it in their minds and throats with a process so deliberate, that a stranger might condemn them briefly, and be off without hearing half of it. Whenever this happens to a Flamborough man, he finishes what he proposes to say, and then says it all over again to the wind."

"A genuine summer day pays a visit nearly once in the season to Flamborough; and when it does come, it has a wonderful effect. Often the sun shines brightly there, and often the air broods hot with thunder; but the sun owes his brightness to the sweep of the wind, which sweeps away his warmth as well, while, on the other hand, the thunder-clouds, like heavy smoke capping the headland, may oppress the air with heat, but are not of sweet summer's beauty."

"For once, however, the fine day came, and the natives made haste to revile it. Before it was three hours old, they had found a hundred and fifty faults with it. Most of the men truly wanted a good sleep, after being lively all night upon the waves, and the heat and the yellow light came in upon their eyes, and set the flies a-buzzing all around them; and even the women, who had slept out their time, and talked quietly, like the clock ticking, were vexed with the sun, which kept their kettles from good boiling, and wrote upon their faces the years of their life. But each made allowance for her neighbor's appearance, on the strength of the troubles she had been through. For the matter of that, the sun cared not the selvage of a shadow what was thought of him, but went his bright way with a scattering of clouds and a tossing of vapours anywhere. Upon the few fishermen, who gave up hope of sleep, and came to stand dazed in their door-ways, the glare of white walls and chalky stones, and dusty roads, produced the same effect as if they had put on their fathers' goggles. Therefore they yawned their way back to their room, and poked up the fire, without which, not Flamborough, no hot weather at Flamborough would be half hot enough.

"The children, however, were wide awake, and so were the washerwomen, whose turn it had been to sleep last night for the labors of the morning. These were plying hand and tongue in a little field by the three cross-roads, where gaffers and gammers of bygone times had set up troughs of proven wood, and the bilge of a long storm-beaten boat, near a pool of softest water. Stout brown arms were roped with cord, and wedding-rings looked

slippery things, and thumb-nails burdened with inveterate black, like broad beans ripe for planting, shone through a hubbub of snowy froth; while sluicing and wringing and rinsing went on over the bubbled and lathery turf; and every handy bush or stub, and every tump of wiry grass, was sheeted with white, like a ship in full sail, and shining in the sun glare.

"From time to time these active women glanced back at their cottages, to see that the hearth was still alive, or at their little daughters squatting under the low wall which kept them from the road, where they had got all the babies to nurse, and their toes and other members to compare, and dandelion chains to make."

Although a fishing-town, the place has no regular or proper harbor, a fact which perhaps commended it to its old British and Danish occupants, since no one could effect a landing, if he were met with opposition. At the foot of the cliffs lies a cove with sloping bottom "like the grain shoot of a mill or a screen for riddling gravel. . . . The long desolation of the sea rolls in with a sound of melancholy, the gray bog droops its folds of drizzle in the leaden-tinted troughs, the pent cliffs overhang the flapping of the sail, and a few yards of pebble and weed are all that a boat may come home upon harmlessly. Yet here in the old time landed men who carved the shape of England; and here, even in these lesser days, are landed uncommonly fine cod." And after the boats are beached, they have to be windlassed up the high, precipitous, gravelly cliffs.

"Each boat has her own special course to travel up, and her own special berth of safety, and she knows every jag that will gore her on the roads, and every flint from which she will strike fire. . . . With a view to this clambering ruggedness of life, all these boats receive from their cradle a certain limber rake and accommodating curve, instead of a straight pertinacity of keel, so that they may ride over the scandals of this arduous world."

Here it was that Robin Lyth, the hero of the story, was found on the path by which the boats are raised and lowered to the sea. And here, under the care of a fisherman, whose wife had lost all her children, he grew up a venturesome "Free Trader," living by the illicit traffic with the continent during "Boney's Wars,"—a favorite time with Mr. Blackmore for the chronological location of his stories. The interest of the story turns partly upon his love adventures with Mary Anerley, and partly on his escape from the pursuit of the excise man. At last he passes under a cloud, be-

cause an excise officer is shot by one of his own men in an attempt to capture Robin Lyth, and the latter enters the navy where he rises under Nelson to the rank of lieutenant, and, after the detection of the real murderer, marries the heroine. Anerley farm, which lies just outside of the Dike, is the centre of the sunshine in the story :—

“ A place of smiling hope and comfort, and content with quietude ; no memory of man about it runneth to the contrary ; while every ox and horse and sheep and fowl and frisky porker is full of warm domestic feeling and each homely virtue. For this land, like a happy country, has escaped for years and years the affliction of much History. It has not felt the desolating tramp of lawyer or land agent, nor has been bombarded by fine and recovery, lease and release, bargain and sale, Doe and Roe and Geoffry Styles and the rest of the pitiless shower of slugs, ending with a charge of demons. . . . Here stands the homestead and here lies the meadow-land ; there walk the kine (having no call to run) ; and yonder the wheat in the hollow of the hill, bowing to the silvery stroke of the wind, is touched with the promise of increasing gold. As good as the cattle and the crops themselves are the people that live upon them ; or at least they try to be so, though not, of course, so harmless or faithful or peaceful or charitable. But still, in proportion they may be calied as good ; and in fact they believe themselves much better. . . .

“ From generation to generation, man and beast and house and land have gone on in succession here, replacing, following, renewing, repairing and being repaired, demanding and getting more support, with such judicious give and take that now in the August . . . the farm is quite at ease, and in the very best of heart, man and horse and land and crops, and the cock that crows the time of day. . . .

“ Master Anerley was turned quite lately of his fifty-second year, and hopeful (if so pleased the Lord), to turn a good many more years yet, as a strong horse works his furrow. For he was strong and of a cheerful face, ruddy, square and steadfast, built up also with firm body to a wholesome nature, and able to show the best man on the farm the way to swing a pitch-fork. Yet might he be seen upon every Lord's day, as clean as a new-shelled chestnut ; neither at any time of the week was he dirtier than need be. Happy alike in the place of his birth, his lot in life, and the wisdom of the powers appointed over him, he looked up with a substantial faith, yet with a solid reserve of judgment, to the Church, the justices of the peace, spiritual lords and temporal, and above all his majesty George III. Without any reserve of judgment,

which could not deal with such low subjects, he looked down upon every Dissenter, every pork dealer, and every Frenchman. What he was brought up to, that he would abide by; and the sin beyond repentance, to his mind, was the sin of the turn-coat.

“With all these hard-set lines of thought, or of doctrine (the scabbard of thought, which saves its edge and keeps it out of mischief), Stephen Anerley was not hard or stern or narrow-hearted. Kind and gentle and good to everyone who ‘knew how to behave himself,’ and dealing to every man full justice—meted by his own measure—he was liable even to generous acts, after being severe and having his own way. But if anybody ever got the better of him by lies, and not fair bartering, that man had wiser not begin to laugh inside the Riding. Stephen Anerley was slow but sure; not so very keen perhaps, but grained with kerns of maximed thought, to meet his uses as they came, and to make a rogue uneasy. To move him from such thoughts was hard, but to move him from a spoken word had never been found possible.”

“At Anerley farm the land was equal to the stock it had to bear, whether of trees or corn or cattle or hogs or mushrooms or mankind. The farm was not so large and rambling as to tire the mind or foot, yet wide enough and full of change,—rich pasture, hazel copse, green valleys, fallows brown, and golden breast-lands pillowing into nooks of fern, clumps of shade for horse or heifer, and for rabbits sandy warren, furzy clover for hare and partridge, not without a little mere for willows and wild ducks. And the whole land, with a general slope of liveliness and rejoicing, spread itself well to the sun, with a strong inclination toward the morning, to catch the cheery import of his voyage across the sea.

“The pleasure of this situation was the more desirable, because of all the parts above it being bleak and dreary. Round the shoulders of the upland, like the arch of a great arm-chair, ran a barren, scraggy ridge, whereupon no tree could stand upright, no cow be certain of her own tail, and scarcely a crow breast the violent air by stooping ragged pinions, so furious was the rush of wind when any power awoke the clouds; or sometimes, when the air was jaded with continual conflict, a heavy settlement of brackish cloud lay upon a waste of chalky flint.”

Besides the Flamborough and Anerley Farm people, there is another group, which the author seems at first to have meant to make central to the story. The Yordases, of Scargate Hall, are a violent, overbearing race, in which quarrels between father and son are traditional. Robin Lyth is the lost heir of a dispossessed Yordas, who has gone to the East Indies to seek his fortune, and who, it seems, is the true heir of the estate, his father's will to

bestow it on his sisters being invalid through a previous settlement, discovered during the progress of the story. The Yordas group is chiefly important as bringing on the scene "Geoffrey Mordacks, of York City, General Factor and Land Agent," whom Sir Duncan Yordas employs to find his lost boy. Mordacks is one of Mr. Blackmore's finest conceptions,—a man of clear grit in honesty, but the sharpest eye to the main chance. Full of tricks and windings, he puts on a great show of candor. Under the hardest whinstone surface, he hides a kindly heart. He loves his dinner beyond the average run of such affection, but he loves success in his work still more. He is the *Deus ex machinâ* of the story; and we find in him and Farmer Anerley, the two best types of that shrewd Yorkshire character, whose astuteness is reflected in the saying: "I'm Yorkshire, too."

Mr. Blackmore has an eye to the picturesque in character, as well as in nature. In this he goes beyond Mr. Black, whose Highlanders are typically, but not individually, picturesque. Mr. Blackmore loves the British type, its shrewd common sense, its vigor of appetite, its stolid conservatism. To the deeper places of life and character he has not the insight shown by George Eliot or George Macdonald. He is of the earth, earthy, but of good, honest earth. His people are fine church-going pagans, devoid of spiritual awe, of enthusiasm, of outlook beyond the day's routine. His favorite clergymen are men of the old school, like Dr. Upround of Flamborough. "He is a wise man, who knows what other men are, and how seldom they desire to be told the same thing more than a hundred and four times in the year." For anything more in earnest, our author has no sympathy, as may be seen by his picture of the high churchman in *Cripps the Carrier*.

The secret of his power in describing nature is his subtle sympathy. The birds and beasts are his brothers, and even the hills and trees are of kin not far removed. The pathetic fallacy, from which Sir Walter Scott and he alone of our poets, Mr. Ruskin says, is free, is not wanting in Mr. Blackmore's writing. But his mind is of a broadly robust type, and he ascribes to nature, not human blues, or weak and puling sentimentalism, but a fine healthy enjoyment of existence, and a eupeptic view of things in general. He is a prose Shakespeare, with Shakespeare's Saxon breadth and spiritual limitations.

THE ISSUES OF THE CAMPAIGN.

THERE is every reason to believe that the people of the United States are to be spared the heat and excitement of a bitterly contested presidential election. There are no elements in the political situation which tend to produce great popular feelings of the malevolent kind. And while great issues are to be presented to the people for their decision, none of these takes the shape of an urgent and terrible danger to the Republic. For once the issue is clearly and plainly defined, as between the Republican party and its principles on the one hand, and the Democratic party and its principles on the other. And we shall look to the election of 1880, as presenting a fairer decision on that simple issue, in those States in which there is a free vote, than we have had at any time since the war. For this once, the question is not complicated by any personal or merely temporary issues.

The attempt to make the campaign turn on personal considerations has decidedly broken down. The scrutiny of the record of each candidate, which has been going on since their nomination, has not resulted in furnishing any basis for a personal appeal against either. No man, who wishes his word to command popular respect, will dare to say of either candidate, "This man should not be chosen President of the United States, because his history shows him to be morally unworthy of that honor." There is room for objection to the political record of either. Republicans may, from their standpoint, take exceptions to General Hancock's career as military governor of Louisiana. Democrats may do the same as regards Mr. Garfield's course as the leader of the Republicans in the House. And each side may claim that the candidate of the other, however upright himself, is but the cloak by which an objectionable policy, or an objectionable set of men, will be helped to the control of the government. But neither can say with truthfulness that, apart from such purely political considerations, they would object to seeing the opposition candidate raised to the highest office in the nation's gift.

We say this with full knowledge of the charges of a personal nature brought against Mr. Garfield. They are not honestly and seriously believed by those who advance them. There is, we

believe, no intelligent Democrat who would not trust the Republican candidate to any extent, and whose conviction of his general probity and honor is not strong enough for any practical purpose. To say nothing of Judge Black's strong and unqualified acquittal of General Garfield, given at the time when his enemies were seeking to becloud his good name, no man can have read the whole evidence, as regards the Credit Mobilier business, without being satisfied that there is nothing in Mr. Ames's confused and indistinct impressions of what had occurred in a conversation of five years previous, which can militate against the solemn deposition of a man whose whole career at once seals his word and confirms his story.

When General Garfield was first spoken of as a candidate, and long before his nomination, the Credit Mobilier matter was brought up and discussed, but it was concluded that there was nothing in the story that could have any weight against him with the American people. The same confidence was not felt about the DeGolyer Pavement Fee, as that was much less understood in its bearings, and the most erroneous impressions were current in regard to it. But this has been disposed of with still more decisiveness. So far from his having accepted a fee directly from a company which had claims before Congress, and to which he rendered no service, it appears that he fully earned and accepted a portion of the fee paid to his brother-in-law, by a company which had no claims on Congress and never was to acquire any. If General Garfield did wrong in this case, then every lawyer in Congress does wrong when he undertakes a case of any kind and in any court, or renders legal service of any kind to any person or corporation. No lawyer in Congress, however high his sense of personal and professional honor, would have refused to do what Mr. Garfield did in the DeGolyer business.

But while the campaign is so nearly impersonal as regards the moral worth of the two men, it is far from being so when their respective qualifications for the office come to be taken into account. As old as that tradition about the Third Term, is another tradition of our government, that the man who is to be called to the highest office in the land must have some experience previously of the management and methods of the national government. This tradition, founded on the reason of things far more than that about

the Third Term, has never been violated by the election to the Presidency of any man who was absolutely devoid of such experience. General Washington did not step from the saddle into the presidential chair. He had been a member of the Continental Congress, and a leading spirit in the great assembly which drafted the Constitution. When General Jackson was put in training for the Presidency by the Democrats, he was brought into the United States Senate from Tennessee. When the Whigs began to look to General Harrison as the coming man, they sent him to the Senate from Ohio. General Taylor had been in Congress, as had Mr. Lincoln; and General Grant, although not in a strictly civil office, had had a large share in directing the civil government of the South, as general of the army, and had acquired a large measure of familiarity with the men and the ways of the capital. This tradition coincides with the maxims of civil government throughout the world, and has been everywhere confirmed by the results of any violation of it. Marshall MacMahon is the most illustrious instance known to this generation; and the summing up, as regards his failure in the presidency, is that he tried to rule France as though it were a barrack. The Duke of Wellington, with all his popularity, was not welcomed to the premiership after Waterloo. He had to serve under Lord Liverpool before he could aspire to such honors. Sir Garnet Woolsey is no candidate for political honors, although the foremost of English generals. Lord Napier was none, although he crushed Abyssinia. No one thinks of putting Von Moltke into the Chancellorship when Bismarck dies or resigns. All these soldiers may attain political honors more easily than other men, but they must go after them in just the way other men must. They must begin with the lower place before they seek the higher. And the names of those who have followed the opposite course, of mere generals who became directly rulers of their country,—the names of Cromwell and Bonaparte,—are not thought to present the happiest precedents in the history of free institutions.

We do not charge that Gen. Hancock is open to the least suspicion of a desire to be a Bonaparte or a Cromwell. Nothing could be further from his thoughts. But we do charge that the acceptance of a life-long soldier, a purely and merely military leader, as the fit man for the Presidency, is to assume that the rules and maxims of the military service are intrinsically apt for

civil administration. For this man, upon whom the Democrats ask us to lay the highest responsibilities and the most serious decisions of our policy, has spent his life in the atmosphere of those rules and maxims. He has acquired an unfitness for the new field, which no other course of life could have given him. For the military life is an all-pervading discipline, which affects the whole manner of a man's thoughts as does no other mode of life. And it affects it in the sense most alien to the spirit of free institutions. An army is essentially a survival of barbarism, in the midst of our civilization. It is an anomaly which the best thought and the purest aspiration of society seek to obliterate, and which the freest nations do best without. It has to be governed by barbarous measures, restrained by barbarous punishments. And while a slight measure of military training may be a help to a citizen, just as a slight dose of strychnia or nux vomica may help to brace up an enervated system, the making the man nothing but a soldier cannot but check in him the development of the finest and most social qualities of the human character. You cannot make a man into a machine, and keep him on the level of spiritual and moral freedom. And as the men are so must they be who deal with them. They must acquire habits of action and modes of thought which are purely military, and therefore uncivilized and out of harmony with the spirit of free institutions, unless their career as officers be limited by periods of experience as citizens.

Now, of all soldiers, the one most likely to be out of harmony with civil government, is the one whose whole life has been the life of a soldier. Such a one Gen. Hancock is. He was consecrated to that life when he was christened after General Scott. He entered it as a youth at West Point. He has followed it without a single interruption ever since. Upon his record, as a soldier's record, there is no blot. His sword has always been at the service of his country. He has born hardships, wounds, privations in in that service. But he has known no other service of any kind. He has never been in any unmilitary position. He has never escaped for a month together from the pervasive atmosphere of military discipline. A man of large and exceptional character, it is true, might have escaped, in some degree, the infection thus encountered. But Gen. Hancock is not a man of that breadth. He is no Cæsar in intellect, no William the Silent, no Hoche or

Carnot. He is a man of fair abilities, no genius, no imagination, no great capacity to resist the narrowing influences of an unhappy position. Hence the defects even of his military career. It has nothing in it that is dramatic. In the annals of our wars he has been the good routine officer, who could be trusted to act up to the routine of the service without taking large initiative of any kind.

The nomination of such a man by the Democratic party is an inconsistency to be paralleled only by their similar nomination of Gen. McClellan in 1864. But it is worse than even that. McClellan, with all his military science, was essentially a politician, and had done more than any other man to give the Northern Democrats a case wherewith to go before the people. Opposition to the acts of the Republican administration was incarnated in him. He was their natural candidate, by virtue of the way in which he had used a military position for political purposes. It has not been so with Gen. Hancock. He has none of the qualities, as well as none of the experience, required for political initiative. He is selected, not by circumstances, but by political managers, on the principle that military rank is the best bait to fish with, and a military candidate the most available man. He is drawn out of his political obscurity to take his place on their ticket, not because they really want such a candidate, but because they believe he will best serve them in making their way into the possession of political power.

Now in the Democratic party this is an especial inconsistency. One of the dearest of the principles of Democracy is that we must continue to emphasize all those safeguards of free government which the experience of other governments suggest as desirable. Wherever we see, in the fall of any other government, the suggestion of a danger to freedom, we are to take heed to that suggestion. Your genuine Democrat, therefore, distrusts our little army, as though it were a standing menace to liberty. He regards the Grand Army of the Republic with all the needless fear which his grandfather felt in regard to the society of the Cincinnati. He values all the checks on the power of the executive, as if our executive were, as in Europe, less the exponent of the popular will than is the legislature. He believes that "Eternal Vigilance is the Price of Liberty," that "Power always accrues to a standing Executive" and all the other maxims of the statesmanship of '98.

He holds that the one precipice over which a free government may plunge is personal government, and that the best driver is the one who keeps farthest from the precipice. And so he puts forward, as his candidate for the presidency, a life-long officer of the regular army, a prominent member of the Grand Army of the Republic, and a man who if elected will pass straight from a military post to the White House! It is no wonder that many of the genuinely hard-baked members of the party are distrustful, and that some have refused to support such a nomination, giving this as their reason.

But the force of the objection to General Hancock's candidacy is not exhausted by any *argumentum ad hominem* to the average Democrat. In the present condition of political parties, and with the vast growth of complex interests which has taken place since the middle of the century, it would be a most serious matter to elect a political novice to the chief magistracy. A man unacquainted with the spirit, the methods, and, to some extent, with the *personelle* of Congress, would be one of two bad things. He would become, like Mr. Andrew Johnson, the obstinate advocate of some private policy, devised in utter ignorance of the tendencies and necessities of the national life. Or he would be a tool in the hands of some ambitious clique of political managers, to do their jobs, and to cover their plans and plots with the shield of his name.

It will be said that General Hancock has merited his nomination, and has shown that he understands the statesman's career, by his record in Louisiana, and especially by his famous *Order No. 40*. That document is exalted into a sort of Magna Charta, by many who have neither weighed its terms nor studied the circumstances in which it was issued. It will be remembered that the white population of that State organized a state government at the close of the war, to which the United States authorities refused recognition. Congress took two steps to meet the needs of the situation in that and other Southern States. The first defined in what manner Constitutional Conventions should be created in those States, to draft Constitutions under which they could re-enter the Union. This measure was forced on the nation by the fact that those White Men's governments, throughout the Southern States, were enacting laws by which the negroes were to

be reduced to a state little better than the slavery from which they had been set free. The second of these measures provided that in the interim the supreme authority in these States should be vested in District Military Commanders. Under the former law, a Constitutional Convention for the State of Louisiana met in New Orleans. It was set upon by the friends and adherents of the White Men's Government, and several of its members were atrociously murdered. Gen. Sheridan was sent thither as District Commander, and did his loyal best to restore order and to subject the guilty to punishment. Thereupon President Johnson removed him, and appointed General Hancock in his stead. General Hancock, in accepting the appointment, accepted it under a law of Congress, by which he was created the chief civil as well as military authority. He accepted an office whose very purpose was to take the place usurped by the White Man's Government, and to hold that place until a new government could be created in conformity with the national legislation. He was not forced to accept it. And no man who gave the matter sufficient thought would have accepted it without understanding that he accepted the responsibilities implied in the Act of Congress. He was there to supersede one government and to help in the erection of another. But *Order No. 40* is a deliberate recognition of the Government he was sent to supersede,—a Government superseded by the very Act under which he held his Commission. And it is an attempt to draw a line between two sets of functions, both assigned to him by an Act of Congress, and to say that the one belonged to him and the other did not. Is this piece of inconsistency and absurdity the transaction of General Hancock's life upon which his friends wish to rest his reputation as a statesman? And if General Hancock, when in a subordinate position, showed so little respect for the laws, what are we to expect of President Hancock?

We say he *attempted* to draw a line between the two sets of functions,—the military and the civil,—and upon this fine distinction is rested his fame as "the new expounder of the Constitution," as some Democrat calls him. How did he draw that line? Let us quote his very words as used in that Louisiana period, and see how far they define General Hancock's position as a representative Democrat:—

“The time and proper use of military power,” he wrote to Governor Pease of Texas, while in Louisiana, “besides defending the national honor against foreign nations, is to uphold the laws and civil government, and to secure to every person residing among us the enjoyment of life, liberty and property. It is accordingly made, by act of Congress, the duty of the commanders of this district to protect all persons in their rights; to suppress disorder and violence, and to punish, or cause to be punished, all disturbers of the public peace and criminals.”

Now it is saying very little, indeed, to say that General Hancock here takes a view of the extent of military power which most Republicans would think twice before accepting, not because it gives the soldier too small a field of action, but because it claims for the army and its generals what all thinking civilians claim for the civil magistrate and the police. And the way in which General Hancock opens this attempted definition, shows that he was not thinking merely of the special circumstances of the South, as created by the Reconstruction Act, but was trying to lay down a broad and general definition of the matter, which would suit all circumstances. It is not necessary to suppose that General Hancock seriously entertains such dangerous views of the military function. But that he ever allowed himself to enunciate them, shows that he had not given serious thought to the question of the proper line between the two forms of authority. And it makes it simply fatuous for any American citizen, and most of all for a Democrat, to proclaim him an expounder of the Constitution in general, or a wise authority on this special point of constitutional law.

The especial question as to the limits of military action now mooted by the Democrats, is the right of the National Government to use its troops to preserve order at elections, and to prevent intimidation. They insist that the shadow of the bayonet should never fall on the ballot-box, and they pride themselves on being the champions of purity of elections, simply on the ground that they insist that civil (and state) officials only shall have authority on the days and at the places where even our national elections are held. On this point, also, General Hancock has defined his position. One of his latest acts in Louisiana, subsequent to the above letter, was a General Order relating to the coming election. We quote its second section:—

“II. Military interference with elections, ‘unless it shall be

necessary to keep the peace at the polls,' is prohibited by law; and no soldiers will be allowed to appear at any polling-place, unless as citizens of the State they are registered as voters, and this only for the purpose of voting; *but the commanders of posts will be prepared to act promptly if the civil authorities fail to preserve the peace.*"

Farther than that the Republicans have never gone nor proposed to go. And what the Democrats are pleased to call "purity of elections," *i. e.* freedom of elections from the presence of national and especially military authority, however great the need for its interposition, General Hancock cannot accept in 1880, without repudiating the Hancock of 1868, and renouncing that very record upon which his admirers rest their claim that he has shown himself a statesman and a representative Democrat.

When from General Hancock we turn to his rival, we are struck by the complete and fundamental contrast, in the careers of the two men. General Garfield has had an exceptional training for the presidency. The great socialist, St. Simon, came to the conclusion that he who would understand and legislate for modern society, must run through the whole gamut of social experience, so as to be able to see public questions from all sides. We might almost say of Mr. Garfield that he has realized that ideal. He has known poverty, and if he has not attained wealth, he has at least risen to competency by honest exertion. He has been the toiling student of a western frontier, starved for books, and looking with hungry eyes towards the world of culture. He has gone forth from the most exclusive of New England colleges as its graduate; and, amid the bustle of an unusually laborious public life, he has acquired and cherished the repute of a scholar. His career in politics has been that of an active leader, but he has had the mental stability which belongs to a man who has kept his mind in close contact with great principles. Although come of the most tried stock and the best blood of America, he has worked for his living with his hands, in the privations of his orphanhood. He has served his country in her armies in the hour of her peril. He has led other men with his brains in the school, the college, the pulpit, the Senate. And while pointed out for the office by a thousand parallel circumstances, he can truthfully say that the office sought him, not he the office. We can confirm, from personal knowlege, the accuracy of the picture drawn by

Mr. Geo. H. Grosvenor, of the reluctance shown by Gen. Garfield to have his name brought forward. He did not deny that he cherished the laudable ambition to be President. But he desired to have his name kept in the background until he had still larger claims to the support of his party, and to the respect of the country. "Not this time," he urged on those who proposed to push his candidacy; "this time I am for Mr. Sherman." And to the last, until Mr. Sherman's name was withdrawn by the Secretary himself, he held the Ohio delegation together to the support of the State's first choice.

But, calculated as are these details of his career to inspire the people with a just regard for the man, they are not sufficient to justify his candidacy in the eyes of a practical statesman. For that purpose, we must have something which shall distinguish him from the crowd of excellent people who have worked their way up in life, and made a good name. We need evidence of largeness of view, firmness of principle, and conciliatory temper. And all these are furnished by Mr. Garfield's career.

In the present unhappy division between the two sections of our country, Mr. Garfield has remained an American; he has never sunk into "the Northerner," like so many of our political leaders. So far from thinking of the South as merely something to antagonize, he has been always on the alert to find some service he could render it, and has lost no opportunity of seeking to conciliate its regard, not for himself but for the North, when he could do so without sacrifice of principle. It is largely to him that the South owes the legislation which led to the magnificent series of improvements by which the Mississippi has been opened to commerce. In his letter of acceptance he returns to the claims which that noble stream possesses to our national attention and care; and more than one Southern member has expressed to him the gratitude which that section of our country should feel towards him.

A still brighter and more satisfactory passage in his career, is his record on the Money Question. We are not here in unison with Mr. Garfield on all points; but we agree with him in his resistance to the Fiat Money theories, which at one time had become so rife in his State as to be dubbed by their advocates, "The Ohio Idea." Before the intense pressure of a wrong opinion in this matter, Allan Thurman yielded, and made wreck of his reputation.

Mr. Garfield was equally pressed. His prospects at one time seemed dubious enough, if he should continue to resist the current. But he did resist, standing in the darkest hours by what he thought the cause of public honesty, until the tide turned, largely through his matchless efforts, and "The Ohio Idea" vanished into limbo. If Mr. Garfield is to-day the favored son of Ohio, it is because the people respect the man who withstood them when he thought them in the wrong. Had he followed Mr. Thurman's course, they would never have chosen him by acclamation to fill Mr. Thurman's seat in the Senate of the United States.

Of Mr. Garfield's conciliatory temper, we have evidence at every step of his political career. It is a common Democratic objection to his letter of acceptance, that it is too conciliatory. As a leader in the House during the exciting scenes of the Extra-session, he had a most difficult part to perform. It was the blended courtesy and firmness of his management, and his efforts to assuage rather than excite passion, that first turned attention to him as a possible candidate for the Presidency. And in all this, there is the calming influence of religious principle, governing instinctively his relations to his associates. His life is rooted too deep for him to find his keenest enjoyment in those bitter turmoils of the surface. He has the blessing of the peace-maker.

His personal relations to the leaders of his own party present a still more trying test of his temper and disposition. It is no secret that the jealousies and enmities of the Republican leaders have done much to destroy the prestige and depress the spirits of the party. "See how they hate one another," might be said of some eminent Senators. It was one of the triumvirate who said, "Garfield has no enemies." On the floor of the Chicago Convention, his voice was always for conciliation and harmony. Even at trying times, when he had to help to restrain angry and urgent men, he never lost his balance. He fought for moderation, with knightly energy, and yet with moderation. Men waited, it was said, till he and Senator Conkling should "lock horns." But the conflict never came, never could have come. Mr. Conkling has on more than one occasion taken the opportunity to express publicly his regard for General Garfield, as by quoting freely in the Senate from a speech made by the latter in the House. Keen as was his disappointment at the defeat of Mr. Grant, there is every reason to believe that he was heartily sincere in stepping forward to move

that the nomination be made unanimous. The feeling of the whole Convention was expressed by Senator Hoar, when he said that if they had been like the Roman Conclave, shut in and compelled to choose one of their own number, they would have made the same choice, but much more quickly.

With one class of voters, and it is a very large class, the candidates count for more than the abstract principles or even the practical proposals of the party. Even in American breasts, the old instinct of personal loyalty is not extinct. It is not objectionable until it reaches undue bounds, when it might land us in Cæsarism. To that instinct the Democratic party, although professing to fear and distrust the remotest tendencies in that bad direction, has made its appeal in nominating a man who represents none of its party principles, and whose one recommendation is that he is or can be made popular. To that instinct the Republicans refused to appeal when they passed by the nation's greatest captain and chose a man less widely known, but thoroughly representative of the party, and distinguished by years spent in its service and that of the nation.

But an important and increasing class of voters look away from the candidates to the principles at stake. They ask, What will it matter to the nation whether one party or the other obtains a victory? And it is this consideration which brings us to the second part of our topic.

Underneath all political divisions in American history lies the same conflict of two antagonistic principles. Sometimes one of these principles seems to have given way to the other. The party which represented it may have died out as the Federalists did, or may have seemed to have forgotten it in a mere conflict for place and power, as the Whigs did. But every new turn in the national history reproduces the old antagonism, and we find the two standing face to face and foot to foot as before. It is not in our country, as in most others, a struggle properly between the old and the new, between the conservative and the progressive elements of society. It is not possible to parallel our parties with those of England, or France, or Germany, or even Canada. It is a conflict between national and local sentiment, such as nearly always arises in federal system of government, as in Switzerland and the Argentine Confederation.

Of the two parties based upon those two ideas, that which represents the principal of local autonomy or state rights has had the larger lease of power in America. That which opposed it at the beginning of the present form of government enjoyed great prestige through the support of Washington, Hamilton, the Adamses, Jay, Hancock, Franklin, and the greater part of the most prominent leaders in the struggle for independence. And yet, after but twelve years of power, it gave place to its rival, who represented an intense jealousy of supposed invasions of popular rights, and a sympathy with the extreme doctrines of the French Revolutionists. It was they who stamped the name Revolution upon our war for independence. It was they who imparted a *doctrinaire* character to our political philosophy, and prevented the rise of a school of philosophical politicians after the model presented by Burke and Niebuhr. It was they who introduced manhood suffrage, and an elective judiciary, and the spoils system as regards public offices. And from the opening years of the century to the first year of its sixth decade, they had control of the national government, with but brief interruptions. Through thirteen of the twenty-three administrations which have elapsed since 1789, the Democratic party had the direction of national policy; and at this moment we all accept as unquestioned certain maxims of policy, which have neither legal nor constitutional authority, except as Democratic traditions. The opposition to a third term is one instance of this.

And yet, in the long run, the policy which opposes that of the Democrats, the national policy of the Federalists, the Whigs, and the Republicans, has shown itself the stronger of the two. Although out of office, the national sentiment has shown itself potent beyond the resistance of the ideas and the men who have been arrayed against it. It annexed Louisiana. It enacted the Democratic tariffs of 1812, 1816, 1824, 1828, and even 1847. It crushed nullification by the mouth of a Democratic President. It effected great "internal improvements" at national expense. It bid fair at a time to give us a great steamship marine, through government assistance. And it grew, even under Democratic administrations, into such popular strength, that the struggle for the right of secession, when it came at last, found the great majority of the American people ready to risk life and all for the de-

fence of the national unity, and for the suppression of the State Rights heresy. It is impossible to look down the current of our brief history and yet to miss the evidence that the national sentiment is to be the predominant one in our politics, and that, sooner or later, whatever opposes it must give way. The function of the Democracy, whether in power or out of power, is to act as a drag upon this dominant tendency, to prevent the needless sacrifice of local to national interests, and to secure the retention of a fair amount of local initiative in the great transformation by which national authority and national supervision is to be extended to every corner and every interest of the land. In this capacity it may be of great use. Its minority in the great convention which will revise the constitution before this generation has passed away, will have an arduous but unpopular task to perform. But the main current has passed out of their control, and they are never again to make American history as they did from 1801 till 1861. Their attitude towards the future is like that of the adherents of the *Ancien Régime* in France. The past is theirs, but it has left them, and they find themselves amid a world to which they are strangers, whose speech they cannot learn, and whose atmosphere they can scarcely breathe. Even their return to power would represent but a temporary reaction, which in four years would cost the country a decade of its history, but which would be wiped out of our annals as carefully as France has wiped out all that originated in the bitter years 1815-1830.

Such, and no greater, would be the significance of the election of General Hancock at the present time. It would not be lasting ruin, but lamentable postponement. It would oppose no permanent barrier to the nationalization of the Union, but it would give, for a time, a factitious power to the elements and principles which still resist that process. And, therefore, it should be, on this ground above all others, opposed during the present campaign. "The United States is a Nation,"—whatever Lindley Murray might say of the expression,—is the true watchword of the Republican party. It was Mr. Sumner's great merit that he saw so clearly this was the great question at issue, even though he was unable to see all that was involved in the claim to national existence.

One thing he did not see was that it involved a resistance to all those cosmopolitan tendencies which are regaining a degree of

their old popularity among the more highly educated classes of Europe and America. The force of Mr. Sumner's assertion of our national position lost much through his assent to those tendencies. He was half a disciple of the school which would gladly see all national boundaries wiped off the map. His attitude towards our domestic controversies kept him from following Mr. Cobden fully, and enabled him at times to rise to an intensity of national feeling which bordered on Chauvinism, as may be seen from his speech on the indirect damages inflicted by the rebel privateers. But he never saw that a nation must substantiate its claims to be such by the possession of a complete, rounded, self-sufficing national life,—that she must be in a position to rely upon her own resources, should the chances of war cut her off from foreign commerce, and must furnish the greatest possible number of channels for the exercise of her people in the arts of peace. In Mr. Sumner's great speeches on this subject lies the premiss to a conclusion he never drew, for Mr. Sumner was not a Protectionist.

In the present campaign both parties have presented this issue very distinctly. The Republicans stand by the policy which has created our great manufactures, has advanced the wealth of the nation at a rate without parallel, and has given us a foremost place in the world's industries. The Democrats declare for a tariff for revenue only, without even indulging in the common hypocrisy of an "incidental protection," or professing to seek this change in order to open foreign markets to our manufacturers. The issues are made as distinctly as words can make them: and should General Hancock be elected along with a Democratic Congress, then the last obstacle to the overthrow of our manufacturing system will be removed, and we shall have the experiences of 1816-19, 1837-40, and 1857-60 renewed once more. Three times this Democratic party have torn away the scaffolding from the unfinished edifice of our national industries. Three times they have exposed it to such injuries that its reconstruction had to begin almost from the foundations. And if the people of the United States permit such ruin for a fourth time, it will be because they are incapable of learning anything from their own history. Our respect for the national intelligence forbids such a supposition.

Judging by the experience of the three earlier periods of disaster,

what would be the effect of such a change? It would put a period to the investment of capital in productive industries, and turn it loose for every sort of speculation. It would send in the same direction what had been saved from the wreck by those whose factories had been closed and their furnaces blown out. It would force the laboring class to seek employment at farming, or to take to the career of the tramp. And when the crash came, it would surpass anything known in our history, as far as the present wealth of the country exceeds that of these earlier times. The farmers, who are relied upon to effect the change, would find the Eastern markets closed to their grain, and the eastern laborer producing, instead of merely consuming, wheat. They would find Europe ready to pay them hardly the merest pittance for that *ten per cent.* of their wheat crop which it consumes. Calicoes might have fallen ten per cent., but grain would be at least fifty per cent. cheaper, and the net gain consequent on the reduction of all prices would be bankruptcy. This is the prospect offered us by the South, which now controls the Democratic party, and one of whose representatives has declared his readiness to bring this ruin upon the country at large, in the hope that his section will get a larger share than it has, when the time comes for rebuilding the edifice!

Another question of national extent is the Reform of the Civil Service. It is to the Democratic party we owe its present unfortunate condition. Up to the time of its accession to office, the office-holders under the national government enjoyed life tenures and freedom from removal for any political reason. It was Jefferson, their first President, who set the bad precedent of allowing such reasons, and thus prepared the way for the system of wholesale removals under General Jackson. Jefferson mourned that, of the Federalists he found in office, "Few die and none resign." Jackson established the rule, "To the victors belong the spoils." The effect of this change upon our politics has been most deplorable, and that for six reasons:—

(1.) It creates the class of professional politicians, who hang on to a party in hope of one of the sixty thousand offices which may be in its gift.

(2.) It intensifies the bitterness of our elective struggles, since each party has not less than a quarter of a million of office-seekers, supported by at least a million friends, who are fighting the party issue for the sake of personal aggrandisement.

(3.) By making the office-holder dependent on party success for his continuance in office, it turns him into an active working politician, to the neglect of his duties.

(4.) It takes from the office-holder the motive to be content with a moderate salary, as a place held under a four years' commission requires a large salary to make it worth his acceptance. With the worst of them, it presents additional temptation to speculation.

(5.) It destroys the skill acquired in the public service, by constantly displacing men of experience by novices.

(6.) It prevents the public from watching sharply the appointments made, as no one can keep the run of so large a number.

As is well known, there is, inside the Republican party, a strong movement in favor of the reform of the system. Unfortunately, the representatives of this movement made the mistake of assuming that our Civil Service was bad, because of the way in which our officials were appointed, and not because of the manner of their removal. Hence their plan of admitting to the lower offices those who pass certain competitive examinations, and of filling the higher places by promotion. This plan did not commend itself either to the country at large or to the Republican party, and its failure has involved the Reform itself in disrepute. But the two things are quite distinct, and both the Republican candidates, while repudiating the examination method, are distinctly in favor of such a change as will put our Civil Service on a more satisfactory footing. The change needed is just a return to the methods inaugurated at the beginning of our government and destroyed by the Democratic party. It is to leave appointments just as they are, and just as they were in Washington's time, with the responsibility of the national executive, and to restore to our office-holders that security in the tenure of office for which both Mr. Arthur and Mr. Garfield pronounce without exactly defining what they mean.

On this subject, the issue between the parties is not presented in their platforms. Indeed, the Democrats are a little more outspoken in favor of the reform than are the Republicans. *The Globe*, of Toronto, provokes a smile by suggesting that this difference will carry the votes of the Reformers over to the support of the Democratic candidate. But there has never been a Civil Service Reform movement among the Democrats, and every one knows just what the Democratic Civil Service Reform would be.

It would consist in turning all the Republicans out of office and putting Democrats in. It would be the destruction of skill and experience in the service of the Government, whose value is beyond computation. As we said in 1876, if the Democratic candidate were to be elected, and were to burn down the Capitol on the morning of his inauguration, he would inflict less injury on the nation than by following the course which every one will expect of him, and against which hardly an outcry will be made. The Democratic talk about such a reform is simply Buncombe. It is upon the shoulders of the Republican party that there rests this great duty of undoing the mischief begun by their rivals.

The last great issue to which we shall refer is that presented by the condition of the South. We shall not pause to assign the degree of responsibility which rests on either party for the existing state of affairs. On that point we have spoken repeatedly. But we think that no dispassionate observer will pronounce that section of our country on a level with the rest of the nation as regards social order, public and political morality, and the enforcement of law. The negroes are the first, but not the only, element of its population to claim our attention. What their condition is, is told us by their flight to the North. They are leaving the South as eagerly as when they were escaping from slavery. They are seeking homes among strangers, in a climate whose severity detracts from their characteristic enjoyment of life. And they all tell the same story as to their condition. Political proscription and terrorism have effaced their political rights. Social prejudice denies them equal justice in the courts of law and sanctions every measure which tends to keep them poor and dependent. The fact that the whites own the land is used to prevent their securing homesteads, and to exact a usurious rent for bits of land. The superior intelligence of the ruling race is used to make every bargain turn out to the disadvantage of the colored man. The teachers who have gone down to them from the North are tabooed by white society, and, if possible, expelled from the country. Such is the condition to which they have been reduced by a people who have never acquiesced in their emancipation, and are determined to make their lives as much like those of slaves as the law and the Constitution will permit.

And the whites are suffering by this state of things as well as

the negroes. Southern society is demoralized by the measures adopted for the suppression of the negro vote. A state of disorder, such as was unknown before the war, exists in Texas and the states of the lower Mississippi Valley. Texas, it is said, has four thousand criminals at large, of whom one-fourth are murderers. The murder of Col. Dixon in Yazoo, Mississippi, and the recent disgraceful murder in South Carolina, under the form of a duel, are signs of a corruption which has dry-rotted Southern Society.

In all this the Democratic party are acquiescent. They seem to approve of it. They studied the faults of the negro governments in the South as with a microscope. They rarely find fault with the persons now in power, or, if they do, it is by a mild protest against extreme proceedings, which may injure the party in the North. They tried to explain away the Negro Exodus, but were forced to confess failure. They applauded Wade Hampton in the Cincinnati convention, when he pledged South Carolina for a Democratic majority as large as that to be given by any state, although he knew and they knew that in South Carolina there is a large Republican majority, which has to be overcome by force or fraud, or both. In their hearts many of them agree with Judge Taney, that "a negro has no rights which a white man is bound to respect." Through the last two sessions of Congress they labored hard to strip him of the last vestige of national protection, and to remove all national officials from the polls.

The Republicans do not mean to acquiesce in this. They do not want to see the restoration of negro rule in the South. They are aware that ten years experience of those governments resulted in fully discrediting them. They cannot afford to take the responsibility of misrule at the South, and for that misrule they would be held responsible, if they helped to exclude the most capable and intelligent class of the population from power. They would be glad to see the color line effaced from Southern politics, but not by any means which will deprive the negro of his rights to liberty and equality. But they cannot afford to sacrifice the results of the war, or to see the negroes remanded to a condition not far removed from slavery. So far as the restrictions of the Constitution will permit, they will labor to prevent this, just as they set themselves once to oppose slavery within the limits of the Constitution. They will go as far now, as then, as the Constitution permits in the de-

fence of this dependent class, whose wretchedness still appeals to all human sympathies. And perhaps, now as then, a way of doing all that needs to be done will be opened to them.

They make their appeal, therefore, at once to the national feeling, the business interests, the morality and the humanity of the American people.

ROBERT ELLIS THOMPSON.

THE WATCH OVER OUR CHARITIES.*

THE gentlemen who compose the Board of Commissioners of Public Charities may be forgiven if they feel a solid complacency in placing before the people of Pennsylvania the Report which closes the first decade of their existence and operations. The Board, as is well known, receive no compensation for their services. The certainty that they are doing a good work for the Commonwealth, and helping to relieve human misery as well as to promote the order of society, is their only reward. And their position is no sinecure. The two members from our own city, Messrs. Mahlon H. Dickinson (President of the Board) and James S. Biddle, seem to have discharged their duties with great faithfulness to this important trust. The Report of the General Agent shows that Mr. Biddle made sixty-two visits of inspection to prisons, almshouses, hospitals and the like during the year, and that Mr. Dickinson made forty such visits. The institutions thus inspected are scattered over the whole surface of the State, some of them being in the most inaccessible counties of Northern Pennsylvania. Their inspection must have been a work of no small labor, and the sights, sounds and smells encountered in many instances were none of the most inviting. But the work has evidently been done well and thoroughly, and not in any perfunctory or slipshod style; and the practical suggestions made by the Commissioners are of great value.

The object of such a Board is twofold. The first is to make local authorities act up to what they do know already. The second

*TENTH ANNUAL REPORT OF THE BOARD OF COMMISSIONERS OF PUBLIC CHARITIES of the State of Pennsylvania, to which is appended the Report of the General Agent and Secretary, also the Statistical Report: Harrisburg, 1880.

is to bring home to them knowledge which they have not, but which has been acquired by other observers in the same field. For the present, the former is the task which presses most heavily on the Commissioners. It is impossible to suppose that the authorities of Bucks, Lebanon and Franklin Counties were not aware that their county jails were a disgrace to every citizen of these counties, and that they answered none of the purposes for which jails were intended. Bucks County, for instance, is one of the wealthiest in the State. The lower townships of the county are constantly receiving the overflow of the wealth of Philadelphia. But the county jail is an antiquated institution which has become so insecure that persons held for trial, and possibly as innocent as their judges, have to be chained to the floor to prevent their escape. Arrangements for discipline or cleanliness, to say nothing of comfort, are out of the question. Prisoners are huddled together under conditions which make the place a school of vice and demoralization. In one case they found twenty vagrants, men and women, literally packed into a single room, and forced to sleep on its floor. Another small room contained ten and another eleven. In seven cells or rooms between fifty and sixty persons are confined, and only one of the seven is considered safe. And the major part of the prisoners are vagrants, charged with no crime but that of having no visible means of support, and summarily committed to this sort of confinement by *Pennsylvänisch-Deutsch* squires, under our admirable vagrancy laws! We should have hoped that the public statement of these facts would have led to immediate reform. But it seems the Commissioners have been hammering away at this abominable prison for nine years, and all they have accomplished as yet is a recommendation by the Grand Jury, in December last, "that as soon as the finances of the county will permit, the Commissioners build a new jail."

The same "body and soul destroying system" prevails in Lebanon County. The jail has twelve cells, with an average of six inmates to each cell. The only attempt at moral discipline seems to be the practice of keeping female prisoners locked up all the time, while the men, including murderers under sentence of death, are given free range of the other cells, the corridors and the jail yard! And this, although the ventilating and drainage facilities are very imperfect. In this case also they are unable to report any certainty of an immediate reform.

In Franklin County matters are not so bad, and their exposure has awakened such a public interest as promises amendment. In Butler County the separation of the sexes is so imperfect that gross immoralities are practised, and the whole place is quite inadequate for its uses, while the atmosphere of cells and corridors was found to be most unwholesome.

All this reads like a chapter from John Howard's *Prisons of Europe*. And it is all transacted in a commonwealth which boasts of the efficiency of its prison system, and has indeed obtained a reputation in this respect which is now proverbial. But the overcrowding at least is paralleled by the condition of our own county jail, and the two state penitentiaries. As regards the latter, the rule of solitary confinement has been the great principle of the Pennsylvania System of Prison Reform. But, as the June Grand Jury reminds us, the Eastern Penitentiary is so over-crowded (732 cells for more than a thousand prisoners) that the confinement of several persons in a single cell has become a necessity. The same is true of the Western. The Eastern Penitentiary has been enlarged. The Western is about to be replaced by a much larger building. A third or Middle Penitentiary is building at Huntingdon. But even after all these increased facilities, the prison accommodations furnished will not greatly exceed the number of convicts on hand, and unless the county authorities adopt more generally the practice of keeping convicts in the county jails, which are in many cases well suited for the purpose, it may soon be necessary to increase still farther the number of cells in our State prisons.

Both our penitentiaries are conducted upon the vicious system*

*Mr. Nevin, President of the Western Penitentiary, retails the usual fallacy on this subject in his Annual Report:—"We have too much sympathy wit: the honest mechanic outside, who has never transgressed the laws, to ask him to divide the hard-earned profits of his daily toil, to support in idleness his inconsiderate fellow mortal, who by the commission of crime has forfeited his liberty and fallen into prison." No doubt the honest mechanic outside is very grateful for so much consideration! But if Mr. Nevin will look a little into the taxation system of his state and its counties, he will learn that the "the honest mechanic" pays but an infinitesimal portion, if anything, of the taxes levied for the erection and support of the penitentiaries. And if he knows anything of Political Economy, he knows that no community in the world has sufficient employment for all its people, and that such convict labor as he defends must reduce that employment to a proportionally greater insufficiency. "The honest mechanic" may well be pardoned for thinking that this fact is of more importance to

of employing the convicts in work which comes into competition with the labor of the working classes. But neither of them are self-supporting, the Eastern showing a deficiency of nearly one-half, while in the Western it amounts to less than one-sixth. The difference is due to the difference in the methods employed. In the Western the prisoners work together in workshops, and are hired to contractors. In the Eastern they work in their cells and directly for the account of the State. It might seem as if this were a point greatly in favor of the Western Penitentiary, but it is not so.* For on the very same page we find a statistical account of the punishments inflicted in the two penitentiaries and find that in the Western, with only three-fourths as many convicts as in the Eastern, punishment was inflicted three hundred times, but less than two hundred times in the Eastern. And when we look a little closer, we find that severe punishment was inflicted but three times in the Eastern, and two hundred times in the Western. This of itself shows that the system of congregate labor represents an inferior discipline among the convicts; and in many, if not most, cases the insubordination thus punished with severity grew out of the requirements imposed in the work-rooms. In some instances, as the Commissioners learned, convicts in the Western Penitentiary are fastened by their hand-cuffs to a ring fixed in the wall above the height of a man, and kept there for several days in succession, on complaint of the contractors that they will not do as much as is required of them, although it is quite possible that these tasks are "beyond their power to perform."

The careful statistical tables at the end of the volume show that 3,417 persons were convicted of crime during 1879, of which 987 were in Philadelphia. Of these, ten were hung, making just 250 persons thus executed in this State during the last hundred years. Of these convicts 83.24 per cent. are native Americans, 5.09 per

him than the cost of supporting the convict in idleness, especially as this cost is paid by those who are not "honest mechanics," nor mechanics of any kind, but persons who can better afford this loss than he can afford the competition. And especially the honest mechanics of Pittsburg may fairly complain when the scape-graces of all Western Pennsylvania are gathered into a corps under command of Mr. Nevin, and employed to depreciate the wages of labor in that neighborhood. Furthermore, Mr. Nevin's theory does not fit his facts. He does come upon the state for \$21.33 of the \$124.33 of the yearly cost of each convict, while there are several State Penitentiaries, notably that of Illinois, which actually earn an income for the State.

cent. Germans, 4.53 per cent. Irish, and 3.40 per cent. English. These proportions are certainly not such as coincide with popular impressions. There is a very common notion that the Irish in America contribute more than their share to our criminal class. But this expectation is contradicted by all the statistics of crime in their own country,—which is more free from offences against person, property and chastity than any other country in the world,—and also by these Pennsylvania tables. On the other hand the English, who form but a small percentage of our population, furnish nearly as many criminals as the Irish.

This fact has an importance far beyond any honor it may do to the Irish portion of our population. It refutes one of the most specious objections made to Sir Walter Crofton's Prison System, which has been in force in Ireland for nearly a quarter of a century, and which has reduced the (never large) criminal class of that country to half its former dimensions. Sir Walter divides the term of each convict into three equal portions. The first is spent in an ordinary prison. The second in an encampment on an open plain. The third in apprenticeship under police surveillance. In case of any attempt to run off, the convict begins the whole term over again. It is claimed that this system embodies the best and most advanced ideas of prison discipline. The advocates of the Pennsylvania system dispute this claim. When they are pointed to what it has done for Ireland, and are asked what Cherry Hill has done for Pennsylvania, they are apt to shake their heads and hint that our prisons are full of Irish convicts, who have escaped from such lax custody, to renew their depredations in a new world. The statistics of such escapes are easily accessible, being reported periodically to Parliament. But they are never alleged by the opponents of the Irish system. Neither do they tell us that the Irish convicts in Pennsylvania prisons form less than five per cent. of the whole number.

The Commissioners attempt to contribute their quota to the current controversy as to the effects of school education in preventing crime. They report that 13.82 per cent. of the convicts were quite illiterate, while 86.18 per cent. could read and write. The proportion between crimes against persons and crimes against property show that illiterate persons, if criminal, are more likely to be guilty of the former, and *vice versa*. On the other hand, it is

shown that 83.70 per cent. has never been apprenticed to any trade or occupation; 2.60 per cent. had been apprenticed, but ran away; 13.70 per cent. either had been apprenticed or had served four or more years to obtain a knowledge of some handicraft. The Commissioners do not seek to point any moral with these figures. They leave them for every one to interpret according to his own light. But they know the use that will be made of them. Perhaps they approve of that use. When the National Educational Convention was in session in this city, a year ago, it was invited to go to Cherry Hill to see how little school education, and how much industrial education, will do to keep a boy or man out of jail.

Those who talk in this way forget that they need to furnish us with a good many other statistical returns, before they will have made out their case. For instance, we find that 13.82 per cent. of the convicts were quite illiterate. Now if the quite illiterate portion of the whole population is less than 13.82 per cent., this goes to show that school education does help to keep people out of jail; and if it is greater, the contrary. Again 13.70 per cent. were taught handicrafts. If the proportion of the whole population which has been so taught is greater than 13.70, this goes to show that such training helps to keep those who get it out of jail; if less, the contrary. We are convinced that on this last point, the case would break down entirely. And even if it did not, the case for industrial schools is by no means made out. For it is by no means self-evident that what is called industrial education, as given in schools, will have the same moral effect as a real industrial training given in the workshop. One marked difference of the two systems is this, that the graduate of the school will be sent adrift to look for employment, which the apprentice in workshop has to his hand. And this is the crucial stage in the workman's moral history. Many men break down morally, and degenerate into tramps, in the disheartening process of hunting work.

The tables all seem to show a reduced amount of crime in the year 1879, as compared with 1878. In the business of the Grand Juries, there is a reduction of over ten per cent., but the number of convictions is reduced by only 39, a reduction of something over one per cent. This is not large, but encouraging, and as the population of the State has increased in the meantime, it is not unfair to suppose that the revival of business has had something to do with it.

We have not before us the statistics of last year, but we venture to guess that the decline will be found chiefly in larcenies. Dr. Johnson well says that "men are seldom more innocently employed than when they are making money."

The statistics of the two public reformatories, the House of Refuge in Philadelphia and the Reform School in Washington County, are given at great length. Of 436 children committed to these institutions 87 were quite illiterate, and only 108 could both read and write, and 241 belonged to intermediate degrees of ignorance. Nearly one-half were of American parentage, less than two-sevenths of Irish. The two reformatories contain 1,367 inmates, of whom 916 are in the House of Refuge. During the year 498 were discharged. The efforts of managers to have their graduates indentured to some trade, succeeded in something over one case in five, a result which shows that the existing conditions of trade and society are not favorable to that arrangement. Nor will they become more favorable in the future.

Of the institutions for the care of the dependent classes, the most important are the hospitals for the insane. Of these the State has just opened its fourth at Norristown, while the city sustains one in its Almshouse, and there are two private hospitals in Philadelphia, besides the School for Feeble Minded Children in Media. But of the insane portion of the population of the State, numbering 5,390 persons, only 3,269 receive the proper medical treatment, which these institutions and their expert physicians can furnish. The other 2,121 are mostly in county almshouses, while a small number are on the out-door relief of their districts. This state of things calls for amendment, especially as the officials who have charge of insane persons in county institutions, very often have rarely any but the most mistaken notion of what is required of them as regards these troublesome charges. Thus, in Bedford County Jail they were found confined to rooms which were by no means in a favorable condition. The floor and plastering are saturated with offensive effluvia. In Cumberland County Poor House their condition is most offensive, and in this, as in several other places, iron chains instead of the modern and humane restraints made of leather, were used to restrain the violent, and several patients were in absolute nudity, and were living in rooms of the most filthy and offensive description. Even our neighbors of Delaware

County were found to employ barbarous modes of restraint, unworthy of this part of the nineteenth century; and nearly everywhere the amount of restraint employed was far in excess of what the danger from such sufferers requires.

It would be better, if possible, to require all such patients to be transferred to the care of the State, as there can never be any sufficient guarantee for their scientific treatment in county institutions. Of course, in the great majority of cases, the disease is incurable. Before the patient reaches the doctor's hands, his mind and body have been allowed to degenerate to the point at which no human aid can reach them. During the year, 264 patients, or a little over nine per cent., were discharged as cured from the six hospitals. But during the same period, 183 relapsed patients were readmitted. It is believed by some alienists that the percentage of cures could be increased by keeping the hopeless cases and the hopeful separate. They would send the former alone to the asylums, but the latter to small hospitals, where the treatment would be different and more freedom allowed. This view was advocated in the report of a committee to the recent Conference of Charities at Cleveland, and is worthy of attention.

Passing by institutions for the care of the blind, the dumb and other afflicted classes, we come to the almshouses, of which the State has sixty, thirty-three of them being maintained by as many counties, while twenty-seven counties have none. These institutions have over 20,000 patrons. Of these (omitting the insane, the blind and the deaf and dumb), we find that at the end of last September there were 3,614 men, 2,379 women and 1,392 children, a total of 7,383 persons, while 15,430 persons, half of them children, were receiving out-door relief.

The worst feature of these statistics is the regiment of children whom we are bringing up amid almshouse surroundings, to recruit the army of the helpless and the shiftless, if not of the dishonest and the criminal classes. We have 238 such children at Blockley, it seems, and so well do its authorities recognize the career which is before them, that they allow them to beg from the visitors to the institution! In this matter, other states are leaving Pennsylvania in the rearward. A New York almshouse, no child may enter. The local authorities are required to provide for their care elsewhere, either in private families or in homes for friendless

children, or orphan asylums. That the former course is in every way preferable, and far more easily followed than people are apt to suppose, is the conviction of those who have given much thought to the matter. But either would be better than our Pennsylvania fashion of leaving 1,400 innocent children—over half of them less than seven years old—to the moral ruin of an almshouse education.

When we come to analyze this army of our paupers, we find that 39 per cent. of the adult paupers are illiterate, and 61 per cent. could write their own names. As there is no such proportion of illiteracy in the population of the state, it is evident that education does not help people to the almshouse. Again, over 51 per cent. of the adult paupers are natives of America, and 27½ per cent. are natives of Ireland; which shows that, of the two elements of the population, the former is the more likely to commit crime, and the latter to become paupers. Again, it is the common impression that the use of intoxicating drink is the chief cause of pauperism. But so far as the reports go, 31½ per cent. of our adult paupers are total abstainers, 45⅓ per cent. moderate drinkers, and only 23¼ per cent. are intemperate. And, by a remarkable coincidence, the proportions of each class of the convicts in the three penitentiaries are almost exactly the same,—30½, 46, 23½ per cent. respectively. It is true that the figures are much less complete as regards the pauper class, as they cover less than half the whole number of adult paupers; but we presume that this is due partly to the omission of inquiry in cases of insane and helpless persons. At any rate, the returns are very far from warranting the wholesale statements we sometimes hear as to the relation of intemperance to pauperism and crime.

In the whole number of sane paupers of all ages in our Almshouses, there was a decrease of 434, or over 5½ per cent, while of *sane* persons on the out-door relief, of counties which support almshouses, there was a decrease of 5,744 from a total of 21,114. As these last figures represent the state of things at the end of last September, when the out-door relief of Philadelphia was still in operation, the decrease cannot be referred to that cause, and the next report will show a still farther decrease. Of the 15,338 thus still assisted, 7,784 are adults, fourteen of them being over 100 years old. Here the temperance returns differ curiously from those of the almshouses and the prisons, and are not in harmony with what

is known of out-door relief as it was administered in this city. It is reported that nearly $78\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. are total abstainers, less than 20 per cent. moderate drinkers, and something over $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. intemperate. Again, nearly 36 per cent are illiterate, and nearly 16 per cent. could read a little. The native Americans were 55 per cent of the whole; the Irish nearly 23 per cent.

Still a third class of poor are those provided for by the boroughs or townships of the twenty-one counties which have no almshouses. Omitting the insane and the other afflicted classes, we find a total of 4,794 persons thus cared for in 1878, of whom 1,765 were children. And here, also, there has been a substantial decrease.

Once more we congratulate the Commissioners upon the good work they have done, and the unremitting zeal they have shown in their oversight of our public charities and our prisons. They have lived over much opposition. They have turned many foes into friends. They have forced by the gentle pressure of their good judgment, the reform of many abuses. *Macte vertute.*

A. I.

NEW BOOKS.

ALASKA, AND MISSIONS ON THE NORTH PACIFIC COAST. By Rev. Sheldon Jackson, D.D. Fully Illustrated. Pp. 327. 12mo. New York: Dodd, Mead & Co.

ADVENTURES IN PATAGONIA; a Missionary's Exploring Trip. By the Rev. Titus Coan. With an introduction by Rev. Henry M. Field, D.D. Pp. 319. 12mo. Same publishers.

Missionary literature is not thought commonly to be of general interest, and that for just reasons. It is true that the missionary career appeals to the imagination at once by its demand for self-sacrifice and devotion of no ordinary kind, and by its contact with strange lands and outlandish peoples. But the ordinary missionary is rarely able to step outside the technical routine of professional thought and utterance. He does not know how to put his case so as to make his readers feel his facts. He does not help them to realize the strange background of his labors, the moral obstacles he encounters in his work, or the true significance of his achievements. All this, to say no more than that the average missionary has not the imagination necessary to produce that work of fine art, a good book. He cannot make his readers feel the truth as he feels it. And the chief reason of this is that very few of these missionaries are men of exceptional mental gifts, although the mission-

field has seen such in Bishop Heber, Alexander Duff, Dr. Wilson of Bombay, Dr. Judson, Bishops Patterson and Selwyn, and David Livingstone and his father-in-law Dr. Moffatt. Taken man for man, they are rather inferior than superior to the average clergyman on the home field. And their life, apart from some exceptional risks, is generally by no means so full of privations as is that of the Home Missionary on our Western Frontier.

These two books are of exceptional interest, more in each case through the merits of the story itself than those of the narrator. Dr. Jackson is well known as the captain-general of Presbyterian Home Missions in the Far West. He is not exactly a bishop in this antiprelatical church, but as much of one as Timothy and Titus are admitted to have been. He begins by an account of Alaska which we think overdrawn and newspaperish. We have heard often enough of the vast extent and the inexhaustible resources of the country. But we would like a judicious statement about this paradise which lies so near the Pole. The real interest of the book begins with the missionary part of it. That the Alaskan Indian, like the others of that race on the North Pacific coast, is much superior to the average Red Man is known to us. His exhibits at the Centennial emphasized this fact. He builds houses instead of tents, constructs caves of vast size, makes superior pottery, and above all he is ambitious to be like the white man in all things. He watches the white man's doings and imitates them. He is proud of "the flag," though his coming under it has been recent, and he is perplexed at the fact that, while the Russians governed him, the new ruler leaves him to his own devices. To show their imitativeness, Dr. Jackson tells us of a native who had watched the process of baking bread, as carried on by a ship's cook. Not long after, a shipwreck brought his tribe into possession of what they took for a barrel of flour, and he was called on to show his skill. He baked it, boiled it, stewed it, fried it, but all to no purpose. In no shape could they eat it. It was a barrel of lime!

The retirement of the Russians left the Indians without teachers as well as without rulers. A Canadian Methodist minister, on duty in British Columbia, had his attention called to the Indians of Fort Wrangel, the most southern post in Alaska. He wrote to the missionary authorities of several American Churches. The Methodists of America, after neglecting to do what they had undertaken under President Grant's plan for the civilization of the Indians in the West, were not likely to take up Alaska. For a time, all our Churches were deaf to the call. At last the work was begun, not by any white men, but by Christian Indians from British Columbia, who went to get work at Alaska. They held meetings which were well attended. They started a school which was held from house to house, the place of meeting being announced by the ringing of a little bell. And when at last Dr.

Jackson got Mrs. Macfarland, the widow of a Home Missionary, to undertake the work in Alaska, she found the ground already broken and received a hearty welcome.

For a long time Mrs. Macfarland worked alone, the only missionary in Alaska. She was the supreme authority on every subject. She composed quarrels, gave advice, taught school, and acted as universal friend. She got the Indians to call a constitutional convention, of which they elected her chairman, and she had to draft the constitution and laws, five articles in all. She organized a refuge for the young Indian girls, whose mothers used to sell them to the white miners, and whose price had risen after she had taught them to wash their faces and comb their hair. In some cases she rescued these victims from the very hands of these white scoundrels on the public street. But she stood well with the whites also. When one of them had killed another in a tavern brawl, and Judge Lynch had sat on him, they sent for Mrs. Macfarland to prepare him for death.

After a time of this solitary labor, Mrs. Macfarland was reinforced by a missionary family, and another went on to Sitka. These openings have all been made by the Presbyterian Church. The Indians of Sitka are not numerous, perhaps 60,000 in all. But they are in general fine fellows, eager to be taught, and ready to learn anything that will put them on the white man's level.

Mr. Coan's book is the story of a mission undertaken nearly fifty years ago, but never fully described. It was an exploration trip to the Indians at the other extremity of the continent. He found the Indians of Patagonia much more wretched than those of Alaska, a starved, shivering, unintelligent, but courteous and honest people. The account of what he and his companions saw among the Indians is interesting and evidently quite trustworthy. But their experiences were not such as to encourage the A. B. C. F. M. to establish a permanent mission in Patagonia.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

The Obelisk and Free Masonry, according to the Discoveries of Belzoni and Commander Gorringe. By John A. Weisse, M. D. Cloth. 8vo. Pp. 178. Price \$2.00. New York: J. W. Bouton. [Porter & Coates.

Fate of Republics. Cloth. 12mo. Pp. 297. Boston: Estes & Lauriat. [E. Claxton & Co.

Tenth Annual Report of the Board of Commissioners of Public Charities of the State of Pennsylvania. Harrisburg: Lane S. Hart.

Percy's Pocket Dictionary of Coney Island. Price 10 Cents. New York: F. Leyboldt.

Report of Examinations of Schools in Norfolk County, Mass. By George A. Walton. 8vo. Sw'd. Price 50 cents. Boston: Lee & Shepard. [E. Claxton & Co.

The Anthracite Coal Fields of Pennsylvania, and their Exhaustion. By P. W. Sheaffer of Pottsville, Pa. 8vo. Sw'd. Pp. 10.

Metropolitan Museum of Art. Tenth Annual Report of the Trustees. Sw'd. 12mo. Pp. 40.

THE
PENN MONTHLY.

SEPTEMBER, 1880.

THE MONTH.

THERE is a lively discussion going on in England as to the necessity of continuing in force the Orders in Council which require American cattle to be slaughtered at the port of entry. As their effect is to increase the price of American beef at all other points, they operate as a protective duty in behalf of English cattle breeders; and when the Liberals were in opposition, many of them denounced the measure as virtually protectionist. But the Liberal ministry do not see their way to withdraw the restriction. They have heard many wild stories about swill-fed cattle in American cities,—which, by the way, are never exported, as they would go to skin and bone on the voyage,—and they think that their own farmers are entitled to the exercise of every precaution to prevent the importation and the extension of disease. Just at this moment, Mr. Gladstone is disposed to do his utmost to placate and favor the British farmers, as may be seen from the legislation introduced this session. And there is at least room for apprehension from the free introduction of live cattle from the United States, although the number of diseased beasts forms but a trifling percentage of the whole importation. If Americans were in the like situation, we would enforce similar restrictions as decidedly as the English do.

The matter of American competition with European farmers is becoming a very serious one for European statesmen. It is evidently not to be confined to years of especial scarcity abroad. On

our rich wheat-lands, grain can be produced at such prices as will enable us to undersell the British farmer in the best years as well as the worst; and with the increase of facilities for its transportation, such as our new railroads and the new Canadian canals will furnish, the competition will become more spirited. But there is reason to doubt its permanence. Our newly broken prairies produce wheat with a very large proportion of gluten, which secures it access to the best markets. But the supply of new land in America is far from inexhaustible, although not yet near to exhaustion; and when we shall be confined to lands which have been for years under cultivation, the superiority of English methods of tillage will go far to restore their advantage. We do not, therefore, share Mr. Edward Atkinson's view that we are destined to become the principal permanent source of food supply for Great Britain. Nor do we believe with him that our competition will break down their landlord system and abolish rents.

THE report of the annual dinner of the Cobden Club is, for Americans, what Mr. Lincoln used to call "mighty interesting reading." The meeting was more jubilant than last year, when their chairman reminded them that they had very little to be thankful for. But this year's cheerfulness has not the most striking reasons for its existence. The first is that they have gone through a general election, without wrecking English Free Trade. Ten years ago it would have been thought preposterous to suggest that any English politician should suggest a return to Protection. Now the Club are thankful that no *prominent* politician took up that cry.

Then again, of the eighteen members of the ministry, fourteen belong to the Club. This indicates that the present Cabinet will be on the alert as regards English trade interests, and will push the Free Trade cause as they best may. But as regards the foreign field, the French Protectionists are active and control the Senate, if not the Chamber. Bismarck and his friends are still solidly Protectionist. And in the United States the Free Traders have seen the great opportunity presented by a Democratic Congress, slipping out of their hands.

But then, if not much has been done, a great deal is about to be accomplished. The world is about to be converted. So, as *The Times* sarcastically reminds them, they have been telling us

every year since the Club began its work. It compares their prophecies to "lovers' vows,—broken it may be a thousand times, but uttered sincerely every time, and believed in to the very end." A more courteous way of telling the Cobden Club that their enthusiasm has made them somewhat soft-headed, could not be devised.

But then these gentle enthusiasts have brought a new power into the field. Emerson says that when a new poet makes his appearance, a new and uncalculated energy is born into the world. Such an energy the Club has secured in the person of Mr. Augustus Mongredien, whose little pamphlets are to convert Christendom to Free Trade. If his *The Western Farmer of America* be a specimen of his power to grasp the details of a great subject, then we begin to understand why the Cobden Club discovered "a great American economist" in David A. Wells. Its geese are always swans. Even at this meeting, Earl Spencer, who presided, discovered the presence of "distinguished economists" from America. We look to the list of guests and discover that they were Mr. Garrett, of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad; Mr. Simon Sterne, of New York,—a distinguished and public spirited lawyer, but no economist of note, certainly,—and then Prof. Laughlin, Mr. Marcel, Mr. Showers and Mr. Parrish, "and other gentlemen," presumably of still less eminence. And these are our "distinguished economists"!

ANOTHER piece of the botch-work effected in the settlement of European affairs after the French Revolution, comes to light in the troubles between the Storthing of Norway and its nominal king,—Oscar of Sweden. Norway, if it is not to be independent, properly forms an appendage to Denmark. The two people had lived under one king since 1380, when the Norwegian dynasty succeeded to the throne of Denmark. The Swedish revolt under Gustavas Vasa, against the Union of Colmar, found no support in Norway, and in the course of wars with Sweden they learned to hate the Swedes more cordially than did the Danes. The Danish and Norse languages differ but slightly, while both are quite distinct from the Swedish. Up to the publication of Bjornsen's *Synnöve Solbakken*, in 1857, Danish was the literary language of Norway; and to Norway Denmark owes Holberg and several others of the best names in her literature. Even the movement

towards an independent literature and language—begun by Bjornsen and Ibsen, and resulting in one of the most vigorous and productive of existing literatures,—has effected nothing more than an enlargement of the Norwegian vocabulary from dialectic sources, while the grammatical structure remains unchanged. All these affiliations pointed to the permanent union of these two kingdoms; but in 1815 Denmark was to be punished for Napoleonic sympathies, and Bernadotte to be rewarded for his treason to his former master. So Norway was rent from Denmark, after nearly four centuries of union, and given to Sweden by the allies in 1814. The Norwegians resisted, but the Swedish power prevailed; and the people secured only their recognition as a separate kingdom, under the most Democratic constitution of government possible. But there has never been any cordial loyalty to Bernadotte's dynasty, nor any affiliation with the Swedes. The people have never forgotten or pardoned the crime by which they were separated from Denmark, and quarrels more or less serious have characterized the relations of King and Storting. At present they are involved in a more serious misunderstanding than any of earlier date. The Storting insists that the King's ministers shall attend its meetings, and has voted thus in three successive sessions, in spite of the King's veto. Such a vote, it is provided in the Constitution, is sufficient to make a law even without the King's consent; but the King maintains that on this point the Storting has exceeded its constitutional powers, as this is an amendment of the fundamental law itself. On this point there seems no possibility of agreement or compromise; and a secession from the Swedish connection is once more discussed by the Norse people.

The Albanians are not an admirable race. They are more like the American red man than any other great off-shoot of the great Aryan stem, except, perhaps, the Kurds. They are proud, lazy, illiterate, vicious, cruel, quarrelsome, thievish; despisers of woman, but content to live off the results of her labor. They have twice produced an historic name of the third magnitude. As the Kurds have their Saladin, so the Albanians have their Pyrrhus and their Scanderbeg. They are just the sort of people for a second-rate novelist to invest with all the glories and excellence of personal worth. But it is hard for people who have any definite standard of human character to feel much enthusiasm over them.

If anything could elevate them to the level of mankind's respect, it is their recent declaration of independence. Such a step has been foreshadowed for some time past. The anti-Slav newspapers of Central Europe, of Vienna especially, have taken these "brave and hardy mountaineers" under their patronage, and have said about them everything which might tend to conciliate popular regard. Months ago the Albanian League were said to have declared themselves independent. But they were still puppets in the hands of the Pashas. The Porte was sending them money, was plotting to get into their hands the places it had agreed to surrender to Czernagora, was sending home with arms every Albanian who was found around Stamboul. That all this was purely selfish and underhand, the Albanians must have known. They saw that they were used to undo what the Porte professed itself ready to have done. But they acquiesced in it, through blind hatred of the enemies they had in common with the Turks. At last they have made the discovery that the Pashas are setting them in the forefront of the impending battle with the Great Powers, and that the worst enemy of the Albanian League is on the Bosphorus.

We make no doubt that this new move of the League will result in one more loss to the Turkish Empire. The Sultan has not troops enough at his command for their subjugation. He has always relied upon Albania as his recruiting ground. His very body-guard is composed of Albanians. Few of his regiments could be trusted in a campaign in these mountains. And if Albania be lost, the loss is richly deserved. It is the fruit of long and involved treachery to Albania, to Czernagora, to Greece and to the Great Powers.

It is proposed to call a convention of Canadians who are favorable to a commercial union with the United States. It seems that the Quebec Liberals, as well as a great many unattached citizens, are favorable to such a plan, and will give it their support. It was hoped that the ministry now in power would give the matter their attention; but neither Sir John Macdonald, nor the leader of the Opposition, Mr. Blake, have as yet seen their way to anything but proposals for the renewal of reciprocity. If this apathy should continue, there is a fine opening for a third party in Canada,—a Continental party, which should make Canadian Independence and

Commercial Union its chief issue. Such a party should have on its side all the great tendencies and movements of the times. The stars in their course would fight with it. And before many years, it might displace both its rivals and take the helm of power.

Sir John Macdonald assures the English people that the connection between England and Canada will be a permanent one, that Canada will always remain an English dependency. Could he have taken the deliberate judgment of the Englishmen to whom he was speaking, he would probably have found in them an astonishing indifference as to Canada's future, and some measure of doubt as to whether a severance would not be best for Canada. Had he polled the Canadian people, he would have found still less agreement with his own view. Even his henchman Sir Alexander Galt, has expressed a doubt of the permanence of the connection. So have Mr. Goldwin Smith and Sir Francis Hincks, widely as they differ on every other point. So have Mr. Blake and Mr. McDougall and Mr. Perrault, and almost every Canadian whose opinion is worth taking. Indeed, there is a steady vote against the colonial attitude of Canada which is being taken all the time. It is the vote of the Canadians who are emigrating from Canada to the United States,—from a dependency to a nation. In the month of July, Canada ranked as second among the countries which furnish us with immigrants. About 75,000 a year come over, and one-twelfth of all the natives of the Dominion are now residing on our side of the line.

THE returns of the Tenth Census of the United States, so far as received, are so inconsistent with all reasonable expectations, as to justify the suspicion of systematic and extensive fraud. The movement of population during the last ten years has been open and manifest to all observers. That immigration has been confined chiefly to the north, that it has touched few of the southern States, except West Virginia, Florida and Texas, that two even of these States have drawn more from the South itself than from any other quarter, are matters which admit of little dispute. Every observer, native and foreign alike, predicted that this census would show a transfer of strength in population and of political power from the South to the North West. But of the ten millions of increase, the South actually claims three millions eight hundred thousand; and

asserts that she has at least lost nothing as regards the ratio of her population to that of the whole country. North Carolina claims an increase of thirty per cent., Virginia thirty, Arkansas forty-four, Kentucky thirty-one, while that of our middle States is but 19 per cent., Illinois but twenty-two, Wisconsin fourteen, and Iowa twenty-six! We follow the figures given by the *Boston Advertiser*. Of the 32 counties of South Carolina, 23 have sent in their official enumeration. These increased their population during the decade 1850-60, by less than one and a half per cent.; during the decade 1860-70, a little over seven per cent.; but during the decade 1870-80, they claim an increase of more than 35 per cent. And this alleged increase has been nearly confined to the rural districts, the two counties which contain the only two cities of the State reporting but a slight increase. Ten of the twenty-three reported a gain of less than three per cent. in 1860, an actual loss in 1870, and a gain of 48 per cent. in 1880. One of the ten, Kershaw County, the poorest in the whole State, contains but a single village, (said to be "the sleepest place on the continent,") and employs but eleven persons in manufactures. In the decade 1850-60, it lost nine per cent.; in 1860-70, it lost ten per cent.; in 1870-80 it claims to have gained eighty per cent. This is the most impudent of all the returns, but the increase claimed in Marlborough County (seventy-four per cent.), Edgefield Co. (sixty-two and a half per cent.), Greenville County (sixty-two per cent.), and others, are made equally incredible by a comparison with the figures of previous enumerations. And as the growth of the decade 1850-60 was interrupted by no war, it may fairly be taken as representing the normal rate of growth. The census returns for the forty years, 1830-70, show an increase of but twenty-one per cent. in the whole State. But the new enumeration will pretend to show an increase of something between thirty and thirty-five per cent. in ten years.

This remarkable exhibit is rendered still farther significant by the facts that Democratic leaders have been proclaiming great southern gains ahead of all official returns, and even before the figures could have been counted up. There is every reason to expect that the figures collected from the Southern States by its census officials—who are all Democrats,—will announce to the world that that is the growing, progressive, prosperous section of the country!

We have always sought to do justice to the white people of the South, and to allege in exculpation of their faults the miserable influence which slavery has bequeathed, and which a cowardly reconstruction policy has rather intensified than removed. But we cannot shut our eyes to the fact that they are at this moment fighting for the control not only of their own States, but of the Nation. All the talk we heard four years ago about their withdrawal from national politics is now forgotten, to be renewed immediately after Mr. Garfield's election. And they are using not only fair and honorable means to secure power, but any which come to hand. The men who extinguished the negro majorities in seven States by violence and fraud, are not likely to stop at any similar measure which may obliterate or reduce the national majority of the North. To "count in the graveyards," as, before the census was taken, it was said they would do, is even easier than to stuff a ballot-box with tissue ballots. There is no representative of the Republican party looking over the census supervisor's shoulder,—no illiterate or venial negro to watch the count. The motive and the opportunity of a great crime are alike present; and the social morality of the Southern people is not such as to give us any guarantee of their resistance to the temptation. It may be said that the parallel with the case of the Southern treatment of negro voters is not an exact one. But it is far closer than is generally supposed. No Southern State is compelled to retain negro suffrage in its organic law. It can confine the suffrage to white citizens, or to educated voters, if it pleases, and accept a corresponding limitation of its political power. But although several States have revised their constitutions recently, not one of them has taken this step. They deliberately make the negro a political cipher, but retain him as a nominal voter, for the sake of members in Congress and votes for the Presidency. The dead men in the Southern graveyards might just as well be counted as the black men whose right of suffrage has been destroyed in fact, while it exists in law. The morality of the two transactions is exactly the same.

"ABOUT this time" it should be written in the almanacs, "expect to hear from the Free Trade Club, that the Tariff is to be made a prominent issue in the selection of members of Congress, and that they are receiving very encouraging advices from all parts of the

country." Every two years, from August till October, this is part of the news; and then Mr. Swank limbers out his long gun, and gives the signal of warning to the Protectionists, to be on their guard against this handful of amiable enthusiasts. We are not terrified by the Free Trade Club. Its united forces, even though backed by a ton of Mr. Montgredien's remarkable pamphlets, could not control a single nominating convention. And the whole tenor of the nominations will be no more affected by it than will the precession of the equinoxes.

Of course, Protectionists should be alive to the importance of proper nominations to Congress. The Free Trade Club has nothing to do with that. They should always be seeing that Democrats like Abram Hewitt and Republicans like Mr. Dawes, do not miss a nomination through want of proper support. But it is to be remembered that this country has but one centre of Free Trade sentiment, while it has tens of thousands of centres of Protectionist conviction. Every factory in a country village teaches Mr. Carey's economic doctrines. Every group of workmen employed in manufactures, is an Anti-Free-Trade club. These centres are spreading through the West. They are awakening the people out of their comparative indifference, to an active interest in our national policy. It is from Cleveland, Indianapolis, Chicago, Minneapolis and San Francisco that the echoes now come back to Philadelphia and Pittsburg.

New York is the one place on this continent where the people are not either indifferent or protectionist. The importing element is strong enough to give tone to opinion at that point. These so-called importers are, except in rare instances, merely agents and assignees for foreign establishments. The city is said to have but three genuine importers of dry goods, who own their own stock of goods. These agents are very frequently foreigners by birth, who know little of and care nothing for the needs of the country at large. They find their mental pabulum in newspapers edited by imported editors, and filled with imported theories. The quantity and the quality of their interest in our political concerns, are in accord with this state of affairs. And yet they seriously hope that the sentiment and influence which they have created locally, can be employed to give character to an American Congress.

GENERAL HANCOCK'S letter of acceptance appeared on the last day of July. It is a document characteristic of the man, as thoroughly courteous and inoffensive as that of Mr. Garfield, but unlike Mr. Garfield's in the absence of any well-defined political principles, upon which to base a party struggle. Mr. Garfield might subscribe to every word in his rival's letter, but General Hancock could not have subscribed to Mr. Garfield's.

That the ostensible author of this letter is its real author, we think self-evident. No politician, unless possessed of some dramatic ability, could have produced it. It is the writing of a man who has no acquaintance with the complexities of politics, who has read up the Constitution to refresh his memory, and who is much more ready to declare his opinions on those topics on which there is no quarrel, than to venture on the uncertain ground where his fellow citizens differ. In several places he condescends to platitude, and needs to be reminded of the legal maxim, "The Court knows something." An expert politician would not have told the nation so solemnly, "The Constitution forms the basis of the Government of the United States. The powers granted by it to the legislative, executive and judicial departments define and limit the authority of the general government. Powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, belong to the States respectively or to the people." All this reads suspiciously like the observations resulting from a fresh perusal of that venerable document, and suggests that the writer has not been so familiar with its teachings as a statesman, much less a "Second Expounder," might be expected to be. It reminds us of the young lady's offer to translate *Télémaque* for the *Cornhill Magazine* in Thackeray's time. She hit upon a very excellent book, but her proposal showed a lack of acquaintance with literature. General Hancock's sentiments are excellent, but they have as little to do with his candidacy as has the multiplication table.

As we should have expected, General Hancock does not take up the "fraud" cry. As he was the first to call on President Hayes to tender his congratulations, on the morning after the inauguration, and as he has continued to hold office ever since, under the orders of the President, it would hardly have been consistent for

him to have taken up that cry. And the Democratic party, if they were not too stupid to see it, would discover that they also have stopped themselves from continuing that cry by nominating General Hancock. They have publicly condoned all that they still allege against Mr. Hayes and the Republican party, by offering the Presidency to a man who not only recognized the validity of Mr. Hayes's title, but continued to hold office under him. If General Hancock really does accept the utterance of the Democratic platform, except as embodying in a very imperfect way some abstract principle of politics, then he utters his condemnation of his own course during the past four years.

But some of his friends defend his omission of any reference to the claims growing out of the election of 1876, by alleging that he, as an officer in the army, is debarred from speaking as freely of the election of his commander-in-chief as he otherwise might. Once again they insult their own candidate. Is General Hancock the man to abstain from saying all he thinks fit to say, because he must give up an appointment in order to attain freedom of speech? Several Southern papers call upon him to resign his military position, possibly from the same motive as actuated the *Richmond Dispatch* in exhorting the Northern papers to keep silence as regards his war record. We have never seen any good reason given for such a resignation. The Democrats have nominated a mere soldier for the Presidency. If they can elect him, let him go straight from his headquarters to the White House, without any false pretences. But if his military position forbid his speaking freely, by all means let him resign. We do not believe that it does; but we do not see that any Democrat can help suspecting it.

SENATOR WALLACE has opened the Democratic campaign in this State with a speech more foolish than we thought him capable of making. The burden of Mr. Wallace's contention was that the Republican is a sectional, the Democratic a national party. What truth there is in this is merely an echo of the Disunion cry, which used to be raised against the Republicans before the war. Mr. Wallace, like a good many Democrats, has not been able to keep up with the march of events, or he would have learnt that it is of no use to shout, Wolf! Wolf! to that tune in these times. Nor can it be truly said that the Republican party is a sectional party,

when there is a Republican majority in seven Southern States, which has been deprived of its lawful voice by Democratic fraud and violence.

Of course, as a Pennsylvanian, he had the "Tariff for Revenue only" in his mind's eye, both when he was speaking to that point, and when he was not. Whatever Mr. Wallace's opinions on this point may be, he never distinguished himself by any defence of the interests of the commonwealth when they were endangered by proposals for hostile legislation. Of course, it would not do for even a Democrat to talk Free Trade in Pennsylvania, but Mr. Wallace seems to have sought to make Protection as odious to all thinking people as possible. He says: "The Republican policy destroys our control of the manufacturing interests of the Republic; takes from the North that peculiar control which has heretofore belonged to us, and places factories, furnaces, rolling mills, and workshops by every river in the South. The South has been agricultural; that is its natural sphere. Its enormous products from the soil have been and ought to continue the most important element in her progress and prosperity. Disunion, hate, and persecution force them to depend upon themselves, and thus deprive us of what is, and ought to continue to be, our natural market."

Mr. Wallace's "speech bewrayeth him." This utterance has no parallel in anything that the champions of Protection in this State have ever said. This talk about "our natural market" is taken direct from the speeches and writings of English Free Traders. So far from envying the South the development of its manufactures, Protectionists have always deplored the backwardness of that section in this respect, and have desired to see her grow rich and prosperous in every element of industrial wealth. As they have always said, and as *The Times* of New York says, "it was one of the worst evils of slavery that it confined the section in which it prevailed to the simplest and most unprofitable forms of production, and hampered the wealth-making capacity of the community in every direction." And Protectionists have no interests more primary than this, that every part and section of the country should become so much interested in manufactures that a cry for Free Trade could be raised in none of them. The Boston *Advertiser*, a Protectionist paper, says, "Should the national census show the South to have greatly improved within the last ten years, the whole country will have ground for honest satisfaction."

THE sessions of the Concord School of Philosophy this summer, furnish an interesting chapter of our intellectual life, which is beginning to attract public attention. The science of philosophy has always been pursued with more or less energy in our larger educational institutions, John Locke and the Scotch School, who are not properly metaphysicians, being the masters most affected. Yet Dr. Samuel Johnson of Columbia was, like Jonathan Edwards, a disciple of Berkeley; and among our German institutions there has been a disposition to assert the claims of Hegel and Schelling. With the study of Coleridge began a profounder strain of thinking, of which Dr. James Marsh of Vermont was the first, and Dr. Shedd of New York is the latest representative.

But all these are the representatives of that academic or official study of philosophy, which is associated with college chairs, and with such names as Bowen, Hitchcock, Porter, Hodge and Krauth. More notable as a sign of the times, and of the existence of spontaneous metaphysical tendencies in the American mind, is the rise of three independent schools of philosophical culture, none of whose members fills any professor's chair, or has been drawn to the subject by any official necessity for its study. With the late George Ripley and his literary associates began an American-German movement, by which Mr. Emerson was led away from his first love, Coleridge. It is to the Ripley or Transcendental School that we must assign Mr. Alcott, although he is now much more conservative in theology than Ripley and his disciples were, and although the Germans would dispute his right to rank as a philosopher, in any proper sense of that word. And it is around Alcott and Emerson, the last and much modified survivors of the old Transcendental Group, that the new "School" has been gathered at Concord. Next to these, its most remarkable members are from the west,—Mr. Harris of St. Louis, and Mr. Jones of Jacksonville in Illinois. Both of these men represent remarkable local movements of a philosophical kind. In St. Louis, a good many years ago, a young man, now too busily engaged with law and politics to pay much attention to metaphysics, was so excited by the study of Hegel's writings that he began to talk about them in all circles. Mr. Harris, long the admirable superintendent of that city's public schools, was one of a group which was reached by this influence; and out of it has grown his *Journal of Speculative Philosophy*, (now

in its 14th volume), which, although predominantly Hegelian in its character, is hospitable to other schools of thought,—Plato, Kant, Fichte, Baader, Schelling, Schopenhauer, Trendelenburg and the Concord Transcendentalists, all having found welcome in its pages. But the American Hegelians are not confined to St. Louis, as may be seen by reference to Miss Anna C. Brackett of New York, and Judge Stallo of Cincinnati. Mr. Jones, on the other hand, is a devotee of Platonism. Jacksonville, where he lives, is the seat of the State Normal School, and among its professors and their pupils, the future teachers of the State, he has been propagating the infection of his Platonism, until the people of this prairie town are said to be as familiar with the ideal as with their sisters, cousins and aunts. Concord, St. Louis and Jacksonville, therefore, are the three recognized *foci* of spontaneous philosophy in America; but how many other first or second-class towns will become similar centres of study and enthusiasm, it is impossible to say. As Cosmo Cupples remarked to Robert Falconer,—“Fowk are metaphysical.” The tendency to philosophize is deeply imbedded in human nature, and will make itself efficient in the most unlikely circumstances.

That the three schools are on eminently friendly terms is manifest from their cordial re-union in the Summer School at Concord. Thither come also the representatives of other movements, each and all welcomed for their quality of thoughtfulness, and their toleration of all the rest. The jealousy with which Hegel persecuted Benecke at Berlin, and Schelling hunted Krause from München, has not made itself felt in this well-named Concord. But connected with this catholicity, it seems to us, is the chief fault of the School, *viz*: a flabby dilettantism, a want of well defined convictions. Mrs. Browning says that toleration in this world is confined to those who have no beliefs. When people come to hold a doctrine very earnestly, if they be made of ordinary clay, it is apt to narrow their tempers. With some of the Concord people this result is impossible, for the simple reason that they have no doctrine. Feminine intuitions, fluid as water, changed from day to day and with every mood, compose what they call their philosophy. The new metaphysicians are not all of this sort. Mr. Harris especially is not. But it is just that which makes us think him out of place in any group of which Bronson Alcott is the admired chief.

AN unusually severe fore-summer has been testing to the utmost the sanitary administration of our American cities. The thorough drainage of Memphis seems to have done its work there, and we hear of no fresh outbreak of the yellow fever in that sorely afflicted city. New Orleans has escaped equally well, although the city is not clean and never will be. That its site is below the level of the Mississippi makes that impossible. In the North the intense heat has been more than usually trying to juvenile life. In New York children died for a time at the rate of seventy-five a day; and in Philadelphia the loss was almost proportionally as great, in spite of our freedom from the tenement-house system. A large portion of our loss was due to the foul condition of our water supply. Once more Fairmount broke down under the city's demand for a pure supply of this indispensable "gift of God," as the Arabs call it. We pay more for our water than any other city, and yet every summer drought not only shortens the supply, but lowers the quality to a point far below that of safety to health.

Sooner or later, we shall have to take up the suggestion made by Chief Engineer Birkenbine when he was in office. Except in case of an absolute necessity, no great city but Philadelphia chooses to depend on pumping machinery for its water supply. They all have preferred the aqueduct system, which costs more at first but saves money in the long run. Chicago, St. Louis, and perhaps Cincinnati are forced to pump the water they use. But Boston, New York, Brooklyn, Glasgow, Manchester, London, and all the best managed cities of Europe employ aqueducts. Philadelphia has plenty of upland sites for a great reservoir within manageable distance of the city. That in the Perkiomen Valley, pointed out by Mr. Birkenbine, is by no means the only one, although it possesses some especial advantages. A single aqueduct, connecting such a reservoir with the city, would cost a handsome sum of money, would leave us a score of discredited pumps to sell as old iron, and would furnish but little political patronage in the employment of officials. But it would save hundreds of lives every summer, and, in the long run, would save money as well to the City Treasury.

Those who have gone straight from Philadelphia to Brooklyn this summer, from the sight and smell of what our hydrants furnish to the pellucid vision of Brooklyn water, will not need much persuasion to see that our system is capable of improvement.

On the other hand, it must be said that our city has rarely, if ever, in the memory of living persons been so clean as it is this summer. The new system which the Board of Health has introduced is based on the principle that large contractors will do such work better than small. They will put a considerable capital into the work, and they will have some inducement to go into the business of selling the refuse and sweepings as manure. For this reason the Board has divided the city into four large districts, each of which is undertaken by a single contractor, acting under more stringent rules as regards frequency of cleaning the streets than have been in force hitherto. To our knowledge, persons who left the city in May and returned to it since the new system went into operation, have been surprised to see how clean it is. Let us hope that it is not the newness of our new broom that has accomplished this clean sweeping.

Twenty years have made a great change in the disposition of the American people as regards relaxation and the enjoyment of summer at the seaside and in the mountains. Before and even after the war, Long Branch was the only watering place open to New Yorkers; now they have half a dozen within easy reach by boat or rail. In those days any one who went to the seashore, unless he were especially rich and idle or in poor health, made an apology for it to his acquaintance when he came back. Now it is the person who stays at home that is expected to explain. The exclusive devotion of our business classes to money-making is beginning to make an exception in favor of comfort-seeking; and while the change does not indicate any great moral progress, being for the most part no more than a new kind of selfishness, it is a change for the better, as being a more rational way of living, and one more conducive to good health. The American people are an excessively busy people. "The American devil," says one of our theologians, "is not a fiddling devil, nor a dancing devil, nor even a drinking devil. He is a toiling devil, a drudging devil, and a saving devil." And it is something to have cast off his satanic influence, although only to try another way of self-pleasing.

NOTE.—In the article on the "Issues of the Campaign," of last month, Chief Justice Tancy's legal opinion in the Dred Scott case was loosely quoted as though it expressed his personal opinion as to the negro's rightful status, when his purpose was to declare merely the status of the law.

THE KALEVALA. I.

THE Kalevala is the great epic poem, or national song of Finland. What the Iliad was to the Greeks, or the Nibelungen to the Germans, the Kalevala is to the Finns. So great a critic as Max Müller says, "If the poet may take his colors from that nature by which he is surrounded, if he may depict the men with whom he lives, Kalevala possesses merits not dissimilar from those of the Iliad, and will claim its place as the fifth national epic of the world."

The Kalevala was collected by a painstaking and accomplished Finnish scholar, Dr. Elias Lönnrot, from the mouth of the peasants. He travelled for years through Finland, and especially through the province of Archangel near the White Sea, living with the peasants, gaining their confidence, and listening to their songs. These he collected, and on his return to Helsingfors, connected them, and reduced them to a complete poem. This, in all probability, was the manner in which the Iliad was written. Homer was the Dr. Elias Lönnrot of the early Greek period. The greater part of the Kalevala dates back to the ninth and tenth centuries, before the introduction of Christianity, when the Finns worshipped the powers of Nature, and divided the gods into good and evil spirits, the powers of light and the powers of darkness. The poem may be said to be a perfect picture of pagan life among the Finns, say about the year 900 A. D. But it is curious to observe how in the course of centuries of transmission from mouth to mouth, images drawn from Christianity appear from time to time. The cross is introduced, and in the last "rune" the birth of the Saviour is clearly alluded to.

The Kalevala has been translated into several languages. In Sweden and Germany it has been translated into metre, and in France into prose. It is written in eight syllable verse, the metre of Hiawatha. The late Prof. Porter of Yale College, translated a small portion of it, the episode of Aino, into English verse.

Dr. Lönnrot found great difficulty in collecting these songs. The peasants hold them in superstitious veneration, and are very unwilling to communicate them to foreigners. It was only after dwelling a long time among them, and treating them gratuitously,

for fortunately he was a physician, that he was able to overcome their suspicions. The songs were sometimes sung by the old women as they spun, and sometimes by the men at their work; but the great source of the riches the Doctor collected was when a trial of memory and skill took place between two rival bards. Then the villagers gathered round. The singers placed themselves astraddle upon a bench, facing each other, joined hands, interlocked their fingers, and began. First one of them sang a stanza, the other repeated it and added another, and so on for hour after hour, to the great delight of the audience, till one of the contestants gave out from fatigue or lack of memory.

The Kalevala describes Finnish nature very accurately and very beautifully. Joseph Grimm says, that no poem is to be compared with it in this respect, unless it be some of the great Indian epics. It contains poems for special occasions, such as marriages, the brewing of the beer, sowing grain, after a bear hunt, the birth of a child, etc., etc., and many of them are retained to this day. The marriage songs are especially beautiful. The classical leader will be struck with the unexpected intervention from time to time of an old man or woman, or of a small boy, after the manner of the chorus in the old Greek tragedies.

The Kalevala opens with the expression of the ardent desire of the singer to sing a national song. The sacred fire is burning within him.

“Ardent longings stir my being,
Thoughts within my brain have risen;
I long to breath my words in singing,
Sing a sacred song of Suomi.*
Within my mouth the words are surging,
Overflow my tongue's defences;
Spread around my gums and white teeth,
Rush between my lips in torrents.”

Then he challenges another singer to contest the palm of superiority with him, and invites him to place himself upon the trial bench.

“Brother bard, my youth's companion,
Come and sing with me our meeting,
Rarely now we meet together,
Rarely now we see each other,
In these isolated regions,
In these dreary realms of Pohja.” †

* Finland or Fenland. † Lapland.

“ Place your hand within my glad hand,
 Your fingers interlock with mine ;
 Let us sing events prodigious,
 That these young and vig'rous hearers,
 Eager to be told of wonders,
 Learn the words we youthful gathered,
 From the belt of Wainamoinen,
 In the forge of Ilmarinen,
 On the sword's point of Kaukomieli,
 On the brow of Joukahainen,
 On the frontiers of Pohjola,
 And the sterile plains of Kalva.”

He then proceeds to state where he has gathered all his wisdom. He has plucked it from the bushes, gathered it from the trees, found it in the turf.

“ Frost has to me chanted verses,
 Rain has borne me learned runes ;
 Winds of heaven, waves of ocean,
 Oft have sung to me their poems.
 Birds have taught me by their singing,
 Trees have asked me to their concerts.”

My readers will be reminded of Longfellow's *Hiawatha*, where *Nawadaha*, the Indian bard, is stated to have drawn his wisdom from the animal creation.

“ All the wild fowl sang them to him,
 In the moorlands, and the fenlands,
 In the melancholy marshes.
 Chetonaik, the plover, sang them,
 Making the loon, the wild goose, Wawa ;
 The blue heron, the shuh-shuh-gah,
 And the grouse, the Mushkodaso.”

Then comes the story. It goes back to the creation of the earth. Nothing existed but air and water. *Tuonnotar*, the beautiful daughter of the air, descended into the sea. There she gave birth to *Wainamoinen*. As she floated upon the water, a duck, seeking a place to lay her eggs, deposited them upon her knee, and sat upon them. The place soon became so hot, that the beautiful *Tuonnotar* turned over in the water, and the eggs fell to the bottom and were broken. From them came the dry land.

“ Lowest end became the dry land,
 Upper end the glorious heaven.
 The sun resplendent is the yolk,
 The white, the silvery shining moon.
 Stars are made of specks of eggshell,
 Clouds of all the darker portion.”

This ends the first rune.

Wainamoinen now appears upon the scene. It will be remembered that he was the son of the daughter of the air, and is, like Hiawatha, both warrior and magician. He was born full grown, like Minerva from the head of Jove. He lands upon a desert island, and goes to work at once to plant and cultivate it. He planted pines upon the hills, and bushes in the valleys; birches in the wet places, and oaks upon the borders of the streams. But the oak grew too large, and overshadowed the whole land, so that nothing would grow in its shade, and Wainamoinen was obliged to call upon his mother to send a water spirit to cut it down. This was done, and from that time everything thrived in Finland. The oak is a very rare tree to this day, and is only to be found along the shores of the Gulf of Finland in the southern part of the country.

But there was as yet no grain in the land. Wainamoinen, the poem says, “ reflected profoundly.” Then he took a walk by the sea shore. There he found several little seeds washed up by the waves, and among others rye, now the great staple of Finland. These he gathered and sowed, singing, as he sowed them, the following invocation to Ukko, the Creator, an invocation still often chanted by the peasants as they sow their grain in the spring :

“ Ukko, hear my invocation,
 You who reign supreme in heaven ;
 Gather clouds within your strong hands,
 Trace their path across the sun's rays.
 Clouds from out the orient gather,
 Others from where lies the sunset,
 Others bring up from the southland.
 These then quickly join together,
 Pierce a hole within their borders.”
 Softly fell the blessed rain-drops,
 Honey from the hives ethereal.
 On the germs, which quickly grew up,
 On the crops which ripened swiftly.
 Thick the grain stood mid the furrows,
 Fields were covered with the rye-heads.

This will remind my readers of the beautiful description of the planting of the Indian corn in Hiawatha.

When Wainamoinen cleared the land in order that he might sow the rye, he had left a solitary birch tree standing. The cuckoo, the favorite bird of the Finns, the emblem of love and joy and gaiety, now appears upon the scene, and after the manner of birds and beasts in those primitive times, addresses Wainamoinen, and asks why he left the birch tree standing. Wainamoinen, who appears to have had a good deal of "blarney" about him, as becomes an enchanter, replies that he,

"Left the birch tree, cuckoo darling,
Left the beauteous tree standing,
That cuckoo might repose when tired,
Sing her song among the branches."

"Sing then, sing, Oh! beauteous cuckoo,
Sing with full note bosom-swelling,
Golden-breasted, brazen throated.
Sing, Oh! sing, at evening twilight;
Sing at sunrise, sing at noon-day.

"Sing my fields so rich and fertile,
Sing my woods so soft and pleasant,
Sing the treasures of my waters,
And the riches of my ploughed fields."

This ends the second rune:

We came now to the first love affair, at least on the part of one of the parties. Old Wainomoinen (in the poem he is never young), finds his life lonely, and looks about him for a wife. A curious custom prevailed among the ancient Finns, that they must not take their wives from their own village, or among their acquaintances. Frequently they went to war, or made raids, and carried off young girls by horse, as the Romans carried off the Sabines. A warrior and magician of Pohjola, one Joukahainen, had heard of the fame of Wainamoinen. He harnessed up his stallion with "flaming nostrils and fetlocks of fire, to his golden sleigh," and started to provoke Wainamoinen to a trial of strength. They had a lively contest as to the origin of things in general, for the power of the "word," as the Kalevala calls it, consisted in wisdom, in the knowledge of plants and of animals, of their habits, of the origin of fire and iron, and even of geography. In this contest Joukahainen came off second best,

and his adversary ended by turning his feet and hands into stone, and burying him in a bog up to his chin. To extricate himself, Joukahainen promised to give his sister, the beautiful Aino, in marriage to Wainamoinen. But this arrangement did not suit the young woman, as we shall presently see. Her mother was decidedly in favor of the match, for Wainomoinen was rich and famous. She gave her daughter some good advice.

“Dry your tears, Oh ! foolish virgin,
Calm your grief, my child beloved ;
No ground there is to take a sad face,
To weep and wail your tearful fate.”

But Aino answers :

“ I weep, I pass my days in crying,
Because you've pledged me to an old man ;
Me, your child once so beloved,
To be the comfort of a dotard,
The staff and stay of one decrepid.
Rather would I drown in ocean,
Be the sister of the fishes,
Cousin of the water-dwellers
Than an old man's steps to bear up,
Lest he fall to earth all helpless,
If he stumble o'er a splinter.”

The betrothal proceeded, however, as betrothals have done, and will continue to do as long as there are ambitious mothers to be found, and nothing was left for poor Aino but to kill herself, which she forthwith proceeded to do. She put on her most beautiful dress, and all her ornaments, left her home and wandered to the gulf, where, after a touching farewell to her father and mother, brother and sister, she drowned herself. The hare brings the news of her death to her mother, That matron, when it is too late, repents, and gives some good advice to other mothers.

“ Mothers, ne'er unite your daughters
To the man they have not chosen ;
Alas ! I did so with my darling,
With my dove, so white and beauteous.”

Thereupon, the cuckoo comes in and sings a song. But the mother cannot listen to the cuckoo, it saddens her too much.

“ Hark not to the cuckoo's singing,
The heart beats fast, the tears will flow,
Trickle down the weeper's visage
Larger than the peas or white beans.”

This beautiful episode of Aino carries us through the third, fourth and fifth runes. It is this that was translated into English trochaics by Professor Porter.

Wainamoinen felt badly at the loss of his beautiful bride; not so badly however, but that he started almost immediately in search of another. But first he tried to fish up the remains of Aino. He threw his nets into the sea, and he fished with hook and line too. Finally he caught an extraordinary fish. He had never seen anything like it. It would have puzzled Agassiz to classify it. While he was examining the scales, to see to what species it belonged, it slipped through his fingers and disappeared in the waters, thus giving him the slip for the second time, for it was Aino. Then she began to chaff him. She called him a stupid old man, who did not know how to keep a young girl when he had got her. He entreated her to return, but she would not. Thereupon he made a new net of silk, and dragged all the bays and inlets of the coast, and the rivers and lakes. He fished, too, with hook and line. But all in vain. She never bit again. In his grief he addressed the cuckoo, who evidently sympathized deeply with him.

“Joyous cuckoo sang at sun rise,
Sang their songs at noon and evening;
What has stopped their song melodious?
What has stilled their voice outpouring?
Grief has stopped their song melodious,
Tears have choked their voice outpouring;
No more they sing at early morning;
No more they sing at golden sunset,
To charm the lengthening hours of evening,
Wake me with their joyous singing.”

Wainamoinen, under the advice of his mother, who returns from the tomb to give it, now decides to go to Pohjola in search of a bride. He mounts his horse and starts, but Joukahainen, whom, it will be remembered, he defeated and enchanted, determines to have his revenge. He makes a bow of iron mixed with copper, and ornamented with gold and silver. The bow-string was made of the sinews of the stag of Hiisa, mixed with hairs from the tail of his stallion. Cut in relief upon the bow, were figures of a horse, a colt and a hare. Having manufactured arrows to match, and dipped their points in “the biting venom of

the viper," he lay in wait for Wainamoinen. His mother endeavored in vain to dissuade him from his attempt.

" If you shoot at Wainamoinen,
If you kill the Kalevainen,
Swift all joy will leave our Suomi
Song will vanish from the mainland,
Better far is song in Finland,
Better joy upon the mainland
Than in the kingdom of Manala,*
In the domains of Tuonela."†

When Wainamoinen came within range, Joukahainen shot at him, but the arrow, instead of striking the hero, struck his "blue" horse. It is necessary to state that the horse was at that moment galloping over the sea, so that when he was killed Wainamoinen fell into the water. He was driven up and down by the winds and waves for eight years, according to one version, but the better received authorities put it at eight days. On the eighth day, being somewhat fatigued, he began to complain of his sad position, and asked, like Mr. Webster, what he should do, "where he should go."

Suddenly an eagle appeared upon the scene. The poet states that "he was neither great nor small," though with one wing he swept the heavens, and with the other he touched the ocean; his tail was upon the waves, while his beak devastated the islands. The eagle paused in his flight and asked Wainamoinen what he was doing there. Wainamoinen explained. It appeared that this eagle, like the cuckoo, had felt grateful to Wainamoinen for leaving the birch tree for him to rest upon. He recalled the circumstance, told Wainamoinen that he had not forgotten it, and invited him to mount upon his back that he might be carried to Pohjola. This was done.

There Louhi, a sorceress and apparently queen of those parts, found him in rather a sad plight. She took him to her house, gave him a vapor bath, had him well rubbed down and kneaded by the bath girl, a practice still kept up in Finland, and then gave him a good dinner. She offered to give him a wife and send him home on condition of his forging a "Sampo" for her, a sort of magic mill which would bring prosperity to Lapland. It was to be forged of the feathers of the swan, the milk of a dry cow, a

*The Devil. †Hades.

grain of barley, and a tuft of the wool of a sheep with lamb. Wainamoinen confessed that he was unable to forge it, but said he knew a man who could do it, his friend Ilmarinen, a famous blacksmith. It was he who had forged the sky, who had made the "cover of the air" so skillfully that the marks of the hammer and of the pincers could not be seen upon it. It was agreed that Ilmarinen should forge the Sampo, and Wainamoinen was sent safely home.

On his way, Wainamoinen saw his destined bride sitting upon the rainbow. He invited her to come down and take a seat in his sleigh. She promised to do so if he should perform successfully several difficult tasks she set him. He performed some of them, but while he was building a magic boat, to please her, he wounded himself badly in the leg. Unfortunately, he had forgotten the magic words which cure wounds, and was compelled to go in search of them. After many adventures he found an old man who told him that he would cure him,—could command the necessary words, if he could only learn the origin of iron; for the Finns held, in their medical magic, that to cure diseases or heal a wound, the operator must know the origin of what produced the disease or inflicted the wound. A very thorough system of diagnosis, this. Wainamoinen thereupon explained to the old man the origin of iron. The account is so curious, and at the same time so highly poetical, that I give it entire.

“ Whence comes iron? you would ask me,
 Whence the steel to make our spear-heads?
 Air is oldest of the brothers,
 Water was the next created;
 Fire next, and lastly iron.
 Ukko, glorious Jumala,
 Struck his hand upon his left knee,
 Born at once were three fair sisters
 Mothers of the puissant iron;
 With their milk they washed the mainland,
 Watered all the plains and marshes,
 Mixed it with the waves of ocean.
 From the black milk came the iron,
 From the white, the steel for spear-heads.”

“ But the iron wished to visit,
 Wished to see his brother fire;
 But the fire arose in anger,

Nearly slew his brother iron ;
 Then the iron fled in terror,
 Hid himself deep in the marshes ;
 Buried in the savage mountains
 Where the wild swans rear their young ones,
 And the wild geese rear their goslings.
 But he could not 'scape the fire,
 Must become a sword and spear-head ;
 For the wolf had found his dwelling,
 And the bear laid bare his cavern."

" Ilmarinen, famous blacksmith,
 Born upon a hill of black coals ;
 Brought up on a field of coal soot,
 Copper hammer in his right hand,
 Pincers held within his left hand,
 One day old, a forge had builded ;
 One day old, had made a bellows
 In the cavern saw the iron,
 In the cave the bear discovered."

" Then he said, unhappy iron,
 Wherefore do you thus lie hidden
 When the wolf has trod your dwelling,
 And the bear's foot pressed your cavern ?

" Then he thought, he thought profoundly,
 If I forge this idle iron,
 If I seize it with my pincers ;
 But the iron cried in anguish,
 For he feared his brother fire."

" Ilmarinen, famous blacksmith,
 Sought to soothe the iron's anguish.
 ' Fire will not hurt his neighbor,
 Fire will not hurt his brother ;
 Enter then, his beauteous dwelling,
 Change thy shape to one of beauty ;
 Be the sword in warrior's right hand,
 Be the fringe on beauty's ' bosom.' "

" Ilmarinen blew the bellows ;
 Blew the bellows, once, twice, three times ;
 And the iron flowed as liquid,
 Shone like foam that caps the sea waves ;
 Spread itself like barley batter
 Beneath the fearful strength of fire."

- “ Then the iron cried in anguish,
 ‘ Ilmarinen, skillful blacksmith,
 Save me from my brother’s anger,
 From the flame of fearful fire.’
 Said Ilmarinen, said the blacksmith :
 ‘ If I draw thee from the fire,
 You perhaps will strike your brother ;
 Strike the son borne by your mother.’ ”
- “ Solemn oath then swore the iron,
 In the forge, beneath the hammer.
 Have I not the wood to bite on,
 Hearts of solid rock to render ?
 Can I wish to strike my brother,
 Strike the son born by my mother ?
 Better for me, far, far better,
 Aid the traveller on his journey ;
 Weapon be within his right hand,
 Rather than attack my own race,
 Strike the son borne by my mother.”
- “ Ilmarinen, skillful blacksmith,
 Drew from out the fire the iron,
 Placed it flat upon the anvil,
 Turned it with his skillful pincers,
 Made it into spears and spear-heads,
 Made it into swords and hatchets ;
 Made it into spades and shovels ;
 Made it into tools of labor.
 But it wanted still due hardness,
 Wanted still the proper temper.”
- “ Then he cast a pinch of ashes,
 Cast of bitter lye a cup full ;
 Mixed it with the helpful water,
 That the softened iron might harden.
 With his tongue he tastes the water,
 Finds it will not harden iron.”
- “ Mehilainen, * honey maker,
 Flew and hummed about the smithy.
 Mehilainen, go I pray thee,
 Bring me honey on thy blue wings.
 Bring it from the various flowers ;
 Bring it from the stalks and green herb.
 Thus the iron will I temper,
 Thus the softened iron harden.”

* The bee.

“Mehilainen, wasp accursed,
 Bird of Hiisi, king of Hades,
 Peeped beneath the roof of birch-bark,
 Saw the iron that should be hardened.
 Then he slyly stilled his buzzing,
 Crept into the trough of water,
 Cast therein the serpent's poison,
 Pus of worm, and ant and toad.”

“Ilmarinen, skilful blacksmith,
 Drew from out the fire the iron;
 Plunged it in the hardening water.
 But the iron forgot his promise;
 Like a dog, forgot his honor;
 Red with rage, he struck his brother,
 Struck the son borne of his mother.”

This accounts for the hissing and sputtering when the hot iron is plunged into the water. It is all Hiisi's doings.

Having learned the origin of iron, the old man was in a position to heal Wainamoinen's wound. So he compounded a salve, anointed the knee of the hero, and cured him. Wainamoinen returned to his own country. This takes us through the ninth rune.

Ilmarinen now comes upon the scene, the friend and companion of Wainamoinen. The latter recounts to him his promise, but Ilmarinen refuses to go to Pohjola to forge the Sampo. Thereupon Wainamoinen creates a magic tree, and asks his friend to go and see it. He is persuaded to climb the tree, when a whirlwind carries him off to Pohjola. There he set to work and forged the famous Sampo; but the young girl who was to be the price of his labors, refuses to go with him.

“Who will make the cuckoos warble,
 Who will make the birdlings twitter,
 If I foolish leave my mother,
 If the pigeon leave the branches,
 If a stranger pluck the berry?”

Ilmarinen seems to have taken his rejection by the Lapland beauty very philosophically. But he longed to return to his own country. In sign of grief, he wore his hat on the side of his head, a custom among the ancient Finns. The grateful Louhi, seeing his distress, put him in a boat, evoked the north winds, and sent him back to his own country.

Wainamoinen's second friend, the gay and festive Lemminkainen, now appears. It seems to be the correct thing in epic poetry, for the hero to have two particular friends. Hiawatha, it will be remembered, had his two friends.

“ Chileabos, the musician,
And the very strong man, Kwasind.”

It will not do to follow Lemminkainen's amorous exploits too closely. They may have done very well in a poem of the ninth century, but are out of place in the nineteenth. He finally marries the beautiful Kylliki, whom he had carried off, after the fashion of those days, and settles down. The mother-in-law receives Kylliki with great kindness, and tells her son that he is a lucky fellow.

“ Pure the sparrow on the snow drift,
Purer still the bird beside thee ;
White the foam upon the sea-wave,
Whiter still the wife thou crownest.
Fair the duck upon the waters,
Fairer still the bride thou bringest ;
Bright the stars beam in the heavens,
Brighter still the bride beside thee.

Lemminkainen and Kylliki lived very happily together for some years. They had made a bargain. He was not to go to the wars, and she was not to gad about the village. But on one unfortunate occasion he staid out all night fishing. She got angry, and went off at once to a dance among the young people. He said he would repudiate her and go to Lapland in search of another wife. This he did, but, after performing many warlike exploits, he came to grief, and was killed by a huge serpent. His body was cut to pieces, and thrown into the river Tuoni, answering to the Styx, in the gloomy depths of Manala, or Hades.

Before starting out on his expedition, Lemminkainen had hung a comb up in his bed-room, and had notified his mother that if that comb should bleed, she might know that something serious had hapened to him. Kylliki who seems to have been attached to her husband, notwithstanding her escapade of the dance house, watched the comb carefully. One day she saw it bleed, and told her mother-in-law. That lady started without delay for Pohjola, and called on Louhi, who gave her all the information she could

about her son, but it was not much. Then she interrogated the roads and the trees, the sun and the moon.

“ Like a wolf she crossed the marshes,
Like a bear she ranged the deserts,
Like an otter swam the waters ;
Like a wild boar ranged the meadows,
And a hare the banks and bushes.”

Finally the sun took pity on her, and told her what he had seen of the fate of her son.

She lost no time. She went at once to Ilmarinen and ordered an immense oyster rake with a copper handle and iron teeth. The teeth were to be 500 feet long, and the handle 2,500. With this instrument, she raked the bed of the Juoni, and gradually collected the fragments of her son's body. She put them together and then, with a magic balm which the bee brought her from heaven, she restored him to life. This episode of Lemminkainen, carries us through the fifteenth rune.

Wainamoinen now appears again. He constructs a magic ship, but having forgotten three important words in his incantation, descends into Manala to find them. The evil spirits sought to detain him, but he changed himself into a water snake, plunged into the Tuoni and escaped. Finally he compelled the giant Wihanen to give him the three words he required. The giant, having given them, chanted his inot for several days and nights.

“ Paused the sun and moon to listen,
Stopped the waves their ceaseless murmur ;
Wuoksa checked his mighty waters,
Jordan chained his flood tremendous.”

The introduction of the river Jordan is curious, and marks the Christian era. The Wuoksa or Vuoxa, as it is now written, is the outlet of lake Zaima. Upon its banks stands an English fishing club, and in its “ mighty waters ” the writer has killed many a goodly trout. In its course it forms the cataract of Imatra, also referred to in the epic, the finest waterfall in Russia, and for volume of water the finest in Europe.

Having completed his boat, Wainamoinen started for Pohjola in search of a wife. But Ilmarinen, hearing of his departure, and thinking that he had the first claim, went in pursuit. He overtook Wainamoinen. They thereupon agreed to leave the matter to the decision of the young woman, and not to interfere with her

choice, or to carry her off by force. The mother advised her to take Wainamoinen, but she preferred the younger man, and poor Wainamoinen was again left out in the cold.

“I will not marry Wainamoinen,
Will not support a man decrepit.
In the way always are old men ;
Troublesome a man decrepit.”

Louhi gives her consent to the marriage of her daughter, on condition that Ilmarinen accomplishes certain tasks she sets him. He does not see his way clear, but the young girl who has made up her mind to marry him tells him how to do them, and he comes out victorious. Louhi then consents. Wainamoinen returns home, and composes a song in which he laments that he did not marry in his youth, and advises all old men not to set themselves up as rivals to younger ones.

Preparations were then made in Pohjola for the marriage. They killed a bull which, the poem tell us, “was neither big nor little, he was about the size of an ordinary calf;” but his tail was in one province and his head in another. His horns were one hundred ells long, his nostrils half an ell thick. The swallow took a day to fly from horn to horn, and the squirrel a month to run down his tail.

They had some difficulty in killing this medium-sized bull, but they finally effected it. They then proceeded to brew the beer.

All this rune is very beautiful. The description of the planting of the barley and the hops, the wish expressed by the water to be united with them, for, as is justly observed, “sad is life where one is alone; more agreeable is it when there are two; when there are three.” The preparations of Osmotar, the beer girl, to brew the beer, her difficulty in making it ferment, and the manner in which she overcame it, all are told at great length and with great beauty. The beer was finally brewed and placed in a huge tun of oak, with hoops of brown copper.

“Thus was born the beer delicious,
Thus the drink of Suomi’s sons;
Far and wide its fame resounded,
Far and wide its well-earned glory.
Men, good humor, girls their laughter,
Wise men, wit, and fools their folly
Found within the beer of Suomi
In the beer of Kalevala.”

The preparations having been made, all the world was asked to the wedding except Lemminkainen. Louhi said that he always made trouble, and was almost certain to provoke a fight. Lemminkainen resented this exclusion, as will presently be seen.

Then follows a description of a wedding among people of condition in ancient Finland. Singing plays an important part in the ceremonies. The son-in-law is the most honored guest. Louhi overwhelmed him with attentions. They feasted day and night, for several days and nights. The menu included fresh beef and salmon, smoked meats, and cream cakes. Louhi saw that her son-in-law was always helped to the best portions. The drink was beer.

WICKHAM HOFFMAN.

MUSIC-TALK.

MUSIC, like painting and sculpture,—indeed, like all that is beautiful in art,—affects no two alike. The highest delight I am capable of awes me into silence, and, without the slightest desire to analyze my emotions, I am content to dwell in the charming, or rather charmed, state thus produced. Others find their tongues loosened under similar circumstances, and, provided they be honest in their utterances, I have no quarrel with their rhapsodies. Perhaps there is little that is original in what they say, and perhaps, too, it may jar with my own notions of what might be said, if there were real need of saying anything at all.

For, doubtless, much of the irreverent “gush” of both amateur and professional critics is due to a mistaken attempt to translate the untranslatable. I have met many well-intentioned, but misguided, individuals who have spent too much time in this attempt to weigh imponderables. Whether the thing be tried in music or religion it is equally fruitless. The mystery of existence, the still greater mystery that lies beyond, may well engage the minds of men, but he alone is able to derive the greatest benefit from employing his thoughts with them, who, at the same time, recognizes the limits of inquiry.

Our questionings are unceasing, but where are the answers

unless they lie within ourselves? Who can define the nature or the extent of his delight in a lovely sunset, a beautiful picture, or a Beethoven adagio, at once inspiring and restful?

It is this that makes it difficult to write satisfactorily about music. You may be technical, and thus interest the practical, scientific musician. You may treat of the history of the art, or the biographies of noted artists; all this can be done without transcending the bounds of sweet reasonableness. But to attempt to write of music and its belongings, after the manner of certain novelists, must, after all, be the work of the half-cultivated, and can only appeal to those who are in a similar state of semi-culture. It calls for a noting down of "soul-states" and "affinities"; in a word, for sentimentality, which stands for the affectation of sentiment instead of the real thing.

I can safely say that all that has ever been written in that vein, from *Charles Auchester* down to this day, is not worth the one chapter into which George Eliot puts the whole summary of the vocation of the artist in the words of Herr Klesmer. Here is a genuine, sensible dealing with the practical aspect of an art which has so much to do with the poetic, imaginative side of life. Its value in the latter sense is fully recognized, but there is no attempt to reduce this into words. If music moves us at all, it is the most suggestive of pleasures; its suggestions, however, differing in each listener as widely as do our temperaments. Hence the absurdity of programme music. Does descriptive music describe aught? If *yes*, well and good. As for myself, I have never heard any that did. Music can and does suggest moods and awaken memories, and when this is stated there is little left to be said.

Pardon me, gentle reader, but if you cannot find much in that little, it is because, no matter how sensible you may be in other respects, you are without musical sense. You simply lack a faculty, and a very important one at that, in this work-a-day, prosaic world,—the faculty of getting out of it at will, the power to let your wits go wool-gathering where there is no danger of their coming home shorn, of dreaming by daylight, or by moonlight if you will, and with your eyes wide open. If this power be not yours, you know naught of "The light that never was on sea or land;" for you there is no Egeria.

What need have I to do more than recall certain experiences,

to taste their delights anew? Memory serves me kindly, in bringing back, not alone the scenes, but the very moods they awakened in me.

Do you speak of madrigals? I remember the long, low room of my friend the Professor, a musician of rare ability. Choice prints deck the walls, instruments of various kinds fill the corners, and a grand piano holds the place of honor. Seated about a large round table are mine host and five or six friends, all of them excellent musicians, who devote an evening of each week to the study of the works in which English composers have, perhaps, done their best. Be it Dr. Arne's "Where the bee sucks," Orlando Gibbon's "Dying Swan," Webbe's "When winds breathe soft," or Horsley's "Celia's Arbor,"—you may hear all of these in concert rooms, in the glare of gaslight and in the presence of richly dressed ladies and gentlemen, and the performers may be of the very best—still you will never hear these things sung as I have heard them.

Or again, the night of "a rare day in June." A small company are assembled at a country house. Four singers are gathered about the piano, while the rest of the party are out of doors, seated here and there on the piazza, or under the maples that dot the lawn. Except where the trees and bushes cast their black shadows, the full moon floods the scene with its light. The air is laden with the odor of blossoms, and we sit there, thinking of nothing in particular, but talking now and then in the spirit of Du Maurier's life-guardsman, who, when he was asked whether he liked part singing, replied "Ya-as! part singing and part talking."

There had been not a little experimenting by the singers, trying now this now that, as if to get their voices into condition, and then, in full and perfect accord, came the notes of Leslie's setting of

"How sweet the moonlight sleeps upon this bank.
Here we will sit, and let the sounds of music
Creep in our ears: soft stillness, and the night,
Become the touches of sweet harmony."

Conversation, which had at best been desultory, ceased. Not a sound was heard, save the singing and an occasional furtive exclamation of delighted criticism on the part of the little audience. Of course, I dropped into a mood that I find it worth while to

recall at times. I cannot answer for the feelings of the others, and shall not commit the folly of attempting to describe my own, for Tom Hood's words come back to me, with their fearful warning: "Musical enthusiasm is like turtle soup; for every quart of real, there are ninety-nine of mock, and calves' heads in proportion."

S. A. S.

COUNTING THE ELECTORAL VOTES FOR PRESIDENT.

THE Twelfth Amendment of the Constitution contains these words, "Which lists they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate; the President of the Senate shall, in presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates and the votes shall then be counted."

The same words, in the same order, with the addition of "the" before presence, were in the Constitution as adopted.

The Convention originally determined that the Senate should choose the President, in case the electors failed to elect. In view of this, it was resolved, Sept. 4, 1787, that "the President of the Senate shall *in that House* (i. e. in presence of the Senate), open all the certificates, and the votes shall then and there be counted." — *Madison Papers*, p. 1486. It was subsequently decided, that when there was no election by the electors, the House of Representatives should choose the President. This transfer of power from the Senate to the House, necessitated a change in the phraseology of the clause. Hence, on Sept. 6th (*Madison Papers* p. 1509), it was, "On several motions," resolved that the words "in presence of the Senate and House of Representatives" be inserted *after* "counted."

On page 1512 of the *Papers*, in the recorded proceedings of the same day, we read "The report as amended stands as follows":— then appear the words as they were in the Constitution. Here is a manifest verbal discrepancy between the amendment adopted by the Convention, and the report of the Committee. The amendment (there is but one recorded) required the words "in the presence of," etc., to be placed immediately after "counted," but in

the committee on style, they were placed before that word, and quite remote from it. How shall this apparent disregard of the will of the Convention by the Committee, be accounted for? We cannot tell, but the Journal of the Convention (p. 334), shows that the Convention ordered the words "in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives," to be inserted after "counted," and there is no record of the reversal of that order by that body. The 12th amendment was adopted in 1804.

The passage quoted clearly declares that the President of the Senate shall receive the certificates (certified lists); that *he shall open them*; that he shall open them all in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives—that the votes shall be counted—that they shall *then* be counted. From the passage, too, it is plainly inferable: 1, That the said officer must have the lists under his control until he opens them; otherwise, he might not be able to open them as directed. 2, That the said lists are to remain sealed until opened as aforesaid: 3, That he is not bound to open them in the Representatives' Chamber, as is supposed, since the only limit imposed upon him as to place, (and this but an implied one) is that he shall open them at the national capitol.

With these clear declarations of the Amendment, and these indisputable inferences, as data, we shall endeavor to show that the President of the Senate is authorized to decide what lists shall be opened, to determine what votes shall be counted, and to count them, and that no one is empowered to participate in the said opening decisions, or counting, or to hinder him in the performance of these functions.

First. He shall open the certificates. His authority to do this is not questioned; neither branch of Congress claims the right to participate in the opening. But what lists shall he open in the presence of the Senate and House? Certainly those which he shall deem the legal and proper ones—and only those. He is not bound to open fraudulent lists, or lists of self-constituted electors. When two lists from the same State are forwarded to him, he must decide which to open. The duty of making this decision necessarily results from the duty of opening, for he cannot open until he has determined which list shall be opened. He may, no doubt, ask advice or seek information, but he must finally decide for himself. Should Congress or either House decide that any list

shall be opened, or that it shall not be opened, this would be to participate in the opening, which they both disclaim the right to do,— and to violate the Constitution.

Second. Who shall count the electoral votes? Upon this question hinges the whole controversy. The question does not mean, who shall reckon up the votes when they have been ascertained; this is of small importance, but who shall determine which votes shall be counted. The Amendment does not declare *totidem verbis* who shall count, but the natural and obvious inference from the passage cited is, that the same person that opens the lists shall count the votes. A plain man who should read it, would, it is believed, so conclude. Should such a one receive a letter informing him that a package containing a number of articles was at an express office, directing him to open the packages in the presence of two witnesses, and concluding with the words “These are to be immediately counted and sold,” he would have no doubt as to whose duty it was to count and sell them. So, in the case under consideration, we think he would have little difficulty in pointing out the person who is required to count the electoral votes. A critical examination but deepens the impression made by a casual reading of the passage. We note, 1st. That *no authority over the lists*, after they pass from the electors, *is therein granted to any one except the President of the Senate*. No other person or body of persons is authorized to examine them, to handle them, or even to have them in possession. But all these privileges and more are granted to that officer; he has been empowered and directed to receive, to take care of and open them. As he has been authorized to perform these responsible duties respecting them, does it not seem reasonable that certain other necessary acts concerning them should be done by him, rather than by those, to whom no authority whatever touching them has been given? Since he has been commanded by the sovereign to perform certain important parts of a great work, about which specific directions are given him, and has been told that the work must be finished by a specified time; since he is competent to finish it, and since no one has been appointed to assist him, is it not presumable that the work should be finished by him? Certainly, the presumption that he should complete it is stronger than the presumption that it should be finished by one, whom the sovereign has not directed to per-

form any part of it, or to exercise any control over it, or do any act respecting it. Besides, this man has the votes in his possession. Will he deliver them to Congress or to either House? Has he the right to do so? By what authority will the Houses demand them? Should he refuse to surrender them, by what legal process will they obtain possession of them? Yet possession is necessary in order to examine them, and decide which shall be counted and which rejected.

2. The clause shows that the opening and counting are parts of the same proceeding, ordained for the purpose of ascertaining who has been chosen President. It seems fit and proper that he who conducts one part of that proceeding, should conduct the whole of it. It is expedient, too, that the same person shall do the opening and counting, because the former affects the latter, *as only those votes that are opened can be counted.*

3. The amendment requires that the votes shall "*then*" be counted. The use of the word "*then*" indicates that the framers of the article intended that the count should be made immediately after the opening. They would hardly have employed the word in that place, had they intended or expected that Congress, or either House thereof, should decide whether votes should be counted or rejected; for the right to make such decision, implies the right of discussing the reasons therefor. Of this right, it is certain, some members of each House would avail themselves. A discussion, possibly a prolonged one, requires a period of time very improperly designated by the word "*then*";—but the use of that word is appropriate, if the President of the Senate shall both count the votes, and decide which, if any, shall be rejected.

4. The order of words shows that the clauses directing the opening and counting are closely connected. They are joined by the copulative conjunction "*and*," without a punctuation point between them. Were "*and*" omitted, and a colon or semicolon placed after certificates, the meaning would plainly be that another was to participate in the transaction,—that the same person was not to open and count. By retaining "*and*," and placing a comma after certificates, you render the phrase ambiguous; but the actual order of the words, and their punctuation, as they are in the original, filed in the State Department, surely convey the idea that he who opens shall count.

Third. The use of the words "in the presence of," is repugnant to the theory of a participation by the two Houses in the opening and counting. When the law declares that a deed shall be signed, sealed and delivered in the presence of two witnesses, no one supposes that the witnesses have any authority to assist or direct the grantor in the signing, sealing or delivering. Indeed, any suggestions on their part in reference to these matters might justly be resented as impertinent. The old law of Pennsylvania required marriages to be solemnized, by the parties "taking each other for husband and wife", in the presence of twelve witnesses. What strange spectacles would have been presented in the City of Brotherly Love, and what remarkable results would have followed, had each of the witnesses insisted upon taking part in the solemnization.

The opening and counting of the electoral votes is a most important ceremony, involving vast interests—affecting the welfare, possibly the life, of the Republic. It is, therefore, eminently meet and proper that this momentous ceremony shall be conducted in the presence of witnesses, whose attestation will leave no doubt that all the requirements of law and of good faith in regard thereto have been complied with. What citizens so suitable for this purpose as the members of the Senate and House? But the obligation to be present confers neither authority nor permission to participate in, to direct, to hinder, or to interrupt the proceedings. Various terms, well calculated to confuse or mislead, have been employed to characterize the Houses while they are witnessing these proceedings. They have been styled a tribunal,—and a joint-convention. It is superfluous to say to those who properly understand these terms, that they are neither. In 1857, during the debate on the Wisconsin case, Mr. Davis, of Maryland, said: "In my judgment, the word "joint-convention" has led everybody here astray," and Mr. Seward said the word is not found in the Constitution, or in any law of the United States. A gentleman of legal eminence has called them a Board of National Canvassers,—a complete misnomer; first, because there is no such body known to law or custom; secondly, they have nothing to canvass, since the States have the exclusive right to perform all the canvassing necessary in regard to Presidential elections. While engaged as aforesaid, they are merely an assemblage, composed of the mem-

bers of the Senate, and the members of the House, convened for the purpose of witnessing the opening and counting of the electoral votes for President and Vice-President,—“only this and nothing more.” Neither is the President of the Senate, while opening and counting the votes, presiding over the Senate; that body is not then in session. He retains his official designation, it is true, but is not then acting officially as President of the Senate, any more than the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court was acting judicially when appointing Registers in Bankruptcy. Still less is he then presiding over both Houses, as some suppose. It would be just as proper to say he was presiding over both Houses, while he was presenting the temperance cause before them, as to assert that he is presiding over them while he is counting the electoral voters in their presence.

Fourth. The high official position of the Vice-President is another reason for thinking that the framers of the Constitution intended him to exercise the power claimed for him.

A mere page can open the envelopes, tabulate the votes and foot them up. Why then designate for these simple duties the second officer of the government? But to decide which lists to open and which votes to count, and to count the proper ones—these duties require intellect, knowledge, judgment and integrity; they moreover demand a good reputation, so that confidence in the count may be assured. The fathers might well believe that no one wanting these high qualities, would ever be chosen Vice-President of the United States, or President of the Senate.

Fifth. It is said that Congress has the right to participate in the count, so far, at least, as to decide in certain cases, whether the votes or some of the votes of a State shall be counted or rejected. Upon what grounds is such a right based? Congress does not possess inherent authority, as does the British Parliament. It is a well settled principle of our constitutional law that Congress has no powers but those granted by the Constitution. We look in vain in that instrument for an express or implied power to take part in counting the electoral votes. Nor is that power necessary to carry out any granted power, so far as we can discover. Mr. Thurman asserts that the power to count is granted in the words relating to powers of Congress, found in the last clause of Sec. 8, Art. 1, which are: “To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper

for the carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by this constitution in the Government of the United States, or in any department or officer thereof." Mr. Thurman is mistaken, it is thought, for the clause cited authorizes Congress so to legislate as to carry into execution powers known to be granted to some specified department or officer, whereas the question is, to what department or officer the power to count has been granted. We wish to ascertain *where the power to count is vested, not how that power shall be carried out*—hence, the clause cited is irrelevant. Under that clause, Congress may, perhaps, determine the time of counting, or make other regulations respecting the count, but it confers no power to participate in the count. It was proposed in the Convention that Congress should choose the President, but the proposition was voted down. Gouverneur Morris declared that a choice by the Legislature would foster "cabal, intrigue and faction." James Madison vividly portrayed the evils of that method of election, and Mr. Wilson of Pennsylvania declared finally that it seemed to be the unanimous sense of the Convention, "that the Executive be not chosen by the Legislature." The debates in the Convention, so far as preserved, clearly show that its purpose, formed after mature deliberation, was to confide the election of the President and Vice-President to the States. Strong evidence of this purpose appears in the Constitution. The electors are to be "appointed" in such manner as the State Legislatures may direct. The right of the States to choose the chief magistrate is guarded against governmental or Congressional influence by the provision that no member of Congress or Government officer shall be an elector. When the States fail to elect by electors, and the choice devolves upon the House of Representatives, the right of the States to choose the President is still preserved; a majority of the members is not allowed to elect, but the vote is taken by States. Observe, too, that when the electoral votes do not elect, it is not Congress, but the House that chooses a President, while the Senate chooses the Vice-President. It cannot, then, be too strongly stated that the right to choose the National Executive has never been surrendered by the States, that his election is their exclusive work—that no officer or department of the Government has authority to forbid the participation of a State in that election—that the right of a State to take part therein

can be lost or abridged only by its own will, or its own action, and that Congress has legally no concern whatever with a Presidential election, except to "determine the time of chusing the electors and the day on which they shall give their votes." As Congress has already done this, any further interference by Congress in or with such election, or with the electoral votes, is palpable usurpation. Whether the statutes of Congress, passed in pursuance of the above-quoted clause have been violated, is easily ascertained, but the duty of ascertaining whether they have been violated is clearly not a legislative, but a judicial function.

After each Presidential election, the question is, "Whom have the States, not the people, chosen?" On no occasion, has Congress fully assumed to decide that question, and not many years have elapsed since the National Legislature first claimed the right to decide it, or to take part in its decision. The first Congress did not assert that authority, as will appear further on. The second Congress did not claim it, as is shown by Section 5 of an Act approved March 1, 1792, passed by that Congress, to carry into effect the provisions of the Constitution relative to the election of President and Vice-President. A part of that section reads thus: "The said certificates, or so many of them as have been received, shall then be opened, the votes counted, and the persons who shall fill the offices of President and Vice-President ascertained and declared, agreeably to the Constitution." Indeed, the two Houses did not assert any direct power over the count for more than half a century. The passage by them, in 1800, of a bill "For deciding a disputed election of President and Vice-President," does not contradict or weaken this statement. That bill provided for a Grand Committee, composed of six members of each House, presided over by one of the Justices of the Supreme Court. This committee was to sit with closed doors; no member of it, after being duly qualified, could be withdrawn by either House, and its report was to be "final and conclusive of the admissibility of the electors." Here is no assumption by Congress of the power, which it is now said to possess, but rather a repudiation thereof, for the two Houses, by voting for a bill establishing a special tribunal for the decision of contested election cases, which bill would have no force until approved by the President, plainly admitted that Congress had not power to decide such cases. In 1821, a

joint resolution was passed by Congress to state the result of the electoral vote with and without the vote of Missouri, but no further action was taken, since the vote of that State did not change the general result. After the thirteenth Presidential election, similar proceedings were had in regard to the vote of Michigan. In 1857, in consequence of the vote of Wisconsin not having been cast on the day prescribed by law, objection was made to its being counted; it was, however, counted. This proceeding provoked a protracted discussion in both Houses, which ended in their acquiescence in the action of the President of the Senate. No other important objection to the counting of the electoral votes by the President of the Senate was made in Congress until 1865, in which year was adopted the 22nd Joint-Rule, which substantially asserted the right of Congress to reject electoral votes whenever a majority of both Houses, or of either, should so decide. In 1869 the vote of Georgia, though objected to by the House, was counted. In 1873, the votes of Mississippi, Texas and Georgia were objected to, but not rejected, whereas the votes of Arkansas and Louisiana were thrown out at the instance of the Senate, because there were two rival state governments in each of them. From what has been said, it would appear that the 22nd Joint-Rule was without precedent, as it was apparently unwarranted by the Constitution. It is vain to allege that it was a war measure, for a state of war confers upon Congress no powers not granted by the Constitution. "Should the electoral votes of States in rebellion be counted?," it may be asked. By no means; *inter arma silent leges*. During the late rebellion, the Constitution was inoperative in the insurrectionary States. So long, then, as the rebellion continued, they had no right to be represented in the electoral college, a right guaranteed to them by that instrument; but the fact that these rebellious States could cast no electoral votes, did not confer upon Congress authority to assert the principle that that body can at will exclude the electoral votes of a State, which principle is substantially asserted by the said Joint-Rule, and its passage.

The votes of these States should have been rejected, not because Congress so resolved, but because they were in rebellion. The privilege and duty of rejecting them belonged not to Congress, but to the President of the Senate.

It is admitted that Congress has power to fix the conditions upon which a rebellious State may resume the rights and privileges that it has abdicated or forfeited. Wherefore, the President of the Senate should not count the electoral votes of a lately rebellious State until the conditions imposed upon it by Congress have been complied with. But he should reject these votes, not by order of Congress, or on account of any supposed authority of Congress over the count, but for the simple reason that every public officer, in the performance of a duty, is bound to take notice of all decisions bearing upon that duty, made by the proper tribunal, and of all acts pertaining thereto, done by a competent authority. It is hoped that the States will firmly resist all attempted interference by Congress with the election of President, which is their exclusive prerogative. The right to exclude the vote of one State implies the right to exclude the votes of five States, or of all—there is no limit but the will of Congress. If this pretended right be not denied and resisted by the States, the National Legislature may, and probably will, push its encroachments so far, that it will be able to accomplish indirectly what the Constitution does not permit it to do directly. The most objectionable form of this Congressional encroachment is the Joint-Rule above mentioned; under which not only Congress, but either House, acting separately, may reject the vote of a State. If the doctrine embodied in the Rule is correct, a partisan majority of the House of Representatives can elect a President, whenever the electoral votes cast for each candidate are nearly equal in number, by simply rejecting a few of them, on some pretext or other, and thus throwing the election into their own body.

The peculiar wrong in such a case is this: the same persons who reject the votes choose the President. Under the forms of law they are permitted to prepare the way for the unlawful triumph of their party and of themselves.

It is easy to perceive that this method of choosing the Chief Magistrate, may greatly augment the evils that Mr. Morris and Mr. Madison declared would result from his choice by the National Legislature.

Senator Toucey, on the question of counting the electoral votes of Wisconsin in 1857, said: "It is not in the power of Congress to make a President or unmake one"—and that any resolution of

Congress on the subject would be nothing more than an expression of opinion. On the same question, Mr. Collamer said, "I very much doubt whether the framers of the Constitution ever intended to leave the subject of the Presidential election to either or both Houses of Congress," and, "there is very little practical difference between leaving the Presidential election to Congress, and leaving Congress to decide that election."

Senator Harris of New York, in 1865, said, "I cannot find in the provisions of the Constitution any authority for Congress to pass a law excluding any votes that shall have been returned to the Vice-President. I do not see how it is possible."

President Johnson, in his message of July 20, 1868, says: "Congress, therefore, has no power under the Constitution to receive the electoral votes or to reject them. The whole power is exhausted, when in the presence of the two Houses, the votes are counted and the result declared."

On March 21, 1876, Mr. Stevenson "declared that he rejoiced" that Congress has no legislative power in counting the votes of the electors for President and Vice-President. "Whenever," continued he, "such a power is usurped and exercised, then our constitutional liberty becomes extinct. * * * The language and precedents of the early Congresses are all against the existence of so dangerous a power." These forcible words of the Senator from Kentucky, and others that day uttered by him, show that he had well studied the views and practices of our earlier statesmen. In 1809, (February 2,) Mr. Randolph, in the House, referring to certain memorials from citizens of Massachusetts, "remonstrating against the mode in which elections for President had been conducted in that State," spoke as follows: "But with respect to the appointment of President, on whom is that authority devolved in the first instance?

On the electors, who are, to all intents and purposes, according to my apprehension, as much the judges of their own qualifications, as we are of ours; and it appears to me as competent to the people of any part of the country to prefer a petition to the electoral college, to set aside the returns of any member of Congress, as to prefer petitions to this House to set aside the qualifications of electors. * * * They are to be considered as a body of men, charged with the election of President and Vice President, and judges in the last resort of their own qualifications and returns. * * * If we

do away with the decision of the electoral body, the Constitution is, in my opinion, verging to its dissolution." No action on the memorials was had in either House, except the ordering of them to lie on the table.

We now cite the opinions of Hon. Chas. Pinckney of South Carolina, and of Hon. Abraham Baldwin of Georgia. These opinions, delivered before the Senate, in 1800, upon the bill prescribing the mode of deciding disputed elections of President and Vice-President, are probably the most authoritative that can be found. Both these gentlemen were members of the Constitutional Convention, and are, as is believed, the only members of that Convention, whose verbal interpretations of the powers of Congress over the electoral votes are to be found officially recorded. Said Mr. Pinckney, in a long and carefully prepared speech, "As long and as much as I have been accustomed to examine this bill and consider its contents, I cannot recapitulate its objects and extent, without new emotions of surprise. I am astonished that a measure, so completely calculated to deprive the State Legislatures of their most important and exclusive rights in the election of the Chief Magistrate, should be at once brought forward, without paving the way by some milder preparatory measure of the same tendency." * * * "Knowing that it was the intention of the Constitution to make the President completely independent of the Federal Legislature, I well remember it was the object, as it is, at present, not only the spirit, but the letter of that instrument, to give to Congress no interference, in or control over the election of a President. * * * "To give to Congress, even when assembled in convention, a right to reject or admit the votes of States would have been *so gross and dangerous an absurdity as the framers of the Constitution never could have been guilty of,*" and much more to the same effect.

Mr. Baldwin asked, What are the questions which present themselves to the Presidential electors for decision? They are, 1, "Those which relate to the elections, returns and qualifications of their own members; shall these be taken away from that body and submitted to the superior decision and control of Congress, without a particle of authority for it from the Constitution? 2. The legality of the different steps of their own proceedings, as, whether they vote for two persons both of the same State; whether

they receive votes for a person under 35 years of age, etc. It is true they, as well as any other constitutional branch of this government, acting under that instrument, may be guilty of taking unconstitutional or corrupt steps, but they do it at their peril. 3. The authentication of their own acts. This would seem to be as complete in them as in either of the other branches of the Government. * * * Gentlemen appear, from their observations, to forget that the Constitution in directing electors to be appointed, equal to the whole number of Senators and Representatives in Congress, for the express purpose of intrusting this Constitutional branch of power to them, had provided for the existence of *as respectable a body as Congress, and in whom the Constitution, on this business, has more confidence than in Congress.*" He further remarked that he could not agree that "the clause at the close of the Eighth Section, Article 1, of the Constitution, could be extended to this case. That speaks of the powers vested by the Constitution; this resolution relates to the formation of an essential part of the government itself. That speaks of the movements of the Government after it is organized; this relates to the organization of the Executive branch," etc. From what has been said and cited (and much more may be adduced), we are warranted in believing that the Constitution gives Congress no power whatever over the electoral votes, after they have passed into the custody of the President of the Senate. This belief is fortified by the fact that Congress has never attempted to exercise power over them, but in a time of great civil commotion, when men took counsel of their passions as often as they did of their judgment.

Sixth. But if no such power is conferred upon Congress, it is difficult to resist the conviction that the President of the Senate must control the count, for it is not to be supposed that the framers of our fundamental law designated no person to perform a duty of such paramount importance, and the question is between that officer and Congress; no one now seriously claiming that Congress can participate with him in the transaction, or that either House can, of its own motion, count, or in any manner lawfully affect the counting.

But it is maintained by some, that the Constitution does not clearly indicate who shall count, that there is here a *casus omissus*. If this be so, the President of the Senate must count, *ex-necessi-*

tate, for he is the lawful custodian of the votes; Congress cannot count without authority; no one has the right to take the votes from their proper custodian, nor can he lawfully surrender them; he must therefore count them, or permit the country to lapse into anarchy.

In the protracted debate on the Wisconsin case, in 1857, Senator Stuart, of Michigan, asserted that the question respecting the vote of Wisconsin "should have been decided by the President of the Senate, and could be decided by nobody else;" that he could not admit that "the law can provide for any other counting of the votes under the Constitution, than that they shall be counted by the President of the Senate." He maintained these propositions by arguments, which, it is safe to say, were not confuted. In 1863, in the Senate, Mr. Doolittle remarked, "I admit that the President of the Senate has in his hands the power, in the first instance, to count or not to count the votes." In 1875, Mr. Morton, as Chairman of the Senate Committee on privileges and elections, having thoroughly examined the whole subject from every point of view, made an elaborate and exhaustive report thereon. In his speech on this report, are found these passages: "There is no function that the two Houses can perform when they are together. They are there simply as witnesses. * * * The vote is to be sealed and sent to the President of the Senate, and he is to open it in the presence of the two Houses; but the two Houses thus assembled, can do nothing, whatever may be the irregularity, whatever may be the wrong visible on the face of the papers." * * * * *

"Suppose there are two sets of electoral votes, as from Louisiana at the last election, sent up to the Vice-President; he has two packages, and he causes both to be opened in the presence of the two Houses; who shall determine which set shall be counted? The one handed over by the Vice-President to be counted, must be counted. The choice is left with him. There is no earthly power to correct it." In 1876, Mr. Whyte, of Maryland, in the Senate, carefully reviewed the provisions of the Constitution, and the precedents on this question, and came to the conclusion that the power to count was in the President of the Senate. A few days later, Mr. Stevenson, of Kentucky, sustained the opinion of Mr. Whyte in an eloquent, patriotic and convincing address. But

we are told that the power claimed for that office is too great to be entrusted to one man,—that his exercise of it is pregnant with danger to the Republic. What is that power?

The power claimed does not include the right to canvass the votes cast for electors in each or any State. That right is vested in the States themselves. Nor has he any concern with alleged frauds or violence in conducting elections, or taking care of the ballots. The States must deal with these wrongs. His duty is merely to ascertain what persons each State has chosen as electors, and to count their votes. Should it happen that two sets of electors in the same State forward to him certificates, (rarely the case) he will count the votes duly authenticated by the proper State officials. He can neither review their action nor question the correctness of their certificates, unless there be two sets of persons claiming to be the proper officers. In that case, he must, of course, decide which to recognize. In order to arrive at the proper decision, he will familiarize himself with the grounds upon which each group of persons base their claims to office; he will observe which of the rival claimants have been recognized as officers by the Departments of the national Government,—which recognition, though not conclusive, should greatly influence his action—and will render such judgment as law, intelligence, patriotism and conscience dictate. Should the conflicting claims have been adjudged by the Supreme Court of the State, or of the United States, he will accept the adjudication as conclusive.

There are two states of fact, either of which requires the President of the Senate to regulate his count by the legislation of Congress. The National Legislature has the right to prescribe the conditions upon which a Territory may become a State. Until, therefore, the people of a territory have complied with these conditions, it remains a territory, and can cast no vote for President. The other state of facts concerns revolted States, and has already been alluded to. In a word, the duty under discussion is to ascertain for whom the electoral votes of a State have been cast, and to count them for that person. Surely, powers as great as those involved in this duty, have often been safely confided to a single individual. Their possession by the President of the Senate scarcely seems portentous of public calamity. But are there no safe-guards, actual or possible, around the use of these powers?

Will he who wields them be devoid of shame? Will he have no dread of public indignation? Would any one occupying so conspicuous a position, dare to prostitute his high office to "base uses?" Would he brave the storm of contumely and contempt, which a corrupt exercise of his trust would certainly raise about him? For his great offence could not be concealed, this thing would not be done in a corner. Should these considerations be deemed insufficient to deter him from official malfeasance, let the recreant be branded as a felon, punishable with severest penalties. But why discuss the question? Experience has shown the fears on this head to be groundless. After every Presidential election in our history, save one, the President of the Senate has counted the votes, not only without injury to the nation, but without causing a ripple of popular excitement. On six of these occasions, that officer has counted the votes cast for himself as a candidate for the Presidency or the Vice-Presidency. Sometimes, too, under circumstances well calculated to test his firmness and integrity, memorably so, when he was counting the electoral votes cast for Mr. Lincoln at his first election; and yet, in no case, has the faintest suspicion of unfairness or misconduct in the matter, been expressed.

Why indulge in vague apprehensions of evils to flow from the use of powers, which the lapse of many years so strongly commend to public confidence?

Seventh. What was the opinion of the fathers on the subject?

Before adjourning, the Convention adopted a resolution requesting the Senators to be chosen under the new constitution, to "appoint a President of the Senate for the sole purpose of receiving, opening and counting the votes for President." This was necessary in order to set in motion the machinery of the new government, for until these votes were counted, there could be no President or Vice-President. The words quoted are words of those who framed the Constitution, and are therefore worthy of careful attention. They request that a President of the Senate be appointed for what? Merely to receive and open votes? Were these the only acts he was to perform in regard to the votes, as is now alleged? Not at all; he was to receive, open and *count* them. Had the Constitution conferred upon the President power to receive and open only, the resolution would surely have re-

requested that he be appointed to do those two acts only. The use of "purpose" too, not purposes, indicates that receiving, opening and counting the votes are parts of one whole—that they are inseparable—no one of these acts, no two of them are of any avail. They must all be performed, and the President of the Senate, and he alone, is to perform them all: no mention even is made of any other person. There is no doubt in the minds of those who passed the whole resolution, no uncertainty; all is perfectly clear and plain;—the President of the Senate must be chosen to receive, open and count. Did those who framed the Constitution understand its meaning? Shall we accept their interpretation of it, or an interpretation made a century after its adoption? In course of time the new Senators assembled. Did they ignore the last request of the Convention, as to choosing a President of their body? Almost their first act, if not the very first, was to choose John Langdon, their President, for "the sole purpose of receiving, opening and counting the votes for President," of the United States—thus literally obeying the request made in the resolution of the Convention. The Journal of the Senate reads, "elected for the purpose of *counting* the votes—showing that the receiving and the opening were comparatively unimportant—that the main purpose of Mr. Langdon's election was to count the votes. Mr Ellsworth was deputed to inform the House that the Senate was now ready to proceed with the business. The House replied that it was ready "to attend the opening and the counting of the votes"—"to attend," not to take part in, much less to perform the work. John Langdon then himself counted the votes, and certified that he had done it" in the presence of the Senate and the House."—without their assistance or interference. The facts recited throw the clearest light upon the question we are considering. John Langdon, the President of the Senate, who certified that he had been elected to count the votes, and that he had counted them, had been a member of the Constitutional Convention. Oliver Ellsworth, of Connecticut, who was messenger to the House, and four other Senators, had also been members. These six men assuredly would not have participated in the proceedings that we have briefly sketched, had those proceedings not been in accordance with the instrument which was the work of their own hands. At the second counting of the electoral votes, the proceedings were sub-

stantially the same as at the first. There was no attempt to wrest from the President of the Senate the privilege of counting the votes, and they were counted by him as before. The precedents cited are of the highest authority. In view of them, and of the resolution passed by the Convention in regard to counting the votes, does it not seem a little presumptuous to claim that the President of the Senate has no authority to do what the framers of the Constitution declared he alone could do, and what he did do and perform in their presence, not only without any signs of their disapproval, but with their own concurrence?

Eighth. Some apprehension has been expressed that the words "in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives" might be used to prevent the counting. This apprehension results from a belief that the presence of the Houses is essential to the validity of the count. It is thought that this belief is not well founded, that the language in regard to their presence at the count is not mandatory but directory. A careful reading of the passage shows, that while there is a positive command to open in the presence, etc., there is no command to count in that presence. The words as to counting are imperative, but the obligation to count in the presence of anyone is presumptive.

For reasons before stated, it is indeed very desirable that the two Houses should be present; it is, moreover, their duty to attend in order to be assured of the result of the count, so that in case of non-election, the House may "immediately" proceed to choose a President, and the Senate a Vice-President; but their attendance is not indispensable, it is but accessory to the counting of the votes, a proceeding enjoined by the Constitution. A mandate of the Constitution cannot be nullified. It is a dictum of law that "when a statute commands an act to be done, it authorizes all that is necessary for its performance." This dictum applies to the Constitution. That instrument commands the electoral vote to be counted. The performance of that act will not be prevented by the withdrawal of either or of both Houses of Congress. This opinion, while warranted by the words of the passage, seems based upon reason. If the attendance of both Houses is essential, then either may, by retiring, stop the count and render the election void; nay, a majority of either House may effect this result.

Thus, by the action of one or other House, the will of the people, expressed in an election, may at any time be frustrated; indeed, all their attempts to choose a President may in this measure be rendered abortive. Worse still, a few unscrupulous and influential members of the House of Representatives, sure of having the support of a majority of the State delegations, may, by withdrawing with their friends, throw the election into that House, and then choose that candidate with whom they have already bargained. No method of counting the electoral votes, from which such serious evils may by any possibility proceed, can be maintained upon mere presumption. Its adoption or retention can only be justified by the unmistakable language of the Constitution, language, upon the meaning of which there rests no shadow of doubt. No such language ordains the counting of the votes in the presence of both Houses.

Those, then, who are disturbed by the fear that the Senate or the House will withdraw, unless such or such votes are rejected, may possess their souls in patience. The withdrawal will produce no crisis, no disturbance of the public tranquility. Should any members of the House propose to "fright the souls of fearful adversaries", by threats of retiring to their own chamber, they may rest assured that the count will proceed without their presence, for "the votes shall then be counted."

Ninth. We argue, then, the power of the President of the Senate to count, from the words of the Constitution; from the unquestioned power conferred upon him to open; from the fact that some authority over the votes, after their sealing up, is given to him, but no power over them to any one else; because he is their lawful custodian, and ought not to be forced, or permitted, to surrender them; because it seemed to be "the unanimous sense of the Convention that the Executive should not be chosen by the Legislature;" because "the votes shall *then* be counted;" from the words, "in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives," coupled with the fact that the Convention resolved that these words be inserted after "counted;" and their actual position in the clause, therefore, seems unwarranted; from the evils almost inevitably to proceed from a count by Congress—evils so serious, that Mr. Randolph declared that an interregum was preferable to them; from the opinions expressed by Pinck-

ney and Baldwin, members of the Convention; from the method of counting the votes cast at the first and second Presidential elections, which was conducted in presence of at least six former members of the Convention, with their acquiescence; from the uninterrupted practice, almost unquestioned, up to 1857; from the practice since that time; from the hesitancy of Congress to innovate upon that practice; from the non-assumption by Congress of full authority over the count, and the further fact that that body has never unequivocally asserted that power; because our present method of counting, if not the statute law of the country, has become at least a sort of common law, which should not be lightly changed.

Since it is always dangerous in matters of moment to leave the old paths, it to be desired that Congress will not further attempt to alter the practice, which has come down from our fathers. Should the assembled wisdom of the two Houses determine that the present method is pernicious, or that there is doubt as to whom the power of counting has been confided, let there be proposed a Constitutional amendment that shall remove all ambiguity.

Tenth. If the foregoing views are correct, *the Electoral Commission* was entirely extra-constitutional. Congress had no authority to appoint it, for by that appointment Congress attempted to assume a sort of control over the counting of the electoral votes, whereas, the Constitution, the only source from which such authority could be derived, confers upon the National Legislature no power whatever over the said votes after they have been cast. The acts of the Commission have a moral force only. It may be styled a Tribunal of Honor. The Senators and Representatives belonging to the two great political parties, by its appointment, by the manner of its appointment, and by their speeches and action in reference thereto, bound themselves, and so far as they could, the members of their respective parties, to abide by the decisions of the Commission. The tacit acquiescence of those members in the action of their leaders touching the Commission, until it had begun its work, rendered complete their moral obligation not to resist in any manner, the judgments of that tribunal.

Regarded from a legal stand-point, the acts of the Commission are utterly inoperative. The validity of Mr. Hayes' title to

the Presidency rests neither upon the decisions of that body, nor upon the ratification of those decisions by Congress, but upon the great fact that a majority of the electoral votes of the States, as appeared from a fair count, were cast for him. If his title can be questioned at all, (which we do not believe) it is upon the ground that the votes were not counted by the President of the Senate himself; but his presence at the count, and his assent thereto, may be regarded as tantamount to a count by himself, especially as such a count would not have varied the actual result.

That high official, however, should not have abdicated his right to count the electoral votes; he should have performed the duty that the Constitution, interpreted by its founders, imposed upon him. He should have counted the votes, declared the result, and left to the proper officers of the government the task of placing in his seat the person duly chosen, in case there had been any resistance to his inauguration. No one doubts that the illustrious soldier, who then occupied the Presidential chair, would have faithfully performed his duty in this regard.

Should the count by the President of the Senate have shown that neither candidate had obtained a majority of the electoral votes, the House would then have chosen a President, and the Senate a Vice-President, who would both have been peaceably inaugurated.

Had the count been conducted in the manner indicated, there might, indeed, have been murmurs of dissatisfaction, but the double consideration that the requirements of the Constitution had been complied with, and the practice of the Fathers faithfully followed, would have speedily silenced all complaint. The dreadful phantasm of a conflict between the two Houses, conjured up by heated partisans, to deceive the ignorant and terrify the timid, would soon have disappeared; rumors of civil strife would have ceased to disturb the popular mind; capital would have emerged from its hiding places; industry would have set in motion her thousand arms; and prosperity would have come again, to gladden with her radiant face the hearts of thousands, who had long sat in gloom and despondency.

LLOYD D. SIMPSON.

CANADIAN SHARP PRACTICE.

THE intelligent, courteous and otherwise excellent reader will recall the outburst of astonishment and indignation with which the Canadian Fisheries Award, made under the Treaty of Washington, was received in the United States. The feeling was unanimous that something was wrong, either in the constitution of the Tribunal, or in the presentation of the American case; and Mr. Evarts was generally supported in his purpose not to pay the award until he had had some further negotiations with the Imperial authorities. When at last he did pay it, it was amid the general surprise of his countrymen; and the purpose was generally expressed, never to allow another case in regard to the fisheries to go before any such tribunal.

The immediate interest in the matter had pretty nearly expired, when a statement appeared in several Canadian papers, that Prof. Hind of Windsor, N. S., (who had been employed, by both parties to the dispute, to make an analysis and index of the evidence collected and the papers laid before the tribunal), had made the discovery that the figures contained in the Canadian statement had been grossly "cooked," so as to create the impression that the concessions Canada was making to the United States were much more valuable than those the United States were making to Canada, and that therefore the latter should be accompanied by a large money payment. As the details of this discovery were withheld for the present, it excited but languid interest, except as confirming the impression that the millions we paid for the right of inshore fishing represented nothing but an act of international sharp practice under the forms of diplomacy. But Prof. Hind has at last broken silence in the matter, and, without publishing the worst of the details in his possession, he has given enough of them to the world to enable us to appreciate the strength of his case against the representatives of Canada.

Prof. Henry Youle Hind seems to be a gentleman of acuteness of observation and unquestioned probity of character. His Canadian critics impugn his judgment as to the importance of his facts, and the cause of the misstatements he has detected; but they do not impeach the purity of his motives, nor the accuracy and com-

pleteness of his information. He certainly has acted with great discretion and a high sense of propriety, in a very embarrassing position. Finding himself in the position of an expert employed by both countries, and in possession of information which concerned both, but might prove discreditable and injurious to his own, he at once proceeded to lay before the Canadian Commissioners, and then the Imperial authorities, the damaging facts in his possession. From the representatives of Canada he received not the slightest attention. Sir Andrew Galt—we are sorry to say it of his father's son—showed no sensitiveness under this discovery of facts which the world might well regard as affecting his personal honor. Indeed, he behaved in such a manner as to make himself an accomplice after the fact in whatever guilt may be ascribed to the utterance of gross falsehoods in a sworn statement before an International Tribunal. Not only did he take no steps toward the correction of the wrong which this perjury had done to a sister country, but even “refused to receive and examine the proof” of it last November. As the representative of Canada in London, he has resisted successfully Professor Hind's attempts to get a hearing with the Colonial office, and “quietly to disclose these facts to the proper Imperial authorities,” thus “shutting out from proper inquiry false official statements resting upon honor, and tainted official testimony delivered upon oath, both relating to enormous interests, yet clouded with the darkest suspicion.” In fine, neither Canada nor England has consented to look into the matter in any way; and if they still persist in that refusal there is but one course open to Professor Hind. He came into possession of these damaging facts while in the service of the United States, and failing to have the wrong involved in them corrected in any less unpleasant way, it is only left for him to lay them before the State Department at Washington, that they may be made the basis of a demand for the reopening of the whole question.

The Canadian official most directly implicated in these charges is Mr. W. F. Whitcher, the Dominion Commissioner of Fisheries. On the 18th of September, 1875, this gentleman was testifying under oath before the International Tribunal, and submitted as part of his evidence a table which professed to show the value of the fish exported from Canada and from each of its provinces to the United States in each year of the period of the Reciprocity

Treaty (1856-66), and since Reciprocity (1867-73). These figures, as proceeding from an official whose business it was to know all about such matters, and given under oath on such a solemn occasion, were accepted without question by all who were concerned in the matter. No one thought of "going behind the returns" in such a case, and the confidence in Mr. Whitcher's honor and the accuracy of his information, was no doubt aided by the natural indisposition of the average man to meddle with statistics more than he needs must. Now be it noted that these figures were *an essential part of the Canadian case*. They could not be eliminated from that case, and leave its merits before the Tribunal the same. They could not be seriously altered without altering the force of the Canadian claim. The proposed basis of settlement was this,—that Canada (or rather the British Empire) should throw open the inshore fisheries and some lesser privileges to American fishermen, and that the United States should remove all duties from fish and fish oils coming in from Canada. And the business of the Tribunal was to sit in judgment on Canada's contention that the value of the inshore fisheries was much greater than the amount of the duties thus removed, and that therefore America should pay Canada a lump sum representing this difference in value. It was, therefore, of the first importance for Canada to show that the amount of the Canadian export trade to the United States was so small that the duties to be removed were trifling, and that this amount has been reduced by imposing such duties.

Now, bearing this outline of the situation in mind, let us look at the statement which this Canadian official actually submitted, and compare it with the facts. Fortunately, the basis for such a comparison is both easy of access and unquestionable in its authority. It is found in the *official returns* of the values of the fish exported to the United States from each of the British American Colonies. Especially important are the returns furnished by the Custom House Officials of Prince Edward's Island, for it was especially this item of the sum total upon which the falsifier seems to have exercised his ingenuity. The fish trade of this Colony with America is very considerable, and it is in relation to its exports that "the most remarkable and significant succession of discrepancies present themselves;" and it was here that Professor Hind first detected the misrepresentation. The character of the difference is as follows:—

1. The total of the exports for the ten years of Reciprocity is represented in Mr. Whitcher's sworn evidence as *greater*, and that of the six years following Reciprocity as *less* than the official returns show them to have been. The diminution in the latter case affects five years out of six, and "the range of decrease reaches thirty-three per cent. of the annual export."

2. To keep the sum total of exports the same, the exports to other countries are as much increased in Mr. Whitcher's evidence, as those to the United States are diminished. Thus, for 1872 *the sworn statement* is:—

<i>Exported to the United States,</i>	\$92 838
" <i>other countries,</i>	80 010
The accurate <i>official returns</i> give,		
<i>Exported to the United States,</i>	\$137 746
" <i>other countries,</i>	35 102

The total in either case is the same, viz: . . \$172 848

3. The special official returns of the exports of mackerel alone, from this Colony to the United States, in the years 1867 and 1872, are greater than the alleged total exports of fish and fish products in the same years, the excess in 1872 being 13 per cent.

When from the single Province we pass to the whole Dominion, we find totals more imposing and similarly inaccurate. Thus, for the year 1874, it is alleged that the total value of fish exports was but \$4,504,578, the official returns showing that it was \$5,177,427, the difference being "apparently due to the suppression of a very large portion of the exports of Quebec." Professor Hind has not extended his analysis and comparison with equal care to the alleged returns from the other Provinces, but he says that "certain returns credited to the Provinces of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia are of such a character as to suggest the gravest doubts of their accuracy, in the light of the revelations already made." In other words, no one has gone as yet to the bottom of this bad business, or can say how great the extent of the misrepresentations by which the Fisheries Award was procured.

Canadian statesmen, from Sir A. Galt down to Mr. W. F. Whitcher, must entertain curious notions of what a nation expects of its neighbors, if they suppose that this matter will be allowed to lapse into oblivion. Commissioner Whitcher seems to rest very

easy under this load of seeming infamy. Like his superiors, he takes no steps to explain or to correct. Nay, although fully warned that the falsehood of those figures to which he swore had been discovered by Professor Hind, he once more lays a part of them before the world as an authentic statement (from "a careful examination of the trade returns of the United States and Canada") of the fish trade between the two countries! In a letter to the *Globe* (Toronto) of June 9, 1880, he presents those of the Reciprocity period as a basis for determining the proper footing for the future commercial relations of the two countries. Until this letter appeared, the presumption might have been that Mr. Whitcher was only incompetent, and had been deceived by some overzealous subordinate, whom he trusted to prepare the tables laid before the Fisheries Tribunal. But that presumption vanishes when we find that the man who made himself publicly responsible for those false returns, now vouches again for their accuracy after he has been notified that they are false, and that by an authority which no one has ventured to question. When an Indian Finance Minister transmitted to England returns of the expenses of the Afghan War, which varied from the truth, the British people refused to accept the plea that he had been deceived by some of the many subordinates whom he was obliged to trust in the preparation of his report. But if that Finance Minister had repeated those false estimates after their inaccuracy had been detected, and if he had based on them an argument for the continuation of the Afghan War, he would have been treated as guilty in every proper sense of the misrepresentation. It is now, therefore, too late for Mr. Whitcher to attempt to shift the responsibility for this gross offence to other shoulders than his own. By his own act he has removed all doubt and ambiguity, and stands confessed before the world as responsible for a series of falsehoods by which an International Tribunal was deceived, and the American nation robbed of millions of dollars.

The finest thing in Mr. Whitcher's letter is near the end. The Treaty of Washington provided for the free importation of lobsters and other shell fish from Canada to the United States. But it did not provide for the free importation of lobster cans, all such articles being under a duty in our tariff. When the question came to the notice of the United States Treasury, it very properly decided that

the cans in which lobsters came should pay just the same duty as if they were empty. Any other decision would have been absurd, as it would have put American canners of lobsters, who used imported cans, at a disadvantage. And as the greater part of the tin and tin wares used in this country is imported, this would have been a real, not an imaginary, grievance. But the Mr. Whitcher who swore to the falsified returns of Canadian exports of fish, has a soul above such meanness. He speaks of it as the "lobster can tax," calls it "this cute dodge," and "this discreditable bit of sharp practice." And this in a letter by an expert official, of which Professor Hind mildly says: "These figures are erroneous, and conclusions drawn from them are erroneous."

It was partly the Fortune Bay Affair, partly Commissioner Whitcher's letter, which provoked Professor Hind to address *The Globe* on the subject. Of course, *The Globe* did not publish the letter. It excused itself on the ground that it was "too long and rambling to be worth the space it would occupy." Professor Hind's letter is not a model one; but it is quite as readable as any of *The Globe's* editorials on the National Policy, and not so long as some of them. But liveliness is not *The Globe's* strong point, and were the letter as bad as one of Oliver Cromwell's speeches, the importance of the subject might have secured it a place. At any rate, *The Globe* might have condensed the statement of facts into the editorial in which it attempts to reply to them. It begins by conceding Professor Hind's authority in the matter. "He is in a position to speak as authority in the matter of fact." But he is wrong (1) in attributing any bad motive to the author of the mistakes, and (2) in supposing that they are of any importance. On both these points we have given our readers the material for a judgment; and when it is remembered that we have drawn only upon Professor Hind's letter, they will be able to judge of *The Globe's* veracity in saying that, in the letter, "Mr. Hind does not go in detail into the errors he professes to have discovered." But its great point is that no one would have ventured upon "so nefarious a plot," as that of deceiving the Fisheries Tribunal, since "all the United States agents had to do was to compare the tables with the statistics given in successive Fisheries and Customs' Reports." But the man who laid this falsified table before the Tribunal has shown the audacity to bring its false figures forward

again, even after their exposure, and to present them to the readers of *The Globe*—without incurring its rebuke—as the result of a “careful examination of the trade returns of the United States and Canada.” And it is upon this official, not upon “the British agent and the Canadian Minister of Marine and Fisheries”—whom *The Globe* rushes to defend before Professor Hind has attacked them—that the *onus* of so nefarious a plot rests. The others are involved only so far as they have made themselves accomplices after the fact, as *The Globe* itself has now done.

We are satisfied that neither England nor Canada has heard the last of this matter.

The Globe makes yet another point, that the tables in question were a portion of the *ex parte* case presented by Canada, and corresponded to the briefs laid before an equity court, that they were not part of the evidence, and that mis-statements are discovered in them neither justifies charges of misrepresentation, nor calls for a re-opening of the case. It might well be questioned whether these analogies borrowed from an equity court are fairly applicable to a tribunal of arbitration, and whether the appeal to such analogies, for such a purpose, shows a high sense of international honor. But *The Globe* is estopped from this appeal. Professor Hind, whose authority in all matters of fact it regards as unquestionable, shows that these falsified tables were *part of the evidence*. They were “laid before the Commission on the 18th of September, by a Canadian official undergoing examination upon oath.”

JOSEPH DENNIE.*

JOSEPH DENNIE filled a very important place in the early literary history of this country, yet a reference to the ten volumes of *The Port Folio*, or to any of his other writings, will hardly give the right judgment as to his claim on our attention and respect. Born in Boston in 1768, graduating at Harvard in

* Joseph Dennie, editor of *The Port Folio*, and author of *The Lay Preacher*, [not published.] Cambridge: John Wilson & Son, 1880, pp. 41; with a heliotype portrait from an original picture in the possession of the family.

1790, after a somewhat stormy college career, he settled in Charlestown, N. H., to practice law, and found employment for his abundant leisure in serving as lay preacher in the Episcopal Church. He soon devoted himself exclusively to literature, beginning with "The Tablet" in 1795, then contributing, as "The Lay Preacher," to the "Farmers' Weekly Museum," published in Walpole, N. H., and making it successful both by his own writings and by his energy in securing the co-operation of others of the small and struggling band of literary men of that time. Buckingham's description of his dress shows what was the style at the close of the last century,—a pea-green coat, white vest, nankin small clothes, white silk stockings, shoes or pumps fastened with silver buckles, which covered at least half the foot from the instep to the toe,—small clothes tied at the knees with ribbon of the same color, in double bows, the ends reaching down to the ankles, hair in front well loaded with pomatum, frizzled or craped and powdered; behind, his natural hair was augmented by the addition of a large queue, called, vulgarly, the false tail, which, enrolled in some yards of black ribbon, reached half way down his back. Attired in something of this fashion, Dennie, as a reward for his devotion to the Federal party and as an acknowledgement of his service to literature, was brought to Philadelphia by Mr. Timothy Pickering, in 1799 Secretary of State, as a Private Secretary at a salary of \$1,000, and to this he added the rewards for his contributions to Thomas' Museum and Fenno's United States Gazette,—the latter still in existence as the Philadelphia *North American*, under the second generation of McMichaels, to whom it has descended through a regular succession from Chandler and Claypool and the early owners of this venerable newspaper. Dennie soon began the "Port Folio," and that, with the "Literary" or Tuesday Club," which included all its leading contributors, the best spirits of the then capital of the country, secured him a remarkable leadership both in the society of Philadelphia and in a much wider circle of readers. It must be borne in mind that Philadelphia was then, and continued for many years to be, the metropolis, and many persons attracted to it when it was the actual seat of the government of the Union and of the State, remained there on account of its attractions as a residence. Dennie gathered around him in the Tuesday Club, Cadwalader, Hamilton, Wharton, Ewing, Rush, Peters, all of them names that have deserved

prominence in the social, political and literary history both of Philadelphia and the country. His career was but a short one, for he died in 1812, amid a very earnest expression of grief for his loss and admiration for his talent and genius.

The monumental column erected in St. Peter's Church yard, over his remains, by his friends, has a very eulogistic inscription, written by Mr. John Quincy Adams; and a still stronger proof of the continued admiration felt by Mr. Adams, not a man likely to be misled, was the fact of his frequent visits to the grave of his friend, recorded by Mr. Adams in his recently published diary. The name and fame of Joseph Dennie are still part of the traditions of good society in Philadelphia, where society still cherishes traditions of seventy years ago. At that time, Dennie was a welcome visitor in the best houses, and a special favorite of Mrs. William Meredith, the leader of the women of fashion of her time, and of the clever set of men and women who accepted her as their representative. It is not easy to find in Dennie's writings, or in the *Port Folio* with its contributions from his friends and associates, any evidence of strong genius or particular literary ability, but then it is impossible to judge of this early periodical by the lights and influences that belong to the first decade of the century, and to measure it apart from the very different standard up to which we have grown in these days of universal knowledge. Certain it is that, in his own day and generation, Joseph Dennie filled a very important place, and well deserves the recognition paid him in the modest memorial now presented to the public. The Pennsylvania Historical Society possesses a portrait by an unknown hand, which, in some respects, is a better type of the man of the day than that prefixed to this memoir, but both of them betray that convivial habit which shortened Dennie's life. Josiah Quincy speaks of the "uncommon celebrity and circulation" of the "Port Folio," and says "it was very far superior in literary ability to any magazine or periodical ever before attempted in this country, and no whit behind the best English magazines of that day." As Quincy, himself, was one of the contributors, perhaps his opinion is hardly an unbiased one, but Tom Moore, some of whose poems, written while he was living in Philadelphia, were first published in the "Port Folio," was certainly a competent judge of the brilliant circle of scholarly and accomplished men

who gathered around Dennie, and he spoke, in his letter to Spencer, of the

— sacred few,
Whom late by Delaware's green banks I knew;
Whom, known and loved through many a social eve,
'Twas bliss to live with, and 'twas pain to leave.

To undertake to revive the tone and literary sentiment of the time by reprinting selections from the "Port Folio," would be as unprofitable a task as to reprint "The Columbiad," in order to show Barlow's poetical power. Both were, in their day and generation, good of their kind, and both showed a love for sound literature and purity in thought and lofty patriotism, but the best way to perpetuate Dennie's name is this modest record of his brief and uneventful life. There can be little doubt that his influence was largely felt, and always for good, both in places where he lived, and in the larger circle where his writings were read, and that, in spite of many faults in his own life, he taught useful lessons to many thousands of his contemporaries.

SHYLOCK.*

AT the time of choosing my subject for this evening's lecture, I happened to see an Anglo-Jewish weekly journal, containing an article upon Shakspeare's Shylock. The article, insipid as it was, determined me in my choice; the more so, as, among a number of other themes, I had previously thought of that same dramatic character. The contents of that article may serve the place of an introduction to my subject: Simon finds one of his friends engaged in reading "The Merchant of Venice."

"I hate that drama," says Simon, "because it is based upon a lie, and upon a defamation of the Jewish race. I am an ardent admirer of Shakspeare's genius, but I am very sorry indeed, that even he, the peerless master-poet, was enslaved by the prejudices of his age. It is a blemish that defaces his immortal works." Simon then proceeds to show, with a pedantic display of antiquated

* A lecture delivered before the "Deutsche Gesellschaft" of Philadelphia; translated by Miss Henrietta Szold.

learning, that the dramatist has used an anecdote, related by Leti in his biography of Pope Sixtus V, and changed its meaning so that the Jew is represented as the one who demands the pound of flesh from the Christian. Then he demonstrates that precisely at the time when Shakspeare's Shylock was put upon the stage, the Venetian Jews played an important role in the literary, as well as commercial, life of that republic. His friend thanks Simon for the information he has derived from the conversation, and assures him: "If Shylock should again be performed at any of our theatres, I will not fail to let my Christian friends know that the whole drama is a fraud and a falsehood."

I have no desire to fatigue you with an array of learned authorities in order simply to acquaint you with the source whence Shakspeare drew the inspiration to create his Shylock. Let it suffice to say that our wise scribbler had no reason whatever for applying the epithets "fraud and falsehood" to the poet's conception; for Shakspeare is quite innocent of inventing the Jew's iniquity in demanding the pound of flesh. He has used, either directly or indirectly, a novel in which the whole story is told of the bloody bond, given by the merchant to the Jew, and even of the decision of the lawsuit by a woman, disguised as a judge, exactly as the dramatist has it.

I frankly confess that, at the time when I saw the previously mentioned article, I did not yet know, or had already forgotten, that Shakspeare was guiltless of the invention of the Jewish man-butcher. And yet, upon reading the journal in which the poet is honored with the appellations "fraud and falsehood," I involuntarily exclaimed: Poor Shakspeare! how imperfectly are your works understood in the country where that language is spoken to which you have imparted grace and vigor. Is our aim only to find out whether the story, related by the poet, has actually happened in some remote time and place? Shall we not rather seek that poetic truth in the drama which is far truer than the most intense reality?

Let us fancy ourselves in the presence of the august poet, at the time when the creation of his work occupies his mind. He reads the drama, "the Jew," or, perhaps, even the still older novel from which it has been taken, and he also has Leti's anecdote before him. The narrative is the same in all three: Two merchants, a

Christian and a Jew, lay a wager concerning the conquest of San Domingo by Drake. If the Christian lose, the penalty is that he must pay the Jew one thousand crowns; in the other case, if the Jew lose the bet, he must allow the Christian merchant to cut a pound of flesh from his body. The Jew loses and his adversary insists upon executing the letter of his claim. Pope Sixtus V, to whom the quarrel is referred, punishes both Jew and Christian for their life-endangering sport.

Into what shape could the poet mould these crude materials? The caricature of a man, delighting in the torture of his fellow-being from whose warm, living body he cuts the flesh, was somewhat too ghastly to be transformed into a comedy, although this is done repeatedly in real life. Only cannibals or the basest of men can laugh at the despair of one who is operated upon in this way, and who cannot even be benefitted by the appliances of modern science and be put under the influence of an anæsthetic during the horrible procedure. Still less, however, can there exist an element of mirth, to move the laughing-muscles of an audience, in the depravity of the cruel sophist who torments his unfortunate victim.

Shakspeare, a genius, could not then have been inspired by the anecdote to write a comedy. But was it better suited to the plan of a tragedy?

To answer this question, we must first state clearly to ourselves what comes within the province of a tragedy. Does its effect consist in causing the hearer to imagine that gradually nerve after nerve has been removed with a pair of pincers; in inspiring nearly the same sensation as when the nerve of a tooth is killed, comforting him, at least, with the one reflection that he will never again be likely to suffer from æsthetic toothache after such an infliction? If that is the signification of tragedy, then, indeed, nothing better,—which is to be understood in this case as nothing more horrible,—could have been found than this callous barbarian who feasts his senses upon the contortions of a wriggling worm. But Shakspeare's genius could not lower itself so far as to originate a spiritual monstrosity, nor even condescend to *use* the abnormal creations of another's mind. He must have reasoned thus: Leti's anecdote, alike whether the facts related therein actually occurred or not, is an untruth. If the event is historical, then, so far as the poet and his sentiments are concerned, a falsehood has been en-

acted; truth has proved deceptive; nature, become unnatural; nature has brought forth an ethical monster.

What motive can underlie the action of a man who perpetrates an outrage from which he derives no material advantage, and towards which no untameable passion has impelled him? An ethical principle by which to justify, or, at least, explain this horrible deed cannot be found, and, therefore, the anecdote is not the material from which a legitimate, dramatic work can be elaborated. At the very utmost, it might be used in the form narrated, for a sensational scenic display to which poetic genius never descends without desecrating its purity.

Unconsciously, genius is cautious to an extreme degree. This wariness characterizes Shakspeare's inspiration so far that he considers the unbounded ambition of Richard III. an insufficient ground upon which to base all the barbarity and inhumanity with which he invests that odious character. He finds it necessary to represent him as mis-shapen and repulsive in form and face, from the image of which their own possessor recoils disgusted:

“ But I,—that am not shaped for sportive tricks,
 Nor made to court an amorous looking-glass;
 I, that am rudely stamp'd and want love's majesty,
 To strut before a wanton ambling nymph;
 I, that am curtail'd of this fair proportion:
 Cheated of feature by dissembling nature,
 Deform'd, unfinish'd, sent before my time
 Into this breathing world, scarce half made up,
 And that so lamely and unfashionable,
 That dogs bark at me, as I halt by them;—
 Why I, in this weak, piping-time of peace,
 Have not delight to pass away the time,
 Unless to see my shadow in the sun,
 And descant on my own deformity;
 And therefore, since I cannot prove a lover
 To entertain these fair, well-spoken days,
 I am determined to prove a villain.”

Thus Shakspeare gives us the solution of Richard's character. He commits crime upon crime, in order to retaliate upon nature, which has refused, by conferring upon him a deformed, unsightly body, to let him enjoy life's social pleasures. Now, is it possible that the same Shakspeare who thus carefully assigns motives for every shade of a character would adopt Leti's anecdote, and place upon the scenes a man who thoughtlessly makes a sinful wager, and

then insists obstinately upon carrying out his stipulations, merely to sacrifice at the shrine of his brutishness?

But some might argue, it must be remembered that it is the Christian of the Middle Ages who is eager to revenge himself upon the enemy of his faith. His prejudice against the Jew has been aroused and nursed from his very infancy. Can not that be called a sufficient motive for his action, and is it not to be regarded as a tragic passion?

Indeed, religion, like patriotism, is pre-eminently a dramatic impulse, and can inflame the wildest as well as the noblest passions. But, would it have the power in this case?—An Irishman once attended the evening services at some church; the preacher happened to discourse with vehement eloquence upon the crucifixion of Christ. The next morning, while yet deeply impressed and excited by what he had heard the previous evening, and still further influenced by a stimulant of another sort, he accidentally meets a Jew on the street. He collars the inoffensive Jew and throws him to the ground. “What do you want of him?” “What did he do?” the quickly gathering crowd shouts. “He crucified my God,” the assailant answers. “But that was eighteen hundred years ago.”—“That makes no difference, I just found it out last night.” There lies a germ of sound, popular philosophy in this anecdote, which is far more suggestive than the dogmas of the theorist.

It embodies the psychological truth that religious fanaticism, though it be part and parcel of our human nature, can culminate in dramatic passion only when urged into it by some other strong, intoxicating feeling. But when it has been purified of its slag, by heating it in the crucible of reason and reflection, then it cannot explode in violence, impassioned and revengeful. Religion, like patriotism, needs another motive, of a personal nature, to constitute it a dramatic passion under the influence of which the hero of a tragedy is to act. In the case of the Christian merchant, who but yesterday was on such intimate terms with his Jewish comrade that he makes a bet with him, half in jest, half in earnest, this personal incentive will be vainly sought. Religious hatred alone might enrage a faction against a faction, a people against a people, and cause havoc and destruction; but it can never call forth a dramatic struggle between two individuals.

“Despise my people, if you will. Neither of us has chosen his own people for himself. Are *we* our people? What is meant by a people? Are Christian and Jew, Christian and Jew rather than men?” These words, falling from the lips of a Nathan the Wise, as the efflux of a soul whose every aspiration is purged and purified by reflection, express a primary principle of our nature, remaining true for the fanatic Middle Ages as well as for our age of mutual tolerance.

But what,—thus we can suppose Shakspeare musing,—can be made from the reverse of the anecdote, using it as my predecessor the playwright has done? Can not the malicious action of the Jew be justified on psychological grounds? It can easily be understood that he yearns for the opportunity to bury the knife wantonly in the flesh of one who daily wounds him. It is evident that he who, day after day must undergo tortures, compared to which the removal of a pound of flesh is but a slight pain,—tortures which he must endure without a murmured word of grief or reproach,—will eagerly await and carefully employ the moment for revenge.

We can then assign a personal motive to the deed, when performed by the Jew; and, as Richard III. wills to become a malefactor because nature has deformed him, and thus deprived him of the enjoyment of the courtly pleasures of this merry world, so Shylock, the reserved, harbors the one fervent wish—to revenge himself upon the haughtiest of all the haughty merchants whom he meets at the Exchange, for that which his heartless surroundings have denied him. Nature, through neglect or parsimony, is the cause of Richard's criminal career; but Shylock is forced into crime by his human, his Christian neighbors. By them he is treated as if he were not a fellow man, as if he had not organs and limbs like theirs, as if he could not be impressed physically and mentally by the same causes as others.

“He hath disgraced me,” says Shylock of Antonio, “and hindered me half a million; laughed at my losses, mocked at my gains, scorned my nation, thwarted my bargains, cooled my friends, heated mine enemies; and what's his reason? I am a Jew. Hath not a Jew eyes? Hath not a Jew hands, organs, dimensions, senses, affections, passions, fed with the same food, hurt with the same weapons, subject to the same diseases, healed by the same

means, warmed and cooled by the same winter and summer as a Christian is? If you pinch us, do we not bleed? If you tickle us do we not laugh? If you poison us, do we not die? And if you wrong us, shall we not revenge? If we resemble you in the rest, we will resemble you in that. If a Jew wrong a Christian, what is his humility? Revenge! If a Christian wrong a Jew, what should his sufferance be by Christian example? Why, revenge. The villainy you teach me, I will execute; and it shall go hard, but I will better the instruction."

Unquestionably, Shakspeare had no idea of advocating the emancipation of the Jews, when he put the foregoing words in the mouth of Shylock; indeed, dramas that are written with the definite intention of accomplishing a certain reformatory purpose, are rarely among the best. But a more cogent argument for the equality of all men has probably never been advanced; and never has a keener reproach been flung at persecuting Christianity, and at fanaticism and hatred, though clothed in the raiments of the religion of love, than that contained in these words: "If a Jew wrong a Christian, what is humility? Revenge: If a Christian wrong a Jew, what should his sufferance be by Christian example? Why, revenge. The villainy you teach me, I will execute, and it shall go hard, but I will better the instruction."

Here we have the key to Shylock's character. Whatever he be, his persecutors are answerable for it. Men have spit into his face, ridiculed him, scoffed at his race, called him a dog and treated him like one. And, like the hound they considered him, he threatens to tear into shreds all who dare approach him.

Keeping these characteristics in mind, we will take a bird's eye view of the whole production. We, in our time, occupy a most favorable position for this. We stand on a moral height, from which we can behold the spectacle below with unimpassioned mind and steady eye. The high tide of religious hatred, agitating that age, cannot sweep us off our eminence, however tumultuously the waves of prejudice may rage; for those days, when Christian and Jew are men rather than Christian and Jew, have come in spite of anti-Semitic hallucinations, of societies for the conversion of Jews, and other absurdities. The cultured and moderate of all creeds are always willing to extend the hand of brotherly friendship across the barrier raised by the difference in religious

convictions; and the more truly religious they are, the more desirous are they of showing their respect for men as men, irrespective of their opinions of things holy.

We can therefore examine the drama more carefully, and with minds less fettered by prejudice, than could any preceding age, and we will be able to find and fully appreciate its humane tendencies.

The scene is laid at Venice, the queen of commerce, the voluptuous, overbearing republic which revels amid the treasures of the Orient, and allures the covetous seeker of wealth.

Antonio is the first whom we meet in Venice. He is a rich merchant, but has entrusted his whole fortune, together with that of his friends, who lend without demanding interest, to the safe-keeping of unsteady ships, and to the tender mercies of the strong seas. And now he is melancholy. But his afflictions are so numerous that he does not even know the cause of his melancholy. And he would not dare to whisper it to himself that fear of losing his floating riches agitates him; for, if any one should overhear him, he is a ruined man, and his lofty social position, in which he has not felt himself quite secure for some time past, is irreparably gone.

His friends are numbered among the nobility of Venice,—debauchees, parasites, who, on all occasions, take advantage of him, but without whom he can scarcely exist. They entertain him and play the sycophant; so obsequious are they that, in their presence, not a fly may annoy him. In one of these libertines, there still lies hidden a germ of noble thought, not yet stifled by incessant feasting and carousing. He is Bassanio; “Good signiors, when shall we laugh;” thus he greets his friends, the *jeunesse dorée* of Venice; and after the troublesome gossips have left Antonio, Bassanio immediately sets forth his wishes. What does he ask of Antonio? He has squandered his whole fortune, is involved in debt, owes Antonio himself a considerable sum, and now requests a new loan to secure the old debt,—a practice that has not fallen into disuse even at this day. His friend, by means of a rich outfit, is to assist him in marrying a fortune, and when the heiress has been woo’d and won, all debts are to be paid off promptly, and the old life of revelry and riot is to be resumed.

Antonio’s credit with his dear friends who expect no interest to

be paid for the use of the money, has been thoroughly drained, and Bassanio, who stands in sore need of money, undertakes to find the money-broker, or, to give him the favorite appellation of the Middle Ages, the usurer,—the Jew Shylock.

Shylock's is a profound, earnest nature, typically Jewish. He holds the spendthrifts in contempt, but their debaucheries give him the means of subsistence; they are the ones who must borrow the most, and so heedless are they that they also trouble themselves least about the rate of interest. He considers their merry-making as the height of folly; the masked bacchanalians who carouse night after night, "Christian fools with varnish'd faces." He, the Jew, is a stranger to their tumultuous orgies, his birth and training preclude the possibility of enjoying them. And the only spot in which the Jew's heart delights, to which he is bound by every tie feeling and affection, his hearth, is desolate; for his Leah, whose ring he guards as a precious keepsake, which, as he says, he would not exchange for "a world of monkeys," has long been dead. His daughter might have been a comfort and stay to his old age, but she seems to have been raised by his lazy, gluttonous servant, and she was therefore influenced more by Launcelot, than by her own father, who spent his days in the street and on Change. Through Launcelot, the idle pleasure-seeker, she has become acquainted with the world of the Christian, so different from the Jew's. Launcelot, too, has brought her to the notice of the gallant and extravagant Lorenzo. Her poor, giddy head is entirely turned. At home, her surroundings are sad, gloomy and sober; outside, continual merriment,—an eternal, joyous day—greet her. And her shrewd, clear-sighted father, busy as he is with money matters, does not fail to remark her estrangement from home and himself; he warns her very earnestly not to go to the window to watch the Christians' masquerade. He adds that he has a presentiment of some great misfortune, for he has dreamed of money bags.

In this resentful mood, Bassanio finds him and leads him to Antonio, who asks for three thousand ducats. Among all the Christian merchants whom he meets on the Rialto, Shylock hates none so heartily as Antonio. It is not because he is a Christian; he might have overlooked that circumstance; for, what would Shylock do for a livelihood were there no Christians? But Antonio ruins the Jew's business; he loans money to his friends and never

charges interest. Antonio thus gives away gratuitously, and consequently depreciates, the goods which Shylock must sell. Then we must add to the motive of race prejudice and religious hatred, the potent motive of envy in business affairs.

Thus the personal motives of hatred multiply. Shylock, the Jew, hates the Christian,—this cannot explain his revengeful conduct. Shylock, the merchant, hates the one who has undermined his trade. Not even this is enough to justify his cruel act of vengeance which is gradually preparing itself. But the man Antonio has plainly evinced his contempt of the man Shylock, only because the latter chanced to be a Jew. He has mocked at him, has spit upon his beard, and has called him dog, and now this haughty enemy falls into the power of the one who has quietly suffered scorn, contumely, injury and arrogance at his hands.

“ Monies is your suit ?

What should I say to you ? Should I not say,
Hath a dog money? Is it possible
A cur can lend three thousand ducats ? or
Shall I bend low, and in a bondman's key,
With 'bated breath, and whisp'ring humbleness,
Say this,—
Fair sir, you spit on me on Wednesday last ;
You spurn'd me such a day ; another time,
You called me dog, and for these courtesies
I'll lend you thus much monies ? ”

He is still reflecting to what advantage he might turn the present favorable opportunity of revenge, when Antonio himself indicates the means of requital. He has not quite decided whether to humiliate the rich, supercilious merchant by refusing to loan the money, when Antonio changes the current of his thoughts by these words :

“ But lend it rather to thine enemy ;
Who, if he break, thou may'st, with better face,
Exact the penalty.”

If he break ! Exact the penalty ! Ha, indeed ! “ Ships are but boards, sailors but men ; there be land-thieves and water-thieves,” and “ water, winds and rocks” are the very destructive foes of man. If he fail to meet his obligation, fall into my power, the Christian in the hands of the Jew, the proud triumphed over by the humble !

A careful, intelligent actor would let all these considerations.

which rush through Shylock's mind, be portrayed in the play of his features until the moment when the Jew, with feigned friendliness, agrees to advance the money and will "take no doit of usance;" the bloody bond is all he demands, and that only for sport, for merry sport.

It is hardly possible that he intends, at the moment of giving the bond, to exact the horrible penalty it prescribes, should Antonio forfeit it. Now his only desire is to see his enemy crushed, at his feet, humiliated and tortured; then to overwhelm him with confusion and mortify him still further by a generous revenge! What a triumph for the despised cur! he, the grand signior actually owe his life to a dog. Imagine the chagrin of the haughty Antonio, when he must tell himself that his life, which he drags along like a heavy chain, is the gracious gift of a Jew!

But now something occurs that transforms Shylock into a savage beast, without reason or compassion. He is no longer the calm, speculating Jew. His daughter has been stolen from him; no, he cannot even comfort himself with saying that she has been carried off; she has voluntarily run away from him, betrayed and robbed him, not even leaving him the ring which he received from his Leah when they were betrothed. Frantic with grief, he rushes through the streets, incoherently crying: "My daughter!—O my ducats!—Fled with a Christian!—O my Christian ducats!" Lashed by the insanity of rage, he tears through the city, pursued and ridiculed by ragamuffins. It is more than any mortal can bear.

At this point, we encounter one of the characteristics of the true dramatist. The writer of a sensational drama would have brought Shylock before the audience at the moment when he discovers the flight of his daughter and the theft of his ducats. He would have made him appear before the footlights, plucking out his white hair, pacing the stage with rapid, uneven strides, and warding off, with frenzied action, the hooting crowd.

This would prove a dainty for the intellectual palate of the spectators in the pit. Sentimentality would find the opportunity for paying its tribute in tears, and vulgarity would not fail to applaud uproariously. Shakspeare, who surely is not weak-nerved, disdains to use, for the sake of sensational effect or vulgar applause, whatever does not suit the plan of his drama. He has the whole, tumultuous scene related by Salanio, who confesses

that he "never heard a passion so confus'd, so strange, outrageous and variable."

Thus bowed down with grief, he meets two of the rioters whom he has so often seen with Antonio and Bassanio,—the last time was the night of his daughter's abduction. They address him with studied indifference, "How now, Shylock? what news among the merchants?" Instead of answering their questions, he cries wildly, "You knew, none so well, none so well as you, of my daughter's flight." These thoughtless fops naturally make sport of him in his misery; but they cannot imagine that their raillery will end in the serious discomfort of their friend Antonio.

Tubal, who has been sent by the grieved father to seek his child, now returns. He listens to the tale of her present life and how recklessly she squanders his treasures. His child and his jewels—both in the hands of Christian fools who have inspired him with no favorable idea of their honesty, neither in love affairs nor money matters.

"I would my daughter were dead at my feet, and the jewels in her ears! Would," he added by way of explanation, "she were hearsed at my feet, and the ducats in her coffin!" He would prefer burying his child and his gold to knowing them to be in the possession of the Christian fools. "And," he exclaims, "no satisfaction, no revenge."

But the moment of retaliation is near at hand. Tubal is the one to pour the comforting balsam upon his chafed feelings: "Other men have ill-luck, too. Antonio, as I heard in Genoa,—"
"What, what, what? ill-luck? ill-luck?" "—hath an argosy cast away, coming from Tripolis." "I thank God! I thank God! Is it true? is it true?"

Now the plot designed to ruin Antonio is complete and perfect in all its details. How it is again unravelled does not concern us in the delineation of our conception of Shylock's character. But it is interesting to note the contrast to this provoked, vengeance-breathing man, presented by the superficial, giddy-brained worldlings, almost incapable of experiencing a pure emotion or generous impulse. The expressions of Portia, the wittiest and most refined of that whole circle,—how frivolous are they! The most vulgar would blush now-a-days to hear her language used. The objections to these remarks, which some might advance, that exactly this feature

was the characteristic of the times, does not hold good. Certainly, it was the custom of the age; but is it not precisely that which Shakspeare wishes to depict in the noblest representative of her age?

And Antonio, the most admirable among the men, the noble and generous, the proud Antonio of yore now pleads: "Hear me yet, *good* Shylock."

"Good Shylock." Truly, all who are not absolutely deficient in the conception of the humorous, must recognize the caricature which Shakspeare has held up for the inspection of the aristocrat,—a caricature, as good as any sermon, upon their lewdness and finical sentimentality. Those who do not perceive or cannot understand its derisive smile, must be placed in the same category as those who condemn Shakspeare's Shylock as "a fraud and a falsehood." The proudest of all has turned flatterer, and entreats the "Good Shylock."

The dispenser of justice, the Doge of the voluptuous republic, sermonizes, for Shylock's benefit, upon Christian mercy, but is scornfully answered with a bitter reproach; a reproach, which, even within our memory, has stung Christianity to the quick. The Doge demands:

"How shalt thou hope for mercy, rendering none?"

To which Shylock replies:

"You have among you many a purchased slave,
Which, like your asses, and your dogs and mules,
You use in abject and slavish parts,
Because you bought them:—shall I say to you,
Let them be free, marry them to your heirs!
Why sweat they under burdens? let their beds
Be made as soft as yours, and let their palates
Be season'd with such viands? You will answer,
The slaves are ours: so do I answer you:
The pound of flesh which I demand of him,
Is dearly bought, 'tis mine, and I will have it."

Who does not discern here again the most caustic humor,—the Jew reproaches the Christian with his sinful traffic in human flesh.

And yet, once again, Shylock yields to the irresistible temptation of mocking at the foibles of his Christian opponents. The two recently married young men, Bassanio and Gratiano, declare, in order to convey an idea of the intensity of their friendship for

Antonio, that, to save their friend, they would willingly sacrifice their wives. After listening to this sacrilegious sentiment, Shylock soliloquizes :

“ These be the Christian husbands. I have a daughter ;
 Would any of the stock of Barabas
 Had been her husband, rather than a Christian.”

The Jew regards this boastful sport with things dearest and holiest, equal to blasphemy. He might speak of half his fortune,—or even the whole of it,—as the measure of his friendship, but if the thought should perchance enter his mind to lay on the one side of the balance his wife or child, while the other, heavier side is borne down by friendship, he would condemn himself, even in our days, as an irreverent sinner.

Gervinus says, and there is no ironical meaning to be attached to his expressions, that the young wives must have been highly gratified to have seen the feeling of friendship placed higher in the scale of importance and sacredness than conjugal love ; they must have inferred from this their noble spouses' generosity and high-mindedness. The ladies may decide for themselves whether they would have drawn Gervinus's inference, had they been placed in the same position as Portia and Nerissa. Perhaps the Oriental blood, coursing through my veins, prevents me from appreciating, as fully as they merit, the ideas of Gervinus, the typical German. But Shakspeare knew and understood the frailties of mankind, and has placed in Shylock's mouth the censure of the profane swag-gering about the purest sentiments.

Once more Shakspeare ridicules the magnanimous Antonio, who professes to despise Mammon.

“ So please my lord, the duke and all the court,
 To quit the fine for one-half of his goods ;
 I am content, so he will let me have
 The other half in use, to render it
 Upon his death, unto the gentleman
 That lately stole his daughter.”

How generous of Antonio ! He does not spurn the Jewish ducats from him with every sign of scorn ; on the contrary, he so far overcomes his abhorrence that he is willing to use one-half of the Jew's property in his own business, and will return it, upon the Jew's death, to the man who stole his daughter, provided it

is still in his possession to be returned. The thief must not go unrewarded.

Gervinus argues very subtly on this point, too, in order to save his *protégé* Antonio. He reasons thus: The Jew's son-in-law is a spendthrift; therefore the self-forgetful Antonio will add to his own grave business troubles, the management of the Jew's fortune until the owner's death, in the meanwhile using it as his own. Is there anything that a lawyer will not devise to defend his client?

But still another condition Antonio attaches to Shylock's pardon:

“—that, for this favor,
He presently become a Christian.”

A Christian has put a Jew under obligation towards himself; consequently the dog of a Jew must immediately repay the kindness by doing Christianity the favor of embracing that belief. Never was a more poignant satire written upon the prevalent mania for conversion from one faith to another, than that implied in the few words, “—that, for this favor, he presently become a Christian.”

This, then, is the result of our enquiries: *Not Shylock, but the pharisaical world in which he lives, is “a fraud and a falsehood,”* and the Merchant of Venice is neither a comedy nor a tragedy, but a union of both, a tragi-comedy.

We, however, should consider ourselves fortunate that we live in an age in which Jew and Christian are regarded as men, rather than as Jew or Christian.

M. JASTROW.

NEW BOOKS.

HISTORY OF THE HEBREWS' SECOND COMMONWEALTH. By Isaac M. Wise. Cincinnati: Bloch & Co., 1880.

A colorless history,—that is, a plain narrative of events in which the writer does not betray any feeling,—may be free from the charge of partiality, but it will weary the reader, instead of exciting his interest. On the other hand, a too highly-wrought description of men and their doings, may savor of fiction and awaken suspicion as to the truthfulness of the statements. Dr. Wise has chosen a middle course. With some exceptions, in which the language might

suitably have been more impassioned as well as chaster, the author of the volume under review has followed a style which is not open to censure for either passive coldness, or excessive warmth. Without indulging in extravagances, the writer is in full sympathy with the subjects treated. Israelites will also note with satisfaction a prevailing spirit of loyalty to the olden faith, and an earnest endeavor to prove monotheism the main factor of civilization.

The work is, moreover, comprehensive, notwithstanding its condensed form. It begins with the return of a colony of Judeans from Chaldea to the ancestral land under the lead of Zerubabel, points to the probable causes which paved the way to that restoration; to the struggle engaged in by the colonists to overcome the hostility of neighboring tribes; to the success finally attained in the re-establishment of their religious observances, and the reconstruction of a state of comparative independence. It exhibits the characters of the main actors in the national cause, when triumph depended on unshaken belief in the principle of right. It shows the unfolding of new ideas and the bent which these gave to different minds. It dwells on Jewish literature in various stages of post-biblical times, and, portraying the tragic end of the second Commonwealth, does justice to the party that fought to break the foreign yoke; a party which Josephus, in his subserviency to the Imperial house of Flavius, consigned to unmitigated disgrace.

The production is the result of a close searching into ancient and modern historical authorities. Persons to whom such sources are inaccessible will find in this effort of the Cincinnati Rabbi abundant information. The arrangement of the book may also serve a purpose. A division into epochs, and then into chapters, and paragraphs, all furnished with explanatory headings and copious references, is likely to assist memory, and invite a wish for a more extensive knowledge of writings and writers upon topics of great interest to both Jews and Christians.

But students, who are most likely to consult the work, need a word of caution. It is not a safe guide in all its departments. The author's speculative nature leads the mind astray. He builds theories on airy foundations and resorts to far-fetched appliances to sustain their weakness.

A full display of the manner in which Dr. Wise lets favorite notions warp his judgment, would necessitate very lengthy remarks; but in order not to stretch a review into an extended essay, only a few instances in which the writer is glaringly at fault will here be quoted.

A certain sage is recorded to have laid down this maxim: "Let thy house be widely open, and let the poor familiarly visit it, but do not unduly converse with a female." Dr. Wise construes a purely ethical lesson into a political hint, and, contrary to all rea-

son, wishes the reader to believe that the Sage meant by it to oppose the suggestion of a wise contemporary and colleague, which runs thus: "Let thy house be a place where the learned meet, follow thou closely their footsteps, and eagerly imbibe their sayings." Accordingly, the latter is described as advocating secret councils among farsighted agitators; a course which the former discountances. And by a misinterpretation of the word in the text, Dr. Wise further satisfies himself that a female whose undue conversation must be avoided, refers "to Cleopatra, the sister (daughter?) of Antiochus Epiphanes, queen of Egypt, who was friendly to the Hebrews."

Again: The question having arisen in the Babylonian Talmud, whether Abraham, Isaac and Jacob are exclusively called the fathers of the Hebrew people, because it would be impossible to trace one's genealogy from Reuben, Simeon, etc., or because of other motives, Dr. Wise draws the conclusion that the Jews of Babylon "were descendants of all the tribes of Israel," intending, no doubt, to draw a distinction between them and the Palestinian Jews, who are to be considered as solely belonging to Judah and Benjamin.

The appellation *Saducees*, supposed to have been derived from Sadoc, a follower of Epicurean views, Dr. Wise renders, "rulers, governors and victors," and, in an abortive effort to prove himself correct, he summons to his help lexicographers and philologists. The matter, from a linguistic stand-point, would scarcely be worth noticing, were it not that it is used to carry out a false theory. The author, to be consistent with a pre-conceived idea, wrongs a party which he seems otherwise to admire. The Saducees are to him the sworn enemies of Roman despotism, the uncompromising opponents of exactions, the upholders of their country's right. The Pharisees, on the contrary, are the meek bearers of vexations and violence, and the peaceful guardians of the traditional law, but not the watchful defenders of their native land. This is a gratuitous statement, contradicted by internal evidences. Dr. Wise, who advanced it, will be compelled to erase from his own volume the narrative of events which overthrow his position. Historically false is also the assertion that at "the graves during the Feast of Booths." . . . "the artistic flinging and catching of knives" was indulged in. The author has manifestly blended together two distinct statements made in the same page of the Talmud.

Equally destitute of foundation is the notion that Boëthus, father of Mariamne, the second of that name, married to the cruel Herod, is the same as Baithos, and that consequently the Rabbis, who make the last mentioned the associate of Sadoc, the schismatic, are mistaken.

Now, if a critical examination of the date, authorship and title

of the books, as presented in the *History of the Second Commonwealth*, were to be undertaken, the list of faults would be very considerably lengthened. Just imagine that Ecclesiasticus or Ben Sira is older than Ecclesiastes, and nevertheless the latter, in spite of its many skeptical ideas, found admission into the canon, while the former, notwithstanding the purity of religious sentiments pervading it throughout, was rejected.

Fancy the touching story of Ruth to have been inspired by a Samaritan, as a covert attack on the harsh but needful measure of Ezra and Nehemiah, against wives of heathen parentage. Conceive a title more strained than that given to the First Book of the Macabees, in order to make it agree with the Hebrew name, which it is alleged to have borne originally, viz: "The descendants of the Prince of the Lord's children;"—as if Eusebius, who is said to have preserved it, can be relied upon when he gives us but an absurd mixture of Syriac and Hebrew.

And yet, with all the defects which an unbiased criticism cannot gloss over, the *History of the Hebrew's Second Commonwealth* is an evidence of painstaking and learning, which, even by those who may hereafter improve upon it, will be recognized and appreciated.

Dr. Wise has evinced eagerness to contribute to the advancement of the literature of his people in America, and, to respond to a natural prompting, he has offered the best fruits of his mind. The book deserves a reading, and the strenuous endeavors of the author merit praise.

NAVAL HYGIENE. Human Health and the Means of Preventing Disease. With Illustrative Incidents principally derived from Naval Experience. By Joseph Wilson, M. D., Medical Director United States Navy. Second edition, with colored lithographs, etc., pp. 274, 8vo. Philadelphia: Lindsay & Blackiston.

We took up this volume with a certain amount of prejudice, expecting to find in it a technical treatise of interest only to the profession. But a very slight perusal informed us of our mistake. Dr. Wilson does give much valuable information of a purely technical kind, but even the laity will find him a charming and instructive companion. He has kept his eyes open on his many cruises, and he knows what to tell, and any one who is about to make a sea voyage may learn something useful from his work. Especially interesting are the thirty pages devoted to botany in its relation to disease and poisoning among crews and passengers.

As regards seasickness, we see that Dr. Wilson inclines to the latest view, that its seat is in the brain, and that it is caused, not by agitation of the brain itself, but by the irregular oscillating move-

ments of neighboring objects acting on the senses. Our own experience confirms this view. We well remember the strange effect on the eye, and consequently the mind, of visible things, and the striking contrast presented by similar objects after landing, as intimately associated with this horrible affection. It is insanity associated with acute suffering.

THE CHEMISTRY OF COMMON LIFE. By the late James F. W. Johnston, Professor of Chemistry in the University of Durham. A new edition, revised and brought down to the present day, by Arthur Herbert Church, M. A., Oxon. Pp. 593. New York: D. Appleton & Co.

This book is one of those which originated in the Prince Albert period of popular literature, when the world was to be refined and purified by interesting lectures on science, and by great exhibitions. It is the only one that has survived, a fact due both to its having met a real want, and to its having been very well done. As his new editor says, "his book was most attractive in style, most interesting and comprehensive as to subject matter, and most exact."

Mr. Church has endeavored to give the shape its author would have desired, if he had been alive to revise it. He has started from Professor Johnston's notes and additions made in his private copy. He has sought to avoid alteration, which would not be in harmony with the original conception. But chemical science has made great advances since 1855, and these he has endeavored to represent in his corrections and insertions. The book has grown somewhat, in the process, but it is still a volume of manageable size.

The most important addition is the chapter, "The Colors we admire."

THE COMMERCIAL PRODUCTS OF THE SEA; OR MARINE CONTRIBUTIONS TO FOOD, INDUSTRY AND ART. By P. L. Simmonds, Editor of the *Journal of Applied Science*. With thirty-two illustrations. Pp. 484. New York: D. Appleton & Co.

Mr. Simmonds has made a very useful and fairly readable book out of a series of articles written originally for his *Journal*. Making no attempt at an ornate style, he tells his readers the best and latest that is known under the several topics of his subject. He begins with fisheries in general, then proceeds to shell-fish, then to sponges, then to fish oil, isinglass, sea weed, salt, etc., and closes with the artistic products of the sea,—coral, pearl, mother-of-pearl. He avoids comments of any kind which are not connected with his immediate purpose. Thus, in mentioning that the

salt manufacture is a government monopoly in India, he has no comment to make on the wickedness of such a system, nor does he see the significance of the fact that the tax on imported salt amounts to £2,235,000 yearly. If salt were free in India, as it is in the United States, not an ounce would be imported. But because the monopolists dare not impose a prohibitory duty, it actually pays to make salt in the damp climate of Cheshire and carry it round the globe to India, where it pays a heavy duty, and is then sold to a people who live under a burning sun on a peninsula washed on both sides by the sea brine.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

- The Republican Text-Book for the Campaign of 1880. By B. A. Hinsdale, A.M. 8vo. Sw'd. Pp. 216. New York: D. Appleton & Co. [Porter & Coates.
- The Skin in Health and Disease. By L. Duncan Bulkley, M.D. (American Health Primers). Price 50 cents. Philadelphia: Presley Blakiston.
- The Authorship of the Fourth Gospel, External Evidences. By Ezra Abbot. Cloth. 8vo. Pp. 104. Price 75 cents. Boston: George N. Ellis.
- The Experiences of a Barrister, and Confessions of an Attorney. By Samuel Warren. Cloth. 12mo. Pp. 376. Boston: Estes & Lauriat.
- Bulletin de L'Academie Royale des Sciences, de Lettres et des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, No. 5. Bruxelles: F. Hayez.
- Two of the Name. By Col. Juan Lewis. Sw'd. Price 15 cents. Philadelphia: Juan Lewis.
- Passages from The Prose Writings of Matthew Arnold. Cloth. 12mo. Price \$1.50. New York: Macmillan & Co. [Porter & Coates.
- The Octagon Club. A Character Study by E. M. N. 12mo. Sw'd. Pp. 284. Price 50 cents. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. [Porter & Coates.
- Tit for Tat: A Teutonic Adventure. By the Marchioness Clara Lanza. Sw'd. 16mo. Pp. 190. Price 10 cents. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. [J. B. Lippincott & Co.

THE
PENN MONTHLY.

OCTOBER, 1880.

THE MONTH.

THE prorogation of Parliament was evidently a welcome event to both parties. It is rare that a session has been marked by so much acrimony, or that a spirit of obstruction has taken such a hold upon her Majesty's Opposition. The extreme Tories formed a sort of "fourth party" in the House, casting off the recognized leaders of the party, and offering every sort of resistance to the passage of inevitable legislation.

A curious instance of the way in which parties may exchange swords and fight still, was furnished by the fact that the three principal measures introduced by the Liberal Ministry—the Irish Evictions Bill, the Hares and Rabbits Bill, and the Employer's Liability Bill,—were all of the nature of attacks upon what was once the most sacred of the Whig maxims:—"A man may do what he will with his own." And the Tories, who defended the Corn Laws against the Whig theory of the entire sufficiency of Free Competition to adjust all social relations, now presented themselves as the champions of that principle against its former representatives.

IRELAND occupies the foremost place in the business of the session. Mr. Gladstone recently declared that country to be "within a measurable distance of civil war." Hence his honest,

effort to pacify its people by any reasonable concessions, efforts which were in every instance defeated by the House of Lords.

Of Mr. Foster's remarkable utterance on the same subject, the Atlantic cable furnished us only the fragment we quoted last week. The fuller report by mail says that in speaking of the rejection of the bill to restrict evictions in Ireland, he "did not deny that it furnished to some extent an argument which he was not surprised at Irish members using; and he very much regretted that the decision of the large majority of the representatives of the Irish people should, in a matter of remedial administration, have been so completely set at naught by the other House." As for the Government, "he had already said they must carry out the law; yet if they found—as they had not within the last two or three weeks found, and as they hoped they would not find—that the landlords of Ireland were to any great extent making use of their powers so as to force the Government to support them in the exercise of injustice, the Government should accompany request for special powers with a bill which would prevent the Government from being obliged to support injustice. He would go farther, and say that, under any circumstances, if it was found that this injustice and tyranny were largely committed, he believed that it would be their serious duty to consider what their action should be; and he did not think that any man in the House would expect him to remain any longer the instrument of that injustice." Mr. Foster had previously said that "he would not mind taking to the Irish Office any gentleman on the other side—he did not care what his prejudice—and he felt quite certain he could convince him that there were things happening in certain counties of Ireland which no person could for a moment defend." He was speaking, therefore, of the arrival of a state of things which he regarded as far from impossible, and which, in his view, would force the ministry to dissolve Parliament and to appeal to the constituencies against the Tory majority in the Peers. The weak point of the Liberal position as regards Irish affairs, is that they were not prepared, at the last election, to lay before the constituencies any definite proposals as regards the pacification of Ireland. However strongly, therefore, they may be supported in their present course by the majority of the electors, it is open to the Opposition to charge that they are misrepresenting the

English people ; and it will be impossible for them to overbear the resistance of the Upper House until they obtain a direct popular verdict upon the questions at issue. It is this which makes an early dissolution of the present Parliament quite possible, should the affairs of that kingdom take a turn which may seem to Mr. Gladstone and his associates to call for legislation which the Upper House will not pass. And the promptness with which Mr. Gladstone appealed to the people in 1868, confirms our suspicion that this is the conjuncture at which Mr. Foster has been hinting.

THE financial situation in Europe is so far changing, that silver is looking up. *The Standard* confesses that serious apprehensions are now felt as to the sufficiency of the supply of gold to meet the demand of the business world. The mines throughout the world are rather increasing than diminishing their annual yield. California is a chief source of the metal, but the amount of its mining is dependent upon the water supply from the Nevada Mountains, which is now fully utilized and cannot be increased. And the whole of this diminished American supply is now cut off from Europe and kept at home. The state of our trade with Europe is even forcing large exports of gold from Europe. In past years, our large exports of grain were taken in payment of the interest and dividend we owed to European investors, or in settlement of our large importations of European goods. When these failed, our securities were sent home to pay the necessary balance. But the amount of our bonds and the like, which were thus available, has been exhausted. The interest we owe has diminished, while the wheat to be paid for has increased. And, last of all, we are purchasing a quantity of foreign goods greater indeed in itself, but relatively to our sales far less, than in past years. For these reasons, we are making large demands upon Europe's stores of gold—demands which would have been met by sending us their dishonored silver if the bill to coin silver on private account had become a law, but which must now be paid in the rarer of the two metals. As a consequence, we are now—as we heard an English professor of Political Economy predict in 1875,—in a position to dictate the policy of the world on this issue. The Dutch Parliament avowedly waits for the United States to take the initiative in the measures needed to rescue the financial world from its present en-

tanglements. Holland is following a hand to mouth policy by keeping its gold at home and getting rid of its silver to its East India possessions, just as England would have been doing had not the short-sighted conduct in borrowing the Indian debt in England prevented.

In Germany, the gold standard policy has broken down; the German banks outside Berlin having ceased to pay gold on demand. Unless the Empire is prepared to float irredeemable paper money, it must cancel its demonetization of silver, and restore that metal to its former position. The rulers of Germany are fully aware of this, and were so some time back, but were prevented, by circumstances which have passed away, from acting upon their convictions. That they will and must move in that direction at an early date, is as good as certain.

These European nations are looking to America in expectation that we will again take the initiative, but we see no reason to expect that the State Department will do so. We are now increasing our stock of gold, both from our own mines and from foreign sources. Business is fairly remunerative in all its branches, and is much better than the "moderate revival of trade, . . . far from being equivalent to a normal prosperity," which England is enjoying. And the Secretary of State, although ready to yield to any just pressure from the national legislature in the matter, evidently has no zeal for silver, which would lead him to anticipate this urgency. Nor, perhaps, is it desirable that he should make any proposals. Twice we have gone to Europe, to urge on their attention the possibility of such danger as they now see to be imminent. Twice we have been treated, in our representatives, as hucksters who came to urge our wares on their attention. The third time the proposal should come from Europe, and the conference should meet on American soil.

ENGLAND is discussing the future of her agriculture with a good deal of apprehension. It looks as if the English people were about to retire from farming, or at least to give up all except a few specially profitable branches of it. It is true that a report submitted by two gentlemen whom the Agricultural Commission sent to investigate American competition, furnished some comfort to the English farmer, as it seemed to show that the cost of trans-

portation would give him sufficient advantage over his American competitor in a fairly good year. But their figures have been questioned successfully by other English authorities, who show that our West can put down wheat at Liverpool at 32s. 6d. per quarter of 480 pounds, a price with which England cannot compete in the best of years. As *The Times* puts it, "America promises, and evidently intends to do everything for us. . . . She has an area that for generations will be far ahead of the English demands. She has enterprise that never gives up, and ingenuity that is never baffled. She rejoices in the immensity of the problem, and the colossal scale of the necessary means. . . . On the other hand, there are serious disadvantages, . . . failures, disasters, and obstacles sufficient to discourage any one but an American millionaire with a mission to feed the world. . . . It is not so much the soil, the climate, or the vastness of the American continent that the British agriculturist has to fear, as the irrepressible energy, the boundless self-confidence, and the inexhaustible invention of the United States citizen." "Man and nature seem fairly matched in the United States. It remains a question whether man will carry the day in the prodigious task he has set himself to supply every English workman with his daily loaf, and every gentleman with his weekly sirloin."

Under this tense competition, the area of English farm land, already far too small for such a densely peopled island, is rapidly receding. In ten years it has decreased eight per cent., or from 17,096,000 to 15,650,000 acres, while in Ireland the decrease has been proportionally twice as great. We cannot regard such a change with any complacency, or rejoice in the prospect of its continuance. For England, as for ourselves, we desire that balance of the industries which is fundamental to national prosperity. Changes which drive an ever increasing proportion of the English people from the farms into the cities, that force them to work for wages which make their competition with other countries ruinous, are not an injury to England only, but to the world as well. And the risks of the proposed situation are to be taken into account. Suppose that England has ceased to produce grain, and that both our Northwest and Southern Russia, —where one may ride 1,700 miles between two wheat fields— should experience a vast failure of crops at the same time, or that

she had a war with one or both. The horrors of the situation in England would be beyond conception. In the long run, England would find it best to grow her own wheat, as she is perfectly competent to do. She should not put it into the power of the Chicago speculators to add to the price or diminish the size of her artisan's loaf.

It has been remarked, in connection with the present war in Afghanistan, that the Irish furnish an unusually large proportion of the officers in the British Army. Sir Louis Cavagnari, whom the Afghans murdered in Cabul, was an Irishman. So is General Roberts, whose march in Candahar is described as being "as brilliant a military operation as has been undertaken since General Sherman's march." And in the less prominent posts, the proportion of Irish officers is far in excess of what might be inferred from a comparison of the population of the two countries. An American contemporary tries to explain the fact by remarking that Irish people of family retain a prejudice against mercantile and manufacturing pursuits, which has disappeared in England and Scotland. It does not seem to have remembered that the conditions which stripped these pursuits of their ill repute in England and Scotland, do not exist in Ireland. *Nummus non olet*. That which leads to wealth, causes no social exclusion. But in Ireland there are no manufactures to speak of, and very little commerce. There is therefore nothing to tempt the people with a pedigree to stoop to such employments. And this, confessedly, is not the fault of the people, but of their English rulers. "Their industries," says *The Spectator*, "had been destroyed, one by one, with the single exception of linen, by the cruel jealousy of English landlords, English manufacturers, and English tradesmen." And it might be added that their partial revival was crushed after the infamous union by English free traders. The only career open to a young Irishman of family, if he does not incline to the church, is in the army; and the only career open to the poor Irishman is to fight for the use of a bit of land, or leave his country. *Nulla regis nostri non plena laboris*.

THEY have been having an election in Canada, there being a vacancy in the representation of West Toronto. No pains were spared to make it a test case as regards the popular opinion of the

Protective Tariff. *The Globe* teemed with leaders, letters, speeches and poetry in which the voters were implored to save themselves from imminent ruin, by rebuking the policy of the Government; and *The Mail* was just as eager on the other side. Each party staked a great deal upon the result in the small constituency, and each sent their best speakers into the field. Mr. Blake, the leader of the Opposition, and Sir Leonard Tilley, the Canadian Minister of Commerce, both took part in the campaign.

The voting took place last Monday, and the spirited nature of the canvass was shown by the fact that 4,035 votes were polled. Of these, Mayor Beatly, the Government and Protectionist candidate, had an absolute majority of 221 over all his competitors, and a plurality of 317 over Mr. Ryan, the Free Trade candidate. Something was due to the fact that Mr. Ryan was a Catholic; but, after all drawbacks, the result furnished a distinct endorsement of the Tariff policy of the Dominion by one of the principal commercial centres of the country. For a year past, the Canadian Liberals have been proclaiming that there has been a great reaction against the Tariff of 1879; but the result in Toronto refutes their prophecies and casts doubt upon their understanding of the situation.

In the seaboard provinces there is much more dissatisfaction with the political situation, but this is due rather to local circumstances than to any public opinion against the tariff. Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Prince Edward's Island were brought into the Confederation against all their interest and the deepest of their convictions. They now regret that they did not stand out, as Newfoundland did. They have nothing in common with the old Canadian provinces. They have many close affiliations with our own Eastern States. If they are neither to stand alone as separate colonies, nor come into the Union, they should have formed a seaboard confederation. All the pledges which induced Nova Scotia to join the Dominion have been kept to the ear but broken to the hope. The duty on coal is not high enough to divert Canadian buyers from the Pennsylvania to the Nova Scotian supply. The Inter-colonial Railroad has been built and then allowed to go to ruin. The promise to make Halifax the winter port of the Dominion is one which cannot be kept in time of peace. Commerce and travel will always seek Portland or Boston or New York when the St. Lawrence is frozen, to avoid a longer journey by

rail through a frozen wilderness. Seaboard affairs are neglected at Ottawa. Hence the discontent among the "blue noses," who would prefer now almost any fate, not excepting "annexation to the United States," to their present situation. Let us assure them that "annexation" they cannot have; admission into the Union as our equals might not be impossible, if once they had a peaceful divorce from their present unequal marriage. But we mean no conquests in that or any other direction.

CANADA seems to have finished her bargain with English capitalists, and her railroad to the Pacific is to be built. This enterprise is commercial in form, but political in character. Were there no political frontier running from Lake Superior to Vancouver's Sound, no one would think of running a railroad north of that line. Such a railroad must run, it is conceded, through at least 630 miles of absolute and uninhabitable wilderness before it reaches any region capable of cultivation. It then strikes Manitoba, a district of exceptional fertility, but with the drawback of six months of a winter so severe that the preservation of stock and the supply of fuel are serious problems. It will then enter upon a purely problematic region in the Rocky Mountains, for whose character and capabilities no one can vouch. Last of all it reaches British Columbia, a country which possesses at any rate no advantages beyond those of our own Washington Territory, and which must long wait for a development in wealth and population sufficient to require such a road.

There is little said as to the terms of the bargain Sir John Macdonald has made with the Canadians. Of course the London capitalists have acted upon purely commercial considerations in accepting. What the considerations were which Sir John was able to present, we do not know, nor are we told whether their acceptance of his offer is conditional, or categorical. The opposition papers have some excuse for suggesting that this silence is suspicious. It is possible that the Dominion has guaranteed a dividend, which the road will not earn for centuries to come. It is certain that the Dominion must have offered them an immense grant of land along the line of the road, thus creating a land monopoly still more extensive than any of recent origin in America. This policy of tying up land in the hands of corporations is a bad one for

both countries; but it might not be so objectionable, in this instance, if the building of a Canadian Pacific railroad were really required by the business of the country. But it is not so. The proposed road is precisely on a par with that which runs through the wilderness between Nova Scotia and the upper provinces, whose construction and maintenance has been a dead weight on the revenues of the country, and whose condition has been allowed to deteriorate, on the plea of economy, until hardly a train gets through without an accident. Both roads have been undertaken, not because they would pay, but because the promise to build them had been used to induce colonies to enter the Dominion. The great difference between them is that the Eastern one was constructed and is run solely at the public expense, while the Western, after being in small part thus constructed, is to be finished by a private company. And the curious thing is that the Canadian premier has been able to induce any private company to undertake it.

Two things are weighing against the Democrats in the present campaign. The first is the solid South. It is in the minds of a great many people who do not speak much of it, who hardly care to give utterance to the apprehensions which are associated with the thought. Even were the negro disfranchised in law as in fact, and if no question had ever been raised as to the method by which the existing majorities had been created in the Southern States, it would still remain a most ominous fact that the States so lately in rebellion are expecting, with the aid of a small fragment of the North,—of New York city chiefly—to resume control of the Government. If the memories of the war had past away, and entirely new issues had occupied the political field, the fact might not be so ominous. But it is not so. The Southern whites have not allowed those memories to disappear. They are fighting, as Senator Hampton reminded the Virginians, for just the principles for which Lee and Jackson fought. They are fighting for State Rights, under the new name of Home Rule. They do not now mean secession, not that they regret having tried secession, but because they have found it impossible. They mean to minimize the national authority until there shall be little more than biennial elections to remind them of their relation of the Union. They mean to obliterate, if not the recent

Amendments, at least all the legislation adopted to give legal effect to those Amendments. They mean to check the growth of national feeling, and to turn back the hands of the clock, as far as may be, to where it stood in 1861. They mean to make it the current and legally recognized theory that the United States are not a nation, but a Confederacy of sovereign States, whose central government is merely a big committee, which, even in the greatest emergencies, shall do for its own preservation nothing that is not authorized by the letter of the Constitution. And the Northern people, knowing that the war settled more questions than the right of secession, and that the spirit which organized the victorious armies was that of *national unity*, does not mean that the 240,000 soldiers who laid down their lives in that spirit, shall have died in vain.

THE second thing which is telling heavily against the Democracy everywhere in the North, east of the Mississippi River, is their Free Trade programme. Hewitt, and Wallace, and Randall, and Forney may try to rub out that blot on the platform, but they have no authority for their private interpretations, by which they seek to explain away the avowed purpose of their party. The South means Free Trade. Since 1876 it has always meant it. And the South forms the overwhelming majority of the Democratic party. So long as the Democrats control Congress, the South controls Congress. It can dictate any policy it pleases in the party caucus at Washington. It can dictate the election of a Speaker who will constitute the Committees of the House in a Free Trade sense. It can make a bill for the abolition of the Tariff a party measure. The theory that the real majority of the nation has its way, is subject to very serious drawbacks in practice. It is often, as in this case, the majority of the majority which governs, although itself a minority. Every Democratic Congressman sent to Washington to give the party a majority, helps to give the South a share of political power far in excess of that recognized by the Constitution and the Laws.

Before the great industrial communities of the North is placed this plain issue,—the preservation or the destruction of our manufacturing industries. Even those who believe it was unwise to create these industries by a protective tariff, and who believe that we could have attained them in some undefined and unexampled

way without one, shrink from the proposal to destroy them by enacting "a Tariff for revenue only." They remind us that a steady persistence in any legislation on such subjects is preferable to sudden or great changes, even though these be from what is worse in the abstract to what is better. But the South has no shrinking. Under the long regime of slavery, the Southern States, with exception of Georgia, became so accustomed to a purely agricultural existence, that they have little ambition for any other. They have no part in the national pride with which our people regard the growth of great manufactures, and their improvements in method under American hands. The State Rights poison has so infected them that they regard the Northern workmen as no nearer them than foreign workmen. Minneapolis is no more to them than Leeds, nor Pittsburgh than Birmingham. And the lessons taught them by slavery, that all labor is servile, menial and disgraceful, prevent their entering into any of the ambition and the pride which are associated with the victories of the workshop. A Democratic victory will give the control of our industrial policy into the hands of this section,—of a people more like Peruvians than Americans in their attitude toward all such questions,—a people fitted for Free Trade by the absence of industrial skill and ambition of every sort. And to attain this they look for help merely to the poor whites of Southern Indiana, and the poorer whites of New York city.

PRESIDENT HAYES has done well to call attention to the extent of illiteracy in the Southern States, where there are four millions of people, of or over school age, who can neither read nor write; and to add that ordinary prudence, apart from any higher consideration, suggests that the nation shall do something to make an impression upon this mass of ignorance. He quotes from Dr. Ruffner, Superintendent of the Public Schools of Virginia, who appeals for aid to the schools of the South, on the ground that those States are too poor to do the work themselves, and therefore have a claim to national assistance.

That the South has fallen behind in the march of intelligence, as well as in the development of its resources, and that it no longer holds the same relative position that it did a century ago, is but too evident. There are those who insist that, as this is owing

purely to the faults and sins of a civilization based on slavery, and that, as the Southern people chose to ruin their section by the maintenance of that institution, they should be left to reap the fruits of their own doings, or, at least, that they should receive no especial favors from the national government. These people believe that the nation should deal equally with every section, and they would withhold every favor from the South which is not extended equally to the North. This may be all right in point of abstract justice, but it is neither Christianity nor common sense. Christian feeling prompts an especial care for the weaker members of society, without so much as asking whether they owe their sufferings to their own fault or otherwise. Common-sense suggests that we are all one country, and must pull along together, and that the poverty of any one section must work against the prosperity of the rest, besides furnishing a perpetual source of local disaffection. England treated Ireland according to her idea of what equal justice was, and we want no Ireland within our borders. Whenever the nation can contribute to advance the general welfare of the South, the money needed will be a good investment, whether it go for public schools, or Mississippi improvements, or public works of a clearly profitable sort. Against mere jobs to spend the nation's money locally without prospects of any adequate return, the Government should set its face; as also against spurious claims growing out of the war. Whatever is done should be from motives of pure good will and on grounds of public utility.

Senator Hoar's bill for the creation of an educational fund to be disbursed for ten years in proportion to illiteracy, and to be confined to those States which provide for the public education of all classes of their citizens, seems to meet the want, so far as educational machinery is needed.

WE are surprised to see that the Board of Education are still silent as regards the need of an Inspector of Schools in Philadelphia. Ours is the only school system we know of that is not under the personal supervision of such an officer. And the consequence is that there is nowhere anything like uniformity of spirit and method in our schools, even when the course and the text-books are the same. In some places the work is done so well as to exclude criticism; in others, especially the outlying districts,

there is the greatest need of faithful and careful supervision to keep the teachers up to their work in the best way. The Board of Education is, as regards its composition, like Jeremiah's basket of figs; it contains some of the best and some of the worst material in the city. There are men in it like Edward T. Steel whose one motive is to bring our school system up to the highest possible efficiency. And there are men in it like William J. Pollock, whose business in the Board is to look after a part of the city's political patronage, and to see that whatever is done, will be for the good of the party. It is, therefore, not so hopelessly bad as the Board of Guardians of the Poor, which contains not a single man who is fit for the place.

But if it were the best Board of Education in the world, it could not exert the steady, personal pressure which a good superintendent would, in inspiring the teachers with wise ideas, and in counteracting the fatuity of the Ward Boards of Directors.

Just a week ago, our valued friend and contributor, Professor S. S. Haldeman, was gathered to his fathers. We hesitated to give utterance to the high estimate we had of his worth, but we find in the *Boston Advertiser* what his friends will feel to be no more than his due:—

“The late Professor S. S. Haldeman was an unusually active and many-sided naturalist, and his name is alike honorable in the natural history of America as in that of Anglo-American philology and general linguistics. In natural history he has published several hundred memoirs, and American biology is a good deal richer for Haldeman's contributions. The Pennsylvanians in particular owe it to themselves not to let the merits and the great activity of Haldeman be forgotten. His contributions to philology are uniformly excellent. His little treatise on English affixes is a model performance and so practical as to make it highly valuable to students, writers, colleges and even high schools. His little essay on Pennsylvania German is still the best on the subject, and possesses permanent value. Professor Haldeman's Trevelyan prize essay contains many new analyses of spoken language, while his system of expressing sound has become obsolete through Bell's “visible speech.” On the pronunciation, spelling and etymology of English, Professor Haldeman was probably the best scientific authority. He was less eminent in the historical and syntactic portions of English philology. He had some little hobbies, among

them that of spelling reform, and possibly he was at times dogmatic. But as a naturalist he ranks high, and as a scientific linguist he was the first in this country. He took part in the Boston meeting of the American Association a fortnight ago. Hence his death must have been quite sudden. American scholarship thus loses an enthusiastic, laborious and altogether brilliant representative."

OUR Society for Organizing Charity is discussing the question, "What shall we do with the Tramps?" As its ward organizations are designed to take care of the localized poor, they leave this class of persons out of their care; and it falls to the general society to see that they are provided for. As was natural, the Society turned its attention first to the House of Correction. The theory of that institution is that it provides a home and employment for all those who are not meritorious members of society, and yet do not belong to the criminal class. But as it is actually managed it serves no such purpose. Its managers retain or dismiss those who are committed at their pleasure; and it has been alleged that, in making this selection, they prefer to retain those whose industrial education best fits them to contribute to the industrial success of the establishment; a good-for-nothing is dismissed, whatever detainer may be lodged against his name, while a mechanic who has not been able to give an account of himself, or who has beaten his wife while drunk, is kept. The managers allege, perhaps justly, that they have not the resources necessary to accommodate all who are sent there; that they must make, and are authorized by law to make, some discrimination; and that the selection they make is that which commends itself to their judgment. Whether in this selection they are aiming most at the moral reform of their wards, or at a financial success in managing the House of Correction,—in other words, whether they are following the sound policy of our Eastern Penitentiary, or the unsound policy of its Western rival—we are not able to say.

We venture to suggest that the detention of vagrants after this fashion is itself open to question. Although a small proportion of this unfortunate and degenerate class of men have stooped to criminal acts, the vast majority of them have no affiliations with the criminal class. And to treat them as criminals, to force them into associations with persons who have been guilty of even the lesser offences, of which the House of Correction takes cognizance, can-

not but be morally injurious to them. Even their forcible detention in large numbers, without such associations with other classes, is open to objection, as giving the worst members of their fraternity an opportunity to corrupt the rest. Our severe Pennsylvania laws are thus a source of danger, when they are enforced as in Bucks and other counties, by shutting a dozen or a score of these people into a single cell, men and women together. We are manufacturing outrage and incendiarism for the whole country. Those laws are an outgrowth of that utilitarian theory of punishment, which abandons the idea of a just retribution whenever the public has a scare, and inflicts outrageous penalties as a measure of insurance.

It is also objectionable as tending to gather them together in numbers which are unmanageable. It builds a dam across an undesirable stream, which is flowing along our great routes of travel, and which is thus collected into a single reservoir of foulness. The tramp routes are now well known as the great arteries of railroad traffic. They cannot be changed from those lines; and any town or city on these channels of vagabondage can ensure itself more than its fair share of the vagabonds by ordering their seizure in transit. If any good came of this,—if the tramps were reformed by the treatment they received,—the procedure would be more than excusable; it would be a duty. But if it only tends to their farther degeneracy, and thus helps to make them more dangerous to the residents of isolated farm-houses, it is surely neither wise nor expedient to continue this policy.

Some cities, such as Boston and Pittsburg, follow a different policy. They entertain the tramp in an inexpensive manner for three days, to give him the chance to find work if he really is seeking it, and then let him go his way to other regions. Boston does it in a sympathetic and considerate fashion, which is characteristic of the city. Her Wayfarers' Lodge is a model of good sense and kind feeling, and the tramp who accepts its hospitality must have fallen deeply, if he does not come away more self-respectful as well as cleaner. Pittsburg adopts a rougher fashion, feeds them on less attractive fare, and takes less care of the outerman, but provides them with daily worship, in which they take part with gusto. Our own city has no place which properly corresponds with these, but we greatly need one. The wretched cellars in

which we lodge our masses of misery under the station-houses are a public disgrace, which our police authorities would rejoice to see abolished.

A writer who has given much attention to the manner of life pursued by the tramps, and has studied them individually and as a class, discusses the Pittsburg arrangement as follows:—

“ It has been often questioned if the resort be not a detriment to the city, and an inducement for the fraternity to rendezvous there. But this is not good reasoning. The tramps would come whether the ‘home’ were there to receive them or not, and it is far better to have two hundred and fifty impecunious—and frequently lawless men—stowed safely away at night, than have them thrown loose upon the city. It is a difficult matter to make tramping a crime, for it would make poverty criminal. The suggestion that jails and work-houses should receive them is pernicious in the extreme. Reformatory institutions turn out finished law-breakers. They generally reform a man of what little good there may be in him when he enters them. The great majority of tramps have not the *nerve* to commit a crime, though they had the inclination. They are a poor, weak, purposeless, cowardly set of vagabonds, whose most heinous offence consists in “jumping” a train, or perhaps purloining some trifle of food. They shrink from committing acts that will bring them before that terror of terrors,—a police court. But a term in the State’s prison or work house turns out quite a different individual. As tramps, they still have latent hopes (however futile) of some day recovering a membership in good society. As prison graduates, this hope has left them, and they look viciously upon life. As an evidence of this, it will be found that three-quarters of the tramps arrested for unlawful acts, are released convicts.”

EMINENT WOMEN OF THE MIDDLE AGES.

ON a fertile plain watered by the tributaries of the Po, stands near the base of the Apennines, one of the most ancient cities in the world. Founded by an Etruscan King in an era whose history has long been lost, Felsina, after the expulsion of the Gauls from Italy, became Bononia, and when the Italian was formed, Bologna. Beside her, Rome, "the eternal," is a comparatively modern town, and during the milleniums that have passed since her foundations were laid, almost all the existing records of men have been written. The vicissitudes that she has experienced, mark the more prominent epochs of authentic history. Alarm trumpets from her watch-towers signalled the approach of Roman legions under the republican Consuls, and summoned her garrison, in vain, to repel the Lombard assault. Her citizens watched from their walls the retreat of Alaric, and fled through their dark arcaded streets before the broad-swords of the Franks. Within her marches, Octavius, Anthony and Lepidus settled the terms of the second Triumvirate, and the courts of many of the later Cæsars were held in her palaces. As a free Imperial city under Charles the Great, she who had witnessed the rise and fall of the Western Empire, saw also the establishment of that greater and more enduring power, the Latin Church.

But her eminence in antiquity and arms is not her greatest glory. During the most disastrous period of the middle age—throughout that time of terror and desolation, when all the hosts of Europe were dying the waters of the Reno and the Savena with their blood, she supported the claim to intellectual supremacy that her proud motto, "Bononia docet", asserts. Shifting dynasties and desperate factions left this unaltered. Popes and Emperors contended for her allegiance. Guelfs and Ghibellines, Commons and Feudatories warred within her, as the plebeians and patricians had warred in ancient Rome. The Pepoli, Bentivogli and Visconti, successively spoiled and oppressed her; but for nearly three centuries her position in this regard remained unquestioned. She alone pursued knowledge unshackled by the restraints of authority, and gave to mankind the results of a method that had then no parallel in all the world.

Towards the beginning of the XII. century an event took place in Italy that was far more important than the formation of the Lombard League, and exercised a much greater and far more enduring influence upon the interests of humanity than any other that occurred in the momentous period intervening between the death of Urban II. and the accession of Innocent III. The University of Bologna was founded!

Offspring of that wonderful era, whose scholars may without exaggeration be compared with those great voyagers of a later day, who sailed by routes closed for ages by superstition and fear, to find not only a new continent, but also to demonstrate the fallacy of consecrated opinions concerning the form of the world, the Universities of Paris, Bologna and Oxford in the XII., and of Padua, Naples, Salamanca and Montpellier in the XIII. centuries, were not only the centres where the new spirit of mental activity manifested itself, but likewise the sources whence flowed every stream that irrigated the desert of the human understanding.

Like all other great and beneficent things on earth, the universities arose silently. In the chantry of the Church of St. Genevieve at Paris, as in many similar places throughout Europe, instruction in the Trivium and Quadrivium had been given by ecclesiastics for an indefinite period. At length, through the action of causes so general and so complex that they are beyond analysis, these schools failed to meet the existing intellectual requirements. There were—as it soon appeared—thousands of students who needed something more than the grammar, logic and rhetoric of the Trivium—than the arithmetic, geometry, music and astronomy of the Quadrivium. When we consider the manner in which these were taught, what distorted skeletons were presented as the complete and living forms of these sciences, it does not appear surprising that an era in which the spirit of inquiry first manifested itself, should have exhibited the results of this dissatisfaction, this mental craving and unrest. By a law that lies deep in the psychological structure of society, and whose operation supplies a necessary condition of intellectual evolution, no such feeling *can be* general, unless the means of gratification are at hand. Whenever among men thought struggles in darkness, there are also those who can bring it to light. Gifted with “the vision and the faculty,” they see and they comprehend. Of those dim and diffused ideas that

perturb and shake the masses, they are the interpreters. Some to the extent of their age's capacity, who become its exemplars—Some beyond it, who are the martyrs over whom posterity mourns.

When Anselm of Laudun and William of Champeaux separated themselves from the formal and incomplete instructors of St. Genevieve, and began their lectures in the School of Arts, the University of Paris and the scholastic philosophy commenced their existence. Another seat of learning arose beyond the Alps somewhat later, but its character differed greater from that of its prototype. In the intellectual monotony then prevailing, it may well be doubted whether there existed, contemporaneously, centres of thought more widely separate in their aims, more strongly contrasted in their tendencies, than the institutes of Bologna and Paris. Both contained revolutionary elements, but the latter originated a purely speculative revolt ; one that was amenable to syllogisms, and yielded to the power of dialectics. The great nominalistic and realistic controversies originating between Roscelin and Anselm, absorbed the faculties of cis-Alpine students, and whatever opinions on other subjects remained unsettled were finally disposed of by Albertus Magnus and St. Thomas Aquinas, Ockham, Duns Scotus and Bonaventura. All but Abelard wasted their strength on words, and lost themselves in logomachies that have had but one good consequence, that of increasing the compass and precision of the modern languages. There was, indeed, hidden below the surface of society, and unsuspected by the disputing doctors of the schools, another revolution commencing at this time,—one that owed nothing to the philosophico-theological ideas with which Gottschalk and Erigena had already disturbed the peace of the church,—a revolt that broke out prematurely a century later among the Waldenses, Umiliati and Albigenses. But this was due to a reconstruction of common belief under the influence of emotion, was far more dependent upon faith than reason, and is foreign to the purpose of this paper. Far different from those that appeared in France, were the results of the studies prosecuted at Bologna. For the first two hundred and fifty years, this institute was pre-eminently a law school, and had no regular chair of theology. Within those walls devoted to the restoration of Roman jurisprudence, there occurred but few of the endless and profitless disputes, that elsewhere distorted the gene-

ral mind, until a natural tendency of mankind to construct formulas, and remain satisfied with them whether they convey ideas or not, was exaggerated into a passion for definition, and throughout Europe, wherever the scholastic dialectics prevailed, men insensibly began to regard words, not as the "counters of thought," but as if they possessed some inherent power and significance of themselves. This ended in their reverencing, in many instances, unthinkable propositions—that is to say, propositions whose terms cannot be represented in consciousness under the relation said to exist—as the savage reverences his fetich; for the same reason, and in the same way.

Civil law, revived at Bologna, but whose study was prohibited at Paris by a bull of Honorius III., was the principal means by which the political and social systems of Christendom were reconstructed. Bologna was as much its home in the modern world as Rome was in the ancient, and Irnerius stood in very much the same relation to the codes of the middle age that Tribonian did to the system of law from which these were derived. Roman legislation had never become entirely obsolete in Southern Europe; but the "Breviary" of Alaric, rudely and imperfectly compiled from the Theodosian statutes, bore a resemblance to its original, similar to that existing between the ordinances of the later Empire, and the complete codification of the whole body of Roman law in the "Institutes," "Pandects" etc., of Justinian. Something of the spirit of republican Rome, some vestiges of the public virtue to which she owed her greatness, lingers in the latter; but when the former were framed, the memory and sentiments of the earlier and more glorious epoch had been alike effaced. Italy, in common with the rest of Europe south of the Alps, was under the influence of a new and benign power, and doctrines had interpenetrated and changed the populations of the Roman provinces, that were as antagonistic to those actuating the conquering Empire, as the principles and discipline of its legionaries were to those of a crusader or a monk:

Centuries of rapine and violence passed away, while mankind besotted with ignorance, superstition and vice, presented but one monotonous picture of incapacity and wickedness. At length, in the library of the old Capitol of the Exarchate, in ancient and war-worn Ravenna, a part of the Justinian code was discovered.

The day when this was brought to light was the most memorable in the political history of the modern world. What more impressive illustration could be selected, of a truth too often disregarded,—that the effects of any act can never terminate in its immediate consequences, than the resurrection of these forgotten volumes. We know with certainty that the light which streams through our windows into night, is not lost in its gloom; but though no human eye can trace its course, that it flows on in ethereal waves beyond the atmosphere of the earth, across the eternal darkness of inter-planetary spaces in undulations as equal as if they only had broken the universal repose, on beyond the reach of thought and the limits of imagination. But by what process could mortal intelligence have foreseen the results of this discovery? Who could have divined that into the great struggle between Church and State, then convulsing the world, an element had entered that would render its issue no longer doubtful,—that a principle had been introduced into medieval civilization which was destined to modify, and finally to change, the whole existing order of affairs,—not only to alter the external and apparent features of governments, but so to re-adjust the citizen's relation to society and the executive, as no fancy, even the wildest, could then have conceived to be possible.

When Irnerius and his colleagues began their lectures at Bologna, Europe was well nigh in a state of anarchy. Every nation was suffering from the evils that arise from a divided and disputed allegiance. The claim to autocracy made by Rome, although it occasioned civil war and rebellion everywhere, found no opponents but the German Emperors powerful enough to withstand it, and the wars that followed the recusancy of these monarchs were among the most disastrous that history records. Within two centuries this question was settled for ever. The Roman law that had been revived at Bologna, in the hands of such men as Peter Flotte, Enguerrand de Martigny, William de Hogaret, and William de Plasian, so used the doctrine of pontifical supremacy in temporal affairs, during the dispute between Philip le Bel and Boniface VIII., that it was never again revived to the extent of seriously inconveniencing any government in the exercise of its functions.

It was during the period when the European intellect, rousing

itself from the torpor that had benumbed it for centuries, began to exhibit the first indications of returning energy, that women commenced to play an important and often a distinguished part in the revival of learning and the restoration of that science which was destined to revolutionize the world.

There would be no difficulty in translating biographical and critical notices of these ladies, and presenting them in the order of their respective dates. But this would give but a poor and insufficient view of the subject. We have, therefore, preferred to show, as far as our limits will permit, the circumstances under which this anomalous alteration in established usage occurred, to explain, if possible, how it happened that in the bloody and chaotic period, between the twelfth and fifteenth centuries, women were permitted to occupy positions that all precedents, as well as the dominant tendencies of society, discouraged them from aspiring to,—in a word, to indicate the general condition of Italy when Accorsa Accorso was Professor of Philosophy at Bologna, and when Bettisia Gozzadini taught law to ten thousand students from every part of Europe, and the lovely Novella d'Andrea, the instructress of Petrarch, lectured on the decretals, addressing her classes from behind a veil, lest her exceeding beauty should absorb their attention in the speaker to the neglect of her subject. Profoundly learned in all the knowledge of their day, these and others have every claim to be ranked among those illustrious persons to whom we are indebted for the first fruits of that harvest which now offers to us its measureless abundance. They were great in their time, and their greatness was fully recognized. The question is, how they were allowed to become so, and whether the explanation of the fact has any significance for us.

The twelfth century passed in an unbroken series of polemical and political conflicts. Opening with that great triumph of the first Crusade, the establishment of a Latin kingdom in the East, it nevertheless witnessed wars as destructive to men's faith as the result of the former had been corroborative. All Christendom was distracted by contests between the Emperors and Popes, of which the right of investiture was the pretext, and the nascent tendency towards the secularization of politics, the cause. But an ordinary amount of discernment was necessary to detect the fact that there were higher questions at issue than the extent of the

papal or imperial prerogatives. It is now impossible to estimate adequately, the depth and intensity of the feelings excited, when a nation was called upon to decide which of two claimants of the triple crown was the veritable successor of St. Peter, or to which of the antagonistic powers, the government or the church, their temporal obedience was due. Henry V., supported by a Roman mob, disavowed Gelasius III., and set up an anti-pope. The contested election of Innocent II., and Anacletus, divided every Christian country west of the Danube and the Dardanelles into factions who protested that their salvation depended upon the accuracy of their judgment in this matter. While among all nations but the Italians, a rosary blessed by the Supreme Pontiff was held as but in one degree less sacred than a relic, Europe was appalled at the news that one Pope was a broken-hearted captive in the hands of the Normans, another a fugitive and exile, and that a third had been slain in the streets of Rome while leading an assault upon the Capitol. In the midst of horrors such as these, and while doubt and confusion afflicted the most faithful, even to the extent of provoking expressions of reprobation on the policy and conduct of the Holy See, at the hands of confessors and saints Adrian IV., revived by his legate—Cardinal Roland,—the claim of temporal supremacy at the Diet of Besancon. The consequence of this proceeding was the secession of the Empire. In Rome, the party of Arnold of Brescia was endeavoring to realize the hope that mocked its cruel and fickle populace for so many ages,—the restoration of the old republic. And thus, the century wore away. Rival popes, whose contradictory declarations confused the minds of believers, and confirmed heretics in their doubts. Excommunicated Emperors pouring their semi-barbarous soldiery through the Alpine passes upon devoted Italy. Riot, revolution and sacrilege in the Capitol of the Christian world. A succession of pontiffs, who pass as hurriedly and as vaguely across the page of history as the shadows of the kings passed before the eye of Macbeth. Henry II., exasperated by the intrigues of Thomas a' Becket, had carried the independent attitude of his predecessors almost to the extent of alienating England from Rome. Louis VII., a mere puppet in the hands of his feudatories and his priests, so vibrated between his fears and his faith, that he irreparably damaged and disgraced the orthodox party in France,

that had his feeble and vacillating adherence. Germany was in rebellion. Italy, filled with religious and political heresies, and rent by foreign and internecine war; doubt, anarchy and destruction prevailed everywhere. Worse, even, than all this, in the general opinion of that age, the infidels finally triumphed. The Kingdom of Jerusalem, upon which such splendid hopes were founded, had shrunk to the limits of a single city. In the ordeal of battle, the judgment of heaven was given against the faith, and the blood, the treasure, and the devotion of Europe were wasted and brought to naught. It was not in human nature that these violent assaults upon tradition and doctrine should pass without affecting the opinions of mankind. Apart from abstract theological dogmas, which were but little affected by these circumstances at that time, the XII. century may be regarded as the starting-point of that determined reaction against the ecclesiastical polity of Rome, which, after an almost unintermittent struggle during three centuries, separated Christendom into antagonistic congregations. We have nothing to do with the merits of the questions at issue; suffice it to say, that real or imaginary causes of dissidence existed, and that, wrongly or rightly, well or ill for their supporters, they were made effectual. We are satisfied to point out the fact that from these battles and controversies the right of private judgment emerged, a right which half the civilized world now exercises as if it had been always a plain and undisputed prerogative of the human intellect. In the mean time, while it was the rare and occasional exception for a Pope to pass his pontificate without being expelled from Rome, the Canon law was codified in the "Decretum" of Gratian, and the doctors of the Church were elaborating the metaphysical system which has yet the adherence of the greater number of Christians. In comparison with the strange inextricable entanglement of Roman law, feudal custom and barbarian tradition which afflicted mankind at this period, the ecclesiastical code has an undoubted advantage; and in cases where the interests of the hierarchy were not involved, it is probable that a clerical court was the fairest and best tribunal before which a cause could be brought.

It is, however, a mistake—though a very general one—to suppose that because an institution is good at one time, it must be equally so at another; or that any legislative system can be

framed that will anticipate the contingencies that social evolution involves. The Canon law was based on the decretals, and these were promulgated by an authority which, however justly it may claim infallibility, has never, at any time, pretended to foreknowledge. No element of civilization ever won its way to general esteem suddenly; no product of the human understanding ever commenced its existence under a completed form. The Greek fable of the armed Pallas springing from the brain of Jove, is not falser in the fact than in its inference. In order to accustom men to respect and appreciate civil law; to dispossess them of usurped authority, and make prevalent a belief in the efficacy of abstract principles of justice and equity, much time is necessarily required. The diffusion of these ideas from Bologna, and their augmentation from other sources is however distinctly recognizable in the XIII. century, especially so in the establishment of independent municipalities, and during the contests of non-proprietors with their feudal suzerains. It was because the restorers of Roman jurisprudence appreciated, with a sagacity which we cannot overestimate, the essential idea of this system, viz: Its impersonality and universal application, that they were enabled to disseminate far juster ideas of individual rights than had heretofore existed, and to furnish corporate bodies with a basis for resistance against encroachment, that soon made their positions impregnable. When we remember that the free cities of the middle ages were the nurseries of the commerce, the arts, the learning and liberties of the modern world, it will be difficult to exaggerate the services of those who supplied them with the only effectual barrier against monarchical, oligarchical and ecclesiastical oppression, and enabled them to conduct their defence upon principles that commended themselves to the common sense of mankind. What if history recorded the names of women who had assisted the Barons of England in framing the Great Charter, or who had advocated in the Council of St. Louis those political principles upon which the Pragmatic Sanction was based, or had been personally conspicuous in effecting the social revolution by which such families as the Albrizzi, Alberi, Adorni and Fregosi, took their places among the notables of Florence and Genoa? What if the information had come down to us, that St. Thomas Aquinas had possessed such colleagues in his labors, as Principia, Paula and Fretella were to

St. Jerome? And yet all the first instances of emancipation, from its tyranny of custom and tradition, were dependent upon the influence of a science that was studied and taught by women, with the most distinguished honor and success, while the latter example finds numerous parallels among the female scholars who aided in the restoration of learning, and whom the free spirit of antiquity they helped to revive, manumitted and raised to eminence.

Although it may not be given to discoverers of any kind to foresee the results of their enterprises, it has not been unusual to detract from their merit on this account. It would be but a blank and improbable assertion to say that the professors of Bologna had any definite intimation of the mighty consequences their labors were destined to produce. Yet, although their histories are in many respects sadly incomplete, and such as exist at all lie hidden in the depths of great libraries, we know enough of them to be sure that they were the pioneers of order in a chaotic world, and as such are the proper objects of the veneration of posterity. When the Hebrew youth in the Apocrypha declared that "truth endureth and is always strong;" that "it liveth and conquereth forever," he enunciated an apophthegm that all experience confirms. There is no truth which has not encountered opposition, there is none also that was ever destroyed. To the disorders and violent vicissitudes in Italian affairs that characterized the XII. century, succeeded the comparative quietness and peace that followed the election of a great man to the pontificate.

However history may accuse Innocent III. of conduct that was unbecoming to his character and office, there is no doubt either of the ability, or of the singleness of purpose with which he exercised the high functions committed to his charge. Young, noble and a Roman, possessed of all the learning that Paris and Bologna could confer, his resolved and fervent character, supported as it was by unusual mental endowments, placed him almost immediately upon the summit of earthly power. Circumstances and his own ability conspired to raise the Papacy to a position it had never before attained, and to confer upon himself an autocratic authority, such as none of his successors were able to revive. As chief of the new crusade preached by Fulk de Neuilly and Abbot Martin, he became the military suzerain of Europe. As the head of the Guelphs

in Italy, his influence overwhelmed the Ghibellines, and put an end to the war of factions. The tradition of the Cæsarean prerogative that had interfered so much with the designs of Hildebrand was now almost extinct. Germany was desolated by the conflict of Otho and Philip for the possession of the throne, and Frederick II. was a minor and his ward. He held the protectorate of Denmark, Bologna and Hungary. By their own acts, he was Lord-paramount of Leon, Aragon and Portugal. All the forces that Philip Augustus could muster were fully occupied in maintaining the monarch against the aggressions of his feudatories, and John of Anjou—soon to become his vassal—then ruled England by aid of the free lances of Flanders, Poitou and Brabant. Besides this conjunction of events, so favorable to pontifical supremacy, the Byzantine Empire was tottering to its fall, and there was hope that, with this catastrophe, the great schism of the Church might be brought to an end. Except in Rome itself, Innocent's power was almost unquestioned; but from that turbulent city the wars of the Scotti and Orsini expelled him, although he sought to pacify its fierce populace by giving up Viterbo to destruction, as his predecessor Celestine had given Tusculum.

Such were the general prospects which the XIII. century opened to the papacy, and if the pontificate of Innocent was subsequently disturbed by the outbreak of heresy in Germany, France and Italy, he wanted neither the energy nor the power to suppress it. It is unnecessary to state the tenor of those laws that were promulgated against the followers of Peter de Brueys, Tanchelin, Erwacher and Waldo, and systematized after the Albigensian war by the councils of Melun and Montpellier. They speak for themselves, and need no commentary from anyone. It is enough to say that, like all similar attempts to force a faith, they occasioned an immense amount of misery and failed in accomplishing their purpose. Ecclesiastical legislation presents in this regard a striking contrast to the civil law. While a disciplined army of churchmen were enforcing the statutes of the former in every country in Europe, the principles of the latter, essentially antagonistic to the predominance of personal authority, were growing stronger, and becoming more generally accepted with every year. While the policy of Rome preponderated in all courts, and her unity remained intact, the jurisprudence that was restored at Bologna diffused rev-

olutionary opinions throughout the most orthodox nations. It would now be almost impossible to determine perfectly the conditions of the progress of that civil system whose results have been so pre-eminently powerful in modifying modern history, but that its indirect effects, those which cannot be found in statute-books or state papers, were by far more important than their direct economic and political results, need scarcely be insisted on. How the profound sagacity of the Roman Curia failed to anticipate the more apparent consequences of the revival of pagan ideas, is a question that men will answer according to the extent of their orthodoxy or their culture. But the fact stands. No general opposition to the study was made by the Vatican, nor were its professors, as a class, made the subject of anathema. Popes and councils passed them by, and while individuals were selected for censure, the source of the evil was overlooked. Slowly and insensibly the minds of men accustomed themselves to believe that the state had certain inherent and indefeasible rights, which were grounded in the general sense of justice and the universal instinct of self-preservation. To the uncertain operation of an individual will, there succeeded the invariability of dispassionate principles; and from a code whose validity was dependent upon faith, men turned to one whose institutes were guaranteed by reason. For the chaos of medieval society, jurisprudence gradually substituted order. The spirit that took its rise from it, not only assured the citizen in the assertion of his rights as a member of the body politic, but in union with those republican tendencies that never become extinct among the descendants of the Teutonic races, it furnished them with an effectual protection against aggression, from whatever source this proceeded. Oppressed and bewildered nations were taught that power and right were not terms of convertible signification, and that the inextricable confusion and turmoil arising from the conflict of temporal and spiritual authority, was an evil to be abated at any cost. In demonstrating that the human intellect had already elaborated a governmental plan that answered the requirements of the greatest power the world had yet known, it elevated the standard by which mankind judged their own capacity, and encouraged them in the exercise of those faculties to which we owe everything that we possess. As was before said, women took a conspicuous part in the revival of learning, and had their reward

in the position they held during an era whose tendencies were generally towards their subjection.

If one studies to any extent the literature of the earlier part of the middle age, its most marked characteristic will be found to be the almost complete absence of talent. From the time when Boethius was a great philosopher, Cassiodorus a great historian, and Prudentius and Fortunatus great poets—from this last and lowest epoch of Roman letters, until the establishment of the universities, one nearly unbroken desert of mediocrity stretches its waste and arid expanse. A barbarous idiom in which it is difficult to recognize the language of Virgil and Tacitus, and a vicious rhetoric and redundant style, derived from the later Fathers, were copied with the servile exactness that the artists of the period observed in perpetuating the blemishes of Byzantine painting, and marked a school whose theologians were paraphrasts, whose historians were chroniclers, and whose poets for the most part were vulgar and conventional versifiers. The popular minstrelsy and folk-lore of this era has for the most part perished, and if we turn to its remains preserved in the Latin versions of the monasteries, and to the original compositions of the monks themselves, we are at once disgusted by their coarseness, and wearied by the monotonous abuse of the hierarchy which was the principal subject of their satire and invective. If one could believe the statements of these literateurs of the cloister—such, for instance, as are contained in collections like the “*Carmina Benedicto-Burana*”—there was no such thing as a good, or even respectable prelate. Rome was the source and centre of every species of iniquity, and from the head of the Church, down to his lowest subordinate, all were vile. Besides these dull and foolish lampoons, the reverend fathers produced an immense mass of fugitive literature which was circulated almost exclusively among their own order, and whose character is generally such as to render it altogether unrepresentable in these days of propriety and decency. We find little beyond this, of much merit, except the fragments of those early ballads from which the *Nibelungenlied* and *Arthur of Bretagne* originated, some Provençal versions of classic romance, various improvisations of *Cædmon*, the poetic celebration of *Ludwig the Stammerer's* victory over the Normans, and those memorial verses upon *St. Anno of Cologne*, that *Hegel* and *Bouterweg* have praised so highly. Genius, says Bacon,

must have the stuff to work with, and the twelfth and thirteenth centuries provided this material. The fall of the Byzantine Empire opened to Europe what remained of Greek culture, and made a few cities on the Mediterranean the commercial centres of the west. Chivalry and the Crusades originated a literature of their own. Oriental refinement and learning entered Spain with the Saracens, and gradually diffused themselves throughout the continent. The universities restored Latin to a greater purity than belonged to it under the later Cæsars, and also made a knowledge of classic authors comparatively general. More important still, the modern languages had been sufficiently formed to become the vehicles of thought, and the fatal restraint of an alien tongue was removed from the aspiring intellect of Europe. Contemporaneously with these events, and strikingly illustrating the truth of the profound remark that the classic and modern epochs touch each other, and that it is medievalism only that is antique,—Stephen Harding and St. Bernard effected a religious revival, that, starting from Clairvaux and Citeaux, restored discipline and devotion to all the convents and monasteries of Christendom. Coincident with the philosophical and political revolts led by Abelard and the jurisconsults of Bologna, was that counter-revolution following the foundation of the orders of St. Francis and St. Dominic. Every circumstance that could arouse dormant mental energy, or quicken faith into enthusiasm, combined to impress the general mind at this period, when, for the first time in modern history, conservatism and progress were opposed to each other on something like equal terms.

In the thirteenth century, ideas of liberty, altogether heathen in their origin, had become so prevalent in Italy, that Sismondi declares the spirit of the age to have been altogether republican. The spirit of the best eras of antiquity seemed to have revived. It was the age of great public works, carried on by municipalities, of private commercial enterprise, of the establishment of the Italian republics. Art was restored by Buonnano and Andrea of Pisa, Cimabue and Giotto. Knowledge became the object of general ambition, and the genius and learning of the middle age were consummated in the person of Dante.

During the great revival of reason and faith, of which we have sketched the outlines, the most eminent women—except the beatified virgins of the church—were found, in opposition to commonly

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received opinions on the tendencies of their sex, to be arrayed on the side of the former, and were found in the ranks of those scholars devoted to the gravest and most recondite studies. It is true, that when art, and especially painting, was emancipated from the formalism of the Byzantine school by the genius of Giunto and Guido of Sienna, and the mystic religious style of Fra Angelico and William of Cologne became prevalent, we find Lanzi giving the highest praise to Maria Van Oosterwyck and Properzia Rossi; that "poor loving girl," as Vasari calls her, "with whom everything succeeded but her unhapy passion." So, also, to the beautiful and inspired pupil of Guido, Elizabeth Sirani, and the gifted but unfortunate Aniella di Rosa. These were not all, however; there were female professors of Greek and Roman literature in Italy, who sent forth such students as Moritz Von Spiegelberg and Rudolf Agricola, to reform the instruction of Deventer and Zwoil, and prepare the way for Erasmus and Reuchlin.

Political events seem to have had but little influence upon the intellectual progress of that age, for it was during the disastrous period when Gregory IX re-asserted papal autocracy, and thus occasioned a series of conflicts that only ended with the death of the last of the Hohenstaufens on the scaffold, at Naples, that Cristina Pizani produced the nearest approach to a truly historical work that had appeared in modern times, and Catarina Pepoli and Isabella Riario, achieved an eminence in scholarship that gave them a European reputation. They were the predecessors of such women as Samaritana di Samaritani and Ippolita Paleotti, whose services in the cause of classic literature made them generally and deservedly famous, or of Anna Manzolini, who prepared the best anatomical museum then extant, and who was tempted to exchange her professorship at Bologna, by offers of additional honors and emolument from almost every continental court. Finally, of Isabella Dosi Grati, who has as just a claim to the distinction of being one of the founders of the Italian theatre, as Poliziano or the Cardinal Gonzaga. It is but a simple statement of fact to say, that in law, natural science and literature, women connected their names with those of the eminent men of that age.

When, by the labors of Irnerius, Martinus Gosias, Bulgarus, Placentinus and Acursius, the principles of Roman legislation had been expounded, and it had come to be acknowledged by a pow-

erful party that civil law was of equal cogency with ecclesiastical authority, the recoil from the blind submission of an earlier day, was, as is always the case, towards an opposite extreme. The emancipation of women from many of the restrictions of more barbarous times, was one of the best consequences of this movement, and was naturally exhibited in that country which first emerged from the darkness of medievalism ; that is to say, in Italy. To the same end, we may also add the universal influence of the adoration of the Virgin, who cast the protection of her divinity over her whole sex, and cleansed the polemical writings of modern times from those gross and puerile slanders of women, that disgrace the pages of so many of the Fathers. Chivalry did something for their cause, though far less than it professed. The sentimental refinement of the later Troubadours and the Trouveres exhibit, as a rule, far more ingenuity than feeling, and the metaphysical subtleties of the Arrêts d' Amour of Picardy and Languedoc, probably never caused a responsive emotion in any human being. The great cause of woman's elevation, amid the religious and social disabilities that then attached to her, was the influence exerted by Roman law and classic literature. Let us glance backward towards the past for a time. It is commonly said that the degree of civilization in any country may be ascertained from its treatment of women. This is true, but it is not the whole truth. A conventional respect for the sex may and has co-existed with an almost complete deprivation of their natural rights, and in the same way a speculative belief in feminine excellence may accompany a very low state of morality. Once, at least, in history, national advance in refinement and culture was coincident with female degradation. Greece was the scene of this anomalous social order. It was her heroic age, her poetic and traditional period, that furnished types of the ideal woman, which are the earliest and among the most perfect that literature preserves. But in the more enlightened era that followed, we look in vain for the counterparts of Penelope and Alcestis, Iphigenia, Antigone and Nausicaa. The wives and sisters of Argos and Attica are now secluded in the gynecœum, and if they are noticed in letters at all, it is in terms of reprobation and contempt. Those who have taken their places are the heteræ of Mytelene and Tenedos, Corinth and Abydos. It was Phryne whom Praxiteles' statue made

immortal—Lais whom Apelles painted—Aspasia who was the beloved confidant of Pericles, and Diotima and Leontium, of whom Socrates and Epicurus were the panagyrists, and Simonides and Pindar the poets.

The history of Rome reverses that of Greece in this regard. Under the republic, although the memory of Lucretia, Portia and Cornelia dignified the title of matron, women were in effect little better than slaves, and the ideas that prevailed concerning their character and estate were wholly utilitarian. The only ideal of womanhood then existing, was one that reflected the military virtues of a conquering race. But throughout every phase of her evolution, Rome exhibits in her statutes a constant improvement in the position of women. During the religious, social and domestic revolutions following the close of the Punic wars, they were legally manumitted. Subsequently, under the reign of the Cæsars, when the plunder of the world had glutted Italy with slaves and treasure, and the floral games, the pantomime and the circus blazoned the general depravity of manners, the condition of the sex steadily improved. In a country deluged with every imaginable vice, the intellectual appreciation of men became, despite of this, more just—and while the Flamens of Jupiter openly disregarded their vows when imperial authority had to be exerted in order to procure the requisite number of vestals, and at a time when *Bix* had become notoriously worse than *Daphne* or *Canopus*, laws were framed that assured women in their private and political privileges, and public acclamation elevated *Hortensia* and *Amasia* to the tribune of *Cicero* and the younger *Pliny*.

When the Western Empire fell, and *Gregory the Great* set the example of neglecting and despising its literature, the rights of women fell with it. No power was then left that could stem the tide of ignorance and superstition that turned so strongly against them. Not till the "age of faith" was over, and civilization revisited Europe, was there any amelioration of their lot. Then, with the recurrent flood of enlightenment and learning, they were borne back into honor, and placed to some extent beyond the reach of their adversaries.

Very imperfectly the position of women at different epochs has now been sketched. During the Middle Age there is no doubt of their eminence in many of those departments usually reserved for

men, and there is none also, concerning the full and general acknowledgement of their ability. This paper is not the plea of an advocate in behalf of any social theory, but at the same time its implications are obvious.

If enough has been said to induce somewhat less certainty respecting the organic incapacity of the female brain, and a little more modified assertion of woman's unfitness for any of the graver pursuits of life, it will have answered the purpose for which it was intended.

J. N. PORTER.

THE KALEVALA. II.

WHEN the feast was over, Wainamoinen sang, and was "the joy of the evening." At the end of the song he called down a blessing on the host and hostess, on their sons and their daughters.

The bride now gets ready to leave her father's house. There follows a long and very touching adieu to her old home. But first the mother, partly in grief, and partly in feigned anger, abuses her daughter for leaving her.

"Go my daughter, go my loved one,
Go my dove, the dove that's sold.
Now is come the hour of union,
Now the time to say farewell.
He who bears thee off is by thee,
Near the door he stands impatient.
Champs upon the bit the stallion,
Waits the bride the sleigh all golden."

"Why abandon thus your mother?
Why dost leave your native country?
Here you had no thought of trouble,
Here no care your heart to burden.
Cares were left to pines of forest,
Troubles to the posts and fences.
Bitter griefs to trees of marshes,
Sad complaints to lonely birches.
Like the leaf you floated onward,
Like the butterfly in summer—
Grew a bay, a beauteous berry,
In the meadow of your mother."

All this naturally affects the bride, who now begins to repent her marriage.

“ In my youth I foolish uttered,
 In the flower of age I murmured,
 ‘ In the mansion of my father,
 ‘ Neath the keen eye of my mother,
 I shall never be a woman,
 Till I’m married to a husband ;
 Then shall I become a woman,
 Then be taller by a hand’s span.’ ”

“ This, the object of my wishes,
 This, like fertile year I wished for,
 This, like beauteous summer longed for.
 Now, alas ! behold me married,
 Ready, now, to leave this mansion.
 What is this strange change within me ?
 No joy I feel to leave this mansion—
 No joy to quit my father’s meadows—
 Full of grief I leave his pastures.”

“ Now, to night of autumn go I,
 Slipping on a frozen pathway.
 Do all young women feel as I do ?
 Dark their hearts, and full of sorrow,
 Like the dawn the happy bosom,
 Like in spring the splendid sunrise.
 To what can I my sad thoughts liken !
 Like the shores of dreary waters,
 Like the borders of the black clouds,
 Like the dreary nights of autumn,
 And a sunless day in winter.”

The old nurse now comes forward. She draws a dreadful picture of the sufferings of the young bride in the house of her husband. The bride continues :—

“ Full the cataract of smooth stones,
 Full the sterile land of willows,
 Full the arid land of bushes,
 Fuller still my heart of sad cares.
 No stallion in the world could drag them,
 No iron-shod horse, how strong he might be,
 But bend his bow,* and break his harness,
 Loaded down with all my sorrows.”

Thereupon, a small boy, who is lying on the floor, comes in

*The bow over the collar, part of the harness in Finland and Russia.

after the manner of the Greek chorus. He gives the bride some good advice. He asks her, substantially, what she is crying about. She is not going to be carried off into a marsh, or thrown into a gutter. Her husband is a good-looking young fellow. He has a lovely sleigh, and plenty of horses and cattle, and barns full of grain. He is a great hunter, and a great warrior. What does she want more?

Then begins the lesson to the bride as to her conduct and duties as a married woman. Respect to her mother-in-law is especially inculcated. There is a pretty long list of her duties recited to her; enough to discourage any young bride. Then another old woman intervenes, and describes all the miseries of her married life. Then the bridegroom receives his instructions, and is told how he must treat his young wife. He is to thrash her only as a last resource, and not till after some years of marriage, and then only upon the back and shoulders, lest the villagers should see the marks, and ask her if "she has been to the wars, if she has been engaged in battles, has she been bitten by a wolf, or torn by a bear, or has she a wolf or a bear for her husband?"

Then an old man explains how he got the better of his wife, who was a termagant. He had only to show her the handle of the rod, and she threw herself upon his neck, and called him her "dear bird."

And now the bride bids a tender farewell to the family, to the house, the fields, the dogs, cows, trees, etc., etc., and mounts into her husband's sleigh.

The young girls and children cry after her:

"Came a black bird from the forest,
Stole our birdling, plucked our berry,—
Stole our fish, our beauteous salmon,
Enticed by coin, by piece of money.
Who will lead us to the cistern,
Who to draw the needful water?
Empty stand the pails and wash tubs,
Motionless within the dwelling.
Dirty are the floors and ceilings,
Black the plates, and green the kettles."

The bride is then brought home to the house of her husband, where she is received with the utmost attention. Her mother and sisters-in-law vie with each other in flattering her. All the neigh-

bors are convoked, and the feasting lasts several days. Wainamoinen sings one of his best runes in which he compliments the bride and bridegroom, the host and hostess, the bridesmaid, and the *coryphée*, or go-between as he may be called, the man who had arranged the marriage and afterwards acted as best man. The singer then complimented the company in general as the most "distinguished company" he had ever met with, and mounting his sleigh, returned home. The description of this marriage and of the feasts which followed it, fills several runes and brings us to the twenty-sixth.

It will be recollected that Lemminkainen, the "joyous hero," was not invited to the marriage of his friend. This he resented, and started for Pohjola to punish Louhi for the slight. He encountered many obstacles, but overcame them all by his prowess and the force of his magic. The last and most dangerous of his adventures was an encounter with a huge serpent. The serpent barred his way, and it was impossible for him to force it. Then he remembered the power of "knowledge" and told the serpent how he was produced, what was his "ignoble origin." This was too much for the serpent, and he uncoiled himself and glided off, leaving the way free. Hiawatha should have tried the power of knowledge in his encounter with the fiery serpents,

"Lying coiled across the passage
With their blazing crests uplifted,
Breathing fiery fogs and vapors,
So that none could pass beyond them"

The origin of the serpent, as told by Lemminkainen, is odd enough.

"Spat Syiyatar* in the waters,
Seven long years the spittle wandered,
Tossed by waves, then borne to mainland,
There 'twas found by nature's daughters,
Asked its meaning, what its purpose.
'Monsters must engender monsters,'
Thus the great Gumola said,
'If the breath of life I give it,
If I give it sight and hearing.'
Hiisi heard the words eternal,
Came, and breath of life he gave it.
Born therefrom the baneful serpent,
Born a reptile, black and noisome."

* The sorceress of the waters.

Lemminkainen having arrived at the house of Louhi in Pohjola, was badly received. He thereupon provoked a fight and killed his host Pohjalainen. Louhi evoked against him a whole army, and Lemminkainen wisely took to flight; literally so, for he changed himself into an eagle and so flew home. There he related his adventures to his mother, and she advised him to take refuge on a distant island, where his father had found refuge under similar circumstances. There he led a very "joyous" life, until finally the men of the island rose against him, and drove him away. He returned to his home, and found that his house had been burned down, and that his mother was wandering in the woods. He tells her what a charming life he led on the island.

"Bright the trees with purple splendor,
Glowed the fields with brighter blue,
Branches of the pine were silver,
Blossoms of the bushes gold.
Flowed the honey in the streamlets,
Rolled the eggs adown the mountain,
Dried up pine trees shed a sweet drink,
Milk the moss-clad spruces gave.
Butter from the walls we gathered,
Posts and fences gave us beer."

Lemminkainen now undertook another campaign against Pohjola. He sailed with an old companion in arms. But the queen of Pohjola sends Cold against him. Cold freezes in his ship, and very nearly disposes of him and his companion too. But Lemminkainen remembers again the power of knowledge, and tells Cold his origin, that he was born of "ignoble" parents, that the serpent was his nurse, etc., etc., till Cold gets enough of his family history, and only begs to be let off, promising not to interfere again with the warriors. This was agreed to.

But Lemminkainen had lost his ship in the ice. He then lost himself in the desert, and so gave up his expedition and returned home.

The poem now brings another actor upon the scene, Kullervo, the son of Kalervo. It appears that the tribes, or families of Kalervo and Hutamo, had been at enmity for a long time. Finally, the Hutamos exterminated the Kalervos, except an infant, whom they carried off with them. Finding him to be a most precocious infant, and dreading what he might become when he grew up, they tried

to kill him, but in vain. They put him into a barrel and rolled him into the sea. After three days they went to see if he was dead, and found him quietly sitting upon the waves fishing. Then they lighted an immense fire and threw him into it. He played with the live coals. Then they hung him to an oak. After three days they found him cutting figures upon the bark. Then they gave it up, and sold him to Ilmarinen.

Ilmarinen's wife, who, we may remember, was a Miss Louhi of Lapland, and at whose marriage we assisted, sent Kullervo into the forest with the cattle, but for his dinner she baked a loaf of rye bread and put a large stone in it. To avenge himself, Kullervo changed the cattle into bears and wolves, and drove them home. When Ilmarinen's wife went to the stable to milk them, they tore her to pieces. Kullervo thereupon ran away, and thus apostrophizes his hard fate :

“ Who did bear me, wretched orphan?
 Who begat me, wretched wanderer ?
 Others have a home to go to,
 Others have a welcome shelter.
 My abode it is the desert,
 The wilderness my only home.
 And North wind is my hearth-stone,
 Drenching rains my bath of vapors.”

After many wanderings Kullervo found his mother, who had after all escaped the massacre of the Kalervos with a part of her family. She informs him that his sister has been lost in the forest, and that she has searched for her in every direction, but without success.

“ Mothers most do weep their daughters,
 Mothers first do seek their lost ones.
 Like a bear I ranged the woodland,
 Like a marmot crossed the barrens.
 One day, two, and three I wandered,
 Then upon a hill I mounted,
 My daughter called, the dear departed.
 “ My child,” I cried, “ Oh ! daughter, darling !”
 To my cries the hills responded,
 To my tears the marshes answered :
 ‘ Cease, oh, cease to call thy daughter,
 Cease with cries the air to trouble.
 She can ne'er this life revisit,
 Never see her father's dwelling.’ ”

Kullervo remained a short time with his mother, but was constantly getting into trouble. Finally he starts on the war path to avenge the slaughter of his tribe upon the Hutamos, and exterminates them root and branch. Then, in a fit of despair and remorse for the many crimes he has committed, he kills himself. But first he addresses his sword, and asks it whether it would take pleasure in killing a man so full of infamies. The sword "intelligently" replied:—

"Why should I not the flesh devour,
Flesh of man depraved and wicked ;
Drink his wicked blood with pleasure,
Since I drink the blood of good men,
Eat the flesh of those who're guiltless?"

The episode of Kullervo carries us through the 37th rune.

We now return to Ilmarinen, the famous blacksmith. Having lost his wife, who was devoured by bears and wolves, as we may remember, and wept bitterly for her, he concluded to try his hand at forging a new one. For this purpose, he collected a large quantity of gold and silver, and after several unsuccessful experiments, forged a beautiful creature. But she was cold, so dreadfully cold, that when he was near her he was obliged to cover himself with blankets and bearskins. Thereupon he decided to make her a present to Wainamoinen. But Wainamoinen refused to accept her, telling his friend to send her to Russia or Germany, where the "rich and illustrious pretendents to her hand might dispute for her." It was not for him, or any of his race, to run after "a golden woman, a silver bride." Then he improved the occasion to give young Finland a lecture upon the impropriety of marrying for money.

"Never, oh! my son's beloved,
Never heroes, full of valor,
Whether rich or whether poor, ye
Never while this life shall lengthen,
Never while the moon endureth,
Never seek a golden partner,
Never seek a wife of silver.
Gold can never, never warm ye,
Silver's cold, though bright it glitters.

Having had such bad luck with his two wives, Ilmarinen returned to Pohjola in search of a third. Louhi refused to give him her second daughter, and the girl herself did not wish to succeed

her sister. Ilmarinen thereupon carried her off, but *en route*, he was not pleased with her conduct, and so changed her into a gull. He had at first thought of killing her, but his "intelligent" sword, understanding his threats, said to him, that it "had not been forged to exterminate women, to exile feeble creatures.

Returning home, Ilmarinen told Wainamoinen of the great prosperity of Pohjola, and ascribed it to the Sampo he had forged for Louhi. Wainamoinen proposed an expedition to carry it off. Ilmarinen consented, but stipulated that they should go by land. As they were mounting their horses they heard a wailing voice from the sea shore. On going to ascertain the cause, they found that it proceeded from Wainamoinen's favorite warship, which did not wish to be left behind. Wainamoinen asked it what it was crying about, whereupon the ship "intelligently" replied:

"As a young girl seeks a husband,
 Although she shares her father's home,
 So the ship would ride the sea waves,
 Though still shut up in lofty pine tree."
 "Other ships, though small, ignoble,
 Mingle in the bloody battle,
 See the savage play of broadsword.
 I was built for bloody battle,
 Formed my keel of planks a hundred.
 Yet I rot within the ship yard,
 Worms do eat my gaping broadsides,
 Birds build nests upon my mastheads,
 Croak the frogs on decks deserted.
 Thousand, thousand times more glorious
 Still to grow a pine on hill top,
 Still to be a tree on barrens,
 Where leaped the squirrel 'mid my branches,
 Bayed the bear hound 'round my deep roots."

This touched Wainamoinen's feelings. So he assured the lamenting ship that it should go to the wars with him. He left his horse and embarked with Ilmarinen. On their way they met Lemminkainen, who joined them.

No particular incident marked the voyage for two days, but on the third the vessel suddenly stuck fast. On looking over the side, they found that she was aground on the back of an enormous pike. Lemminkainen tried to kill the pike, but fell overboard, and was with difficulty dragged into the boat by the hair of his head. I!

marinen then tried it, but broke his sword. Then Wainamoinen killed the pike and released the ship. Of his bones he made a harp, "a source of melody, a source of eternal joy." Every part of the harp was constructed of the pike, except the strings. These were plucked from the tail of the courser of Hiisa, of whom we have heard before. All the great players of Finland and Lapland attempted to play upon this harp, but without success. Then Wainamoinen took it, and played with the same astonishing results which attended the performance of Orpheus.

"Wainamoinen touched the harp-strings—
 Every creature in the forest,
 Every beast that treads the woodland,
 On its velvet feet that boundeth,
 Hastes to listen to the harp-strings,
 To the music of the kantele.
 Leap the squirrels from the branches,
 Climb the hermines on the fences,
 O'er the plains the elands bounded,
 And the lynxes purred with pleasure.
 And the wolf came from the marshes,
 And the bear has left his covert,
 Left his lair within the pine wood,
 Leans against the dwelling's door-post.
 But the door-post yields beneath him—
 Then he climbs the pine tree's branches,
 Climbs to listen to the kantele.
 All the birds that fly in mid-air,
 Fell like snow-flakes from the heavens—
 Flew to hear the minstrel's music.
 Th' eagle, in his lofty eyrie,
 Heard the chant of Winamoinen.
 Swift he left his unfledged young ones,
 Flies and perches near the minstrel.
 All the daughters of the æther,
 Nature's well-beloved daughters,
 Listened all with wrapt attention.
 Some were seated on the rainbow,
 Some upon a cloud of purple."

This beautiful description of the harp, and of the magical effects of music, carries us through the forty-first rune.

In the forty-second rune our Finnish Argonauts reach Pohjola. Wainamoinen proposes to Louhi to divide the Sampo. She refuses and calls up her warriors. But Wainamoinen takes his harp, and

puts them into a sound sleep. Then he sews up their eyelids to ensure a long slumber. This done, he carries off the Sampo. Everything goes prosperously on the return voyage for the first two days, but then Lemminkainen, who appears to have been a noisy, talkative fellow, and not able to hold his tongue, insists upon singing, notwithstanding that Wainamoinen begged him not to do so; and told him that the sea was no place for singing, to wait till they saw their homes and heard "the creaking of their own doors." Lemminkainen sang, however, and sang in so loud and discordant a voice that he frightened a crane that was quietly "counting its toes" on an island some miles off. The crane flew at once to Pohjola, and woke up Louhi and her warriors. Louhi perceives that the Sampo has been stolen, and awakes the fog (Ilotar), and the evil spirit of the waters (Ikin-Jurso), and the storm, to destroy our Argonauts. The fog settles down upon the sea, but Wainamoinen cuts it in two with his sword, and disperses it. Ikin-Jurso raises his ugly head, but Wainamoinen seizes him by the ears, and makes him promise never to show himself again in those waters. Then came the storm, which did much damage and swept the kantele overboard. Ilmarinen became seasick, and wished he had never come to sea, as many have done both before and since his day.

"Perched upon a tree that rolleth,
Seated on a bench that staggers,
Wind is now my only refuge,
Wave is now my sole protector."

But Wainamoinen conjures the winds and the waves, and the storm subsides.

But Louhi had not done with them yet. She collected all her warriors, embarked them, and followed the raiders. Wainamoinen was equal to the emergency. He took from his pocket a piece of flint, and a piece of dried toadstool, and threw them overboard. They instantly formed a reef, and Louhi's vessel ran on it, and was wrecked. Louhi was not to be beaten in this way. She changed herself into an enormous eagle, and caught her army up in her talons. Having thus furnished them with transportation, always one of the most difficult problems in military movements, she followed in pursuit. Then ensued a very lively fight. The eagle lighted on top of the mast, and the vessel nearly capsized. The heroes drew their swords, and cut at the eagle's talons; but the

swords made no impression. A happy thought struck Wainamoinen. He seized the tiller. What particular virtue there was in the tiller I am unable to state, but its effects were surprising and satisfactory. Wainamoinen smashed all the eagle's talons except one little one, and the whole Lapland army fell from her grasp into the ship and were killed, or into the sea and were drowned. With the uninjured talon Louhi seized the Sampo, and threw it overboard; and this is the reason why the waters of Finland teem with fish, the Sampo brought wealth to the waters. Some of the lighter portions floated and were borne to land. Wainamoinen rejoiced at this, and said that henceforth Suomi would prosper. Louhi overheard this remark, and replied that she should see that it did not. She should send against it cold and hail, and bears and wolves. Wainamoinen replied:

“Powerless the Lapp to charm me,
Turjalainen* to destroy me;
Ukko only, Great Creator,
His hand only opes the portals;
Not the fingers of a mortal,
Not the hand of envious mortal.”

Wainamoinen missed his harp sorely. He told Ilmarinen to forge him an immense oyster rake. The teeth were, like those of the other rake we read of, 500 feet long, and the handle 2,500. With this rake he searched all the bays and inlets of the coast for his lost harp, but in vain. As he was returning from his fruitless search, low in spirits, and his hat on one side of his head, he heard some one lamenting. On looking for the cause he found a solitary birch tree.

“Why weepest thou, birch tree beautiful?
Why shed tears, oh! whitened girdle?
To the war thou hast not hastened,
Hast not mixed in bloody battle.”

The birch tree replied, and accounted for its sadness thus:

“Oft it happens, in the Spring time,
Cruel children throng around me,
Pierce me with their sharpened gimlets,
Tap the life blood that supports me.
Then in Summer come the shepherds,
Steal my white belt, make them scabbards,

*Inhabitants of Turja (Upper Lapland).

Make them drink bowls, make them baskets.
 Next the young girls throng around me,—
 Me the oppressed, me the wretched,—
 Of my twigs they make them bath-rods,
 Cut my branches for the hearth stone.”

“ Full of troubles is my poor life,
 Pale my face these days of suffering.”

“ Then the tempest brings fresh tortures ;
 Frost, it brings me bitter sufferings ;
 Wind, my green pelisse it snatches ;
 Cold, it steals my only covering.
 Exposed to all the taunts of Winter,
 Stands the solitary birch tree.”

Wainamoinen consoled the intelligent birch tree, and told it that he would make a new harp of it. This he did. He strung it with the hair of a love-sick maiden. We may imagine what plaintive sounds he must sometimes have drawn from an instrument constructed of such lachrymose material. But his first effort was of a different character.

“ Wainamoinen touched his kantele—
 Shook the mountains, rocks they thundered,
 Waked the echoes, stones they floated,
 Danced the pine trees, leaped the birches.

When he played within the forest,
 Bent the fir trees, pines saluted.
 When he played upon the meadows,
 Laughed the bushes, smiled the meadows ;
 And with joy the flowerets opened,
 And the young stalks nodded graceful.”

With this we finish the 44th rune.

In the 45th, Louhi, having heard of the birth of nine children in Hiiji's kingdom, Hades, named Pleurisy, Colic, Gout, Ulcer, Cancer, Plague, &c., &c., sends them to Finland. The people sicken and die in great numbers. But Wainamoinen prepares vapor baths, and invokes the aid of Jumala, and cures the sick, and drives away the diseases, shutting them up in a hole in a rock in the mountains. And in this he played a much nobler part than Hiawatha, who, under similar circumstances, sat down by his wife's bed and folded his arms, and left her die, and half the village with her.

“Then he sat down still and speechless,
On the bed of Minnehaha.”

* * * * *

“With both hands his face he covered,
Seven long days and nights he sat there,
As if in a swoon he sat there,
Speechless, motionless, unconscious
Of the daylight and the darkness.”

But what did Wainamoinen do? He prepared vapor baths.

“Wainamoinen poured the water,
Poured the water soft as honey,
Straight upon the heated pebbles,
And upon the hissing round stone.”

Then he applied ointments.

“Wainamoinen rubbed the sufferer,
Rubbed the wounds so sore and painful,
With the balm of thousand flowers,
Ointments made from healing wild herbs.”

Louhi, furious at Wainamoinen's success in curing his people of the diseases she had sent among them, let loose a huge bear. Wainamoinen killed the bear.

The account of the killing of this bear is very curious. The ancient Finns, while they hunted the bear for his skin, and his fat and flesh, looked upon him as a powerful spirit, to be propitiated in every manner. They never boasted of having killed him, but assumed that he had met his death by accident. The whole village turned out to meet him as he was brought in, and received him with songs of honor. They invited him to enter the house as an honored guest, they took him to the best room, flattering and caressing him.

After Wainamoinen had killed the bear, he addressed him thus:

“Golden cuckoo of the forest,
With the robe so rich and beauteous.
Pride of forest, famous light-foot.
Leave thy cold and lonely dwelling,
Come among the haunts of warriors.”

As he approaches the village, he is met by the people, who ask him, is it a marmot, or a lynx, he has killed?

“It is no lynx, 'tis the “Illustrious,”
'Tis the vapor of the forest,

'Tis the 'old man' comes among us,
Covered with his splendid fur robe.
Welcome Otso, welcome sweet-foot."

After going through many other curious ceremonies and invocations, they cut him up, and have a great feast on his flesh.

The people then ask where was "Otso" born, is he of "ignoble" origin?

Wainamoinen replies:—

"Otso was not born a beggar,
Was not born upon the rushes.
In the regions of the of the moonland,
On the shoulders of Otawa, *
Mid the daughters of the æther,
And the children of Dame Nature."

The whole of this rune, the 46th, is very curious and interesting.

We are now approaching the end of the poem, the 50th rune.

Louhi, as a last resource, steals the sun and moon from the heavens, and locks them up in a case. In the absence of light everything suffers, even fire disappears. Gumala, the Creator, searches for the sun and moon, but cannot find them. Then he creates a spark of fire, and gives it in charge of one of the daughters of the air, to construct a new sun and moon. She is careless and lets it drop, whereupon it ravages the country, burning up miles upon miles of forest and destroying many houses, cattle, etc. Wainamoinen goes in search of the spark of fire, and, after many strange adventures, seizes it, shuts it up in a copper vessel, and brings it to the village, where once more they have fire in their houses.

But though they now have fire in Finland, the sun and the moon are still shut up in the cave.

"Sun no longer shone in heaven,
Moon no longer lit the landscape.
Died the grain upon the ploughed land,
Died the flocks in pain and suffering,
Died the birds that float in æther,
Died e'en men amid the darkness.
Knew the fish the depths of waters,
Eagles knew the paths of mid air.
Men knew not when day had risen,
Could not tell when night descended."

* The Great Bear.

Wainamoinen learns by magic where the sun and moon are hidden, and goes in search of them, but without success. He slays the whole army of Louhi, but fails to open the doors of the cave. He returns, and asks Ilmarinen to forge for him keys and powerful tools, with which to force open the huge copper doors, and deliver the sun and moon. Ilmarinen sets to work. Louhi in the shape of a vulture comes to the smithy, and asks him what he is making. He replies that he is forging an iron collar to bind the old woman of Pohjola to the side of the mountain. This frightens Louhi. She goes home and releases the sun and moon. Wainamoinen is overjoyed to see them once more, and apostrophizes them as follows :—

“ Hail beauteous moon, round and brilliant !
 Golden sun who lights and warms us !
 Golden cuckoo smiles through æther,
 Silver dove through plains of azure.
 Rise then, rise each golden morning,
 Bring us health, enrich our pastures.
 Rise in richness, rise in glory—
 Setting, shed soft joy among us.

This story of the disappearance of the sun and moon has evidently grown out of some exceptionally dark and gloomy season, when all nature suffered from the absence of light and heat. Perhaps an eclipse may have had something to do with inspiring this description.

But old things were passing away. Paganism, with its never ending contest between the powers of light and the powers of darkness, was approaching its end. Christianity had appeared.

And now there follows a very strange version of the birth of our Saviour, with which Paganism disappears, and the poem ends.

The Virgin Marjatta gives birth miraculously to a child. She was impregnated by a wild strawberry. She is driven out from her father's house, and from the village where she dwells, and takes refuge in a lonely stable upon the mountains, where her child is born. “ The humid breath ” of the horses furnishes the warmth and moisture, which the Finnish women generally find in a vapor bath under similar circumstances. But scarcely is the child born, when it disappears—an allusion, perhaps, to the story of the Saviour being left behind in Jerusalem. The mother goes in search of him. A star meets her, and she asks the star where her child is. The

star does not know, the moon does not know. Finally, the sun tells her. She finds him half buried in a marsh and drags him out. She then seeks for some one to baptize him, but Wirokannos to whom she applies, and who evidently is in some sense a type of the ancient Jewish priest, refuses to baptize him until he has been examined and judged. He is therefore brought before Wainamoinen, representing probably the Jewish Council, and is condemned by him to be put to death. Thereupon the child, two weeks old, speaks, and tells Wainamoinen that his sentence is unjust, and that he of all persons has no right to condemn another on account of the sins and crimes of his own youth. ("He that is without sin among you, let him first cast a stone at her.") Whereupon Wirokannos baptizes the child and proclaims him king and absolute sovereign of Carelia. Wainamoinen feels that his hour has come, and departs.

But where did he go? He went where Hiawatha followed four centuries later, under similar circumstances. When the Jesuit missionaries reached the Mississippi, preaching Christianity to the Redskins, Hiawatha embarked in his canoe, and

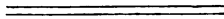
Westward, westward, Hiawatha
Sailed into the fiery sunset,
Sailed into the purple vapors,
Sailed into the dusk of evening.

Wainamoinen built a beautiful boat of copper and launched her upon the sea. Then he sailed to the Western horizon. There he tied up his boat, and there he remains to this day.

Wainamoinen launched his vessel,
Sailed across the stormy billows,
Soon he gained the horizon distant,
Gained the o'erhanging vault of heaven.

There he checked his vessel's motion,
Rested in his bark of copper.
But he left his magic kantele,
Left his magic harp melodious,
For a joy for aye to Finland,
To sing her son's runot sublime.

WICKHAM HOFFMAN.



A NEW ESTIMATE OF THOREAU.

OF THE true significance of Thoreau's life in its wide and universal relations, of its relation to democracy, (as a protest against the social and political tyranny of the majority—that most colossal and menacing of all the dangers that threaten the existence of popular government) of its relation to religion, war, labor and capital, patriotism, and to that tendency of modern times to simplify life, which was first voiced in Europe by Rousseau—of the true value and significance of his life and work in all these respects, no one, it seems to me, has yet adequately treated. Mr. H. A. Page's *Study of Thoreau* is good in its way, but is certainly! weak in philosophical grasp and breadth of treatment. Mr. James Russell Lowell's essay is caustic and shrewd, and not without kindness, but is, on the whole, unsympathetic; he never reached the Thoreau point of view. His warm and hearty social instincts led him to look with abhorrence upon Thoreau, the stoic and cynic. The considerable number of biting and bitter sarcasms and harsh paradoxes, scattered throughout Thoreau's book, are pretty hard to digest, it must be confessed. Mr. Lowell evidently had an *animus* against Thoreau on account of these things.* The same may be said of Mr. Alger, who has a brief criticism of Thoreau in his *Genius of Solitude*.

*Now and then, and only now and then, do we recognize in Thoreau moods that remind us of Diogenes, Timon or Apemantus. Mr. Lowell seems to have thought that in these occasional moods he had found the key to Thoreau's whole character. He thought that in them the mask slipped aside. The natural face itself, he mistook for a mask. His critical opera-glass was not properly focussed. It seems fitting to say a word, here at the very start, upon the special theme of the isolation and egoism of Thoreau which were perplexing to many. We may admit that he was often too stiff and crusty and cynical in his attitude toward men—and blame him for that defect of nature, if we choose; but his isolation from society, or the mass of men, I think we cannot blame, but must, on the contrary regard as both necessary and laudable.

To substitute this position, let me quote two or three paragraphs from Mr. John Morley's *Rousseau*; they throw light upon Thoreau's life as well as upon that of Rousseau:—"Geographical loneliness," says Morley, "is to some men a condition of their fullest strength." And again: "There are some natures in which all emotion is so entirely associated with the ideal, that real and particular manifestations of it are repugnant to them as something alien." And once again he says: "There is no more rash idea of the right composition of a society than one which leads us to denounce a type of character for no better reason than that, if it were universal, society would go to pieces."

Mr. A. B. Alcott and Robert Collyer have each written short appreciative sketches of their friend. Mr. T. W. Higginson's essay is a very kindly estimate of Thoreau; but it does not profess to be an exhaustive psychological analysis. Mr. R. W. Emerson's biographical sketch is, of course, inimitable; but it, too, is rather a characterization of its subject as an individual, than as the product of a special phasis of civilization.*

It will be the special object of this paper to treat of Thoreau in his attitude towards society,—and secondarily, to give an estimate of his personal character and of his writings, and this without any very formal separation of the subjects in the treatment.

To approach our task: Here is a certain phenomenon called Thoreau; the first thing to do is to account for him, to uncover the long filamental roots that run out from his life, far back into the past, and out on every side into the fabric of contemporary society. That society is a little too modest in its rejection of Thoreau. He is one of its fruits; let it then except him, and fairly and candidly try to explain him. Without doubt, the result of the examination will be far more honorable to him than was supposed, and at the same time productive of wholesome effects upon society, in leading it to see itself in new and startling aspects.

Thoreau, the solitaire, is no new phenomenon, although he happened to be so in America. A practical, money-getting nation,

*Mr. Henry James, in his study of Hawthorne, characterizes Thoreau as "imperfect, unfinished, inartistic," and "parochial." Surely, this can hardly be called criticism; it is little more than opinion *ab extra*, the wondering stare of an alien mind. It is Teniers estimating Turner. It is Goethe judging Richter. Thoreau's work is "unfinished, inartistic" is it? Well, so is Turner's work, and Shakespeare's work, in one sense. The *Slave Ship* is not a Dutch canal scene, and *Hamlet* is not the *Essay on Man*, and a water-fall is not a mill-sluice, and the crumbling maroon and red gold cloud-bars of sunset do not remind you of a theatre-curtain;—what a pity!—Thoreau was "parochial." Yes, he was as parochial as Socrates was, as Kant, Wordsworth, Sir Walter Scott, Burns, and Cowper were, but in no other sense. He was an austere thinker and not a gay butterfly-worldling, a Stoic and not an Epicurean, a satirist and not a popular favorite. It is not absolutely necessary that the thinker should travel much, and especially not the mystic. All we require of such, is catholicity and breadth in their reading and thinking. Thoreau, as is well known, was thoroughly read in the Ethnic Scriptures, in Greek literature, and in old English poetry. But he was preëminently antiquarian, autochthonous, patriotic—loving his country with manly devotion and enthusiasm. Mr. James aspires, I believe, to be cosmopolitan. But it is surely better to be patriotic first, and cosmopolitan second, than to be cosmopolitan first, and patriotic last, or not at all.

naturally looked with some perplexity upon the advent in its midst of a pure and solitary mystic who looked with indifference, if not with contempt, upon the precious wealth which most of them spend their lives in accumulating. They thought him a fool, of diseased mind. But the story of such lives as his may be read in the literatures of all the olden countries of the globe. He takes his place with the great throng of sensitive geniuses, whom the hard blows of the world have always driven to nature and to books. The possession of rarer mental powers than the mass of men have, has always driven the possessor into some degree of solitude, and always will. For solitude frees from envy and affords quiet. The more fragile the flower, the more easily are its ethereal petals withered and torn. But it is in the great *Sturm und Drang* phasis of social upheavals through which we have been passing for the last hundred years, that the greatest number of tragical breaks with society has occurred. The transition from Feudalism to Democracy is yet far from being completed. In the shuffling and rearranging of the pieces in the great human kaleidoscope there are many fatal misunderstandings and collisions. This is the outward aspect of things. But in the mind too is revolution, a complete *bouleversement* of the whole mental furniture.

It is a period when the bloom of self-consciousness is opening out in the minds of men over vast areas of society—as beds of river lilies, smitten by the rays of the morning sun, flash open their white petals far and wide in response to the warm stimulus of the light. With the dawning of a consciousness of self upon the mind—a consciousness of its worth and power—comes the demand for self-government, come a thousand gnarring wants and unsatisfiable desires; hence arise, often, wild and sombre yearnings and broodings; then appear in literature, the Werthers, the Schoppes, the Manfreds, the Fausts; and in actual life, the Shelleys, St. Pierres, Rousseaus, and Thoreaus. It seems almost impossible for a poor and sensitive genius to live a *perfectly noble* life in the midst of society in a modern democracy, partaking as he must of its deep unrest, its melancholy introspection, and its fierce ambition. Generally the result of his mental struggle is that he is depressed in spirit and driven back upon himself, unable to endure the harsh treatment of society. If he is brooding and melancholy, we have a Maurice de Guerin, a Chopin; if he have elasticity of mental fibre

and doubtless energy of will, we have an Angelo, a Thoreau. From the former class we have the tender and pensive elegiac strains, as well as bitter complaints; from the latter we have no unmanly moanings, but accents of cheerful stoicism, as well as words of warning, reproof, and scourging satire. Both of these classes of idealists, however, scandalize society by their withdrawal from it. The mass of men have thick skins and stout lungs; they rather enjoy the blows of society than otherwise, and easily breathe its dense air. They cannot see why to the sensitive genius that should be misery and death, which to them is only a pleasant stimulus. They see that nearly all appear to be tolerably well content in society; the conclusion is that the delicately-organized genius has an unhealthy mind, forsooth! This is but an old song. Idealists have always seemed mad or diseased to those unable to understand them. The Teuton shudders at the idea of cold-water baths and fresh air, and the "well-mixed" man of society shudders at the bracing austerity of manners of the idealist. In the case of the Teutons, the really normal man, the man of glowing and robust health, is the exceptional man of baths and fresh air, such as Goethe was; and in society the really robust and healthy man is the idealist. The spell of illusion seems to be so woven over the minds of many, that they are unable to distinguish between the unhealthy and morbid dreamer, and the real prophet of a higher life among them, such as Thoreau was among his countrymen. It is such men as he who compel us to recognize the fact that society, as it is now constituted, is not altogether lovely in itself, but is all blotched and tainted with imperfections.*

If Thoreau had done nothing more than point out the unlove-

* This is the message Thoreau spoke to his fellow men. He was, in one phase of his character, the Socrates of the American Attica. One spoke in the streets of Athens what the other speaks in his books. If one is dauntless and unsparing in his denunciation of falsehood and pretence, so is the other. If Socrates did not despair of men notwithstanding their faults, neither did Thoreau. Like Socrates, he set about with resiless energy and matchless determination to prove that life is noble. *The one great lesson which he wished to teach is, that life is worth living. He demonstrated, triumphantly and forever, that this life of ours may be of infinite value and joy, even when lived under circumstances ordinarily regarded as most discouraging.* This lesson has been taught many a time in other lands; the world had its Jean Paul, its Cervantes, its Samuel Johnson. But Thoreau is the first great American teacher of this lesson in life, unless we except Benjamin Franklin. Henceforth, no American who knows his books can reasonably despair. He is one of the saviours of the coming generations.

liness of society in many of its aspects, without any attempt to better it himself, his life would have been of as little value as it is by many supposed to have been. But nothing could be farther from the truth than such a view of his life and work. No truer patriot, no truer man has ever breathed the air of this new world. By his fine Spartan life he taught us how to live. The influence of his rugged energy, his fine idealism, the purity and honesty, and manliness of his life, shall for generations breath through the literature and the life of America like a strengthening ocean breeze, adding tone, toughness, elasticity, and richest Attic sparkle to the thought of men. His influence is almost wholly hygienic and sanative to those who know how to read him,—avoiding his hobbies, and passing by his too morbid dislike of men. Why is it that the lives of such men as Alcott and Thoreau excite such warm opposition in some quarters? Is it not partly because there are many who keenly feel the rebuke which such lives imply? It does not do to be too good in this world; it excites envy. Then there is often a curious and not very laudable feeling of irritation at seeing something successfully accomplished, which people had voted well nigh impossible. The problem of the reconciliation of labor and culture, is one of these, and it has been worked out in Concord, Massachusetts.

When will men learn to be entirely generous and just in their judgments of their fellows? A man of wide and Catholic sympathies will not be offended by the few eccentricities and prejudices that another may have, but will smilingly pass them over, if at the same time he finds the true and manly ring, and sterling worth of character. What is wonderful in Thoreau's case is, that he accomplished so much. What we want in order to save society from moral rottenness is, fifty thousand Henry Thoreaus in the class of farmers and mechanics. If in every generation there were even five hundred men in a nation, who, starting with next to no capital, could roll up such a fortune as he did in culture, manliness, and purity and sweetness of character, and dying, leave behind them such fragrant memories and such pregnant and stimulating writings, then would it be madness to ever despair of the future of Democracy.

To the fellow-citizens of Thoreau I would say: Let us cherish the memory of this saintliest of men. He is one of our saviours, if we would but see it. Fitting it were to strew our costliest flowers

as a votive offering upon the grave of one of the truest, manliest hearts that ever beat, to plant around the now neglected spot that holds his dust the wild, rich weeds and plants he loved so passing well, and to inscribe, perhaps, upon his monument such words as these: "Here lies one whose only crime it was to be too pure and stainless in his life, and to love too well the meadows, woods and streams."

If in the years to come the lovers of Henry Thoreau in this country, are not counted by tens of thousands, (as they are now by hundreds) then might we well be tempted to think meanly of our America. Alas! shall men forever continue to run after every charlatan who can dazzle their eyes with cunning mask and bedizened coat, and pass unheeded by the great and genuine souls in their midst? If to be great means to always speak the truth, to be faithful in friendship, industrious, frugal, patriotic, dauntless in moral courage, cultured, a teacher of men, and an enthusiastic scientific student, if it means this, then was he of whom we are speaking a great man. He was not only great, this plain-dressed, plain-speaking, plain-souled Thoreau, but he was the richest man in all the wide Americas. For when he came to maturity of years, he was presented by a certain enchanter, with a pass-key to a far-stretching, sunlit garden called Nature, which contains the larger part of the real wealth of the world. A ticket to this garden is for life, and is really a deed in fee-simple of the whole estate. Thorean was the happy possessor of one of these deeds.

His patriotism was deep and strong—knit into the very fibre of his being. He was patriotic in his own way, however. He loved not so much the people in the abstract and philanthropic sense, as he did individual friends. He was in love with the brown soil, the azure sky, the clouds, the honest rocks, the artless flowers and shrubs in their charming and unconscious beauty; trees, rivers, lakes and hills—all these he loved with a passionateness such as no other American, with whom we are acquainted, ever felt. He loved nature, and he loved good men; he prized above all, liberty and justice. If the testimony of his friends to the warmth and tenderness of his affection were not more than sufficient to prove his love of men, his Anti-Slavery papers would put it beyond doubt. It is touching and pathetic to read of the kind of terror, the paralysis of mind and the gloom which came over him at the time of the

enforcement of the Fugitive Slave Law by the delivering up of Anthony Burns on the part of the Massachusetts civil officers. He said he could not enjoy nature as before, Life seemed worth much less to him in Massachusetts than formerly. No more terrible indignation was ever put into words than we find in his patriotic papers. His sentences cut like a knife; they draw blood. His feelings are at a white heat, but his words are as quiet and measured as if he were speaking upon an indifferent theme. His hearers and readers at that time must have writhed under the steady fusillade of his scorching sarcasms and bitter reproaches.

There are sentences in these Anti-Slavery papers which deserve to be engraved in gold and set in diamonds, to be hung up in every court of justice in America. He says of John Brown: "He did not go to the college called Harvard. * * * He would have left a Greek accent slanting the wrong way, and righted up a falling man." Here are a few sentences from his article on Civil Disobedience: "It is not desirable to cultivate a respect for the law so much as for the right." "It is not so important that many should be as good as you, as that there be some absolute goodness somewhere, for that will leaven the whole lump." "There are nine hundred and ninety-nine patrons of virtue to one virtuous man."

On the theme of Friendship, Thoreau (in his *Week*), has said some of the most subtle things that have ever been uttered. These, taken in connection with his *Letters*, show how rich and pure his affections were—only they tell us that his friendships were for idealized persons, rather than for the actual persons themselves in all the grossness and imperfection of the flesh.

Thoreau's finely-strung and vibrant nature led him to shun as much as possible the gross real. He yearned to live wholly in the ideal. He fled from the jangle and jar of clashing interests. Far up along the azure cliffs of life he moved, breathing an atmosphere not respirable by the mass of men. His life was pure and simple as that of the Alpine herdsman, and he drank from the streams of truth and joy, whose sources lie above the clouds.

It often happens that in reading the biography of a person, we peruse hundreds of pages without getting an insight into the character; but we read on in search of that one touch which shall reveal to us, as in a flash of light, the whole picture, the whole character. In my own experience it has usually been a few strokes of

portrait painting, or some single characteristic act that has done this. The light was flashed upon Thoreau's life for me by a few sentences in a late newspaper article on Thoreau, by Robert Collyer. He says of him :

He was "rather slender, but of a fine mould, and with a presence which touched you with a feeling of perfect purity, as newly opened roses do. And it was a clear rose-tinted face he turned to you, delicate to look at as the face of a girl, and great gray eyes, the seer's eyes, full of quiet sunshine." There are volumes in these words. Among other things they tell the story of his friendships, of the ideality which necessarily characterized them. I remember that one of Thoreau's most intimate friends, Mr. H. G. O. Blake, told me that their friendship was wholly of this ideal nature. Some of the sentences on Friendship in the *Week*, cannot be quoted too often. He says of friendship, that it is something that all men are continually thinking about, planning for, and dreaming about, and yet nobody talks about it. Of two friends he says: "The one's love is exactly balanced and represented by the other. Persons are only the vessels which contain the nectar, and the hydrostatic paradox is the symbol of love's law." He subtly says that there is something wild, primeval, pagan, and godlike about noble friendship; if it is merely Christian, it becomes charity and not friendship. Again: "We must accept or refuse one another as we are. I could tame a hyena more easily than my friend. He is a material which no tool of mine will work." Again he says: "The constitutional differences which always exist, and are obstacles to a perfect friendship, are forever a forbidden theme to the lips of my friend." Again: "My friend is my real brother." And in another connection: "The lover learns at last that there is no person quite transparent and trustworthy, but every one has a devil in him that is capable of any crime in the long run. Yet, as an Oriental philosopher has said: 'Although the friendship between good men is interrupted, their principles remain unaltered. The stalk of the lotus may be broken and the fibers remain connected.'" Finally, on the influence of time upon a true friendship, he exquisitely says: "Time shall foster, and adorn, and consecrate our Friendship, no less than the ruins of temples."

Those who refuse to believe that Thoreau cherished warm and humanitarian sympathies beneath his stoical exterior, will, of

course, see in his passion for the wild in nature, nothing but confirmation of their conviction that he had only a cold and repellent disposition. A deep and permanent love of the wild is something so rare, that most people are inclined to regard it as an uncanny thing, and as triumphant proof of a soured and disappointed nature. But it is nothing of the kind. In and of itself, if it is not carried to excess, it is one of the chief sources of freshness and originality. In all rural poetry it is the indispensable condition of success. As Thoreau himself says: "He would be a poet who would impress the winds and the streams into his service, to speak for him; who nailed words to their primitive senses; * * who derived his words as often as he used them,—transplanted them to his page with earth adhering to their roots." And, again, he says: "In literature it is only the wild that attracts us. Dullness is but another name for tameness. * * All good things are wild and free." Thoreau's praise of the wild, as contrasted with the tame and factitious, was undoubtedly extreme. It was his nature to always attempt to see what could be said upon the unpopular or opposite side of any question. This arose, I think, not so much from a love of singularity, or from obstinacy, as from a love of strict justice, and a desire to help the weaker side. He was always for the under dog in the fight. It must be continually borne in mind that his exaggeration of solitude and the wild, as sources of happiness, was made with deliberate purpose. He says in his paper on walking, that he wishes to make an extreme statement, if so he may make an emphatic one, for "there are enough champions of civilization." I regard this passage as the key to Thoreau's whole life conduct. His circumstances, and his taste as a naturalist having led him to the forests and the fields, and to Spartan simplicity of life, he saw that the sources of enjoyment to be found there were, to a great extent, unknown to his countrymen; that the pernicious habit of all classes of crowding into great cities in search of happiness, is the cause of untold amounts of vice and misery. And so he gradually came to feel that his mission to men was to recall them to the simple pleasures of rural life. He did this work, and did it well. His books have restored to sane and healthy views of life many a despondent soul. They are not to be devoured all at once, in a month, or in three months. They must be read in parts, in the warm days of Summer and Autumn, in the open

fields, in the mountain camp, or by the sea. You are to resort to them for their bracing and restorative effects upon the *ennuyé* and *blasé* mind, just as you resort to mountain, field, or sea for invigorating air and sunshine. His best book, of course, is *Walden*; America has produced no more fascinating work. Next to this I would rank in order of merit, his *Anti-Slavery and Reform Papers*, his *Letters*, and his *Week on the Concord and Merrimack Rivers*. *The Maine Woods*, *Cape Cod*, and *A Yankee in Canada* would be enjoyed best, I think, as itineraries, or pocket guide-books.

The *Yankee in Canada*, and portions of the *Maine Woods*, and the *Cape Cod*, are about as dry reading for most people, it must be confessed, as it is possible to find: these portions of his works are not at all equal to the rest.*

In the *Hippolytos* of Euripides, Hippolytos (who ardently loves the chase, and the sweet, wild solitudes of nature) is made to utter this invocation: "Hail, O most beauteous of virgins in Olympus, Dian! For thee, my mistress, bear I this wreathed garland from the pure mead, where neither does the shepherd think fit to feed his flocks, nor yet came iron there, but the bee ranges over the pure and vernal mead, and Reverence waters it with river-dews." Because he neglected to do homage to Venus, and preferred to live the hardy life of the huntsman in forest and field, Hippolytos came to a violent and cruel death through the machinations of the enraged goddess. So, until lately, it seemed as if the American votary of Dian, the author of *Walden*, would meet his death at the hands of the modern worshippers of Venus—only death in a milder form, namely, that of cold neglect. But a rare and holy life can no more be prevented from diffusing its influence through society, than the sun at dawn can be prevented from throwing "his faire fresh-quilted colors through the sky," and filling the whole land with light. As early as 1866, in an article on Walt Whitman, in the October number of the *Fortnightly Review*, Mr. M. D. Conway predicted

* A characteristic of all of his books is their grave monotony. They lack humor, as has often been said. Hence, it is wearisome to read in them long at a time. This partly arises, also, from the richness and originality of the thought, making it necessary to ponder long over a few sentences. If you read very long at once, you will also tire of the uniformly negative attitude toward society which he assumes. Then he chronicles too many trifles. These are the faults of his style. But it by no means follows that his books are uninteresting on account of these few faults, and are not the most valuable reading to be found in literature.

that Henry David Thoreau, though then neglected, would one day be widely read and loved. His presentiment is already receiving its confirmation. He is coming to be admiringly read for that very ferity, that fresh sylvan flavor as of crushed wild grapes, and scent of earth and moss, with which the pages of his books are redolent, and which, strange to say, at first experience of it, causes a shudder to pass through the frame of the morbid and enervated reader who lives under glass in the hot air of city houses. There is a passage in Thoreau's *Excursions*, which I never read without feeling a strange, slow thrill of pleasure creeping throughout my entire body. There is such a glow of courage and joy; such an elixir of life; such a subtle therapeutic virtue in the words, that I am unable to imagine an atrabilious humor so dense as that it would not be immediately dissipated by a sympathetic and intelligent perusal of them. "Surely," says he, "good courage will not flag here on the Atlantic border as long as we are flanked by the Fur Countries. There is enough in that sound to cheer one under any circumstances. The spruce, the hemlock, and the pine will not countenance despair. Methinks some creeds in vestries and churches do forget the hunter wrapped in furs by the Great Slave Lake, and that the Esquimaux sledges are drawn by dogs, and in the twilight of the northern night, the hunter does not give over to follow the seal and walrus on the ice." There is also balm for the hurt minds of this forlorn and bewildered age in the following hearty words, or rather in their implication: "We fancy that this din of religion, literature, and of philosophy, which is heard in the pulpits, the lyceums, and parlors, vibrates through the universe, and is as catholic a sound as the creaking of the earth's axle; but if a man sleep soundly, he will forget it all between sunset and dawn." We gradually become aware in reading Thoreau's pages of the deep but quiet joy in which his life was steeped. It is a peculiar kind of joy, however,—not Italian gaiety, but sedate New England cheerfulness. "Surely, joy is the condition of life," says he. "Men tire me when I am not constantly greeted and refreshed as by the flux of sparkling streams." This joy wells forth not only in his prose writings, but more especially in his poems; as in those poems on *Mist*, *Smoke*, and *Haze*, by which English literature is so much enriched, and also in the stirring lines on the "tumultuous silence" of that far-off azure fleet—Monadnock and the

Peterboro hills. A man who is not happy does not write poetry like this.

His religion was a cheerful and reverent mysticism. His attitude in respect of the details of the infinite life was one of suspended judgment, as that of every man ought to be. With the imbecilities and pretences of conventional religion he clashed, as, again, every true man must. In his sparring with the Church, he struck out from the shoulder, hit hard, and hit in the face like a man. There is no shilly-shallying; no shuffling. No quarter is given, and none is asked. The truth must out. Hypocrisy, Christian casuistry and sophistry, cant and the thousand vices which they breed, are sources of pain to every knightly and heroic soul; he at least will fight his fight with them, come what may, and in battle against them flash in their eyes the lightnings of his ethereal-tempered sword of truth. Accordingly, in his very first book (the *Week*), we have such sentences as these: "There is more religion in men's science than there is science in their religion." "Christianity has dreamed a sad dream and does not yet welcome the morning with joy. The mother tells her falsehoods to her child, but, thank Heaven, the child does not grow up in its parents' shadow." "A healthy man with steady employment, as wood-chopping at fifty cents a cord, and a camp in the woods, will not be a good subject for Christianity." "The church is a sort of hospital for men's souls, and as full of quackery as the hospital for their bodies." Of course, such sentences as these will be misunderstood by very many estimable Christians. It is to be feared that they will be misled by them, and will refuse to believe what is true about Thoreau, namely, that he was really one of the purest of Christians, one whom Christ would have loved with all the warmth of his lofty and kindred soul. Thoreau speaks here, as usual, with exaggerated emphasis. We know from other parts of his writings (see especially his little essay on Prayers,) that he had a most devout nature. In the passage I have quoted he is speaking only of conventional and Pharisaic religion. The Christianity of the mass of the male population of Europe and America is but a wretched parody of the religion of Jesus. It wholly misses its essential spirit, which is a reverent and tender mysticism, and a love that abhors war and strife. Thoreau, in this respect, was the truest of Christians. So are Quakers; and (as respects war,) no other sect is really Christian.

The other so-called Christian sects, and the "Christian" nations, are notorious as the most turbulent brawlers upon the face of the globe. In this connection read the following lines of Thoreau on spades *vs.* swords, as honorable trophies of conquest. They would serve admirably, I think, as a shibboleth by which to test the true Christian: "The weapons," says he, "with which we have gained our most important victories, [and] which should be handed down as heirlooms from father to son, are not the sword and the lance, but the bush-whack, the turf-cutter, the spade, and the bog-hoe, rusted with the blood of many a meadow, and begrimed with the dust of many a hard-fought field."

Thoreau has been loosely and vaguely compared with Rousseau. But it is a trite saying, that analogies in such cases are generally misleading. While there is a great deal in common between Thoreau and Rousseau, there is much more, it seems to me, wherein they differ. Rousseau was a man of large, intuitive, and humanitarian sympathies, a man of a tropical nature, with quivering sensibilities, with quiet and simple tastes; and yet withal a brooding and unhealthy sensualist, indolent in the highest degree, and of so irresolute a will, that he never, to the end of his life, became master of himself.

Thoreau stands in the sharpest antithesis to most of this. His humanitarian sympathies were not so strong. Such books as the *New Heloise*, the *Social Contract*, and *Emilius*, could not have been written by one of Thoreau's make and habits. He had not Rousseau's fervid imagination; he was no dreamer like him, but active, resolute, alert, alive in every fibre of him; a man objective and inductive in his methods of work, whereas Rousseau was lazily subjective, and by his brilliant but pernicious dreams, the cause of more misery to France than any of her own sons before or since.

Rousseau, moreover, had an unclean and prurient imagination. Thoreau, on the contrary, reveals in a letter of his upon the subject of chastity, that he had a nature as pure and translucent as that of a vestal virgin—a purity, as rare and costly in quality as that of the snow-white lily of Japan, perfumed, golden-grained, and drenched with morning dew. Rousseau and Thoreau were alike in their idealism, their sensitiveness, their desire to simplify life by a return to nature, their love of quiet pleasures, and their detestation of pedantry and tyranny. They were alike, I say, in their undisguised

preference for the homely virtues of the primitive life, the wild life. Each was driven into this attitude toward society by the difficulty, if not impossibility, of living a perfectly noble life within its limits. Now most persons have no hesitation in saying, that it would be better for such idealists if they would make some concessions to society, some compromise with it. But here is just where such persons are mistaken. These rare souls feel instinctively that they are only strong, are only fulfilling their destiny when they are keeping their lives as stainless as a cloudless morning sky. No sadder thing, surely, could happen to society than to have its prophets and idealists subjected to the conventional moral standards, however high those standards may be for society itself. The desire of some of Mr. Thoreau's friends to relieve him from the unpopularity which his stern reproofs of society have given him, to tame his magnificent wildness, and represent him as a good and regular citizen (only a little eccentric)—this desire of his friends, I say, springs from the most laudable motives, but still is based, it seems to me, upon an error as to the real facts in the case, an error as to the real value and significance of his life and work. As to the facts—one could quote from his books hundreds of passages to prove how irksome the mass of men were to him, and what intense delight he took in finding places about Concord, in the Maine woods, and elsewhere, where the work of man had not caused that deformity in the landscape which so often attends his footsteps, especially in a new country. To quote but one instance; in his *Winter Walk*, he says: "The chickadee and nut-hatch are more inspiring society than statesmen and philosophers, and we shall return to these last as to more vulgar companions."

There is not the least doubt but that he would have seen a great deal to admire in the declaration Rousseau made, in one of his *Discourses*, to the effect that if he were chief of an African tribe, he would set up on his frontiers a gallows, on which he would hang the first civilized man who should venture to cross over into his territory, as well as the first native who should dare to pass out of it. Now, what *is* the significance of such extreme statements as these? What do they mean? What gives them their value?—for value they have, and that a high one. They mean that society is morally imperfect and unlovely to thousands of men; their value lies in the fact that they form a bright mirror,

in which society may see its faults, and so be enabled to correct them. Let it, at its peril, refuse to take the reproof which a glance into the mirror gives. Let it, rather, strengthen itself by repeated glances. Let us not be disobedient to the heavenly vision. Do we not go up to the silence and soothing serenity of lofty mountain heights, that we may receive strength and inspiration for the struggle of life? Yet the grandeur of the heights humbles us, and the thin air is with difficulty respired.

But people say: "Is it not much better to stay in Society and improve it, rather than to stand outside of it and point out its faults?" I answer, Yes, for you and me, perhaps, but not for all. For how can anything be seen in its *ensemble*—in its true proportions and relations—unless *some one* views it wholly from the outside? Thoreau, happening to be a naturalist in taste, found his work outside of society. This was well for him. It would not be well for the majority of us, for the simple reason that the isolated and primitive life is not, and never can be, best for the development of mankind as a whole. The solutions of the problems of society are to be found in society itself. The perfect adjustment of man to his surroundings must come from combined toil. But this perfect adjustment is a thing of the far-off future. In the meantime, let us not refuse to see that now and then peculiarly constituted individuals may—nay, must—live their highest life by communings with nature in "her unspeakable rural solitudes," "along the cool, sequestered vale of life," "far from the madding crowd's ignoble strife," and even apart from that delightful social intercourse which imparts strength and courage to most of us.

WILLIAM SLOANE KENNEDY.

LAWS FOR THE INDIANS.

IT is, perhaps, superfluous to say that we, as a nation, have been unjust and often cruel in our treatment of the Indians. This is known and confessed by all. But it is not so well known that we are, to this day, persisting in a course of treatment of this people that should bring a blush of shame to every pale face in this land of liberty.

Secretary Stanton once said: "The United States Government

never redresses any wrong till the people demand it; when the heart of the people is reached, Indian wrongs will cease." It is the purpose of this paper to give a brief outline of our present treatment of the Indians; and to plead for them that justice which is the right of all God's creatures, and the liberty of which this country boasts to be the home.

The plea of the Indian is clearly and finely expressed in the words of one of their chiefs: "What we want is liberty; and law is liberty."

It is a strange fact, that the only people under heaven to whom we deny the protection of our laws, are the original owners of our country. "It has always seemed to me," says Gen. Crook, "an odd feature of our judicial system that, while an Irishman or German, a Hottentot or Kaffre will be protected in his life and property by our laws, the Indian commands respect for his rights only so long as he inspires terror for his rifle."

The relation of a person to the laws of the land in which he lives is two-fold. 1st. The person is protected by the laws; 2d. The person is amenable to the law. The Indian is not protected by our laws. In 1789, a law was enacted by Congress, and placed on our statute books, declaring that no Indian can sue, or be sued, or be a party to a suit in any court in the United States. This law is still in force. They can only get into court as civil litigants in a few instances, by favor of special laws. There is no Act of Congress which deals with the punishment of crimes against persons or property, committed by or against Indians as individuals. An Indian cannot make a legal contract. He cannot collect wages by suit at law. A promissory note in his hands is worthless. If a white man wishes to violate his contract with an Indian, he can do so, and the Indian has no redress whatever. White Eagle, the chief of the Omahas, some years ago made a considerable sum of money by legitimate trade. This he loaned to white men, taking their notes, and when these notes became due payment was refused; and there is no law by which the old chief can recover his money.

Nor is this all, or even the worst. The life of an Indian is but little better protected than his property. Within his reservation, he has some rights which we promise to respect; but away from his reservation, he has no rights which the law will recognize. Not many months ago, an Indian was wantonly shot and killed on

the public road near the city of Omaha. The murderer openly boasted of having "killed his Indian," and yet there is no law in the United States by which he can be punished. If a dog is killed, his owner may bring suit against the man who killed it and recover damages. If a man kills wild game, out of season, he is liable to a fine. But any man may "kill his Indian," if he is away from his reservation, and the law cannot touch him.

As to the second relation of a person to the law—his amenability to it—to a certain extent it is held to apply to the Indian. If an Indian commit a crime against the person or property of a white man, and can be caught, he is punished. But only so far is his personality recognized; for if he can not be caught, the whole tribe is held responsible. This unjust anomaly has led to many of our Indian wars. Rev. Mr. Harsha, of Omaha, who is, perhaps, the best authority on the subject in the country, gives the following incident on this point:

An Indian in Arizona shot a white man, and, seeing that he had killed him, fled into the mountains. The chief of his tribe was ordered to secure him, and bring him to the agency within five days. Every effort was made to capture him, but in vain. On the evening of the fifth day, a council was held. The chiefs sat a long time in silent despair, for they knew that, if the criminal was not produced, war would be made upon the tribe; and war meant death to them. At length an old chief rose up, and said, "It is best that one should die, and not our whole tribe. My days are nearly done—I will die. Then you can take my body to the white men, and maybe they will spare the tribe." Then, stabbing himself to the heart, he fell dead in the midst of the council. They took his body to the agent, and it would have ended thus, but a traitor among them told the agent the facts. The agent telegraphed to Washington for orders; and the answer, in accordance with the law, came in these words, "Make war upon the tribe."

It is but just to say that this shameful state of affairs is not the result of deliberate cruelty on the part of the people of this country. We are not inhuman, nor inhumane. The cupidity of Indian agents and Indian rings is responsible for some part—it is hard to say how much—of this injustice. But most of it is due to the fact that our laws relating to the Indians have not changed as our relation to them changed. Their relations to us, or rather our con-

ception of that relation, has been, during our whole history, in a transition state, and, like all transition states, is troublesome. Once we regarded the Indian tribes as independent nations, capable of making treaties, and of governing themselves according to their own customs. Now we regard them as wards of our government. This change in the conception of their relation to us was not made suddenly, or at any definite time, but gradually and almost unconsciously. So it was unavoidable, without great care, that laws and regulations, which were tolerably just in the state of affairs for which they were framed, should become grossly unjust and even cruel in their altered circumstances.

To deny the Indians the right to come into our courts, when they were a nation of savages, with their own customs and government, was one thing: to deny them the same privilege, when they are a mere handful of people in the midst of an aggressive civilization, is quite another and different thing. To deny them the protection and educating influence of law now, is to put such an obstacle in the way of their advancement as would effectually hinder the progress of a much higher civilization than theirs.

But, perhaps, the greatest obstacle in the way of Indian civilization, is the insecurity of their titles to the lands they occupy. The occupants of reservations are mere tenants at will, and possess no permanent legal right to the land. They have no assurance that they will be allowed to enjoy the fruits of their labor. On the contrary, they have every reason to believe that they will be removed whenever their reservation is wanted by white men. It is unreasonable to expect any enterprise in improving their homes, when they know that every improvement they make tends to hasten their removal. "An Indian," says Bright Eyes, the Omaha maiden, "does not want to cultivate a piece of land, fence it in, build him a house, furnish and stock his farm, and just as he is ready to enjoy the fruits of it, to have it taken from him, and he and his family sent to a southern clime to die." Who would? The recent outrageous removal of the Poncas is only a fair sample of the treatment many tribes have received from our Government, more than once or twice. The Winnebagoes were, many years ago, removed from a fine reservation in Wisconsin to a most wretched and sterile part of Dakota, and robbed of all their cattle by the agents who removed them. They have been removed six times since they crossed

the Mississippi, and now the threat of another removal is hanging over them. The Shoshones say they "feel bad" when they look at the uncertainty of the future. God help them! Who wouldn't "feel bad," if his home was subject to the whims and selfish interests of a stronger race?

Until the Indians are assured that they can have a home that is really their own, where they can enjoy for themselves and their children the fruits of their labor, all attempts to civilize them are manifestly useless. If we are ever to induce them to abandon their roving habits, and live like white men, we must make such a life possible for them, by granting them titles to their lands which cannot be broken.

Why has this not been done? What obstacle is in the way of this simple justice? The cupidity of Indian rings, and the apathy of the people. The Indian is rich. Poor Lo! we call him; but he is not poor. Once he owned this continent, and though robbed and plundered for a century, he still owns rich farms and mines, and timber, and is a creditor of the United States Government. Though we drive him from reservation to reservation, each one poorer than the last, we do not quite dare to deny that he has a right to a good deal of land somewhere. He is a rich minor who cannot arrive at his majority. To take care of his property, and look after him generally, we have about eight hundred agents and sub-agents. It is not said that all these agents are rascals; but it is a fact, that while the salary of an agent is only \$1,500, the position is considered, by all concerned, to be worth \$10,000 a year. Every Indian war and Indian removal costs the Government large sums of money, the greater part of which finds its way into the pockets of some Indian ring. The recent removal of the Poncas, about seven hundred in number, from Nebraska to Indian Territory, cost the Government \$25,000. The Poncas walked all the way, and the whole expense could not have exceeded \$3,000. The remaining \$22,000 found its way into somebody's pocket. This is only a specimen of the ways in which money is made from Indian affairs; sometimes from the Government and sometimes from the Indians,—sometimes from both at once. A favorite scheme to rob them, when their lands are valuable, is to induce them, by trifling gifts, large promises and free use of whiskey, to part with their lands in exchange for some which they have never seen, and which are often unsuita-

able for them. But when they have once given their consent to move, the land-grabbers and speculators have a rich feast of farms and mines, and timber. Moreover, the depredations of horse thieves and cattle thieves are a constant source of annoyance and outrage. Not long ago, a party of Texans were shown through the Indian camps in New Mexico, on the pretext that they were looking for horses stolen from them. They did not claim to have found any, but the next night they surrounded the weakest camp, fired on the Indians and drove off all their horses. This was allowed to go unpunished.

But it is needless to give further details. Our present Indian policy, whatever it may be theoretically, is practically responsible for almost every hideous and revolting crime that a stronger power can perpetrate on a weaker. No man knows better whereof he speaks than Gen. Sherman, and he says our wars upon the Indians have been "uniformly unjust;" and moreover, "deeds have been committed by our soldiers, wearing the uniform of our country and fighting under our flag, that would have disgraced any tribe in Africa."

Now it is not to be assumed that the Indians are perfect, or that they have never been in the wrong. They are a bad lot. How could they be otherwise? How can they ever be better while they are subject to all the debasing influences of civilization without being subject to any of its elevating influences. They are confined to the wildest part of our country; allowed only to see their own race, who are as bad as themselves, and the neighboring whites, who are often a great deal worse. No, it is not claimed that they are by any means what they ought to be, but it is claimed by those who know them best, that they are willing to work and anxious to adopt our civilization. Even in their present degraded condition they have many noble traits of character. They are often called treacherous; but Gen. Crook testifies that, during his twenty-seven years experience with them, he has not known a single case in which they have violated a treaty, or have left their reservation without good ground of complaint. It is the universal testimony of our agents that they are peaceable and orderly among themselves; and have a high sense of justice and honor in their dealings with each other. Moreover, it should be remembered that in most, if not all cases of alleged wrong-doing by Indians, we hear only one side of the story, and that their enemies' side.

What, then, should be done for the Indians? The question is not without its difficulties, yet, in the main, the answer is obvious enough. First, give them sound titles to their lands. The Poncas are the only tribe that have a good deed, and even they were driven from their land, and only regained it by the efforts of their white friends. The second requisite, therefore, is the right to come into court and defend their titles and their rights, and, ultimately, let them be granted all the rights of citizenship, which we have already extended to every other people on earth. We say ultimately, for the question of how rapidly this should be done is an open one, the solution of which must depend largely on the conduct of the Indians themselves. Immediate citizenship would not be a blessing to them; nor would the allotment of land to individual Indians, with the right to dispose of it. But these details are of minor importance, Make civilization possible for them; and let citizenship follow as soon as they are able to use its privileges wisely. Let this be done speedily. Too long already, has the red man been the subject of romance on the one hand, and the object of cupidity and outrage on the other. Too long have we delighted in the songs of Hiawatha and Minnehaha, while the race of which we sang sunk deeper and deeper in the degradation of vices taught them by the white man. Too long have we listened only to the stories of their enemies and their oppressors, formulating meanwhile our ignorance in the facetious falsehood, "the only good Indian is the dead Indian."

We are fond of saying that this is "a government of the people." Let this sovereign people then look to it that the groans of an oppressed and dying race be not unheard. The Sioux Commission of 1876 appeal to us in the following earnest words: "A great crisis has arisen in Indian affairs. The wrongs of the Indians are admitted by all. Unless immediate and appropriate legislation is made for their protection and government, they must perish, and our country bear forever the disgrace, and suffer the retribution of its wrong-doing. Our children's children will tell the sad story in hushed tones, and wonder how their fathers dared so trample on justice and trifle with God."

SAM. MARTIN.

APROPOS OF THE DINNER OF THE AMERICAN PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY.

ON the evening of March 11th, 1880, seventy-one members of the American Philosophical Society dined at St. George's Hall to commemorate the one-hundreeth anniversary of the incorporation of the Society. As is customary, the elegant and elaborate meal was followed by addresses, the republication of which form the substance of a good-sized number of the Proceedings of the Society. The appearance of this pamphlet has given the members and others interested in scientific culture in Philadelphia, an opportunity of digesting at leisure the literary portion of the banquet.

Perhaps the first feeling the reader acknowledges, as he turns over the leaves of this book, is a feeling of fondness for the ancient society itself. It now remains the single remaining link, through its local habitation, with colonial times. Its hall is the cosiest, most inviting place of meeting of any of our local societies. It is the only society, indeed, which has escaped the mania of having a fine building, and the consequent destruction of the pleasant clubbish element that attaches itself so easily to unpretentious quarters. Professor Lesley in his address speaks of the cronies, who, in time past, would gather round the open fire, after adjournment, to hold the real meeting of the evening. We have all seen that fire-place. We have seen the Rittenhouse clock, the draft of the Declaration of Independence, the bust of Franklin, the rows of shelves crowded with books,—the flowers in the sunny windows! We all agree that there is no pleasanter spot in the city than this plain room. Is it not a noteworthy fact that the oldest scientific body in America should be so indifferently accommodated? The Society's influence has been steadily increasing for over a century, and is now greater than ever, yet it has no inclination to leave its almost humble building.

The period of the Society's activity has embraced every scientific movement in the country. Naturally enough the one-hundredth anniversary of its corporation excited much interest; the spirit pervading the occasion was the natural response to that interest; the addresses,—which were, with scarcely an exception, comprehensive in tone—were, the spoken evidences of this response.

Here's to the American Philosophical Society! Was it wisely founded? Has it done its work well?

In glancing over the addresses now, after the first impression made at the time of their deliverance has, in a measure, become effaced, we have been struck by the gradual manner in which the speakers, after the congratulatory feeling, incident to an anniversary had found expression, passed from the immediate and specific work accomplished by the Society to the more general one of the condition of scientific culture in America, and what the societies are doing in fostering it. After such review, one cannot avoid asking such questions as the following: Is the tone of these addresses satisfactory? Do the addresses give evidence that the speakers are content with the state of science now existing? It can be shown, we think without prejudice, that neither of these questions can be answered in the affirmative. The addresses, with few exceptions, showed an undertone of regret. Something was evidently lacking in the fulfilment of the promise of the society. Some, at least, of the changes made subsequent to its establishment were not of the kind upon which the speakers could congratulate themselves without qualification. Although not a pleasant task, it, for all that, may prove to be an instructive one to glean from the speeches enough to make up a more or less connected statement of this dissatisfaction, and present it, in the language of the speakers, and with such application as appears to be just and proper,

In the first place, the reader is invited to reflect upon this language of President D. C. Gilman of Johns Hopkins University:

"Before I close, Mr. President, may I be allowed to add one remark? There are three neighboring cities, which, it seems to me, have not yet done what they might for the intellectual advancement of this country. I refer to Baltimore, New York, and you will pardon me for adding Philadelphia. They have good institutions, they have learned men, they have great wealth, but they need stronger and closer combinations than now exist,—better organization for the advancement of learning. We may hope that with recurring prosperity, increasing vigor will be shown in their academies and "universities."

Confining to Philadelphia what may be said in this connection, we see that the record therein made by one hundred years of science, has produced in the mind of a well-qualified judge the im-

pression that the city has not done what she might—that her organization for the advancement of learning is not efficient. It is strange that this should be justly said. Philadelphia has had every advantage, both natural and acquired, that would appear to be needed by a centre of learning. Her geographical position is an admirable one. From the times of earliest Colonial travel, she has been securely lodged midway on the great thoroughfare between north and south. She is built on the banks of one of the noblest rivers in America,—in that partial inland situation which is so conducive to substantial development,—one not too remote from the sea to remain uninfluenced by maritime intercourse, yet not so near as to be in danger of being swept away into the fierce strifes of trade. Her position in this regard can be favorably compared with that of London, Paris, and St. Petersburg. Founded in a country held by a conquered and humiliated tribe, her early history has been free from unusual privation or disaster. Her population has been at all times rated for sobriety, her merchants for probity, her professions for exceptional skill and honorable conduct. The possession of these advantages gave the city an impetus that attracted the best spirits of the colony. The American Philosophical Society owes its existence to a young Bostonian, who came to Philadelphia to improve his condition. The city became, in the first epoch of the nation, the social, scientific, as well as the political capital of the country,—and she appropriated to herself all the advantages thereby implied.

Why has Philadelphia lost these advantages? President Gilman does not tell us. He simply places her in limbo with two other cities, no better off than herself. Her citizens say (and they should be qualified to judge,) that Philadelphia has failed to hold the sceptre,—because of the blow she received at the time of the removal of the deposits from the United States Bank and the subsequent failure of that institution; because of the removal of the Capitol to Washington; because of the decay of her commercial and increase of her manufacturing interests,—the latter element not being held as one favoring the growth of a great city; because of the State not heartily accepting Philadelphia as its metropolis; and, finally, *mirabile dictu*, because of the abundant food-supply and the consequent over-feeding of her people. Indeed, the alleged causes of her decadence are so numerous and all-embracing, that they

might be submitted to the learned "Philosophical" itself for analysis, with a faint hope that there they could be properly ascertained. Of the many Philadelphians present at the dinner, doubtless many wondered why their city was not the centre she formerly was. The wealth and learning appealed to by President Gilman, is capable at any time of effecting such combinations as will place Philadelphia in the proud position she is in every way entitled to, and which she should never have lost.

The objects and functions of a scientific society were commented upon by three of the speakers—Dr. D. G. Brinton, Dr. John L. Le Conte, and President Gilman. Dr. Brinton examined with care the peculiar position of a philosophical society. He believed that such a body should embrace a wide variety of scholars, each of ability in his special pursuit. Franklin, said he, in founding the American Philosophical Society, held that "members were to be chosen from all the learned pursuits; they were to communicate to each other such results and conclusions as should be of benefit to all, not mere details of their special lines; and the results to be published were to be confined to abstracts and papers of public advantage." It is evident from this language, that, in the speaker's judgment, a philosophical society should be composed of accomplished persons only.

Dr. Le Conte, in the course of his scholarly address, said: "Scientific societies are neither oral teachers nor custodians; but, to use the phraseology of Smithson, they are institutions for the increase and diffusion of knowledge among men. * * * Museums in connection with societies soon degenerate into imperfectly classified storehouses of curiosities, occasionally visited by students desiring to verify types which have been imperfectly described."

Although Dr. Le Conte nowhere mentions any institution by name, we cannot avoid making a "modern instance." No apter word could have been used in describing the conduct of the Academy of Natural Sciences, in this city, in relation to exchanges and the loaning of specimens for study, than by comparing it to that of a custodian—nor could a neater phrase have been framed in distinguishing its museum, (excepting two special collections) than dubbing it—a degenerate storehouse of imperfectly classified curiosities. Philadelphia can never rightfully claim to be a centre of culture, even of a third grade, so long as the strictures mentioned

by Dr. Le Conte are applicable to its most active scientific body.

In a later portion of his admirable address, Dr. Le Conte, in speaking of the influence the labors of investigators will have upon future generations, says the "reformation of many departments of general and local governments, by the appointments to offices, requiring scientific knowledge, of men qualified to perform the duties; and, in truth, by a cheerful recognition of the fact, *that men of science are not inferior to ordinary men, either in capacity or integrity in the transaction of business.*"*

Is this an answer to the position taken by a prominent member of our local scientific societies, that scientific men should not, by reason of natural incapacity, be entrusted with the care of large pecuniary interests? The words of Dr. Le Conte, whether so intended or not, are a timely recognition of the rights of scientific men to be qualified as trustees of scientific property.

President Gilman went still further in his comments upon "The alliance of Universities and the learned Societies." Said he, "I take it that the prime purpose of the University is education, its secondary object is research; while the converse is true of the Academy, which should always make its major task, investigation, and its minor instruction. The best University will include among its professors those who can advance the sciences to which they are devoted, and among the associates of an Academy, there will always be those who are capable and ready to diffuse among men the knowledge discovered. The University will develop the talents of youth, the academy will task the powers of full grown men. Universities plant seed; academies reap fruit." Applying the standard thus raised, to the Philadelphia societies, it will be seen that the American Philosophical Society is the only one which in any way fills the role of academy work. The three bodies which can be spoken of in this connection, other than the one just named, are the Wagner Institute of Science, the Franklin Institute, and the Academy of Natural Sciences. The first of these is purely educational in character, and devoted to teaching really the rudiments of science to promiscuous gatherings. The second is useful in publishing a serial on topics pertaining to applied mechanics, in maintaining a library in mechanics and engineering, in conducting

*These italics do not occur in the address.

occasional industrial exhibitions, and organizing annual courses of popular lectures on scientific topics. The Academy of Natural Sciences was originated by a band of young men, "all of whom were dependent on daily avocations for a living. They determined to devote their leisure and such means as they could honestly command to secure the realization of their project." The Academy was called by its founders, "a society of generous, good-willing emulation for the acquirement, increase, simplification, and diffusion of natural knowledge." By the term natural knowledge, a knowledge of the natural sciences is to be understood. Two separate ideas are embraced in this language. Acquirement and increase of knowledge imply self-education; simplification and diffusion imply research. To refer to President Gilman's language, acquirement and increase of knowledge would be included in the University's province; the simplification and diffusion of knowledge belong to the Academy. Simplification of the natural sciences can be accomplished by the learned only; the diffusion, by the sagacious action of experienced men. A society embracing at once an educational and scientific intention, cannot long pursue the two equably.

Boston has, in great measure, separated her institutions for acquirement and increase of natural science from those devoted to the simplification and diffusion of the same. With us the two remain united in a single corporation. Is it not possible that the Academy, in striving to accomplish both, may measurably fail in both? The Academy should not be educational, if we are to believe President Gilman, except in a minor degree. Unfortunately, the Academy can be scarcely called educational at all; for her museum is so arranged as to be nearly valueless for purposes of general instruction—in fact it is little used for such. The volumes of its library cannot be loaned on any condition, and are, in practice, used only by experts. The major task of the Academy is certainly not investigation, if we are to judge of the relatively small number of persons, among its 864 members*, who are so engaged, and the wretchedly small amount of material furnished for study from its own collections. The student attracted to its halls by reason of any special treasure or privilege is a *rara avis*.

* These figures refer to the year 1877.

It would appear, therefore, that there is no society in Philadelphia that meets the requirements set forth by President Gilman, Drs. Le Conte and Brinton, outside of the Philosophical Society itself. She is yet greater than her children, and the idea of her progenitor, in founding a society "to let light into the nature of things, to increase to power of man over matter and to multiply the conveniences or pleasures of life," has nowhere in our limits so good an embodiment. She is so constituted as to expand in the best direction, with the fullest assurance of meeting all the requirements of the true Academy.

The address of Mr. W. V. McKean is, perhaps, the most striking of any in the number. This gentleman—a leading Philadelphia journalist—a man of affairs and rare judgment, secured, in the delivery of his speech, peculiarly close attention, from the fact he is one who, in biological phrase, is *extra limited* to science. His was the judgment of an unprejudiced yet practiced observer. Mr. McKean compared the value of the work done by the Royal Institution and that done in one of our recently endowed colleges, to the disadvantage of the last named. In the former instance he found that, with a moderate amount of money, Count Rumford had endowed a chair for original research, which had resulted in giving to the world Sir William Young, Sir Humphry Davy, Michael Faraday and John Tyndall—four magnificent characters, with their grand results in chemistry, electricity, physics and natural sciences generally. In the latter instance he found grand endowments; ornate, costly buildings; extravagant, injudicious outfit: with the inevitable result—poverty. "Poverty in the administration, *nil* as to the results in the way of promoting and diffusing useful knowledge among men. This is an example to us in these days in this country. * * * We do not provide as many of that kind of men (alluding to Faraday), as we ought to do. We do not do justice to the men whose names ought to stand in emulation with those of men in other countries, like Huxley, Pasteur, Helmholtz and Tyndall in Europe. It would not take much money to do all this; very little, indeed. *Endowed chairs for original research in which to place our able men are the equipments for our day.* Chairs so endowed that the occupants shall be relieved from the drudgery of teaching and the necessity for this day's work to pay for the next day's living. We have able men who

need no more than this to place them as peers in the promotion of useful knowledge with the best of the world. This plan is in my estimation worth more to the country and to the world, than all the monumental buildings for university and college purposes in all our land, and it costs but a tithe of the money." This said in a city that has never yet given a student a living in biology. Comment on such words is needless. They should be treasured, coming, as they do, not from a special student, but from a general observer, as having exceptional value. Particularly should they be remembered by those public-spirited citizens who may have in prospect making gifts of money for scientific purposes.

After reading these addresses and ruminating upon the thoughts they suggest, one cannot resist the inclination to add another speech. We wish there was room for the interpolation of this speech that was *not* made:—a speech of defense (for it must be so called,) against, at least, some of the above just imputations concerning the good name of our city; a speech explanatory—apologetic. In such a speech it might be said that few outside of those actually contributing knew under what disadvantages institutions of learning were sustained in Philadelphia; few knew that the State Legislature has never bestowed a cent of the public money for scientific purposes in Philadelphia, while \$900,000 has been given by the New York Legislature to the American Museum of Natural History in New York City, and nearly the same amount by the Massachusetts Legislature to scientific institutions in Boston and vicinity: that among those sustaining institutions in the city, the burden falls upon relatively few; that large and wealthy portions of Philadelphia contribute no more to the support of its institutions of learning than though their people lived in another State; and, finally, that by injudicious gifts and ungenerous restrictions, some of its most valuable societies are hampered in the possession of their bequests. But, after all is said, have we not a right to expect that Philadelphia will yet take the position in science her traditions and advantages claim for her? Is it not possible to soon accredit our beloved Commonwealth with the rich possession of institutions having efficient organizations,—chairs endowed for research,—societies devoted to the major task of investigation—with museums well arranged and yielding abundant material for study?

NEW BOOKS.

THE CASE OF IRELAND stated Historically, from the Earliest Times to the Present; together with a Gazetteer, geographical, descriptive and statistical, compiled from the latest and best authorities. Pp. 352. 12 mo. Chicago: P. T. Sherlock.

This is a book of somewhat unequal merit, being evidently the work of several hands; but it is both welcome and desirable in the existing ignorance of all that relates to that country. If we could but require every American editor to read this or some equivalent work through, before undertaking to write on the subject, we would find less nonsense on the subject in the columns of our daily newspapers. One of our most respected contemporaries told us, not long ago, that Ireland has about a hundred thousand people employed in cotton manufactures. The figures for 1879 showed that there were but six cotton factories in Ireland, while in 1871 there were but fourteen.

Thirty years ago such a book would have passed the subject of Irish manufactures as of insufficient dignity. But Irish nationalists are now fully awake to the importance of the subject. They see, as even M. de Molinari manages to see through his Free Trade spectacles, that it is the absence of manufacturing industry, which puts the people altogether in the hands of the landlords, and makes all pretence that the Irish people are free an insulting lie.

In the discussion of the most ancient Irish history, our authors are not at home with the latest results of scholarship.

INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF SIGN LANGUAGE among the North American Indians, as Illustrating the Gesture Speech of Mankind. By Garrick Mallery, Brevet Lieut.-Col. U. S. Army. Pp. 72. 4to. Washington: Govt. Printing Office, 1880.

It is a great service which modern anthropologists and sociologists have rendered to mankind, in pointing out the indications which connect the highest forms of society with the lowest, and showing how many of our customs and fashions are survivals from a more primitive condition of society, in which they possessed a significance which they have now lost. Forty years ago, Baader complained that scientific observers seemed to be content with accumulating great masses of separate facts, without caring to establish any connection between them, except that furnished by their arbitrary and insufficient systems of classification. At a still earlier date, Goethe complained of the unwillingness of the students of nature to look on the universe as a whole, or to seek to enter into its spirit. This reproach has ceased to be just. Since Mr. Dar-

win's great books brought the theory of evolution to universal notice, no one is content to know a fact without seeking to know its relation to the great order of upward movement, by which being moves upward from the polyp to man, and from the savage to the citizen.

Lieut.-Col. Mallery finding himself in the presence of a curious language of gesture, discerns in it at once a relation to the less elaborate and significant use of hand and arm which survives among us, and sets himself to describe, in its older and more elaborate form, a mode of utterance which in fragments still survives among us. How elaborate it is, may be inferred from the fact that he gives his readers a speech and a story thus conveyed to the eye by the symbols of the hand and other parts of the body. It has, sometimes, been doubted whether the ancient Mimes were able to act a complete story on the Roman stage, without uttering a sound. But Mr. Mallery's valuable contribution to ethnology puts that beyond a question.

At the end, Mr. Mallery publishes forms for inquiry and further investigation of this interesting subject, together with illustrations.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

School and Industrial Hygiene. (American Health Primers), By D. F. Lincoln, M.D. 16mo. Cloth. Pp. 152. Price 50 cents. Philadelphia: Presley Blakiston.

What to Do First in Accidents or Poisoning. By Charles W. Dulles, M.D. Cloth. 16mo., Pp. 64. Price 50 cents. Philadelphia: Presley Blakiston.

Academie Royale des Sciences, de Lettres et des Beaux-Arts de Belgique. Bulletins Nos. 6 and 7. Bruxelles: F. Hayez.

Hints for Home Reading; edited by Lyman Abbott, with Suggestions for Libraries; by George Palmer Putnam. 12mo. Cloth. Pp. 147. Price \$1. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. [J. B. Lippincott & Co.

Three Treatises of Plotinus. Translated from the Original Greek by Thomas M. Johnson. Osceola, Mo.: Sun Printing Office.

Christ the Model Teacher; A Baccalaureate Address. By Rev. P. Anstadt. Sw'd. Pp. 12. Price 10 cents. York, Pa.: Office Theological Monthly.

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PENN MONTHLY.

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THE MONTH.

THE European concert has not effected a great deal by its demonstration in Turkish waters. Waging war on Quaker principles, with nothing to fall back on when the blank cartridge of diplomacy have been exhausted, does not impress the Turk. He understands powder and ball much better.

The first effect of the demonstration was to make matters worse. Up to that time the Porte had professed a readiness to carry out the provisions of the Berlin Treaty, so far as Montenegro was concerned. The cession of Albanian territory having failed, the Sultan had professed no objection to the substitution of Dulcigno and the adjacent territory. But, with the appearance of the fleet in Turkish waters, his mood changed. The Montenegrins were warned that if they moved upon the town, in co-operation with the fleet of the Great Powers, the act would be regarded as a declaration of war. At this point there was a disposition to give up the plan of effecting the transfer of Dulcigno by means of the fleet. Some expedient was searched for, by which to make the Sultan's life a burden to him, without engaging in the hostilities which France and Germany deprecated. It was found in the occupation of an island of the *Ægean*, with possible annoyances to the Sultan's interests at sea.

Mr. Goschen obviated the necessity for this step by inducing

the Sultan to withdraw his opposition to the cession of Dulcigno. This put matters into as good a position as they occupied before the fleet assembled at Ragusa—but no better. Even this must have been effected by a pressure more than diplomatic. The Sultan's predecessor was deposed because he was ready to grant all that Russia had asked in the matter of Bulgaria, and not ready to follow the lead of Sir Henry Eliot in resisting Russia. His present majesty, it seems, does not care to incur the wrath of these king-makers. He yielded before it was too late.

But Dulcigno is not in the hands of the Montenegrins, and there is no probability of its immediate transfer. The Albanians have no right to it. It does not lie in the territory of any of their tribes, as did the lands whose cession to Montenegro was voted at Berlin. But they hate the Montenegrin Slavs so heartily, that they will avail themselves of any excuse to prevent the enlargement of their territory.

On putting one's self into the Turks' place, it is easy to see that they have something to say for themselves. They do not know why Montenegro should be given an extension of territory, which it is not strong enough to take for itself. Judged even by that standard of civilization which is always held by Western Europe before the Turks as the model they should follow, the Montenegrins are little better than a lot of thievish and quarrelsome barbarians. On what principle should the Great Powers seek to enrich them by removing their neighbor's landmarks? At first, they were to be enriched at the expense of the Albanians. Why should Albanian lands be given to Slavs, who could not assert to them the right of conquest? When that cession failed, Austria proposed that they should have Dulcigno and the adjacent country in stead. It never offered them Cattara and the lower end of Dalmatia, which lies, as Dulcigno does not, between Montenegro and the sea, which has hitherto furnished the natural entrance to that country, and which is nearly as Slav as the Black Mountain itself. Is it only at the expense of the Moslems that this petty Christian nationality is to be enlarged? And are Moslems expected to submit without a blow to seeing Dulcigno, the most intensely Moslem of Turkish seaports, handed over to new owners, who will not even tolerate Mohammedan believers within their territory?

If the enlargement of Montenegro is to be regarded as an isolated transaction, the Turks are right, and the Western Powers are acting absurdly. Russia alone knows what she wants; because to her the cession of Dulcigno represents the principle that the Balkan Peninsula belongs to the Slavs and the Orthodox Church by right of the majority, and that all others, whether Turks or Austrians, are intruders and must go. That is the ideal the Russian people have set before themselves, and in the long run they will achieve it. All the great permanent forces of race feeling and religious enthusiasm, are in their favor. They do not want to annex the peninsula to Russia. They want to see the people free as Slavs of the Greek Church, bound to Russia by ties of gratitude, and more than ready, as masters of Constantinople, to concede to Russia those maritime rights whose denial has been a permanent source of bitterness.

There are experienced observers of the European situation, who predict a renewal of the war between Russia and Turkey before another year.

THE "long list of agrarian murders in Ireland," aggregating thus far three victims in two years, together with the numerous instances of lesser outrages on live stock and property, has led the English ministry to take steps for the arrest and prosecution of Mr. Parnell and other leaders of the Land League. We think they will find that they have made a bad blunder in taking this step. With the exception of two rash speeches, made by Mr. Dillon and a more obscure orator, and rebuked by the other representatives of the League, not a word has been reported as uttered at any of its meetings, which can fairly be regarded as actionable. So far from advising murder and outrage, the League has discountenanced them very steadily, and if it has not been able to express much horror at the murder of such a man as Lord Mountmorris, it has at any rate expressed no approval of it. It is true that the League is laboring to produce a general agitation of the Irish people, but it is not unlawful to agitate for a lawful purpose. The League aims at no unlawful ends. It does not, like the Nationalists, propose the violent severance of Ireland from the English crown. At the most, its Home Rule members desire a legal restoration of the status of 1783-1801, and the repeal of a union which is now admitted on all

hands to have been effected with utter disregard of the wishes of the Irish people, and by the most infamous means politicians have at their disposal.

The plans of agrarian readjustment which the League propose, involve nothing unlawful. They ask that no one's property shall be taken away without a fair compensation, and that simply the consideration of public welfare on which railroads are granted the right of way, shall be extended to the settlement of the Irish land question. Equally within the law are the means they propose to secure this end. They merely urge the tenants to offer a passive but united resistance to the unjust demands of their landlords, and to "send to Coventry" any person who takes a farm after the eviction of a former tenant. To these plans the Liberal ministry itself gave their virtual sanction by the Land Bill they introduced. And the Peers who rejected that bill have a large share of responsibility for the present condition of Ireland.

That Mr. Parnell and his associates will be taken to England for trial, it is impossible to believe. England dare not make, before the world, such a confession of her inability to control the island she has annexed. The Leaguers will be tried in Dublin, and we do not think it possible that any jury can be found to convict them. If they are convicted, it will be a great gain to the Nationalist party, who see no hope for Ireland except in insurrection. It will show the Irish people that they need hope for nothing which they do not demand with arms in their hands. Whatever Mr. Parnell and his friends may desire, it will effect a transfer of the whole body of the Leaguers to the Nationalists.

We referred, last month, to the admirable letters describing "A Visit to Donegal and Connaught," which have been published by Mr. James H. Tuke, an English Quaker, who is now in this country. Mr. Tuke gives a most faithful and Friend-like account of what he saw, and sums up in favor of such a change in the land system as will give fixity of tenure or will create a peasant-proprietorship. He does not think emigration a proper remedy, conceding the force there is in what was told him by the Bishop of Kerry,—“It is only the resource of an indolent and unpatriotic government that brings emigration forward as a cure for our present evils, whilst all the time there are millions of acres of waste land.

which only needs the employment of the wasted labor which abounds, to make it fruitful and give the needed means of living to our people." Neither Mr. Tuke nor the Bishop seems to realize that the want of varied industry, and the forced concentration of the people's labor upon agriculture exclusively, is the root evil in the economic condition of Ireland,—the evil which makes possible the wrongs of the oppressive land system, as it leaves the people no choice but to accept land on any terms.

Ireland has had another visitor in the person of M. de Molinari, a French economist of the Manchester school. It was this gentleman who, during his visit to the Centennial Exhibition, discovered that the streets of our country abound in bare-footed people, because of the duty laid by our Tariff upon European shoes! His account of Ireland is what might have been expected. Her small farmers cannot exist, and the sooner they are wiped out by "economic causes," (which is Manchestrian for "the greed of landlords and capitalists,") the better for the country and for themselves. It is true that small farmers exist and flourish in Belgium, to say nothing of France: but then the Irish have not the thrifty disposition of the Belgians. Which reminds us of Swift's remark, that before we charge the Irish with idleness, we should remember that England has left them nothing to do, by destroying their industries. That a people who have had no chance to save should not have developed the habit of saving, is quite natural. In America and in Australia they do save, with such success as no Belgian ever dreamed of. The fall of a tree in New Mexico the other day killed a young Irishman who had gone thither a poor man, but died worth three and a half millions. Absolutely the richest man in the world, Mr. Mackay of California, is a native of Ireland. Nearly every city in America has its Irish mill-owners, manufacturers, contractors and merchants, into whose hands money has gathered during the last twenty years, at least as fast as into those of any other class. And these more notable instances are but the highest points in the great Irish movement toward competence and wealth, which is represented by tens of thousands of fine farms, beautiful residences, comfortable positions—outside of Ireland. This is the condemnation of the English rule in Ireland, that the Irish people have flourished everywhere but at home, and that while the Irishman is, as Phillips said, the only alien in Ireland, he is welcomed as a source of wealth and power in every other land.

THE assassination of the Afghan Emir, Abd-ur-Rahman Khan, in his capital, has been anticipated several times during the present year, and may be charged fairly to the English, or, more strictly, to the Marquis of Hartington. Had the policy of evacuation been carried out as firmly as it was announced, the country would have been united peaceably under a ruler who owes gratitude to the English. It is Hartington's dallying with the proposal to retain Candahar, which has cost his royal client his life. It is as the accomplice of the English, in their retention of Afghan soil, that the unhappy Emir has lost his life. For that delay there was no reason or excuse, except England's mercantile policy. Every advance of Russia in Central Asia has narrowed the range open to the competition of Manchester and Birmingham. To resist, or at least to offset, this, was an avowed portion of the Jingo policy, and, when every other consideration moved the English to leave the country to its own people, this was appealed to, with a view to secure the retention of Candahar and its isolation from Cabul. Abd-ur-Rahman Khan has fallen a victim to the commercial rapacity of English traders.

THE October elections have proved highly satisfactory to the Republicans. In Ohio their majority is about 20,000, with a gain of 2,000 in Mr. Garfield's own district. In Indiana they have a plurality of 7,141. In West Virginia they have made large gains, but have not overthrown the Democratic majority.

These results indicate the election of Mr. Garfield in November. To the 138 votes of the Solid South the Democrats must add 47 votes from the North, to elect General Hancock. If they had carried Indiana, New York would have been sufficient. Without Indiana, they must have not only New York, but also New Jersey and Connecticut, or else Maine and New Jersey. They claim all these States, but the more outspoken among their supporters repudiate the claim. How Connecticut will go was shown very clearly by the town elections in September. In Maine, only the Greenback half of the Fusion ticket has any chance of election. The Democratic half is replaced by Greenbackers on the regular Greenback ticket, making sure that the Republicans and not the Democrats will secure those three electors, if they do not, as is likely, secure the whole seven.

Even as regards New York and New Jersey, the Democratic chances are diminished very decidedly. The Republicans have succeeded in rallying to their support the solid mass of our business interests. Not only the manufacturers, who are powerful in both States, but the bankers, the produce dealers, and nearly all who are anxious for the continuance of our present prosperity, are taking a hand to secure these two States. We should not have been greatly astonished if Indiana had gone Democratic. A Republican plurality of 75 instead of 7,551, we should have regarded as a solid victory. But we shall be greatly disappointed if General Hancock gets a single electoral vote from either New York or New Jersey.

THESE elections not only indicate the election of Mr. Garfield, but also promise a Republican majority in the next House of Representatives. The gains in the Ohio and Indiana delegations are both very considerable, and the set of feeling in other quarters is such as to indicate the choice of Republicans to fill many seats now occupied by the Democrats. This is a matter of great importance to the interests of the nation. The experiment of carrying on the government with the legislature in the hands of one party and the executive in those of the other, has not been satisfactory. It has done much to nullify Mr. Hayes's good influence throughout the years of his administration, and to cripple his policy as regards both the North and the Civil Service. It may seem an ideal arrangement to those who think it of the most importance to play off one party against the other, and thus to secure a safeguard against certain abuses. But the logical outcome of this view would be the abolition of the Government itself. Besides, we have learnt during the last five years that, important as is purity in the public service, it is not the only thing. Ability and efficiency can not be dispensed with, and efficiency we can not secure so long as Congress and the President are pulling in different directions.

The nation, in expressing its confidence in Mr. Garfield, will do well to elect a Congress in harmony with his views of public policy. To elect a President, and then to nullify him, is a poor business.

Up to a certain stage in the campaign, the Republicans were making the Southern issue the chief one. Maine changed their

minds as to the wisdom of that course. Mr. Blaine has almost a patent right to "the bloody shirt," and he had waved it with great vigor and poor results. From whatever cause, a change came over the tenor of the Republican speeches. The business situation, the permanence of Resumption, but above all the Tariff, were brought to the front. The Democrats did not change front as rapidly. They have the political instinct to know that north of Mason and Dixon's line, it is for them a sore subject. They knew it would be a fatal blunder to press their Free Trade platform in many sections of the country. Not till the vote in Indiana had been counted, did they discover how dangerous it is in any northern community. They now admit that it was that which hurt them.

General Hancock has condescended to attempt to explain away the "Tariff for Revenue only" of the Cincinnati platform. How any Democratic manufacturer or workman could be encouraged to vote for him by these explanations, we fail to see. They show him to be a man of loose and confused ideas on the whole subject,—a man whose opinions on this great issue have yet to crystallize, and one likely to prove a nose of wax in the hands of the Southern Free Traders, if he should be elected. That he should have done this thing,—the one undignified act of his campaign,—shows that the Democratic leaders who suggested it, are fully aware of what hurt them in October.

Another attempt to reassure our manufacturers in this matter has been made by Mr. David A. Wells and Mr. J. S. Moore. Of Mr. Wells and his rancorous hostility to the Protection Policy, which he always advocated until he visited England, we need not speak. Mr. Moore is a Scotchman, and somewhat more bitter and reckless in his statements than Mr. Wells. The two unite in a public letter, with proposals for a new Tariff, from which we take the following :

"A tariff for revenue does not mean free trade; for, under the present system of deriving from duties on imports a large proportion of the revenue necessary to defray the large expenditure of the national government, a tariff for revenue necessarily means a comparatively and absolutely high tariff, and one that in all conscience ought to satisfy any reasonable demands for protection."

This statement is simply untrue, and only ignorance of the facts of political economy and of the terms it employs, could be any

one's excuse for supposing it true. If by Free Trade is meant, let us say, such a policy as England pursues, then "a Tariff for Revenue" and Free Trade are identical. So it has always been understood. Indeed, the very definition of Free Trade is that it is that policy which imposes duties on imports simply with reference to the receipts thus secured to the national treasury, and with no other object. And it necessarily, as these gentlemen know, requires the imposition of duties—on all except articles of prime necessity that cannot be made at home,—which are too low for any kind of protection. For, as all experience shows, and especially that of Mr. Gladstone in readjusting the English Tariff during Sir Robert Peel's administration, the lower the duty on other articles the higher the revenue, down to a range of duties far below the level of the mildest Protection. It is true that these gentlemen omit that little word "only" in their attempt to reassure our manufacturers as to the meaning of the Democratic proposals. They may have forgotten it, but the country has not.

Professor W. S. Sumner follows a more manly course. Recognizing the fact that the issue is clearly made between Free Trade and Protection, by the two platforms and by the speakers on them, he rushes into the fray on the Free Trade side with all his might. He is the Horatius Cocles who will keep the bridge against the invading host. We hardly know of two Northern Free Traders to fight by his side, unless it be Mr. Graham MacAdam and some other local obscurity. A month ago, we would have mentioned Messrs. Moore and Wells, but even they have beaten a retreat with General Hancock, and are chiefly anxious to show that nobody means Free Trade after all. But if nobody means Free Trade, why are such inveterate and unqualified free traders so anxious for the victory of the party that *seems* to talk that way?

MR. BARNUM and the other managers of the Democratic campaign in Indiana played their part very poorly. It is, therefore, not unnatural that they should try to cover up bad work by scolding, and by boasting of what they mean to do. They charge that Indiana was carried by the corrupt use of Republican money. If this be true, they owe it to the public to lay the details before it, just as Mr. Blaine does in regard to the Maine election. Until they do so, it will be the duty of every American to believe that they have uttered a false charge.

That the Republicans did not buy votes, that they had not the means to buy them to any large extent, we have the best reasons for believing. Mr. John C. New is reported as saying that the Democrats spent \$350,000 in Indiana, of which much was thrown away. But we *know* that up to the date of the October election, the funds raised by the Republican party authorities, for Indiana and all other purposes, fall far short of what Mr. New says was spent in that state on the other side. Of course, there was something done at raising funds in the state itself. But we doubt if all that went into the treasuries of both parties, from local contributions, would make up the difference between these two amounts. If it did, then Indiana is richer or more generous than Pennsylvania.

That no great weight is to be attached to anything Mr. Barnum says, he has given reason for believing. His National Committee came into possession of what they believed to be a letter of Mr. Garfield's on the Chinese question. They believed it genuine, as Mr. Randall and Mr. Hewitt both thought they recognized the handwriting, and as such they gave it to the public. It professed to be addressed to Mr. H. L. Morey, of the Employers' Union of Lynn, Mass., in January, 1880. Its publication brought out the facts that there has been no Employers' Union in Lynn since 1878, that no H. L. Morey ever belonged to it during its existence, and that, indeed, no such man is known to anybody in Lynn. Mr. Garfield, on being shown the letter, promptly telegraphed that it was "a stupid forgery." This would have been enough for a man who was anxious to fight his campaign on a truthful basis. But Mr. Barnum, after being told that the letter has been stamped a forgery, and that Mr. H. L. Morey is a myth, replies that that makes no matter, for Gen. Garfield did write it!

Mr. Evarts's speech was made in New York and was one of the wittiest and in many respects among the ablest of the campaign. He rang clever changes upon the various Democratic candidates since 1860, so often described as "better than their party" in the pleas put forward for their election, and admitted that Judge Black had happily described Mr. Garfield when he spoke of him as personally one of the honestest, warmest-hearted, most guileless men that he ever knew,—as a man of genius, of learning, of eloquence, of popular power—but in politics and in government un-

ble to be "any better than his party." Of the Democratic candidate, Mr. Evarts spoke fittingly, as a great and faithful general of the war, and a faithful general in his place in the army since the war. It was only as the "superb" candidate of the Democratic party, that Gen. Hancock became a legitimate object of criticism, as though his single merit were enough to outweigh the Grants and the Lincolns, the generals and statesmen, living and dead, who carried the country through the greatest crisis of its existence. Mr. Evarts knew of but one other "Superb" in history, the Tarquinius Superbus, who slew Servius Tullius the liberator of the plebeians, and who put to death all the senators who voted for their political emancipation. He drew a witty parallel between the two "Superbs,"—not altogether fairly, as the Latin *superbus* is not the equivalent of the English 'superb;' but he overlooked one circumstance which might have added to the point and force. When the citizens of Rome sought, some decade ago, for a fitting contribution to the great Lincoln monument at Springfield, they passed by the monuments of Republican and Imperial times, and selected a stone from the great *cloaca*, the only work which dates from the reign of Servius Tullius, the emancipating king. Their choice was based not so much upon the supreme antiquity of that vast piece of masonry, as on the historic resemblance of the American president's career to that of the ancient king, whose work was obliterated, as his life was extinguished, by the "Superbus" who succeeded him.

It was a pleasant surprise to find Mr. Evarts coming forward so decidedly as a Protectionist, and appealing to a New York audience to support the Republican party as the party which declined to place the American workman on a par with the pauper laborer of Europe. Had he not done so, he would have been, to that extent, out of harmony with the other spokesmen of the party. They all, with the natural exception of Mr. Schurz, have called attention to the "Tariff for Revenue only" of the Democratic platform. That Mr. Evarts would do the same might have been inferred from a recent publication of the State Department. But some of the people who, in the Fifth Avenue Conference of 1876, tried to yoke the Reforming section of the Republican party to the Free Trade chariot, must have been disagreeably surprised at finding the

second choice of that famous and futile assembly declare himself a Protectionist. Never, in truth, has the Republican party taken so decided a stand on the old Whig principles as during the present campaign; and a Free Trader on a Republican platform will soon feel himself as much out of place as does a Pennsylvanian protectionist on the platform of the party who are avowed enemies of American manufactures.

On this head Mr. Evarts gave the Republican party a hint, which they would do well to take. He pointed to the absurdity of Irish and German voters casting their suffrages so as to bring their adopted country within the area of the evils which have forced them to leave their native country. To our Irish voters, especially, the Republican party can make the strongest appeal. Ireland owes more than half its miseries to being forced into free trade with the powerful nation which holds her in subjection. The safe cue for an Irishman in America is to do the contrary of what England wants him to do; and the one service that England now desires of him is to vote the Democratic ticket all the time. Every such vote is helping to perpetuate the system by which Ireland has been impoverished, and to give a sanction, which the English crave, for the ideas upon which that system is founded. But every Irish Republican vote is a blow at that selfish commercial supremacy upon which England's military power is based, and is, in the long run, a blow, also, for the liberation of all those who groan under her yoke.

Of this, the better informed leaders of the Irish Nationalists are well aware. They lament the local alliances which have given the Irish vote to the Democratic party. They recognize in Matthew and Henry C. Carey the wisest and most legitimate counsellors of American Irishmen, and they would be glad to co-operate with the Republican leaders in any effort to put a stop to this unnatural association by showing the Irish voters what British Free Trade did for Ireland, and what it means to do for America. An offer to that purpose was made during the present summer, and it is much to be regretted that circumstances prevented its acceptance.

On the other hand, it is to be regretted that there lingers in the Republican ranks something of the Know-Nothing feeling, which prevents their earnestly seeking such an alliance. It is not that they despise the Irish half so heartily as do the autocratic leaders

of the Democratic party. But, finding the Irish vote arrayed so constantly on the side of the champions of negro slavery, they have conceived a certain contempt for people who seem to welcome liberty for themselves only, but to deny it to every one else who is not of the same skin. But surely the time has come for this color-line to vanish out of our politics, and for the Republicans to invite to co-operation all who agree that popular liberty, national authority and varied industries shall be preserved to the American people.

MR. EVARTS made a second speech in Brooklyn, in which the most remarkable point was his calm and sensible arraignment of the Solid South. He did not hold the South criminal in voting as a unit for the Democratic party, any more than he would have held the North criminal for being solid in support of the Republican party. His indictment turned upon the fact that this solidity had been secured by banishing free discussion and honest voting from the Southern States, so that one party, whatever the change of opinion among the legal voters, is secured 138 electoral votes without any effort on its part, and required merely to find 47 more in the free North to complete a national majority. This he regarded as cutting off the Southern States from their natural and wholesome relation to the rest of the nation. His presentation of the case is the more valuable, as presenting this Southern matter in just the shape in which the Republican case commends itself to the sober judgment of the people at large. The presentation of that case to which Mr. Blaine and General Butler have accustomed us, has no longer any hold on the public mind. The solidity of the South is indeed one of the features of our political situation, which is influencing greatly the present election. It is weighing with people who are saying little or nothing about it, and who, at the same time, deplore the necessity of arraying North against South in the old fashion. Few of our Republican speakers seem to us to have reached this class of voters. We think Mr. Evarts did so, and we hope that he, and not Mr. Blaine, will become the model for the treatment of the subject.

THE wide and deep interest felt in the present campaign, is evidenced by the appearance on the platform of persons who now

make their first appearance in political discussion. The most remarkable instance is, of course, that of Mr. Grant, but that of Mr. Clemens ("Mark Twain,") is hardly less striking. Mr. Clemens evidently entertains the opinion that we have treated General Grant rather shabbily, while he assures him that the country is ready to reward his services in any cheap and inexpensive way. That our humorist's sympathies are on the side of Protection, was evident so long ago as his connection with the *Buffalo Express*, when he paid his respects to some Free Traders, who sneered at our Pennsylvania steamship line.

It was not to be expected that Mr. Wade Hampton would raise the issue of truthfulness during this campaign. We have no disposition to be harsh with the gentleman, and the Northern people have none. A man who succumbs to a great temptation, in order to rescue his party from a predicament in which his looseness of speech had placed them, is not to be forthwith branded a liar. The act may be, and in this instance we believe is, contrary to the whole tenor of the man's life. But when a man has made such a false step, it would be wisest for him to do nothing to remind the public of it, but rather to "tarry in Jericho till his beard be grown." Mr. Hampton has not thought that the best way of procedure. Finding in one of Mr. Sherman's speeches a passage in which his own name is associated with that of the Ku-Klux, he demanded an explanation, and not finding it to his mind, he challenged the Secretary in due form to fight a duel, after calling him a liar. Mr. Hampton forgot that the provisions of "the code" exempt a gentleman from fighting one whose honor is "under a cloud," whatever the provocation. When Benedict Arnold spat on an English officer's coat, the latter wiped it off merely, as he could not cross swords with a traitor. And when a man has been charged with untruth by thousands of his countrymen on the platform and in the press, but has taken no notice of the charges, then sees fit to raise the issue of truthfulness in this fashion, he is not entitled even to what Southern barbarism calls "the satisfaction due to a gentleman."

THAT Mr. Hampton was ever a member of the Klan, Mr. Sherman did not assert, and there is no reason to believe. But that he

has profited politically by a system of political management which is essentially the same as that of the Klan, no sane man in the North can doubt. Mr. Hampton, it is true, recently assured a northern audience that there are no outrages committed on Republicans in the South. It seems to have been Mr. Sherman's assertion to the contrary, in his letter, which brought his wrath to the fighting point. But it is only a few weeks since Mr. Hampton's own organ called on the red shirts to attend a Republican meeting, because the Republicans had refused to "divide time" with Democratic speakers. That invitation was accepted, the meeting broken up, and several negroes shot, as they stood talking politics in front of the house of one of them, by some of these very red coats as they rode past; so Democratic papers tell us. Had this thing been done in any corner of New Hampshire or Vermont, and had its victims been a number of General Hancock's supporters, the country would have rung with the story of "Republican outrage." But the victims are only South Carolina negroes, and there are no outrages in South Carolina. Wade Hampton gives us his word for it.

THE Ship Owners' Convention in Boston seem to have taken as their motto a modification of the miser's maxim: "Ships, get ships; by right means if you can, but at any rate get ships!" For this great purpose, they are free-traders at one end of their platform and yet protectionists at the other. They want to see our registration thrown open to foreign-built vessels, yet to see a bounty put upon vessels of American build. The general recommendation of the Convention will have no weight with the public. They did not adapt them to any strain of public feeling. They resolved and speechified as if ships were to be our salvation—an opinion the public does not entertain. But their minor suggestions, especially as regards the hardships inflicted upon ship-owners by the law of discharge and some other laws, deserve attention.

FOR the first time in a good many years, our medical schools have begun their sessions with no bogus colleges to lower their prestige or injure their good name. Now that this greater evil is removed, is it not time for the public and the medical profession to give some attention to the lesser, but real, evils connected with medical education?

In nearly all our colleges the course covers but two years. Each professor lectures to all the students in attendance, either on the whole of the subject which has been assigned to his teaching, or on one half his subject this year and the other half the next. There is no pretence of adapting the instruction to the capacity of less and more advanced students. The student who comes when the Professor is occupied with what is properly the first half of the subject, hears the two halves in their proper order. For the student who comes the next year, the cart is put before the horse.

Under the same antiquated arrangement there are no examinations except at the end of the course. No pains are taken to ascertain whether the student is following up the course of study. His degree depends on his good luck in getting the questions he can answer in a single examination at the end.

This system was, perhaps, too severely described, when it was called "a decent way of selling a degree." Its practical administration varies, of course, with the patience, the conscientiousness, and the watchfulness of each professor. But it leaves too many loopholes for the remissness and weakness of human nature.

It is not approved by the medical profession generally. The National Medical Association have called repeatedly for the substitution of a three-years' graded course, with repeated examinations. The Medical Faculty of Harvard University have the credit of being the first to act on this suggestion. But of the larger and older medical schools, it was the University of Pennsylvania which first gave up the old system and adopted the new. The result has been entirely satisfactory. There has been no falling off in the attendance of students. The greater severity and thoroughness of the course have attracted a better class of young men,—those most anxious for thoroughness in their training. A New York College has followed, or is about to follow, this example. Shall we not soon be able to say that all the medical schools of this city are on this better footing?

TIMOUR THE TATAR.*

THE object of this paper is to exhibit, so far as possible, the character of a celebrated and much misunderstood man, by means of his own words. Some historical and ethnographical outline of his age and race suggests itself, however, as a natural introduction to the "Institutes" of Timour. Although pessimists may discredit conclusions pointing to indefinite progress, and a retrospective tendency render men doubtful of any fundamental superiority to their more remote progenitors—it is undeniable that the present era possesses some negative advantages, at least, to which the "good old times," so constantly praised and so commonly misconceived, could make no claim. If we have not been wholly delivered from those greater misfortunes—"plague, pestilence and famine, battle and murder and sudden death"—that we are accustomed to beseech heaven to avert, it is no more than a statement of acknowledged fact to say that, in these respects, the present compares most favorably with the past. Plagues and famines, such as history records, cannot now occur in any civilized country—war from economic causes has become the last resource, and murder at this time cannot be said to occur with its former frequency. Beyond this, the tendency to death has been checked by hygienic science to a degree that philanthropy neither accomplished nor imagined to be possible, and by "taking thought," man has both increased his stature and lengthened his life. Among the great and terrible calamities that visited nations in an earlier period, barbarous invasion appears, from its immediate consequences, to have been the greatest and most irremediable—to have admitted of the fewest sources of consolation and left the least hope of reparation. Tried by their results, these events conformed to the first view contingently upon the character of the invaders—and upon this, not only in so far as typical features were concerned, but also in respect of those subordinate traits acquired by residence and contact, during periods not far removed from that of their irruption. Still, under the most favorable conditions, the disasters accompanying these inroads were well nigh incalculable. The mad slaughter, the

*INSTITUTES, POLITICAL AND MILITARY.—Written originally in the Mogul language by the Great Timour, improperly called Tamerlane. First translated into Persian by Abu Taulib Alhousseine, and thence into English; with marginal notes by Major Davy: 1770-73."

intolerable outrages always inflicted, and the useless and widespread ruin of all industries they occasioned, together with the disease and degradation that followed in the footsteps of savage hordes, seem almost to sum the possibilities of misfortune. But there remained evils greater than those referred to and far more lasting. By a provision of nature, the memory of their forefathers' afflictions disappeared from their descendants' recollection. Succeeding generations could reëstablish trade, restore defaced cities, and possibly regain and increase their political power, but a library or a work of art once destroyed, was irrevocably lost; and though others might be created, this was gone forever. No man can now determine, even approximately, the cost of ancient war in this regard. We hear much of the power of knowledge, but of the deeds that blind, giant ignorance has done, who can speak adequately? For a thousand years, Europe and Asia were periodically overrun by barbarians. In all instances, the direct effects of their presence, were unfortunate in the highest degree, and, although in the case of the Teutonic nations, the ultimate results of their immigration were of surpassing benefit to the countries they overwhelmed, this cannot be said of any other invaders, and least of all, of the Turanians, either in the east or the west. In one point of view, both Goth and Hun are on the same level. Neither could make good much of the damage they did, and in so far as this was the case, their presence anywhere was an undeniable evil. The former elaborated a civilization in many respects superior to that which they overthrew; but what they alike destroyed was nothing less than a portion of the intellectual inheritance of mankind. In many important departments they have almost expunged the past, and in all made blanks that can never be filled.

When, however, the invading people are themselves contrasted, great differences become at once manifest. In one case, for example, future civilization was possible; in the other, it was not to be hoped for. There is a singular and persistent error generally diffused among men, to the effect that progress is the natural tendency of all the types of mankind, and, as a corollary, that declension begins whenever advance ceases. The entire evidence of history goes to show that, so far from this being the case, "a stationary state is by far the most frequent condition of man," and progression the "rare and occasional exception." The degree of

development in all living beings, whatsoever, depends upon their capacity to adjust themselves to their environment, and in accordance with this law, historic ethnography has broadly discriminated the human race into groups corresponding with their power of adaptation to constant or variable surroundings. Without entering further upon the subject of "nation changing," it is enough to say that the two families who have been most conspicuous in the great historic movements of masses, afford a striking illustration of the fallacy just referred to. When, in the fifth century, the Visigothic branch of the Teutonic race occupied Gaul from the Rhone to the Pyrenees, and their congeners, the Franks and Burgundians subsequently conquered and colonized its western and northern provinces, there was neither in the initiatory conflict nor the internecine wars that followed, any attempt to obliterate the remains of Grecian and Gallo-Roman civilization. What they destroyed was ruined in ignorance, not intentionally, and no trace of that determination to erase all the records of their predecessors, which Mongolian conquerors have commonly exhibited, has ever been charged against them. On the contrary, in obedience to the laws of their organization, they adopted, as far as they were able, the legislation, literature and religion of the conquered, and the schools of Narbonne, Arles, Vienna and Toulouse, were soon filled with German students. Attila's boast, that the grass never grew where his horse had trod, was characteristic, and so awful were the results of his invasion of Europe, that it is not surprising that the posts who bore southward the news of his march, should have represented the Huns as the offspring of the witches of Scythia and infernal spirits.

Some prefatory remarks upon the Mongolian and Scythian tribes with whom Timour overwhelmed half the ancient world, would seem to be necessary, for the reason that while sufficiently accurate records of his actions are readily obtainable, the whole subject of the races he subjected, or who composed his armies, is involved in a maze of contradiction and error. It may be assumed that but few persons can fail to perceive the importance of these ethnic traits in modifying the relation between victors and conquered, of which an example has just been given.

The ethnology of these Asiatic steppes is not a very promising subject, perhaps, so far as its general interest is concerned, but the absolute necessity for including the science of races in a prepara-

tion for all philosophical studies of history need scarcely be insisted upon. Race questions, in fact, underlie all others, and in this instance their importance is revealed by the striking contrast existing among the descendants of those nations who marched under the command of the Great Khan—contrasts that nothing less than genetic peculiarities, that is to say, differences organized by the operation of the law of heredity, can adequately account for.

The application of the terms Scythian and Mongole has varied greatly at different periods. When Herodotus wrote an abstract of the accounts he received from the Greek colonists on the Euxine, Scythia was supposed to be a square with sides five hundred miles long. Both he, and Hesiod before him, described the manners of the Scythians—Scoloti they called themselves—accurately and in strict accordance with the statements of subsequent travellers. According to Niebuhr, the southern frontier of Scythia (which was the only part of the country known to Herodotus), embraced all the territory lying on the Euxine, except the Tauric Chersonesus, from the mouth of the Danube to the sea of Azof. Rawlinson extends it to the débouchure of the Don, but however this may be, with the fame of the Scythians, who, Thucydides said, would have been invincible if they could have submitted to discipline, ancient report enlarged their country until all the unexplored portions of eastern Europe and western Asia were included in the term Scythia, and Scythian became a general expression for any unknown barbarian. When the Sarmatians conquered the original territory, and gave their name to it, the Greeks (whom Alexander's expedition had made imperfectly acquainted with the nations beyond the Oxus and Jaxartes), transferred the title of Scythians to them, and thenceforth the Alexandrian and Roman geographers always spoke of Scythia as an Asiatic country, comprehending all the northern part of the continent between China and the Volga, an immense expanse roughly divided by the Himalayas and their spurs into Scythia *intra* and *extra* Imaus.

The authentic history of the ancient European Scythians is not very complete. In the seventh century B.C. they dispossessed the Cimmerians, and following them towards Asia Minor, passed—possibly by mistake—east of the Caucasus into Media. Their inroad compelled Cyaxares to raise the siege of Nineveh, and after his defeat they occupied the empire as far as the boundary of Palestine

for the next twenty-eight years. A successful revolt restored the Median dynasty, and the expulsion of the Scythian hordes terminates the first era of their history. The ill-advised and disastrous campaign that Darius made in retaliation for the invasion of his empire, is the second fact in their annals. But little more is known of this war than that he accomplished nothing, lost great numbers of men, and except for the fidelity of his Indian allies, would have been utterly destroyed at the Danube. This event occurred in the early part of the sixth century B.C., and with it the Scythians, originally so called, vanish from history. When Alexander invaded Sarmatia, its former name had become obsolete, and the intermixture of races had essentially altered the people. The boundaries of the country conquered by the Macedonians are very uncertain, but what the Roman authors meant by Sarmatia was nothing less than the whole area surrounded by Germany, Pannonia, Dacia, the Tauric Chersonesus, Colchis, Iberia, Albania, Scythia, and those unknown and trackless deserts that stretched away northwards to the "Sea of Darkness." By this time, however, the Sarmatians—progenitors of the Scythes, Hamaxobii, Roxolani, Venedi Alani, &c.—were well known, and their descent from the Scythians and Amazons was looked upon as mythical. The vagueness of ancient geographers about Scythia corresponds to the confusion existing among modern ethnologists. Niebuhr and Böckh, for example, call the Scythians of Herodotus Mongolians, and are supported by Thirlwall and Grote in the surprising statement that they were the ancestors of the Huns, Bulgarians, and Turks! Two different theories about the Huns have been formed. The first identifies them with those wandering Hiong-nee, whom historians have made almost as ubiquitous as theologians have the lost tribes of Israel. Humboldt, Klaproth, Grimm, Rawlinson, &c., assert, on the contrary, their relationship to the Finnish branch of the Indo-Europeans. The latter is doubtless a more correct genealogy, but this much is certain: if the Huns were Mongolians, they could have had no genetic affinity with either the Bulgarians or Turks, who were not Tatars, or at least not so in the sense of being nations of Mongol descent. De Guignes (*Histoire des Huns*) uniformly speaks of them as Turanians, but Turanian and Tartar are terms used as loosely in modern as Scythian was in ancient times. This people (the Turks) were known to the Greeks as early as the

eleventh century B.C., under the name of Chuni, and, either alone or with allied tribes, became the progenitors of the Magyars. When they deserted their former settlements between the Don and the Dniester, and poured through the Carpathian passes upon Hungary and Transylvania, they found the country in possession of a mixed offspring of Dacians, Bastarnæ, Illyrians, Pannonians, Sarmatians, Vandals, Bulgarians, Avars, Longobards, Goths, Huns, Khazars, &c., with whom they intermingled after the manner of barbarous conquerors, and thus added to intricacies of relationship, "such as no casuist could unravel." The Bulgarians, from whose arrows the western Europeans established a form of prayer for deliverance, first raided the Eastern Empire from the Danube to the Ionian Sea. During the reign of Justinian (527-565), all the inhabitants of Russia, Lithuania and Poland were broadly divided into Bulgarians and Sclavonians, and the Greek writers, whose ignorant disdain of foreigners led them into error in all ages of their literature, took it for granted, from their savage appearance and atrocious conduct, that the Bulgarians were Tatars and descendants of the Huns. In reality, they were Aryans, and belonged to a Gothic branch of this race in which the Celtic element almost predominated. It is impossible to determine how much they had been affected in the immense pre-historic period during which they occupied Europe, by intermixture with the Pelasgian and Teutonic varieties of the race, from which these in common with themselves were originally derived. Speaking generally, the Scythians were Indo-Europeans, and though appearing in history in many grades of development, are clearly separated from the Mongolians by permanent structural peculiarities, and equally persistent mental traits. No race is pure. All possess branches that climate, habit and intermixture have altered beyond recognition. The Finns, for example, who were the representatives of the Asiatic Scythians in northern Europe, and in the present state of ethnological science must be regarded as the aboriginal inhabitants of Scandinavia, have changed radically through physical causes; while the Esthonian and Tchudic tribes of Middle Russia and Permian have mingled with the Tatars until the type of both races has been obliterated.

The term Mongolian is another instance of the almost unlimited extension of a title. Before the tenth century, the people known by this name were an insignificant tribe of barbarians living in north-

western Asia. Now it is applied to the largest portion of the human race. Nations the most dissimilar—Chinese, Kamtschatkans, Yakuts, Kalmucks, Laps (though Prichard refers the latter to the Finns,) are included in the designation, and all the Malay element, not Caucasians, is confidently added.

It may be admitted here that no satisfactory classification of mankind has as yet been accomplished. For instance, Metzger divides the human race into two species, Jacquinot into three, Kant into four, Blumenbach into five, Buffon into six, Bory de St. Vincent into fifteen, Desmoulins into sixteen, and so it has gone on. No agreement upon what constituted a species in the *genus homo*, could be arrived at; and now Darwin's development of the Lamarckian theory, seems likely to settle the disputed question in a manner that heterologists did not anticipate. More for the sake of convenience than because the terms are rigidly accurate, anthropologists and philologists now speak of men as either Negroes—Turkians or Indo-Europeans. In the second class—excluding the Chinese and Japanese of historic times—may be comprehended all the nomadic tribes who have never been civilized. These have always been entangled more or less inextricably into the Scythians, and in combination with them, have formed those desolating hordes whose object was conquest and spoil alone. Unlike the Teutons, they assimilated little or none of the civilization that their campaigns brought them in contact with, and with the true instinct of barbarians, they plundered, destroyed and departed. These nomadic nations—races Prichard calls them—have been the conquerors *par excellence* of the world, and these Timour combined for the general overthrow of all existing governments.

It is perhaps supererogatory to say that all races must have been nomadic at some period in their history. No people can be certainly said to be autochthones. The evidence at our disposal, however, points to Asia as the original habitat of man, although the higher antiquity of the sub-aerial surface of central Africa, and certain facts recently determined concerning the *brown* or Cushita type, may modify this view. For the present, we must be content to regard the elevated plateau of Asia, north of the Kuen-lun mountains, as the seat of the most ancient societies of which any authentic data exist.

The system of valleys lying between the parallel chains of the

Himalaya, Kuen-lun and Thian-shan or Altai ranges, were fertilized by the affluents of the great lakes of Koko-nor, Nor-saisan, Lob-nor and the Sea of Balkash, and it was from these valleys that their superabundant population poured along the great path zone, at the remotest periods of time of which any traces remain. North of this region and of the Golden mountain, lay the Siberian steppes; to the south, India, enclosed by the rivers that had their sources there; eastward, its streams emptied into the seas of Okhotsk and Japan. On the west the way was open, and by this route the predecessors of Attila, Ghengis and Timour, passed out to fulfil their destinies.

Of the five races that have been assigned to this area, one, the Ugorian (Finnic and Tschudic), cannot be certainly posited there, and another, the Bhotiga (Thibetan mountaineers, erroneously called Tatars) is not strictly within its limits. The Turks, Tungusians and Mongoles, may, however, be regarded as its autochthones, although the most remote representatives of these types are recent varieties in comparison with those tribes that existed there when the great Asian upland was a semi-tropical island, and a continent whose fauna and flora are lost, lay between it and America.

Among these races,—the Tatar is that with which we are more particularly occupied. This is nearly allied with the Mongoles—“*L'ensemble,*” says Siebold, “*de leurs traits porte, en général, le caractère de la race Mongole.*” Like all other peoples, changed circumstances have produced varieties, and Pallas describing the Daourian tribes, notices the great exaggeration of their original characteristics: “*Leur visage est plus applâti et plus grand que celui des Mongoles: c'est une ressemblance que je leur trouve avec le Samoyides,*” and he might have added to the Tschuk-tschis, Koriaks, Kamtschatkans, and other ichthyophagi on the coast of the Arctic Ocean. After the fall of the Hiong-nee Empire, the Eastern Turks, whom the Chinese writers call Thu-K'in or Whey-ou-eul—corrupted by phonetic European orthography into Huy-hurs, Ouigours, Iguours and Turks—became, according to De Guignes, Rémusat and Ritter, the connecting link between the Asiatic aborigines we have referred to and the historical Seljuk and Osmanli groups. Despite their intermixture, both Turk and Mongol remain distinct, both in Europe and Asia Minor; whereas the nomadic tribes of the Toorki family, the Kirghis, Usbecks, Cos-

sacks of the Don, etc., and all those nations of independent Turkestan usually called Tatars, have the Mongolian features in a marked degree. On the other hand, the early civilized Tatars of Kasan, the Toorki conquerors of Mawera'nahar and Khorassan during the period of the Hegira, present, as Prichard remarks, "a nearly or quite European type." Much confusion has arisen from an improper application of the family name of races, but what has been said may render the subject of Tatar genealogy more clear. The nomadic Ta-ta—Tatars—of whom the Chinese chroniclers of the ninth century speak, lived further west than the tribes with whom they have been constantly confounded. Their territories lay in the valley of the upper Amoor, and about Lake Bouir-nor. In the early part of the ninth century the Khitans scattered them. Part submitted, part passed the desert of Gobi and settled along the head of the north branch of the Hoang-ho, whence the Manchoo invasion subsequently expelled them. This branch, being well supplied with horses, and having acquired the habits and the rude military organization their forced migrations involved, issued from their encampments on the Amoor, where they had finally returned, and desolated the Chinese frontier by predatory expeditions. These at length became so serious that every robber horde was called by the generic name of Tatar, and, hence, both the Turks and Tungoos became included in this designation. On account of this want of discrimination, the Chinese annalists of the thirteenth century divided the Tatars into four classes, viz.: the Ta-che (white Tatars), who were probably Turks from the Altai, and followers of Ghengis Khan. Next the savage Tatars, slaves of the former. Thirdly, the aquatic Tatars, whom Klaproth supposes to have been Tungoos; and, finally, the Black Tatars, the true Ta-ta, from whom Ghengis and Timour were descended, whom the Great Khan named "Mog-ho" (Mongoles,) the audacious, and who composed the *corps d'élite* of his army, the great bulk of which was formed of Turks.

In the twelfth century a storm of invasion burst upon the East, similar to that which had desolated the Empire of the West nearly six hundred years before. We do not learn that this was heralded by special portents or cataclysms, because it is probable that Oriental metaphysicians had not pointed out the necessary connection between the order of nature and that of the human mind. Had

philosophy been happily so far advanced, we should doubtless have possessed accounts of a sufficient number of physical convulsions to justify the theory. When during the reigns of Valens and Valentinian, dreadful earthquakes shook the Roman world from Bythnia to Palestine, and tidal waves (where there was no Saint like Hilariion to stop them), ruined the coasts of Dalmatia, Greece, Egypt, and Sicily, the wise men of the West saw at once the relation of these phenomena to the inroad of Attila and the propagation of Arianism. The convulsion of the East was due to the ambition of Ghengis, or Zingis, Khan, the founder of the Mogul Empire, and the present Chinese dynasty; one of those remarkable men who seem only able to develop themselves completely among Oriental nations. Born in 1164, at fourteen years of age he succeeded to the chieftainship of his clan, and henceforward to the end of his long career, he may be said to have lived sword in hand. In 1205, he was crowned at the great *couroultai* of the Touranian tribes, Khan of all the Mogul and Tartar hordes, and "Lord of the four quarters of the world." Neither D'Herbelot nor De la Croix, ventured to conjecture the number of lives he sacrificed to deserve these honors, and the same oblivion rests upon the remains of ancient civilization he buried under the ruined cities of Sogdiana, Khorassan, Maru and Herat. The year 1213 saw him master of Pekin and all Northern China. Persia then succumbed, and the most fertile regions of Asia were overrun. In 1227 he fortunately died. Bagdad yielded to the arms of his grandson, and the Mohammedan succession was brought to an end. Having absolutely no principle of cohesion, the Empire of Zingis, stretching from China to Poland, fell to pieces very soon. It represented no faith, no idea, not even an opinion, unless it be the opinion that a man is free to do whatever he has power to accomplish. It does not appear that his life was in any respect other than an unmitigated evil to his fellow creatures, or that it pointed any other moral except that unbridled wickedness adequately supported, may triumph to the end. He passed away full of years and honor, and about a century after his career was repeated by one of his descendants upon a yet grander scale.

Timour, Timour Beg, often called Tamerlane, a corruption of Timour lenk or the lame, was born in the village of Sebz near Samarcand, then the capitol of Bokhara, and afterwards the Imperial

city of the Tatar Empire, in 1335. He died at Otrar on the Jaxartes in the winter of 1405. His father was the chief of the Toorki tribe of Berlas, and by the mother's side he traced his descent from Zingis Khan. At this period the independent Khanates to the west of the Bolor Tagh, were in a chronic state of civil war. The provinces of Kafirstan, Koondooz, Bokhara and Khiva were never quiet, and a constant succession of despots oppressed and impoverished their numerous cities. Throughout the fertile valleys drained by the tributaries of the Gihoon, Zerasshan and Jaxartes, there was settled a large population, and although the climate of the Toorkomanian steppes precluded cultivation, the productions of the former were quite sufficient for consumption, and readily admitted of increase. Strangely contrasted races and religions were mingled in Turkestan towards the middle of the fourteenth century—Usbecks, Kirgheez, Arabs, Nogai, Tatars and Persians, Dualists, Shiahs, Loofis-Jews, worshippers of the Dalai Lama and pagans, were all to be found there. Ghengis Khan had no religion beyond a speculative monotheism, and he may be credited with the negative virtue of tolerance. Possibly to some extent from the survival of his religious indifference, these sectaries, who despised and hated each other, it may be presumed, in proportion to the fervor of their faith, did not originate any conspicuous disturbances, and the misfortunes of the country, experienced at this time, were due to the avarice and ambition of the Emirs and Princes. At twelve years of age Timour began his military career. In 1361 he became chief of the Berlas tribe, and expelled the Khan of Cashgar and his Calmucks from Transoxiana. It was during this war that he effected his celebrated escape from the dungeon into which his enemies had thrown him, and swam the broad and turbulent Gihoon to rejoin his friends. In the same campaign, also, he received the wound in his thigh before Sistan, that gave him the sobriquet of the lame. These earlier operations were conducted in the interest of Hussein, Khan of Northern Khorasan, whose daughter he afterwards married. Their friendship, however, was of no very long duration, and, from what is known of the affair, the rupture seems to have been occasioned by the arrogance and unreasonable demands of the Khan. At all events, his son-in-law sent him word that "he who wished to embrace the bride of royalty, must kiss her across the edge of a sharp sword," and illus-

trated the metaphor by an attack upon his territory. Throughout these wars he evinced a military genius, and traits of personal heroism and decision of character, that won the respect of both friends and enemies. Hussein, after various vicissitudes of fortune, made his last stand against Timour under the walls of Balkh, into which he retreated with the remains of his defeated army. The city was invested; after three years siege Hussein was assassinated, and the capital of Khorassan surrendered. A general diet elected the conqueror Khan of Jagatai in 1369, and he made Samarcand the capital of his kingdom. Here, it is said, he conceived the design of reconquering the countries that had composed the Empire of his ancestor Ghengis; but, as will be seen hereafter, Timour was so far superior to that mighty robber that ambition was not made the ostensible reason for his conquests. The disunion of surrounding states enabled him to reduce them in detail, and with the exception of Gaiyath-ed-Deen-Pir-Ali, no enemy seems to have offered any protracted resistance. Herat was, however, successfully stormed, and the example thus made discouraged any obstinate defence against a general, who, while his conversation was full of aphorisms that Marcus Aurelius might have uttered, could sometimes order the extermination of a population. When Khorassan was completely subjugated, and Timour had provided against the contingency of revolt in his newly acquired dominions, by building a pyramid at Sebsewar of two thousand living men, whom he cemented together with mortar and left to die, he began his career of foreign conquest. Persia fell first, and he subdued all the country between the Tigris and Euphates along the entire course of these rivers.

Georgia became tributary; Western Tartary was overrun, and, in pursuit of Tactamish, he entered Russia, threatened Moscow and burned Azof at the mouth of the Don. Then, despite the counsel of his emirs—who dreaded “the rivers, the mountains and deserts, the soldiers clad in armor and the elephants, destroyers of men”—he poured his hordes over the Indus, at the passage of Attok, and invaded India. In 1398 he was before Delhi, where, disencumbering his army by the massacre of a hundred thousand captives, he gained a decisive victory and occupied the city. Insurrections in Georgia and Anatolia, together with threatening movements on the part of Bajazet, Sultan of Turkey, recalled him from this war.

The Tatar and Turkish frontiers touched each other near Erzeroum and on the Euphrates: the monarchs were jealous of their power, and their insulting letters provoked actual conflict. Syria, then a dependency of Egypt, was rapidly conquered, and Timour—who appears to have had an eccentric architectural taste—erected another pyramid in Bagdad, composed of ninety thousand human heads. On July 20, 1402, Bajazet met him on the plain of Angora, and there lost his liberty and his empire. Timour had now subdued all Asia, from the Irtish and Volga to the Persian Gulf, and from the Ganges to Damascus and the Archipelago, and nothing but the absence of transportation saved Europe from invasion. After two months' triumphant rejoicing and feasting in Samarcand, the Great Khan entered upon his last campaign. A revolution in China had resulted in the expulsion of the dynasty of Zingis, and Timour needed no better excuse for declaring war. Despatching an army in advance, he crossed the Jaxartes on the ice with a reserve of two hundred thousand veterans. But thirty-six years of warfare had not failed to work their consequences, and he died, from some acute disease, after proceeding three hundred miles on his journey. His empire dissolved like frost-work in the sun, and, but for the foundation, by Baber, of the Mogul dynasty in India, his race, within a few generations, would have sunk into obscurity.

Several histories of the reign of Timour have appeared, among which the earliest and most authentic seems to be that one composed by Ali Yezdi, at the order of the Emperor's grandson. This work, which M. Petis de la Croix has translated into French, was compiled from the numerous journals kept by the conqueror's secretaries, both in prose and verse, in Toorki and Persian, and whose accounts he took every precaution to render accurate. Thirty-six years after Timour's death, Ahmed Ibin Arrbsha wrote his biography; but the book is filled with errors, and deformed by the malice of an enemy, who sought to avenge his country's overthrow by slandering its conqueror. These, with that Mirkhond found in the Rouzut ul Suffau, are the oriental contributions to his life of most prominence. Major Davy says that he read Ali Yezdi's history while in the East, and that the "Institutes" are excerpts, taken, apparently, at random from the sources of the larger work, and combined—probably at the Khan's dictation—into a rambling comment upon the military, political and religious policy he had pursued.

The copy translated by Major Davy was found among the manuscripts of the Hunter collection, and omissions were made at first by Dr. White. These attracted so much attention that the Professor conceived the design of a complete version; but the difficulties becoming unexpectedly great, he resigned the work to Major Davy.

Much discredit has been cast upon the authenticity of these commentaries, although the absence of direct historical evidence of genuineness would seem to preclude positive denial as well as direct proof. The fact that historical journals were kept, under the Emperor's direction, does not admit of doubt, and it is difficult to see why their most illustrative passages might not have been combined by Timour for many reasons: ambition, patriotism and the natural desire to recommend a successful policy to his descendants. Its revelation of the means by which power might be attained would seem to prevent general publication, or most of the original copies may have been lost in the wars following the death of Shah-roecli. In the East, Davy states that it is everywhere received as genuine. "Abu Taulib ul Hussein, in the dedication of his translation to Suldaun ul Audil, says that in the library of Jafr Haukim, of Yammun, he met with a manuscript, in the Turki or Mogul language, which, on inspection, proved to be the history of Timour written by himself, containing an account of his life and actions from the seventh to the seventy-fourth year of his age. He then proceeds to give the translation of the said history, in which is included the Institutes."

The style, naive egotism, candor and earnestness of the book betray its authorship. No other work resembles it, except the commentaries of Baber, whose authentic character has always been recognized. All the Hindu and Persian literati Davy consulted agreed in regarding it as unquestionably the production of Timour himself; and Shah Alum valued the copy he possessed so highly, that it was the only book in the royal library Davy was not permitted to use.

Henderson sums up the subjects of the political maxims under the heads of "reduction of kingdoms—obtainment of empire—defeating armies—making friends of foes—going out and coming in, among friends and enemies. "In order to conduct the affairs of government properly, Timour said that he was accustomed to use

“four assistants,” viz. : “Deliberation, Counsel, Vigilance and Circumspection;” but, besides these, politics required patience and forbearance, and particularly a certain feigned negligence, or pretence of ignorance, respecting many things that a prince must be well aware of.

“The experienced have said, by policy kingdoms may be conquered and numerous hosts may be defeated, which by the swords of united armies cannot be overthrown. * * * By experience it is known to me that counsel and deliberation and skilful measures are only to be found with the wise and sagacious. * * * And though the conclusion of every event is covered by the curtain of fate, yet, according to the holy word of Mahommed, in every enterprize that I undertook I acted from counsel and deliberation. * * * One skillful plan can perform the service of a hundred thousand warriors.” Accordingly, “when my councillors were assembled together, I demanded their opinions on the good and on the evil, on the advantages or disadvantages of undertaking or relinquishing the enterprize before us; and, when I had heard their opinions thereon, I myself examined both sides of the opinions. Every plan in which I discovered a twofold hazard I rejected, and chose that in which the peril was single.” Then, “after examining the avenue of retreat, I entered on execution.” With respect to the character of counsellors, they only “who steadfastly adhere to what they say or do” may be expected to give good advice; for this may be simply an intellectual process, adapted to the emergency, and designed either to deceive or conceal a real opinion; therefore, “turn thine ear to the counsel of the tongue, but treasure the counsel of the heart in thy soul.”

Referring to the invasion of Persia, he assumes that when a country is in danger of being laid waste, its defenders will not forget the obvious propriety of bribing the hostile generals; but officers permitting themselves to be thus diverted from the execution of their duty should always be cashiered. Timour illustrates this, according to his custom, by an anecdote: “News came to Tughluluk Timour Khan [himself] that the Ameers of the three armies had taken moneys and gifts from the inhabitants of Mauwur u Nuhur, and he instantly commanded those sums to be delivered up, and he appointed collectors thereof; and forbade them (the Ameers) to enter Mauwur u Nuhur, and appointed Haujee Mahmood Shah Yeffoori to supply their place.”

The memorabilia vary in their tone with the period of the author's life. *E.G.*, while he was still a partisan leader, conciliation was essential to success, and his mode of dealing with the armies, which he calls "the sinews of Empire," was then very different from what it afterwards became. Thus, speaking of his war against the Ameers of Jetteh, and recalling the disorders prevailing among the troops, and the uncertain tenure of his authority over their leaders, he relates that in order "to make them unanimous, he saw that it was good to show kindness to some, and with some to dissemble; and that he should tempt some with riches, and sooth some with persuasions, promises and engagements." Moreover, he called the generals together in private conference, and—in his own words—"I told them that I made them the partners of my fortune, and they united firmly in my designs." With the soldiers he used successfully the same arts that military adventurers have immemorially employed. "I raised their hopes by gifts and presents. * * * Drew them over by kind words, and by open countenance. * * * Extolled tenfold the services they had done, and made them joyful, even until those who were with me, and those who were against me, all joined with me firmly." Having by these means attached his troops to himself, he considered that he might attack Oulcans Khanjeh. No man knew the rapidity of movement better than Timour, and most frequently he took his enemies by surprise. Looking into the Koran, as he commonly did, for an omen, he found this text, "How often do the weak vanquish the powerful by the permission of the Almighty God." Confirmed in his intention by these words, he at once opened the campaign. The growth of Timour's ambition is very clearly marked in this *apologia pro vita sua*, the Institutes. "When I had become lord of the land of Tourase, and had made clean the kingdom of Mauwur u Nuhur from the abomination of the Usbacks, certain of the Ameers of Auloofaut submitted not to my government, and they with their tribes dissembled with me. Then certain of my Ameers spoke in their behalf, saying: Since we are all partakers of the same fortune, these must be considered as partakers of thy fortune also. But their words made no impression on me, and I deliberated with myself, saying, since God is one and hath no partner, therefore the vicegerent over the land of the Lord (the Almighty and the Holy), must be one only." He was much strength-

ened in this conviction by the reasoning of a certain Santon whom he consulted on this subject. "Were there two Gods in the heavens"—said the venerable Baubere Ali Shah—"the order of the universe would end in horror and confusion." Then he turned, as usual, to the Koran, and the first text that met his eye was, "Truly, we have appointed thee Vicegerent upon Earth." It would have been impious to doubt after this that he was justified in destroying the independence of the Ameers. Confederate princes, as he observes, should be kept in a state of dependence! Timour never heard the maxim "*divide et impera*" in his life, but he understood its fatal significance perfectly, and constantly acted upon it, to the destruction of his foes.

But neither upon prudence nor counsel nor favor of heaven, did the great Khan altogether rely. The following incident shows how he won (like Baber the Knight errant of Oriental history), his follower's admiration and confidence by personal gallantry. When the Emirs Hoossein and Moosi revolted, they threw a strong garrison into the castle of Karshee, and covered the position with eight thousand horse. Timour felt the importance of its reduction, but wished, if possible, to avoid a siege. Putting in practice one of his favorite strategic devices, he massed his forces and directed them to march on Khorassan by divisions, and a large part of the army was en route before he moved his own immediate command. At the first night's encampment, however, he selected two hundred and forty-three "brave and resolute, tried and experienced warriors," with whom he returned at the full speed of their horses. The rest is best given in his own words. "The Ameer Jakoob kneeled before me and said—many of our warriors have remained behind, and until they have arrived delay is necessary. At this time it came into my mind that I could go alone and examine the castle. I took forty warriors with me, and I turned my face towards the castle of Kurshee; and when the blackness of the castle appeared in the night, I commanded my warriors to halt. Then I took with me Mubbushur and Abdallah, who had been born in my house, and when I came to the border of the moat I saw that it was full of water. And I looked about and saw a water pipe, and water ran through that pipe into the castle, and it had been laid across the moat. Then I delivered my horse to Mubbushur and crossed the moat on the pipe and came to the foot of the wall; and

I went on to the portal and struck upon the door with my hand, and discovered that the guards were asleep. They had filled up the portal behind the door, with clay and with earth. Then I looked around the walls of the castle and saw the place where the ladders could be fixed, and I returned and mounted my horse and went back to my warriors. The troops who had remained behind then came with the ladders, and they were all armed, and they took up the ladders, and I turned my face towards the castle. They crossed the moat on the pipe, and having fixed their ladders they entered on the walls. And when forty resolute men had entered the castle, I also placed my foot on the ladder and went in unto them. Then they sounded their trumpets, and by the favor of Almighty God I obtained possession of the castle."

Timour constantly exhibited that decision of character which is one of the attributes of military greatness, and he claims with pride the possession of this quality in his illustration of the aphorism that "a friend in all places is of use." A correspondent, whose name he does not mention, sent him word that the Emir Hoossein intended to place a thousand men in the pass of Chukcluk, where he had invited him to a conference, and to destroy him during the negotiation. Instantly he dispatched fleet squadrons to occupy the position, and when the Emir came with his horse he found his scheme anticipated, and was compelled to agree to whatever terms were proposed.

The Institutes everywhere show how fully he was convinced that neither discipline nor numbers could outweigh ability in the commander of an inferior force. When he contemplated the overthrow of the empire of the Abassides, his first care was to acquaint himself with the character of the reigning Caliph, and when the ambassador whom he despatched reported his weakness in a common Oriental metaphor, "Sultan Ahmed is a piece of animated flesh, and lo! he has two eyes," Timour attacked at once, the vicegerent of the Prophet fled, and Bagdad—the house of Islam—was conquered.

Although, as we have said, these Commentaries are of the most desultory character, having no order of arrangement in respect of the subjects treated of, it is, notwithstanding, very easy to see in them the gradual change from the arts of a guerilla chief to the policy of a great ruler. As Timour says of himself, he "at all

times thought that there was nothing more worthy the valor of princes than conquering of kingdoms and empires, and waging holy wars with the infidels :” but success beyond the measure of probability had attended his enterprises, and he had at length accustomed himself to regard the suggestions of his ambition as an inspiration from on high.

It is impossible now to say how far the theories and sentiments expressed in the Commentaries corresponded with his general conduct, but that the identification of his own plans with the designs of Providence did not lead him into the same enormities that other men have practised under the influence of a similar faith, appears certain, A tyrant and a scourge of mankind he undoubtedly was, but, however he may have erred, it is evident from his writings that irresponsible power had not produced in his case that alienation of the intellect, that moral insanity which often afflicts despots. The following excerpts witness to this, and exhibit the mental state of the conqueror at a time when the bitter animosities of his youth had given place to the calmer and more abstract views of a great monarch.

For example, he had no doubt that the idolatry and political anarchy of India justified his invasion of that country. His council, however, or at least a majority of them, strongly “opposed the reduction of Hindostan.” Most Oriental princes in Timour’s position would have ordered the refractory members to instant execution, and promoted those whose advice coincided with their ambition. He acted differently. Deliberating on their conduct, he was convinced that a king should not displace officers of his own creation for the expression of honest opinions, and therefore he says, “Since I myself had exalted them, I sought not to pull them down ; and I treated them with kindness ; and although they had angered me, yet as they were unanimous at last, I regarded it not.”

How the conquests he made were kept, and with what energy and rapidity he repressed insurrection, appears in the succeeding account. “When I had returned victorious and triumphant from Hindostan, and before I had rested from the fatigues of the war of Ind,” petitions came from the governors of the two Erauks, saying that “the infidels of Goorjistan had advanced beyond their boundaries.” His army was already assembled, but Timour issued a general order permitting every soldier who had served in India to

decline the present campaign. Few availed themselves of this permission, however, and the Emperor made no delay. "I placed a helmet of steel on my head," he says, "and clothed myself in the armor of Daoud,* and hung a scimitar of Missur by my side. * * * And I let loose the brave men of Touran, and the valiant men of Khorassan, and the mighty men of Manzinduran and Kilan, * * * and I chastised the seditious and the plunderers." After this relation, he takes occasion to say that the cause of his promptitude was an observation he had constantly made with respect to revolts; viz., that an ordinary insurrection very soon grows into a revolution, if it is not resolutely and at once suppressed.

Faulty as their ethics are, the Commentaries constantly exhibit an enlightenment that is remarkable in a man of Timour's experiences; *e.g.*—"I acted with courtesy both towards my friends and towards my enemies." "By order and discipline I regulated the concerns of my government, and by discipline and order I so firmly established my authority that the Ameers and Viziers and soldiers and subjects could not aspire beyond their respective degrees, and every one of them was the keeper of his own station." He fed, rewarded, and amused his soldiers, and "in the field of blood they hazarded their lives." "I myself," says Timour, "shared in their labors and hardships," and thus "I obtained possession of the thrones of seven and twenty kings. * * * When I clothed myself in the robe of empire, I shut my eyes to safety, and to the repose that is found in the bed of ease, and from the twelfth year of my age I travelled over countries, and combatted difficulties, and formed enterprises, and vanquished armies, and experienced mutinies among my officers and soldiers, and was familiarized with the language of disobedience, and I opposed these things with fortitude. And I hazarded my person in the hour of danger, until in the end I vanquished kingdoms and empires, and established the glory of my name." This statement reveals, perhaps, the secret of Timour's freedom from the vices so germane to despotism. Experience had taught him the efficacy of affability, generosity, and benevolence, but also the necessity of erecting a code as the ulti-

* In the armor of David, *i.e.* King David. A celebrated panoply given to Timour by Ipocrates, king of Georgia, whom he conquered, and converted to Islamism. These arms were said to have been forged by the hands of the Hebrew monarch, and to possess the magical virtues so frequently ascribed to ancient weapons, etc.

mate authority. He had learned that men will reconcile themselves more easily to laws, however severe, than to the fluctuating decrees of an autocrat, and that no personal qualities, however splendid, can compensate for the absence of some unvarying method by which affairs are administered. Impressed with this truth, the Emperor says, "I enquired of learned men into the laws and regulations of ancient princes, from the days of Adam to those of the Prophet, and from those of the Prophet down to this time; and I weighed their institutions, and their actions, and their opinions, one by one; and from their approved manners and their good qualities I selected models. * * * I shunned those actions that tend to the subversion and overthrow of regal authority, and from cruelty and oppression, which are the destroyers of posterity and the bringers of famine and plague, I found it was good to abstain." In order to prevent his officers of state from falling into these vices, he appointed a kotul, or successor, to every official, who was to succeed to the office in case of misconduct on the part of the occupant. Conscious that such an arrangement invited fraud in the expectants, "on every frontier, in every country, in every city, and in every camp, a writer of intelligence was established;" and, to secure truth in the reports, they were required to forward them directly to himself; he ordered that their statements upon the conduct of the civil and military officers, the people, and soldiers, should be composed truthfully and perspicuously. If an imperial secretary failed to communicate any part of what he had discovered, "his fingers should be cut off. If he suppressed the laudable actions of a soldier * * * he should be deprived of his right hand. If he wrote a false account, from enmity or from malice, he should be put to death." As channels for the transmission of news, he appointed "a thousand swift horsemen, and a thousand swift camel men, and a thousand expeditious footmen," to bring the reports of the secretaries, and at the same time themselves collect accounts of what transpired in "the countries and on the frontiers * * * and of the designs and intentions of the neighboring princes:" so that if circumstances required, the Khan "might provide the remedy before the evil arrived." Thus, he remarks, "I kept my soldiers and my subjects suspended between hope and fear, * * * and the situation of my people was known unto me. * * * I knew the circumstances of the inhabitants of every province."

A general inspection of the satrapies was made every third year, and if the social or economic condition of a state was unsatisfactory, the governor was at once removed. "Dominion *may* be continued to the infidel; but to tyrants it shall not be continued."

These officials must have varied greatly from the conventional type of Asiatic functionaries, if the Emperor's instructions respecting the conduct of affairs were at all carried into effect. Imagine a Turkish Pasha receiving a firman ordering that "the poll tax, and the house tax should not be levied in any town or in any city whatever; and that no one of the soldiers should presume to enter by force the dwelling of a civil inhabitant; or to seize on the cattle or the property of the subject." Timour was an innovator on the immemorial customs of the East. He ordered subsistence to be provided for the destitute out of the public revenue, so that "the practice of begging might be abolished." As for that class of mendicants whom the English statutes called "sturdy and valiant beggars," they were to be banished. The condition of a modern Bashaw under the restrictions imposed by Timour would have been intolerable. Besides the preceding limitations of prerogative, positive injunctions were laid upon governors to "put to death * * * thieves and highway robbers in every country." The seditious, the wicked, and the profligate "were to be apprehended and punished;" vagrants expelled from every realm, and "no buffoons permitted to reside in the cities or in the country;" and to see that this radical alteration of time-honored customs was carried out, a royal officer, independent of the viceroy, was placed in "every city and every town, who should watch over the conduct of the soldier and the subject, and be himself "responsible for everything that was stolen."

Timour confirmed by charter the immunities and privileges that states had enjoyed before their conquest, whenever it was possible to do so. Taxation was necessary, but he was well aware that it must not be carried to the extent of "ruining the people or dispersing the army." Collectors might make use of "menaces and threats" in cases of dilatory payment, but never of torture. "*The governor whose authority is inferior to the power of the scourge is unworthy to govern.*"

Some idea may be gathered from these extracts of the standard of probity Timour endeavored—though with what success we know

not—to establish among his public functionaries. When a foreign country was suffering from the evils of misgovernment he attempted to rectify in his own dominions, he asserts that its conquest was fully justified. “If in any kingdom, tyranny, and oppression, and iniquity shall be predominant, it is the duty of a prince, from regard to justice and the law, to assault that kingdom. Thus * * * I delivered the country of Mauwur-u-Nuhur from the Ouzbuk tyrants.” Moreover, “in whatever country the holy laws are disregarded, * * * where they injure and oppress God’s chosen servants,” there exists a just cause for invasion. Hence, “I wrested from Sultan Mahmood, * * * and from Mulloo Khan, and from Saurung, the capital of the Empire of Hindostan * * * and overthrew the habitations of the idols in that country.” Finally, “in every kingdom where heresy and schism abound, and where the inhabitants are divided into different parties and factions, the destruction of that kingdom is at hand; and it is the duty of a victorious monarch to invade that country. Thus I purified the kingdoms of Tauris, and Erauk, and Ajjum from the existence of the accursed heretics.”

With these opinions Timour could never have wanted a *casus belli*, and, as we have already seen, his method of rectifying political mismanagement was much the same as that which the last extract shows him to have made use of for religious reformation. After the first great slaughter was over, however, he attempted to reconstruct the state upon his own plan; and it must be confessed that if his theories were carried into effect, the condition of things after invasion was usually an improvement upon the former state of affairs. He says himself, that in every conquered territory he respected the good, and enriched the family of the Prophet and all the learned. If the ruler was still alive, he “gave back the government of that country to the prince thereof * * * and bound him in chains of kindness.” But he was required to abate the evils which had entailed the loss of his independence, and to conduct his administration upon the principles Timour laid down for his guidance. To suppress the violence following war, guards were to “be stationed * * * to watch and defend the roads and stages * * * and to conduct in safety the merchandise and the traveler.” The commanding officer of each detachment was answerable for all losses and deficiencies. To facilitate the action of the

prince in any quarter where his interference might be required, bridges were built, roads repaired, and posts established. All waste land was ordered to be reclaimed at the expense of the crown. In every city and town the municipality were required to maintain a mosque, school, monastery, court house, government building, and hospital—the last having a salaried physician in constant attendance. “I ordered, also, that pensions, and salaries, and subsistence should be conferred on the family of the Prophet, the theologians, and men of science, the learned in medicine, and on the astrologers, and historians, in proportion to their different ranks and stations.”

In all places “the ecclesiastical magistrate should decide on those cases that are determinable by the sacred laws, * * * and those which do not fall under his cognizance, should be investigated and laid before me by the civil judge.” For the revival of trade and industry, Timour directed “that the merchant who had lost his property during the invasion, should have such sums of money given unto him as should be sufficient to restore his capital to its original state; and that every husbandman who was not possessed of the implements of agriculture should be supplied with them.” Those who were fit and who desired it, “should be received into the military service.”

“The dignity of empire is supported by extensive territories, by a rich treasury and by numerous armies,” but a monarch should never neglect the religious condition of his subjects, and his laws should reflect the orthodox faith. On acquiring power, “the first regulation which my heart dictated unto me, was the promulgation of the true faith, and the support of the sacred tenets of Mohammed, peace be upon him; and I encouraged the progress of the holy laws and the religion of Islam through all the cities and provinces and kingdoms of the earth.”

Although Timour appointed an ecclesiastical censor, who, with ample power and a sufficient number of assistants, guarded doctrine and ritual from innovation, thus establishing a quasi hierarchy, he nevertheless regarded himself as the head of the Church, after the manner of Justinian, Theodosius and Charles the Great. Church and State were united, as in all Mohammedan countries, and the Emperor as vicegerent of the Prophet was the supreme judge in spiritual affairs. He could make no alterations in the

true faith ; but no priest should presume to decide upon a theological question adversely to the Khan's opinion. The Prince was the first of believers, as Abubekr Omar and Othman had been, and their descendants also, down to the time of Mohammed Mehdi, the last of the Prophet's immediate family. A monarch might avail himself of the assistance of a council of Mollahs if he chose, and Timour remembers that Aljanetoo Sultan did so in the seventh century, when, with the advice of a synod of doctors of the law, he determined positively that "the prayers of the faithful were due not only to the Holy Messenger (Mohammed), but to his descendants also." This admission of divines into his council was, however, by no means obligatory, and Timour quotes, with much approval, a letter from Meer Siud Shureef to himself, in which that most pious person insists upon the undoubted autocracy of the sovereign. A prince, however, should so act as to leave no opportunity for conjecture with respect to his orthodoxy. He *believes* that a speculative faith is valueless, unless it expresses itself in deeds of charity. "We cannot be profuse in our offerings to God!" and, besides the fact that "he who feareth God and worketh righteousness is accepted of Him," there is an additional incentive to piety in the knowledge that "if a prince would be strong, he must have the religious on his side." Therefore, he united himself with holy men, and supplicated their blessings on his undertakings, "and reaped the greatest advantages from their intercession." The example he selects to illustrate the mediatorial power of his santons, is as edifying as any that can be met with elsewhere. "When one of my wives," says the Emperor, "was sick of a deadly distemper ; twelve holy Siuds celebrated for their sanctity, assembled together, and each of them devoted a year of his own existence to her preservation ; and she was restored to health, and enjoyed the full measure of their donation."

Timour's ethical aphorisms are less numerous than those relating to politics, but like them, are scattered through the "Institutes" without any method, and mingled with warlike stories and comments on strategy, rules for church government and personal reminiscences. On the subject of "Kingcraft," as James I. used to call it, he says little, but his remarks contain more information on that art, than the "Solomon of Whitehall" either uttered or was capable of comprehending. When an injury might be ignored with advan-

tage he knew how to "draw the pen of oblivion over the action." Those who had been constant in their allegiance he "treated in such a way as tended to increase their friendship." Although a military autocrat, he was wise enough to conceal the true source of his power; therefore, he says, "The soldier and the subject I regarded with the same eye. * * * I kept my troops in a state of readiness, and I advanced them their wages before they were due. Thus in my expedition against Roum I gave unto my soldiers seven years wages—part thereof due, and the remainder in advance: * * * but I neither exalted them above, nor depressed them below the rest of my subjects." A prince should acquaint himself carefully with public sentiment, and a knowledge of this is difficult to get from the reports of secretaries and the secret police. Timour therefore took every opportunity to converse freely with "divines, lawyers, sagacious people, holy persons whose prayers are effectual, warriors, prudent and discreet men, the learned in all the sciences and arts, historians, ascetics, solitaries and travellers." Guided by information thus derived a king might govern intelligently, and what is more important, correct the errors of his subordinates. Good servants may not unfrequently obviate the consequences of royal mistakes, but when they themselves are incompetent or corrupt, the results must be disastrous. "The Ameer Hoossein had a cruel and wicked minister who levied oppressive fines, * * * and in a short time, by the oppressions of that cruel and unjust minister, the fabric of the dominion of Ameer Hoossein was laid in the dust."

While, as a matter of policy, it is proper to consult the feelings of the populace, the prerogatives of the monarch must not be limited by these. Irresponsible authority is the first and most essential principle of monarchical government, and many sacrifices may be made to preserve this intact. Usually, the resolutions and enterprises of a ruler should remain unchanged. Vacillation suggests an idea of weakness, and it is better to persevere in the original intention, even if certain disadvantages may be expected to result from carrying it into effect. "Whatsoever command a prince giveth, it is necessary that that command should be obeyed. * * * No one should have the power to act in opposition thereto." Above all things, it is dangerous to give a minister too great or too varied powers. A king "must not trust the concerns of his government

to others, nor deliver the reins of his authority into the hands of a servant, for the world is full of treachery * * * and the powerful servant may aspire to regal dignity. Such was the conduct of the ministers of Sultan Mahmood towards their lord. * * * Employments should be committed to the care of divers persons * * * who being engaged in their own proper departments, no one of them may aspire to the supreme authority."

As was to be expected, Timour had little appreciation of any other than the military virtues, and "judged every man according to (his own) opinion of his worth." Nevertheless, he has recorded of himself a unique instance of forbearance upon the part of an Asiatic prince, for "with respect to my family," he says, "I rent not asunder the bonds of consanguinity and mercy."

He had a large share of that rude generosity which is, perhaps, the chief grace of a semi-civilized man; and the sacrifices involved in its exercise were more than compensated by the applause won by a quality that stands next to courage in the appreciation of Orientals.

"The man who drew his sword on the side of my enemy * * * and preserved his fidelity to his master; him I greatly honored. But, the soldier who forgot his duty and his honor, and in the hour of action turned his face from his master, * * * I considered the most detestable of men;" and he exhibited, he says the sincerity of this sentiment in his treatment of the faithless Ameers of Touktummish Khan. On the other hand, he continues, "whoever had been my enemy, and was ashamed thereof, and flying to me for protection humbled himself before me, I forgot his enmity," as, he adds with his usual illustration, he had forgotten that of Shere Bihram, who had deserted in face of the enemy. But crimes of this character, if they could have been often committed with impunity, would have destroyed the morale of the army. As a general rule, "the soldier who forgetteth his duty in the hour of action, or turneth his face from the foe of his prince, let the face of that servant appear no more." Finally, he declares, that "to those who envied (his) fortune, or endeavored to subvert (his) power, (he) conducted (himself) with such kindness and generosity that they were confounded at his goodness, and sank under a sense of their own unworthiness."

These are the principles to which Timour professed to conform his conduct, and the reader may decide for himself how far they cor-

responded with what we know of his practice. Men of his stamp have destroyed much of the material for history, but the unexamined records of the East may yet supply our deficient knowledge of the conqueror's career, and enable scholars to do for him what Weil, Caussin de Perceval, and Dölinger have done for Mohammed. At present the Timour of books is almost as devoid of individuality as is the miniature that Tagbeg Khan sent from Surat to the Mogul's general as a bribe, and which found its way to the Bodleian Library by the aid of Messrs. Cleland and Pope.

J. N. PORTER.

INDUSTRIAL AND DECORATIVE ART IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS.*

IT can hardly be doubted that, notwithstanding the wonderful improvement which has taken place during the present century in the conditions of life, we are almost as far off as ever from having settled two questions which may be said to lie at the very basis of social science and of social progress. One of these is the providing work—or the means of making a living—for everybody; the second, which is closely allied to it, is: "How shall we educate the young, so that, while acquiring the ordinary principles of mental education, they shall, at the same time, familiarize themselves with some practical hand-work or art, so that, when they leave school, they may either be able to do something to support themselves, or at least not be obliged, so to speak, to go to school again?" For it is, literally, going to school when the youth finds himself helpless in a workshop—not merely ignorant of the use of tools, but even of the capacities of his own hands, eyes and brain, as regards using them.

As regards the first question, that of providing work for the many, I confidently assert that we are worse off, in this respect, than any of the Oriental races of antiquity—than Greece, or Rome or the people of Europe during the middle ages. I do not deny that these people were mainly slaves or serfs, that they were barbarously treated and that many of their conditions of life were

* A lecture delivered before the Social Science Association of Philadelphia, October 21st, 1880.

worse then than now. But, admitting this, the main fact remains—to our discredit—that there were fewer paupers among them. For the ancient owner of slaves took care that they were kept at work; and a friend of mine, who has investigated deeply the social condition of Europe during the middle ages, informs me that the degree to which the monks busied themselves in providing work for everybody, whether bond or free, was really wonderful. And you may remember that in those days, what with wars and wild ways of life, there were ten causes to create pauperism where there is one now. The industrial efforts of the Roman Church, and its constant and merciful amelioration of the condition of its serfs, should never be forgotten.

Now, if I am asked how it was that so much work was provided for all these people, in ages when there were far fewer wants than at present, I reply that, among many reasons, the chief was that all their buildings were profusely decorated with hand-made ornamentation, and that this was mostly of a kind which could be readily learned and practised even by children, while the materials were cheap and easy to obtain everywhere. Supply and demand acted and reacted, until a universal public taste existed—the result of which was, incidentally, such a general knowledge of art, that the most enthusiastic believer in universal progress is forced to admit, with Dr. Ray Lankester, that—as regards this, the chief principle of culture—the word has fallen behind into mere imitation.

Let those deny it who may, the fact remains that labor-saving machinery, despite the incredible multiplication of new wants, and admitting the immense services which it has rendered to man in increasing his comforts, has on the other hand degraded art and, what is worse, greatly increased the number of idlers. Under the old system, there were, let us say, fifty men employed at one kind of work. A machine is invented which supplies far better work at lower prices, and requires only one man to work it. Of course, this man is the best, physically and mentally, of the fifty. Now, out of the forty-nine, there will be many good workmen who are not at all qualified to become foremen and to run machines. A man may be an admirable artist but no “mechanic,” as the word is properly understood. The result of all this is, that while some are thrown out of work, on the other hand, the successful candidate is expected to feed more idlers than he did before. Reflect on this.

It is very creditable to the American mechanic that he spends almost four-fifths of his earnings on his family, while his English rival only divides his wages equally with them. But there is a dark side to the picture in this, that the children of the American mechanic do not all work, that too many of his girls take to aping idle gentility, while the boys, at best, live by their wits or by some calling which is not strictly productive.

A few years ago I should not have known how to suggest even a partial remedy for this evil. But I think that at last something may be done to cure it. The same agencies which developed science and labor-saving machinery, I mean the great agencies of culture, have not only developed a taste for decoration and a renaissance, as it is called in art to distinguish it from the renaissance of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, but are also rapidly proclaiming that every object to be really artistic, must be hand-made. Let me give you an illustration of this. There is a firm of artistic metal workers in London, that of Barkentin and Krall, which is employed by the Ecclesiological Society, and which is perhaps the first in England. At this establishment they make anything from a crown for royalty, or a tiara, or church plate, down to shovels and tongs and pokers, and all purely artistic and elegant. But they will supply nothing which is not *hand-made*. This is not a fleeting fashion of the hour, this demand for the hand-made. It is destined to grow with the growth and strengthen with the strength of art, until it shall be directly recognized even by the multitude, that no machinery-made *fac simile* whatever has any claim to be considered as artistic as the word *should be* understood.

This same nineteenth century revival of earlier art, not only calls for the hand-made, but also for the decoration of houses in a style which shall be within the means of the poor. For the world has begun at last to understand that in all the great ages of culture, whether of Greece, or the East, or in Europe, *art* was never yet taken down to the people from the higher classes. On the contrary, it has always risen to the higher classes from the people. Raphael and Michael Angelo never made a lower class artistic—it was an artistic lower class which created them. This is the mistake under which the world has worked for two or three centuries—that art and art industry can be brought back again and down to the humble multitude from the ideal heights to which it ascended in ages when every man was in his soul an artist.

Now I am convinced by study and experiment that there are certain manual arts, by the practice of which a vast proportion of idlers may find profitable employment, and which being easy to acquire may be introduced into all schools, where they would serve to train the young to more serious and practical trades or callings, just as their reading, writing and arithmetic prepare them for their mental duties. For,—I repeat it,—no education can be considered as complete when its subject has not learned to *make* anything, or to use his hands, or exert his creative faculties. This, I assert has been wanting,—and there are many here present who have been long aware of it. But the difficulty has been to know *what to teach*. In many cases the regular trades, such as shoe-making, carpentry, or smith-work, are utterly inapplicable. They require too much time, or physical strength, or cannot be harmonized with the studies and discipline of a school. And this reflection brings us again to the thought that what is wanted are arts especially adapted to the weak, the young, and the lesser gifted in every way. I tell you plainly that there is a great mistake, and a very inhuman one, in the American idea of industry, and it is expressed by the word “Excelsior.” You are taught in popular poetry and by popular example, to adore the successful competitor, to worship the one millionaire of a million, to exaggerate the splendor of success,—or to admire the man who “dies in the harness” in striving for success—and to give no thought to those who are less than leaders. I confess that my sympathies are not so much with the man gifted with a superior and indomitable will, as with the many who are just as deserving but less fortunate. Now what I would urge is that the public, abating somewhat its insane worship of mere success, shall show more sympathy with the less successful competitors for fortune or fame. And this can be done by creating work for them in proportion to their powers.

Now, as to the kinds of work which are easy to learn, and which fulfil all the conditions which I have specified. A few of these are making or laying mosaics for pavements or walls, Scagliola work embossing sheets of soft leather by the process formerly known as *cuir-bouilli*, superficial panel carving, *repoussé* work or the hammering sheet metal, stencilling walls, ceilings and wood-work, moulding in papier-maché, and modelling in clay and other substances. These are only a few of the handicrafts which may be

cited as fully illustrating what I have said. Many others more or less practical will suggest themselves, and there will be various conditions and demands for different kinds of labor in different communities. But I cite these because they supply articles which are greatly in demand, since in fact they answer to the chief wants in the new styles of house decoration.

To those who are not practically familiar with them, these arts may seem or sound difficult. From my own experience, and from experiments with the young, I confidently assert that every one of these handicrafts may be acquired in a week or two by any youth of either sex, to such a degree as to render the work profitable, or at least to make proficiency more than probable. Once in England I was representing this to a lady who was really clever in such matters. "I can believe," she said, "that I could with very little teaching master embossing in thin sheet brass, or superficial wood-carving, or stencilling. But I do not think I could learn to make mosaics. It seems to require too delicate a sense of art and more skill than I could ever acquire." I replied to her, "Most of the mosaics which you see sold for house-decoration are made by the lowest, most brutal and ignorant creatures in existence—by female convicts in the prisons. They are employed at it because it is easy, and suited to their extremely limited capacity." I need not say that after this my friend had nothing more to object as to the superior genius required for setting common mosaics. If you will reflect an instant, you will perceive that the placing cubes of colored stone the third of an inch in length in a bed of cement, according to a pattern in which they are all laid down, is not more difficult than to move the squares about in a game of fifteen. Neither is it a very difficult matter to learn to make these little cubes by breaking them with a hammer on an iron bar. In London they are sold ready made of every color, by *Salviati*. In America, where marble and other stones of every color are so abundant, the material should be very cheap. There is an elegance and a character, with an assurance of durability in a mosaic picture which renders it very attractive. Among the ancients there must have been scores of thousands of people employed in this work, for no Roman villa has as yet been discovered without mosaics. There are hundreds of them as yet lying buried in the city of London. Those who are familiar with Roman, Byzantine

and Lombard mosaics will agree with me that we have in this an art, which, when patterns are supplied, may be cheaply practiced by the poorest persons.

I dwell on mosaic, because it is a type of the other arts which are capable of being introduced into schools. It is easy, the materials for it can be everywhere obtained, it is in demand. It may be urged against me, that as soon as there shall be a wide-spread and popular demand for it, it will at once be made by machinery; that it will be cheapened and vulgarized. But the truly cultivated, and this class is increasing rapidly, will not have the vulgar imitations. It seems to be ordained by a special providence that all men who undertake to manufacture works of art by machinery, shall be cursed with bad taste and only minister to the ignorant. And, in fact, since it has become fashionable for the devotees of culture, to boast that they have nothing in their drawing-rooms which is not hand-made, we may trust to the multitude to do for fashion's sake what no sense of art would ever suggest. Here, however, is something for every teacher of every kind to think over and inculcate. *You* are the true ministers of culture; you can, in this reform of which I speak, effect incalculable good, by showing all within your influence, that the simple giving the preference to hand-labor in decoration, to the machinery-made, would suffice to give a living to all who are turned out of work by machinery. For, it cannot be denied that when the world recognizes the great truth that nothing is *truly* artistic which is not hand-made, and which does not directly indicate the touch of the original artist, then a great contribution will have been made to a solution of the labor question.

But, as you are eminently thinking and reasoning people, there is a question which I am sure has already risen in your minds. Where is the art to come from which is to direct the practical execution of all these decorative arts? Where, for instance, is the mosaic worker to get his patterns, or how is the brass worker, if he has them, to copy them, knowing nothing of drawing? To this also, I can give a satisfactory answer. Whether they are to be supplied by Government with Patent Office and Educational Reports, by Legislatures or private or municipal generosity, one thing is certain, that printed patterns suited to such elementary work as that of which I speak, costing on an average about as much as a

daily newspaper, would hardly be wanting. I think that I could undertake to collect among the public-spirited men of our city, money enough in a day to supply our schools with patterns for a year. As for applying them to wood, to sheets of metal or leather, the process is purely mechanical and very easily learned. It cannot, of course, be denied that the student of the minor arts must learn to draw a little. But, as all who are here present know, simple decorative or ornamental drawing consisting merely of lines, is not only easy to copy, but also easy to learn in its elementary principles, and that the child who can trace a spiral or a serpentine line with tolerable steadiness, may, in a few lessons, be brought to design patterns fairly enough.

With very cheap mosaic work, such as is made by small children in Italy, and by female prisoners in London, you may have artistic floors and walls which may be washed and dried far more easily than wood. Almost as easy an art is plain panel carving. Very effective work may be made by merely picking or stamping designs in wood, and then oiling them. The trouble with all carved wood work, as with all other kinds of decorative art, for more than a century, has been that all upholsterers and mechanics seem to have striven as one man, moved by a single mind, to make purchasers believe that all excellence consisted in expense. Now, the truth is that if the design be only *truly* artistic, and if it be only stamped or lightly sketched with the gouge on the wood, it will do very well to make up into cabinets or wall-panelling. What the world wants for the poor is more design and less work; what the cabinet maker wants is to sell as much work as possible, and exclude rivals from the business. He does not care to see the poor supplied with artistic though rough furniture, for this would spoil his business with the rich, who would want still more refined designs, which he could not supply.

And this brings me to another question, which is, however, most intimately connected with all I have said. It has become a very serious source of complaint that the supply of apprentices to handicrafts or arts is failing. We may inveigh as much as we please against the growing gentility or folly of the youth of the age, we may be disgusted at their impatience of wholesome discipline—the fact remains the same, and all we can do is to look about for a remedy. The artisan wants youths who are in a degree

prepared to work for him. Hitherto he has prepared them himself; now he hardly knows what to do. *Why not prepare them for him in our schools?* It is wonderful as it is true how *very* far a little practice in any art will go, when it is influenced by the ordinary training of a good school, towards preparing youth for the workshop or atelier. This solution of the difficulty should suit, I think, both master and man. Thirty years ago, I said that it seemed to me that the Polytechnic School would be the true university of the future, and every advance in education since then has confirmed me in my opinion. Now, why should not our public elementary schools serve to prepare boys properly, that is to say, practically, for either the university or for the workshop? There was never a man or woman in this world who was not better off for being able to make something. This is so generally recognized as true that it is wonderful that there are so very many who can do nothing of the kind. How many youths or girls are there, who when they particularly want a little money know how to earn it? A girl can perhaps do a little plain sewing, or play a little on the piano, or paint a little, but out of all this she can hardly extract a dollar. Yet there all about her people who cannot afford carved dados, mosaic floors, stamped and gilt sheet-leather covered furniture, all of which that girl could give them for a price within their means, and which would give her a living—all after a little steady application. It is a fact that in the poorest cottage where there are children past infancy, it would be possible to have Pompeian floors, carved dados, stencilled walls and ceilings, and plain oak furniture, but still artistic, covered with antique patterns, Spanish stamped and gilt leather, at no greater cost than that of the wood, leather, stones, and white or colored washes needed. They are now imitating for the saloons of Belgravia the tables and chairs which the Tyrolese and Bavarian peasants manufacture for themselves; for there is a kind of pinned or bolted joinery which is as easy to make as it is elegant and durable. You have only to teach people how all this is to be done, and they will do it.

You may think that I exaggerate the ease with which all these decorative arts may be taught to children. But in the opinion of George J. Robinson, the celebrated artistic decorator, of London, all these branches, especially mosaic work and stencilling, are perfectly within the reach of the young. Mr. Karl Krall, the first

metal worker of my acquaintance, thinks the same as regards repoussé work or embossing and chasing. Mr. H. McDowell, who recently modelled to order several members of the Royal Family, thinks the same of modelling. All of these eminent artists contributed chapters on their specialties to a book which I have written expressly to forward the cause of artistic education. They are as earnest as myself in the faith that art should be practically taught to the young, and Mr. Krall was so impressed from my experiments in tuition and their success, that he assured me last December, that in future his firm would make a specialty of supplying amateurs with materials and tools, and give them instruction. But if you would have a guarantee at home, of the practical possibility of all I have said, I can refer you to my friend Mr. Frank Furness, the architect, whom you all know by reputation, and who fully authorizes me to give it as his opinion, that the young of our schools are perfectly capable of manufacturing such work as I have described.

I trust that you all, however, distinctly understand that what I am specially advocating is not the practice of sundry small arts, nor even Art itself, but the introduction into all schools of *manual industry* in any forms which may conduce to develop ingenuity and cleverness. If you take one person with another, it will be found that in going through life, that man or woman has great advantages who can discern relative distances by the eye, transfer or draw patterns, effect household repairs and judge with some accuracy where *taste* is concerned. And here I may remark, incidentally, that I am not sure but that all future mothers of families might not be taught to advantage in schools, the mystery of mending broken china, glass and toys, or furniture. The exercise of our creative or constructive faculties is the result of an instinct which is strongly manifested in youth, and, when properly conducted, it enlarges and strengthens the intellect. It is the boast of the Yankee, that he excels in this ready constructiveness, this handiness, this ability to whittle, and tie and in every way develop and conjugate his great national active verb "to fix." It is seriously a pity that such a decided talent should not be properly trained in schools. It is this constructive talent, this great gift of ingenuity, which has more than any other cause made the American nation practically great. Every one who possesses it has shown it in youth, and youth is the

time to secure it. Is it not wonderful, that with such known and admitted facts, we have never regarded manual ingenuity as a subject for elementary education? Many an inventor, many a great architect, many an artist, and very many a practical mechanic who is now lost to the world in the great mob of middlemen between producers and consumers, might have been redeemed from nothingness, had his boyish instincts been quickened by early culture. It has been shown, and I think wisely, by the disciples of Froebel, that drawing should go with writing in infant schools, or even precede it, since literal imitation in man precedes symbolism. Now, this brings us to a very important and interesting subject. Some years ago, the British Government, finding that art could not be brought down from Raphael and Perugino in national galleries to the people, and that art was necessary to save manufacturers from ruin, resolved to establish art-schools. Now these were well, as far as they went. But they do not go far enough. It is a grand thing to be able to say to a youth who has shown decided genius: There is a capital school, with casts from the antique, and lectures; go and be educated for nothing. And many have gone and become artists, and the world has profited thereby. Yet it is as plain to the British Government of the present day as it is to every thinking man, that art industry, despite the schools, does not advance rapidly enough—nor is it sufficiently universal. In fact, you might as well propose to most poor boys or girls a course at Oxford or Cambridge, as one at the South Kensington or Manchester. How are they to live at these great schools, perhaps in cities distant from their homes, while they are being educated? Perhaps they are, however, gifted, almost unconsciously of their own abilities. Now, a very small amount of technical or artistic education in the schools would soon settle the question as to their talent. Mere *drawing* will not do this. But elementary drawing as a part of hand-work in all schools, would soon make art universal, and vastly enlarge the scope of our national industry.

There are people who are ignorant enough to believe that drawing, and, indeed, all exercises of the constructive faculties in children, are a kind of play, and that they consequently detract from legitimate study or industry. Now this remnant of old-time barbarism, which regards everything as wicked which is not disagreeable, is so far from being founded in common sense, that, on the contrary, in-

vestigation shows it to be utterly at variance with truth. For it is a fact, that minds which are by nature sluggish, or, as it were, under a cloud, may be raised to great quickness of apprehension and have the cloud blown away, by merely mechanical exercise, and this quickness of perception may in turn serve as the ground for, or be developed into, great and varied intellectual powers. This is very curiously shown, as I have set forth in a lecture on Eye Memory, or Visual Perception, in the manner in which many thieves train boys to become quick-witted and observant. The preceptor takes in his hand a number of small objects, such as keys, coins, beads or buttons, and opening and closing his fingers very quickly, makes his pupils tell what they have seen. Now there are people who would say "Well, and what if they do become quick and observant at such a trifling game? It would not make them clever in other respects." But the master-thief knows better. He knows that when those boys are sent out to beg, that their eyes, slow before, will now be ever watchful, like foxes looking out for prey. He knows that if they gain admission to a kitchen, and obtain one second's glimpse through a half-open door of a drawing room, in that glimpse they will take in all that is in the apartment and, returning, give him from memory a complete catalogue of all that it contains. Now I believe that in like manner quickness of perception may be gained by the practice of manual arts, just as it is stimulated by certain games, and that a boy or girl will become a better arithmetician, a more accurate observer of maps and boundaries, and a far better writer, for being trained to some technical pursuit or art.

I will now present to you, as the last consideration, that which was the first, which occurred to me some years ago, when I resolved to do all in my power to popularize the practice of these minor arts. It is their moral influence. Do we not all know that there are countless thousands of young people who have no way of employing their leisure hours, save in idleness, folly and dissipation? They can make nothing profitable; they can do nothing which has aught in common with culture; they cannot even amuse themselves rationally or decently. Give any one of them the smallest art, let him or her believe that some proficiency has been attained, but above all let the practitioner find a little profit as well as pastime in it, and you will have done much to defeat the devil.

If it be advisable to supply rational amusement and profitable

pastime to the merely idle, what shall I say of the large class who have taken the first steps in vice, who live in lazy ignorance, and who take the second and all succeeding steps with terrible rapidity, simply because time hangs heavy on their hands? It is wonderful to one who knows the world well, to reflect how many of these semi-unfortunates are kept back from plunging headlong over the Niagara of despair simply by some thread of art, some little tie of industry. Truly, idleness is the tap-root of all evil. From a moral point of view, it seems to be really necessary that for the idle, and all outside the social pale, attractive arts should be provided, since it is hardly to be hoped that they will take up serious trades for pastime.

As for my summary, it is double. As regards the expediency of training all children to use their constructive faculties as correlative to the mental, the marvel is to me, as it has been to many, that it has not long been a recognized element in all education. As regards the practical disposition or profitable sale of the results of art-work, you will observe that at every turn we find hand-work in art ruined, oppressed, and demoralized by the machinery which in all matters of mere physical comfort has done so much to elevate mankind. Therefore, I urge you to encourage the New Fashion which embraces the True Faith, that as, according to Goethe, man is properly the only object which interests man, that only is purely a work of art which brings us into direct sympathy with the artist. I do not mean by this the extreme and immoral doctrine of art for the sake of art, or the making mere cleverness an excuse for anything. But I do mean that just as much as imitation in the sphere of usefulness is a reality, just so much in the sphere of art is it a sham, a foe to industry and humanity. I have been much gratified in returning to America, to find that there is a popular admission of this principle in the phrase which calls any kind of a gaudy humbug, or stigmatizes all shoddy displays of art or style as a Chromo. Second-hand, imitative art is at present the only serious impediment in the way of employment for many thousands of youth, who but for it would soon find profitable employment. If all who teach in this country, whether from the school, the pulpit, or the editorial chair, would join in putting down "Chromos" and similar shams in every form, we should soon see hand-work in art properly appreciated.

It is many years since I began to reflect seriously on the expediency of making hand-work of some kind an element in the education of children. In looking about in life, I found that very few people have any practical skill as regards making or repairing objects, and that those who manifest it are regarded as being "very ingenious" and especially gifted. Apart from all its practical utility, I found that this manual dexterity could be taught to young people generally, and far more easily than reading or writing. Many applications of it are tolerated as semi-amusements or accomplishments, in the form of "fancy work," but it has not been regarded as capable of exerting a serious influence in education. Yet I found that *physical* quickness and aptness were conducive to mental quickness, and that the motive power of thought could be quite as well developed by using the hands as by some studies in vogue. The idea in a practical form was not new. Among the Norsemen, who were a highly vigorous and clever race, champions boasted not only that they could fight, but that they could carve in wood and walrus bone, forge weapons, and paint their ships; while in the scheme of the ideal education of knights and gentlemen, as described by Rabelais, we are told that they learned carpenter's work, painting, and sculpture, and went about to factories and shops to make themselves practically familiar with all kinds of mechanical callings and arts, such as casting and working metals, the labors of lapidaries and goldsmiths, weaving, and clock-making. It was not until a later and lazier age that ignorance of such arts became characteristic of gentlemen, or, as Thackeray says, really creditable to them. And at the present day there are thousands of men who are so contemptibly vulgar as to boast—or who would like to be able to boast—that they had "never done a day's hard work in their lives." And in the best and most cultivated society, ladies and gentlemen are regarded as highly accomplished who, nevertheless can not turn their hands to anything. In this respect the world has fallen behind the Middle Ages, and grown snobbish by making ignorance characteristic of superiority to "the lower orders." There are many in every community who regard indifference to mechanical skill, or ignorance of it, as really characteristic of gentility, while those are few indeed who consider it as essential to "an education." We may call ourselves what we please, and adopt what form of government we please, but until

hand-work is as respectable or as highly honored as a knowledge of dead languages, or the semi-useless accomplishments in fashion, I shall believe that as regards the chief characteristic of republicanism, the world has made no advance whatever. It is not enough that it is highly creditable to a gentleman that he is able to use his hands as well as his head; the day is coming when it will be very *discreditable* to him if he can not. Now, I ask you if you do not think that the introduction of industrial and decorative art into education would go far to remove the aversion to labor which still practically prevails in society? The world is chiefly governed by second-hand ideas, just as it has been chiefly clad in second-hand clothes, which have gone from parent to child, or from master to servant, and so on downwards *ad infinitum*. This scientific and common-sense age of ours aims at something better: it is endeavoring to substitute newer, stronger, and cheaper suits, even if less elegant, for the worn-out finery of the past. Make work an integral part of every education, in every school, and you will not see society burdened with young men flying from hand-labor as if it were destruction, and seeking gentility, though on the most starving terms, as if it were salvation. If I am asked who will purchase the additional stock of all these genteel middle-men, or clerks or salesmen become manufacturers, I reply that society can more easily support ten producers than one produce broker. When the non-productive middle-men are in great excess, the result is seen in over-stimulated business, and in the consequent plethoras and surfeits of stocks which lead to panics and long-continued stagnation.

It is with very great pleasure that I have availed myself of this opportunity to meet so many who are practically interested in the great cause of education. The progress of society and of culture means the gradual promotion of the teacher in dignity in the social scale. The scholars and men who have made history, whether as writers or actors, and with them statesmen or artists, are after all, one and all, only great from light reflected from *past* ideas, or works which they have left in the past. In the hands of the teacher lies the whole *future* of mankind, its ways and the working of its will. Should the coming century carry out that which the past century has promised and begun, then the day is rapidly coming when the teacher will take precedence of all those callings which we now regard as preëminent. In that day, all who have done their duty

will be remembered. Hitherto you have cultivated the head and heart; in the future you will train the hands to co-operate with them. Is it not indeed remarkable—if you will pardon me one last reflection—that in a world in which the majority of people are, or ought to be, workers, neither work itself nor any practical preparation for it, finds any place in our ordinary education? I know that it is currently said that a boy should acquire book-learning at school, because he will find no time for it after the active business of life begins; but, I believe, there are millions of exceptions to the rule, embracing all except the hardest worked children of toil. In fact, there is as little reason that a child should not be prepared for hard work at school, as that a man should entirely cease reading after his education is at an end.

I am, you all know, far from being the first to urge the introduction of work into schools. Years ago, Governor Hartranft urged it with unwearied zeal, and many of our leading men have approved of it. To effect such a great reform in the whole system of education, requires time; but I am sure that, both in England and in America, the time has come for the public to accept this idea. Thanking you most sincerely for your kind attention, and soliciting from you any comments which you may be pleased to make on my remarks, I now conclude.

CHARLES G. LELAND.

ENGLISH GRAMMAR AND COMPOSITION. *

THE educational millenium, if it ever come, will certainly be marked by a reform in the teaching of English Grammar and Composition. More practical than one in a dozen of the branches of elementary learning, these important subjects are commonly taught only as theories. In the strongest sense of the term complementary, they are kept so far apart, that the unsuspecting pupil

* HOW TO PARSE: *An Attempt to Apply the Principles of Scholarship to English Grammar.* By the Rev. E. A. Abbott, D. D., Head Master of the City of London School. Boston, Roberts Brothers, 1878. 12 mo. Pp. 375.

ANNOTATED POEMS OF STANDARD ENGLISH AUTHORS. (1) Gray's *Elegy*, (2) Scott's *Lady of the Lake*, (3) Goldsmith's *Deserted Village*, (4) Goldsmith's *Traveller*. Edited by the Rev. E. T. Stevens, M. A., and the Rev. D. Morris, B. A. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co., 1878. 16 mo. Pp. 24, 63, 47, 76,

imagines them no more alike than his arithmetic and his Greek syntax. New books almost in profusion,—books of *practical* grammar and books of *practical* composition; books in which the two lessons are actually joined in the same chapter, or in which (to say the least) they are set in their true relation of mutual dependence and interpenetration;—the very best books, in a word, are offered to our schools and our boards of education; but such monstrosities as Gould Brown and Quackenbos hold the field against all comers, and week after week brings forth its crop of vapid, useless collections of sentences on “Christmas” or “Truth,” or some other subject equally attractive to the youthful mind, and equally stimulating to the powers of invention and expression. The crudest theories and the most shameless evasions supplant reasonable views, and *bona fide* teaching, till the only wonder is that our boys and girls learn anything at all of their native tongue, or have the least degree of ability to express thought therein, beyond that which comes with their mothers’ milk.

Attempts have been made, we have said, to reform these abuses; and, of them all, the most sensible and practical, perhaps, is Dr. Abbott’s *How to Parse*. The words we have italicized in the title of his modest little work sound its key-note. Not a collection of Dr. Abbott’s opinions as to what the rules of English Grammar are or what they ought to be, but an attempt to discover these rules as they already exist in our five centuries of literature, the book contains truths that must free a study usually dull and incomprehensible from all its drudgery. Clear at every point, simple wherever the natural difficulties of the subject will allow, it leads the pupil steadily on through even the mazes of English construction,—even “the Difficulties and Irregularities in Modern English.” Everywhere theory is impressed by practice in parsing and construing; all exercises being made up, not of single, disjointed, uninteresting assemblages of words, but of connected discourse fitted, by its communicating living thought, to quicken and attract the minds of young people. No bright and industrious boy or girl need fear the labor involved in Dr. Abbott’s book: no bright and industrious boy or girl can come away from it, knowing every word from cover to cover, but not understanding a syllable.

Dr. Abbott’s fundamental principle is that English-speaking pupils know the *what* of Grammar perfectly well, or else can learn

it, as they have already learned all that they know, only by experience. He therefore throws out almost entirely the part of grammar known as Etymology. Certain necessary facts are stated briefly, but "no attempt has been made to give any complete system of *Accidence*." This, Dr. Abbott thinks, (and rightly, too), should not be given, until it can be made rational and historical, as in Dr. Morris's *Outlines*. On the other hand, he thinks it quite possible and very important to teach the *why* of Grammar. Its *rationale*, he asserts, *can* be made so clear, that not an idiom, not an irregularity, of English Grammar will remain unexplained; so clear, that every form, every construction will be at the pupil's instant command, whether he will write or speak. And Dr. Abbott has done all this. Let any sufferer under the old regime test our assertion.

It is very unfortunate that Dr. Abbott's plan did not include a companion book of Exercises in Composition, or (better still) a series of composition exercises parallel with those in parsing which so plentifully strew his pages. A volume of such exercises, however, is in preparation, and (it is hoped) will shortly be announced. Yet, even alone, Dr. Abbott's book will turn drudgery into pleasure, blind gropings in the dark into intelligent walking in broad daylight.

Exercises, however, can not be relied upon to keep up the interest of older classes; and such books as the *Annotated Poems* must, therefore, be especially welcome to teachers, who find it hard to strike that happy mean in instruction which never proposes impossibilities nor offers the food of babes to well-grown able-minded boys and girls. The four poems are all printed clearly on good paper, and are both illustrated and explained elaborately. They open a wide field for rambles both pleasant and instructive into the domain of English literature, and they resemble Dr. Abbott's book, which they logically follow, in unquestionably presenting the results of the application to English classics of the principles of scholarship.

The examination of these little books suggests certain principles of Pedagogy as applied to the mother-tongue, which can not be too often stated in review or too strenuously enforced upon teachers of English.

I. English Grammar should be studied, not as an end *per se*, but as Latin or Greek or French or German Grammar is studied, as a

means to a knowledge of the language with which it is concerned. That a boy knows every page of the biggest English grammar in existence, is by no means a proof that he knows any English, that he can interpret an English author, or frame correctly an English sentence. Has no boy ever learned *Andrews and Stoddard* by heart, and yet been unable to construe a simple Latin sentence? The mistake too often made is to teach English Grammar, not the English language. Now, theoretical Grammar is, of course, a valuable study; but it does not belong in the elementary work at school, *except so far as it casts light upon the obscurities of English sentence-building*. So far it can easily be taught in a practical course that combines both Grammar and Composition; and so far it is taught in Dr. Abbott's *How to Parse*.

To test this assertion (in its first part, at least,) the writer of this paper begged a friend who was several years ago engaged in teaching a class of small boys, (ages 7 to 11,) to try the following experiment. Without "the sign of a" book, the teacher gave her class a short, simple definition of a noun, saying also that nouns often took one or the other of the little words *a* (or *an*) and *the*. She then wrote on the blackboard, at the suggestion of her pupils, the names of many different objects, sometimes prefixing the article until the notion of a noun was well settled in every pupil's mind. The same plan made clear what is meant by an adjective, a pronoun, a verb. Then sentences were written, the matter always familiar and commonly proposed by the pupils, until the class came to see that the speech of everyday life is made up of several kinds of words, each filling its own office in the sentence. Wonderful discovery! yet often never made through a long lifetime. The next step was to write sentences with gaps left at critical points, and to require the filling out of these sentences. This was rapidly and eagerly done by even the duller members of the class, and was so much enjoyed by all; *that the teacher willingly gave way to a request that Grammar should be set down for every day in the week, not only for four days*. The common verdict of a child at school is, "I hate Grammar." Yet, if so easy a plan lies ready-made for our boys and girls in the elements of Grammar, why shall it not be pursued throughout the course?

II. All instruction in English Grammar should be directed to teaching the *why* and the *how* of language: the *what* will take

care of itself, or, if it must be taught at all, should be taught incidentally. Life is too short to waste in learning that *cherub* makes its plural *cherubs* or *cherubim*. The first form any child who can speak English will make instinctively: the second he will never need to make, till he has learned it by further experience. If he meets it in reading, he will learn its meaning as, when he is studying Latin, he learns *loca*, the alternative plural with *loci* of the word *locus*. Fancy a boy learning the gender of every German noun as a *preliminary* to a knowledge of the German language. If the process described in the last paragraph be pursued, the class will furnish the teacher with more matter than he could easily teach by the old method in months of hard, uninteresting drudgery.

III. A plain inference from the preceding doctrines is that Grammar and Composition must ever go hand in hand, ever be taught as opposite sides of the same truth, each of which illustrates the other. Through but too many ages, our systems have been aiming to sever these Siamese twins, and, of course, with the natural result of threatening the life of both; but now that means are plenty and the method clearly made out, it seems incredible that, simply because teachers will have something for their pupils to learn by heart, the old way by which little is taught but words should be persevered in. The examinations for admission to college present some curious phenomena. In one case a paper beautifully written, carefully arranged, absolutely perfect as to form, (except that it was by far too formal,) was handed in, delighting the examiner's first glance with the impression that here at least was one candidate well taught. Yet every word on those pages was incorrectly parsed—not in minor details only, but in essential matters! "*Active*," for example, (as in *active participation*,) was called a verb; its *principal parts* were given; its voice, mood, tense, number and person were duly set forth; its subject stated; and the rule for its agreement quoted verbatim *with the very number*. "Cram" never made a sorer victim than that poor fellow, whose natural intelligence had been so cruelly violated, and whose power of thinking for himself had been so ruthlessly torn away. Such results are simply impossible by the natural method which sets practice in composition side by side with lessons in Grammar. This natural method, however, requires a teacher who knows more than the words of his book, and who will "spend and be spent"

in the service of his kind. When a man cares only to earn his pay, he need not be expected to teach.

A cognate subject of elementary education is Etymology. Now, the composition and derivation of words is a study that may be made scientific, as in Haldeman's *Outlines*, or practical and matter-of-fact, as in Sargent's *Manual*. The latter must precede the former; this is work for second-year students in college. But, even in its preliminary, concrete phase, Etymology is not to be learned by the "cram" process. If there is one folly more arrant than another, it is that of letting boys *memorize* a list of roots and derivatives, with no help by way of application. If the unfortunate happens also to be ignorant of the grammars of the several languages from which English is derived, his task is Herculean. But, if the etymologic processes are first taught clearly, and then the numerous etymologic elements learned one by one, and employed in actual exercises in composition and derivation, memory, stimulated now, and "toned up" to its full strength, finds the load of forms easily carried. After all, English etymologic elements are but few in kind, and (so far as Latin and Greek roots are concerned,) not very many in number. Prefixes, suffixes, stems, grammatical formatives, and connective or epenthetic letters, these are all. The stems can be learned only by long continued drill in analysis and synthesis; the affixes are but a handful; and the formatives but half a dozen. Wherein is the superhuman difficulty of doing this work? Why must an examining body be asked to limit its questions to any number of words? Is it not plainly because "cram" is a method only too well known in our "perfect" school system? Time, labor and capacity to teach are indispensable factors of the legitimate result; a true method is equally indispensable; and no amount of merely mechanical injection of boys with roots and affixes can accomplish anything.

When will our last quarter of the nineteenth century—a century that has learned so much in pedagogy—when will these latest years show us a school system by which all pupils will be taught; none merely loaded?

J. G. R. McELROY.

MISS MARTINEAU.

THE interval of time since the appearance of the Memoirs of Miss Martineau has been long enough for succeeding tides of literature to sweep it well out of immediate notice; yet not sufficiently long to mitigate the sense of pain which even the memory of the book is still capable of awakening in the minds of thoughtful readers. Mrs. Chapman distilled with diligent care the sweet waters of the fountain which she intended should enshrine, as with a transparent veil, the semblance of her friend. It is the subject of the memoir, herself, who has supplied the "aliquid amari," and who has not only tinctured with bitterness, but clouded with turbidness, the fountain's very source. The autobiography, finished and laid away for years, with the entire understanding that it was to be published at her death, reveals a secret faithlessness to all claims of friendship, almost unexampled in a person who had, during a long life, seemed to be sincere and cordial, and dimly foreshadows the darker phases of her final faithlessness where her highest allegiance was due. To those of us, who, looking back over three score years, remember Miss Martineau when she visited America, the exaltation of Mrs. Chapman's conception of her friend will be far from contagious. It is impossible to forget having seen and known this distinguished woman; led to seek her by the interest created by her books, an interest flavored by a certain spice of terror in approaching so great a literary celebrity. The result of the interview was to dispel the terror and diminish the interest. I saw a strong, clear-minded, well-informed, self-satisfied woman, holding a dull *levée* among a circle of guests, of whom one at a time drew near, to communicate with her through the awe-inspiring trumpet. She was courteous and kindly, and free from any lionizing airs; but the verdict of even that hour of intercourse would have been, "She will believe only that which she can see and touch; she has great ability, and is capable of vigorous intellectual processes, but spiritual intuition, and loving apprehension, and imagination, all are wanting. She will delve earnestly and successfully, but she cannot soar." The plain countenance, unlighted by any glow of fancy, any warmth of tenderness, any

play of wit, gave no hint of a fine ideal nature within, fitted to inspire reverence or to kindle enthusiasm. The charming picture taken in her latter days by Richmond, seems the tranquil record of a useful and well-ordered life, but the gleam and softness to which the portrait illustrating the first volume of the "Memoirs" owes its only charm, were not elements of the living face, and without them, the hard and marked features possessed no attraction.

But the memoir—that is, the autobiography,—like all Miss Martineau's writings, does possess attraction, and is, for that reason, full of evil influence. Among the many notices of the book, severe or tolerant, none have plainly dealt with the problem presented by a life of industry, self-denial, and benevolent aspiration and action, leading steadily on to an old age of unbelief, mistier and darker than any heathenism. The outward aspect is completely that of a life of duty, and we repeat to ourselves, in dismay, the promise, "If any man do My will he shall know of the doctrine." But there is a clew, and it is furnished by Miss Martineau's own statements. With all her varied forms of *doing*, noble as many of them were, she yet did not do His will, nor even seek to do it, but her own. In one of her dreary letters to Mr. Atkinson, than which nothing can be sadder except his trashy letters to her, she announces that for nearly twenty years she had discarded prayer. This confession was made at the age of forty-five, and she therefore relinquished prayer when she was little more than twenty years old, while still a believer in Christianity, and even while writing and publishing works of religious advice. Her words are—"For some years I prayed only for good states of mind in myself and others. Of course, the feeling grew on me that true piety required resignation about spiritual matters as much as others; so I left off express prayer; and without remorse. * * * As for Christ's example and need of prayer—I feel that he did not mean what we mean by prayer—and that with Him prayer was contemplation and aspiration chiefly." One would suppose that the 17th chapter of St. John, the record of our Saviour's long and fervent prayer for His disciples, and the very form of "Our Father" given to men by the Son of God, would have been sufficient to correct these false deductions. But education had taught her to reject from the Inspired Word whatever her intellect disapproved, and those who pluck from the web of truth

one thread after another because the color does not please them, may well find it at last in shreds under their feet. Sad to say, some Christian people, better instructed, fall into her own deadly error of relinquishing prayer, deceived by the same fallacious reasoning. Her idea of prayer, and theirs, is simply that it is a method of obtaining supplies for physical and moral and spiritual needs. This it truly is, but far more, it is the maintenance of the means by which, in a material world, we may constantly touch unseen realities. We are commanded to pray for what we need, that the motives to prayer may be quickened in every heart; but it is to keep the children sure of their Father's nearness to them that they must call to Him through the dark mists of time and sense, and know that He hears them, though they see Him not. Prayer is sometimes described as the "Act of Faith," and this term truly expresses its value. We reach out our hand to grasp the unseen support, and learn its strength; and it is in uttering our human wants to a Divine Father's ear that we do this, even though we be, in Miss Martineau's irreverent words, "petitioning about things already ordained." She herself was utterly deprived of two senses; smell and taste;—and possessed a third in so limited a degree that she heard only with effort by means of the ear trumpet, through which alone sound was conveyed to her. If we imagine her losing also the senses of sight and touch, and then refusing, for some reason of her own, to make use of the tube which was to her the only channel of sound, her isolation from the material world would have been just what the separation from the spiritual world is, of those who neglect to pray. The means of assuring ourselves of its existence may be forgotten or contemned until all beyond the visible universe becomes a blank and a nonentity; while none who speak into the darkness fail to find that the appointed channel thrills with the still, small voice of secret answer. It was thus that a life apparently consecrated to duty was led in self-will and in refusal to do the will of Him who enjoined on men "always to pray," until the Heavenly voice was forever lost to her ear and the Heavenly vision faded utterly from her sight. The result of Christian ancestry and early Christian training was a hearty zeal for work, and a career of active usefulness, which, if the controlling spell and the deteriorating influence of phreno-mesmerism had not intervened, might have led her at last to an humbler and holier creed than her youth had

known. * But they who let go the Father's hand by forsaking prayer may well become the victims of this or other debasing errors, while boasting themselves in fancied superiority, and speculating, as Miss Martineau does, "on what certain good women who live by their expectation of a future life," will suffer whenever they come to know that I think their "Christian hope baseless." In the same connection she says, "Certainly my belief in a future life never was either check or stimulus to me in the matter of self-government." But the true Christian check or stimulus is fervent gratitude. "The love of Christ constraineth us;" and it is not by "expectation of a future life," but by love to an unseen Father that Christian people live. They "endure as *seeing Him who is invisible*," and this intercourse through the *eye of faith* is sustained only by prayer.

The impression made by her countenance and her personal presence was not deceptive. Imagination she had not, for with the frankness that was among her fine characteristics, she confesses her own "small imaginative and suggestive powers," and in asserting the rarity of the faculty among authors of fiction to *create* a plot, she says, "As for me, my incapacity in this direction is so absolute that I always worked under a sense of despair about it." The want of spiritual intuition is proved by all her treatment of religious truth. It is unnecessary to quote the irreverent allusions to Him whom she disdainfully terms the Man-God, and whom, in the wondrous nature expressed under that very name, we adore as the Christ. The focal existence, in Whom the Divine Essence fuses into most intimate union with Itself, the spiritual and material elements of the created universe expressed in the soul and body of man. Suffice it to say, that if intuitive spiritual perception were hers, it would have revealed to her the exquisite beauty and fitness of that absolute humanity and that Supreme love with which Omnipotence stooped to the condition of humanity. Suggestions such as dawned on the nobler sages of antiquity,—thoughts that have survived as the "wreck of Paradise," would have visited her. She would have divined this central fact of the Universe if she had not

* For mesmerism has, like most human powers, its twofold aspect;—angelical when used as an instrument for soothing pain and healing disease;—diabolical when it becomes a tool in the hands of irreverent men, tampering with secrets of existence too intricate for them to unlock.

already learned it, and have believed, with Plato, that a Holy and Righteous One would live among men, misrepresented, defamed, and enduring bonds and scourging and the cross itself. There is a class of lovers of science who, being destitute, like Miss Martineau, of spiritual intuition, become exclusively students of material existence, and learn a great deal about it. They may be characterized as near-sighted in reference to spiritual truth. Dwellers on an island, they know by weight and measure and analysis—by the hearing of the ear and the seeing of the eye—every fact relating to it. But the realm of science is twofold, and the world's greater men have almost invariably been denizens of the whole domain. These are the spiritually far-sighted, who forego no knowledge of the material universe—their island home—but who also study with delight the phenomena of the vast ocean—the spiritual world that encloses it. These see the great horizon and the breadths of distance, which, being invisible to the near-sighted through their own defective powers, are actually ignored by them as non-existent. These watch with deepest interest the vanishing sails bound to those far-off shores which, though unseen, they know to be as real as their own. These have been the strong, grand, far-reaching minds of every age.

“Who, rowing hard against the stream,
Saw distant gates of Eden gleam,
And did not dream it was a dream.”

To them the “Vitality of the Universe,” in which scientists look to be merged hereafter, is a definite reality, and its fountain is that “Lord and Giver of life” in whom all things “live and move and have their being.”

Miss Martineau was deficient also in loving apprehension, the quality through which men recognize a merciful and tender *Father* in the creator and lawgiver of the universe, and through which they are attracted with a force as undeniable as that with which, in the material world, the fragment of steel is drawn to the massive magnet.

But then it is metal which attracts and metal which apprehends and responds. The strong oak and the sturdy granite, with all their powers and uses, are insensible to the magnet's spell, and probably, could they testify, would deny its existence. It was this deficiency of loving apprehension, this insensibility to the need of

a Father's guardianship that enabled her to stand coolly over the dread abyss, losing from time to time the clasp of faithful hands, undismayed by the idea of eternal separation as they sank into those depths from which, by her false readings of science, she had banished every touch of protecting care, every hope of the preservation or renewal of individual life and of reunion with the departed. A strong and warmhearted man, oppressed with the haunting spectre of spiritual doubt, said, in speaking of the hope of immortality: "Understand me. I am fully conscious that without that hope all that confers worth or dignity or charm on the present life is wanting."

I turn from this verdict to see a woman, unappalled at the thought of all that is forfeited, in presence of the waste of loneliness that she believes awaits her, and those whom she loves, exulting as she plunges into the unfathomable desolation which is her only vision of a life beyond the grave. It is evident that spiritual intuition, loving apprehension and imagination, the very pinion of faith by which it dares the "one valorous leap from earth to Heaven," were not hers. Must we then all possess these faculties and powers in order to be Christian men and women? No! but if we have them not we must at least remember that the *scope of our intellectual vision is restricted by their absence*, and we must not venture to pronounce the "Christian hope baseless" because our sight has not yet caught the gleam of those distant gates of Eden, or, sadder still, has become dimmed and enfeebled, and beholds them no more. In natures deficient in these higher qualities it is easy to see that the practice of prayer can absolutely create them. Even in a weak and ignorant mind they take root and grow by the habit of continual aspiration toward an unseen Divine Father; but this woman wilfully dropped from her hand the tool by which she was to shape the firm marble of her hardy nature into enduring lines of grace and beauty, that should have inspired it with the loveliness of soul and made it worthy to live forever. Here, then, is the solution of the problem presented by a life grand and noble in so many of its features, ending in darkness—a darkness so entire that the eye had forgotten what light was, and had ceased to desire it.

Miss Martineau's history most strangely illustrates her own beautiful parable of "The Wandering Child," save that the Father's

voice was at last unheard, and the Father's guidance sought no longer, and the child in wilful and vain-glorious self-confidence and self-deception sank in the dark waters without one cry for aid. This parable, written in her earlier days, is worthy of preservation, and is added below.

THE WANDERING CHILD.

"In a solitary spot among the groves, a child wandered withersoever he would. He believed himself alone, and wist not that one watched him from the thicket, and that the eye of his parent was on him continually; neither did he mark whose hand had opened a way for him thus far. All things that he saw were new to him, therefore he feared nothing. He cast himself down in the long grass, and, as he lay, sang till his voice of joy rang through the woods. When he nestled among the flowers, a serpent arose from the midst of them; and when the child saw how its burnished coat glittered in the sun like a rainbow, he stretched forth his hand to take it to his bosom. Then the voice of his parent cried from the thicket 'Beware!' And the child sprang up and gazed above and around, to know whence the voice came; but when he saw naught, he presently remembered it no more.

He watched how a butterfly burst from its shell, and flitted faster than he could pursue, and soon rose far above his reach. When he gazed and could trace its flight no more, his father put forth his hand, and pointed where the butterfly ascended even into the cloud, but the child saw not the sign. A fountain gushed forth amidst the shadows of the trees, and its waters flowed into a deep and quiet pool. The child kneeled on the brink, and looking in, he saw his own bright face, and it smiled upon him. As he stooped yet nearer to meet it, the voice once more said, "Beware!" The child started back; but he saw that a gust had ruffled the waters, and he said within himself, "It was but the voice of the breeze!" And when the broken sunbeams glanced on the moving waves, he laughed and dipped his foot that the waters might again be ruffled; and the coolness was pleasant to him. The voice was now louder, but he regarded it not, as the winds bore it away. At length he saw somewhat glittering in the depths of the pool, and he plunged in to reach it. As he sank he cried aloud for help. Ere the waters had closed over him, his father's hand was stretched out to save him. And while he yet shivered with chillness and fear, his parent said unto him: "Mine eye was upon thee, and thou didst not heed; neither hast thou beheld my sign, nor hearkened to my voice. If thou hadst thought on me, I had not been hidden." Then the child cast himself on his father's bosom and said: "Be nigh unto me still; and mine eyes shall wait on thee, and my ears shall be open unto thy voice forevermore."

R. T. W.

PROFESSOR ABBOTT ON THE FOURTH GOSPEL.*

QUITE a literature has grown out of the last of the four Christian Gospels. The interest is not merely that which attaches to the discussion of the authenticity of any other New Testament book—let us say, the Apocalypse. In John is to be found a view of the person and work of Christ, which, while not without support in the earlier Gospels, is in some degree peculiar. Its Logos doctrine in particular, its apparent identification of the divine in Jesus of Nazareth, with the divine and eternal Word or Reason, strikes one at the very opening, while its assertion, in the sixth chapter, of his position as the only channel of spiritual life for man, and in his prayer in the fourteenth chapter of divine relations most peculiar in their nature, all give to this Gospel, supposing it to be authentic, a special importance in Christian theology. Those who incline to accept Christ as a remarkable religious teacher, but to reject the claim that he is something far transcending that, have, therefore, rejected this Gospel and denied its authenticity. Edward Edmunds, in England (1792), and Bretschneider, in his *Probabilia* (1820), may be said to have opened the controversy in this century, which has gone on ever since. The last attack of importance is that made by the Duke of Somerset, in his *Supernatural Religion*. Between these two the most important of the assailants have been David F. Strauss and Fried. C. Baus, of Tübingen. The former, however, in the third edition of his famous *Leben Jesu*, so far relented as to speak of the question as an unsolved problem. This was one of the many concessions to the orthodox which appeared in that edition, when the question of his claim to the chair at Zurich was still open; but he retracted them all in the fourth (and last) edition, when the effort to secure him an academic chair had been defeated.

While the orthodox have been very unanimous in defending the authenticity, there has not been any unanimity in the Liberal school on this question. For instance, Schleiermacher held this to be the most authentic of all the Gospels, that in which the con-

* THE AUTHORSHIP OF THE FOURTH GOSPEL: External Evidences. By Ezra Abbott, D.D., LL.D., Bussey Professor of New Testament Criticism and Interpretation in the Divinity School of Harvard University, Pp. 104. 8vo. Boston: Geo. H. Ellis.

sciousness of Jesus was fully disclosed to us. Karl Hase, the brilliant historian and dogmatist, took similar ground in his *Leben Jesu*, and in his public letter to F. C. Baur, on *The Tübingen School and its present Attitude*. De Wette, Credner, Weiszacker, H. Scholten, Beyschlag, W. Grimm, and Ewald, might be alleged as similar instances. So, again, Matthew Arnold is eager to defend at least parts of the Gospel, as giving the fullest disclosure of Jesus' thought, while he thinks that to these have been added Scholia or comments of a later writer. A somewhat similar view seems to be taken by Dr. Abbott, of London, in his *Philochristus*, but he invents a speculative disciple, Quartus, as the author of the Gospel. And last, but far from least, the two ablest Unitarian critics now living, and one not long dead,—Professor Drummond, of London, Professor Abbott, of Harvard, and the late Professor Andrews Norton,—unite in their testimony for the genuineness of a book, which most people think contradictory of their own creed.

Dr. Abbott, of Harvard, confines his discussion of the question to the external evidence. He undertakes to show merely the historical position in which we find the Fourth Gospel, and the testimony from scholars and churches in the first centuries as to its authorship. In this respect his book is a very complete statement of the case. There is, probably, nothing in the English language to compare with it, either in freshness or completeness of statement. He has before him the whole case against the Gospel, as put by all its recent assailants, and the whole argument in its defence by Luthardt, Sandys, Lightfoot, and other authors. We commend the book to those who think theological literature is little better than a mass of arguments which prove nothing, but cannot be answered. We know of no discussion of any point in secular history, except, perhaps, Bentley's *Letters on Phalaris*, in which the case is more ably handled.

Two points in the argument deserve notice. The first is the break down of the Tübingen theory as regards Petrinism and Paulinism. It was M. Schneckenberger, an orthodox critic, who in his work on the "Aims of the Acts of the Apostles" first pointed out the apologetic character of that book. It had been written to show the Roman Christians that certain vague charges against Paul were not borne out by the story of his ministry, and that so far from standing in sharp antagonism to the Judaic Peter on every point, he

had been anticipated by Peter in his work as the apostle to the Gentiles. Schneckenberger regarded the book as honest and trustworthy, but his hint was taken by the sceptical head and members of the Tübingen school. They discovered that nearly all the New Testament was made of books written with a dishonest purpose—either to defend Peter against Paul, or Paul against Peter, or to reconcile them. They supported their arguments from forged writings, attributed to Clemens, Bishop of Rome, and composed in the interest of the Judaic and Ebionite sect. They found that this fight had gone on for nearly two centuries, and that the Gospel and Epistles of John were written at its close, long after the death of the apostle whose name they bear, and in the interest of a general conciliation. This theory Dr. Abbott shows to have perished in the house of its friends. Baur's own disciples have slain it. A. Ritschl gave it a death blow in his *Origin of the Old Catholic Church* [2nd edition, 1857], in which he shows the true position of Ebionitism as a petty sect outside the current of church life and development. Weiszacke, Keim, Schürer, and Schenkel have finished the work. Not that there was not a grain of truth in the theory. Two schools of theology do run through the whole of the New Testament. The Gospel of Mark probably antedates their formation; that of Matthew, with the Epistles of James, Peter, and Jude, represents the Petrine school, and to which the Apocalypse also may be assigned. The Gospel of Luke, the Acts of the Apostles, Paul's Epistles, and that [of Apollos?] to the Hebrews, represent the Pauline theology, while the Gospel and the Epistles of John do represent a standpoint in which these antagonisms have been overcome. A re-arrangement of the New Testament in this order would help to its better understanding. But Baur exaggerated and magnified these differences beyond all bounds. He hunted for indications of partisan hostility, and found them in the most innocent statements. He coördinated spurious writings with genuine, by dragging the latter down to the level of the former, and he distorted chronology by assigning much later dates than were true or possible, to several of the books. His attempt to apply Hegel's schematism to the progress of doctrine in the New Testament has proved a complete failure. But no man ever rendered greater services in promoting and even compelling a new study of the New Testament and the first two centuries.

A second point is the character of the quotations made by Justin Martyr, from what he calls the Apostles' Memoirs. Justin suffered martyrdom in the year 166. It is maintained by some that in his days the Church had no such books as the present Gospel, and that the set she then had were completely displaced within the next century. And this in a Church which held no general synods, which was scattered over every country from beyond the Tigris to the Frith of Forth, and which, a found a century later, agreed substantially as to the Canon of the New Testament! It must be conceded that the quotations in Justin are at first sight puzzling. Prof Abbott discusses them in detail, and finds parallels for their inaccuracy in other fathers of a later date, in the English Prayer book and in Jeremy Taylor. But they are in sharp contrast to the quotations Justin makes from the Septuagint version of the Old Testament. How could they have been so inaccurate if Justin had our Gospels before him? On this point Prof. Abbott does not satisfy us. His argument is all right in detail, but the whole impression is not good. We think he has overlooked a circumstance, which explains the discrepancies in question. *Justin had not our Gospels before him, nor any other.* He owned a Septuagint, but he quoted the New Testament from memory. The New Testament in his day was a *Church book*. It was in the possession of the clergy of the Church. It was published only through the readings in the churches. A layman would as soon have thought of owning a communion service, as of owning a New Testament. Lessing proved this in his controversy with Goetze and with Walch during last century, He showed that in the Primitive Church the New Testament held no such place as in his own days. He pointed out, that in the first of Diocletian's decrees for the persecution of the Church, he commanded the clergy only to surrender the sacred books of the Christians, that they might be destroyed publicly. An old account says Diocletian and the pagans sought *ut libros divinos extorquerent de manibus episcoporum et presbyterorum*. Lessing might also have appealed to the universal feeling in antiquity in regard to sacred books. The Sibylline books in Rome were opened only when some great calamity called for special expiations and then by the priests. The *Thora* was kept in the sanctuary of the Jewish synagogue. The *Vedas* were long shut up from the prying eyes of European scholars; and the exclusion of the

Bible from the Government schools of India is regarded by the natives as prompted by a similar jealousy. Only Christians and Jews of a later day, and Mohammedans have spread their revealed books freely before the common people.

Now, *Justin was a layman*. He held no ecclesiastical offices of any kind. He had no access to the sacred books, except through hearing them read in the churches. His acquaintance with them in such a manner gives no guarantee that his quotations agree with the texts, from which he professes to quote. From Justin's testimony we cannot draw any certain inference as to what books were recognized as canonical in his days. The case which has been based on his inaccuracies, falls to the ground.

NEW BOOKS.

POEMS. By Edwin Arnold, Author of "The Light of Asia." Pp. 246. 12mo. Boston: Roberts Bros.

Mr. Arnold has already created a public for himself, by the single masterpiece whose praise has been on all lips for a year past. He has excited a very natural desire for acquaintance with his other poetical works, and this wish his Boston publishers have met by a collection of his earlier pieces. The chief of these is his translation of the *Geta Govinda*, which he published some years ago under the title, *The Indian Song of Songs*. Unlike the more famous poem on Buddha, this is actually a translation, and not an imitation, of an Oriental poem. As such, it will excite still greater curiosity, but it will not confer so much pleasure as the other. Real Indian poetry, after all, like most Oriental poetry, palls on Occidental readers. The Psalms, Job, and other Prophets are the only exceptions. Who, from any purely literary motive, reads the Hebrew "Song of Songs," or cares for the expositions, Jewish and Christian, which have converted its tale of passionate love into a religious allegory? So with the poetry of the Moslem East. Not even Rückert's superb mastery of the forms of verse have made his translations half so popular as Bodenstedt's *Mirza Shaffy*, which is confessly an imitation, not a reproduction, of Persian poetry. Oriental poetry, like Oriental music, has a gamut quite different from that of the West, and its most admired strains are apt to sound as discords in our ears, unless they have been freely adapted by some western master. Let us not be understood to discourage any reader from attempting the perusal of the verses

in which Jayadeva, a poet of the twelfth century of our era, has depicted a soul first enslaved by the pleasures of sense, and then won from that slavery by the charm of spiritual beauty. Mr. Arnold has made these verses not only accessible but charming. He has executed a difficult task with unequalled skill and a rare discretion. The reader will find the poem at once interesting and instructive, if not so edifying as Jayadeva meant it to be. But he will rise from its study with no such rapture as he felt at the conclusion of "The Great Renunciation." Not that this is not a poem equally as great, perhaps greater. But simply that it is more genuinely Oriental in form, structure and substance.

The other poems in the book are divided in the main between Oriental and Classic subjects. That called "The Rajpoot's Wife" we think the finest of the former class. The classic poems are all from the author's works on the Greek Poets, a book now superseded by that of Mr. J. A. Symonds, so far as its history and criticism go, but notable for some fine specimens of versification. The best in our opinion is also the largest—the Hero and Leander of Museus—that fine puzzle of the critics, claiming antiquity by the purity of its language and the pure heathenism of its atmosphere, and yet full of subtle, modern and subjective traits which seem to betray a late origin.

THE PRINCESS ELIZABETH; A Lyric Drama. By Francis H. Williams. Pp. 212, 12mo. Philadelphia: Claxton, Remsen & Haffelfinger.

Mr. Williams seems to court comparison with Mr. Tennyson's *Queen Mary* by the selection of his subject, and by his treatment of it. He has, we think, been more happy than Mr. Tennyson in catching the tone and even the vocabulary of our Elizabethan drama. And yet we fear he has not yet caught the popular ear. His play is too long for a good drama; his exposition of his plot not always clear enough. Shakespeare, for instance, always makes the opening lines of a drama a virtual though not a formal explanation of the situation. But through page after page of Mr. Williams, we find ourselves wondering what all this coil is about.

The chief impression we gather from Mr. Williams's work is the presence of grace and skill rather than power. It is a drama which will find friends in the closet, but not make a mark in the great world.

ANGLO-AMERICAN BIBLE REVISION. By Members of the American Revision Committee. Pp. 192, 12mo. New York: 42 & 44 Bible House.

The new dress which our English Bible is to put on is a matter

of literary no less than of religious interest. As such it has more than once been discussed in the pages of this magazine.

The necessity for such a revision has been stated repeatedly by the ablest of English Biblicists. But it was an excellent idea to present these once again in a series of articles by the American scholars actually engaged in the revision, so as to give us a foretaste of what their work will be when finally laid before the public, and thereby to allay apprehensions and conciliate opposition of sects. The first paper which follows Dr. Schaff's "Introductory Statement," is eminently calculated to conciliate opposition from conservative quarters. It shows the continuity which exists in the English Bibles. The authorized version was no Melchizedek in English literature. Its descent is traceable from Tyndale and Coverdale, through all the late versions, and through Tyndale from Luther. And to attempt such a revision as will bring the book up to the level of our best scholarship is simply to follow the example of its authors and their predecessors, the Protestant Reformers. They were content with no version which was not the best that could be made, and most faithful reproduction of the sense of the original text. Although the Bible had far less hold upon men and upon society in their days than it has now, they were not deterred, by any fear of weakening its influence, from a repeated revision of the English text.

Other papers there are by Dr. G. Emlen Hare, on "The Current Version and Present Needs;" on "Inaccuracies of the A. V. of the O. T.;" on "The New Testament Text," by Ezra Abbott; on "The Revision of the Scriptures and Church Authority," by Bishop Lee of Delaware; "On Archaisms in the English Bible," by Dr. Crosby, of New York; and by fifteen other authors on topics of equal interest.

We do not observe anywhere a notice of the authorized revision of the authorized version in Commonwealth times. Some very notable scholars, such as Cudworth, were engaged in it, but it was never completed. Professor Masson gives the facts in his *Life of Milton*. If there are any records remaining of what they did do, they would be worth publishing. Neither do we find any reference to the revision of Luther's German version begun some years ago, but now unhappily suspended. The Book of Genesis in the revised text is before us, as the German revisers agreed to print each portion separately, as soon as they had finished it, with explanatory notes in justification of their alterations. For these notes the editor of each portion—in this case Dr. Riehm—is alone responsible. This method of publication, we venture to think, is much better than that adopted by the authors of the English revision.

HINTS FOR HOME READING; a series of chapters on books, and their use. By Charles Dudley Warner, M. F. Sweetser, F. B. Perkins, Cyrus Hamlin, Hamilton W. Mabie, Edward Everett Hale, Joseph Cook, Henry Ward Beecher and Lyman Abbott. Edited with an Introduction, by Lyman Abbott. With which is included a new and revised edition of "Suggestions for Libraries," by George Palmer Putnam, together with priced lists of suggested selections of 500, 1,000 and 2000 volumes of the most desirable and important books. Pp. 147, 12 mo. New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons.

There's a title page for you! For those who do not wish to wander into the world of books without a guide-book, this may answer as well as any other. We know of no better, unless it be Dr. Porter's *Books and Reading*, which has the advantage of being a continuous discussion, instead of a series of papers, by as many persons writing independently of each other, and often overlapping. While this book is much the brighter and the more readable of the two, we may be permitted to doubt the capacity of this group of well-meaning and intelligent writers to give advice on the subject which will be even generally useful. We fear they have scant notions of the average obtuseness of the American householder. Their book will suit a certain class of bright people, with strong mental digestions. But book-buying and book reading is like courting; it is a branch of life in which every man has to be original, and to strike out for himself.

Mr. Putnam's lists we think far less useful than they might be made. On what principle Capt. Marryat's and Miss Warner's novels should both find place in a 500 volume library we fail to understand, or why any one at this date should recommend Mosheim's *Church History* for family reading. Nor is Mr. Putnam always accurate. For instance, he recommends Guizot's *History of Civilization in Europe*, in four volumes. Nor is Prof. Seely, the author of the new biography of E. M. Arnot, for which he wrote a preface. W. R. Alger has written no *History of Belief in Future Life*. Nor has J. C. Shairp written any work on *Culture and Literature*. We have never read the *Canterbury Tales* of the Misses Lee, but our impression is that they are not "from Chaucer."

THE GRANDISSIMES. By G. W. Cable. New York: Scribner & Co.

It has always been our opinion that American history furnished as many picturesque situations for the historical novelist as that of any country in the world, and that these had not come to be recognized in the true light simply because *carent vate sacro*. Mr. Cable takes as his subject the condition of Louisiana society at the time of its annexation to the Union, and he has given the public

what we regard as the most important American novel of the year. He studies old Louisiana with a cordial interest, feeling in every pulse with its Creole people, and yet always bringing their narrow and imperfect judgment of things to the test of a higher standard, indeed, of the very highest.

The real hero of the story is a young Northerner of German blood, who loses all his family by the yellow jack, and is thus left alone in a strange city. He opens a drug store, makes friends among the Creoles, who regard him as almost one of themselves, but manages to impress upon several of them the principles of justice and mercy, which their system of cast and exclusiveness ignores. He secures justice in this way to two helpless but high-born Creole women, one of whom he marries, while the other marries the young Creole who has done them tardy justice.

The old state of things in Louisiana has passed away. The Creoles are now reconciled to their position. They no longer take the initiative in public affairs, and none of the violence and wrong which have disgraced the name of the State in our days can be charged to their account. But Mr. Cable has done well to fix the outlines of the old state of society upon his canvass, before they pass into oblivion.

A curious chapter of the book is that describing the voodoo magic, by which a quadroon seeks to inflict vengeance on a white man who has wronged her. This, however, is not a thing of the past. Voodoo is practiced by many of the more intelligent and cunning of the colored race, and not only the blacks themselves, but many of the whites as well, entertain the most lively fear of its dark powers.

THE OBELISK AND FREEMASONRY, according to the discoveries of Belzoni and Commander Gorringe. Also Egyptian symbols, compared with those discovered in American Mounds. By John A. Weisse, M. D., Author of "Origin, Progress, and Destiny of the English Language and Literature." White, colored and plain illustrations. The Hieroglyphics of the American and English Obelisks, and Translations into English by Dr. S. Birch. Pp. 178, 8vo. New York: J. W. Bouton. 1880.

Discoveries made by a French Abbé in the archives of the University of Strasburg about the end of last century, disclosed the historic origin of the Masonic order, as a mediæval trade-guild founded in the thirteenth century. Subsequent investigations into the character of these guilds showed that the many peculiarities of the order were marks which it had in common with other guilds of the same character. Masonic authors, such as Flügel, Steinbrenner & Fert, have followed up these indications, and have given us an authentic account of the Order's history.

But alongside this historic literature of the order, there has long been growing an apocryphal and *aberglaube*-ish literature, which seeks to connect it with whatever is mysterious and enigmatical in ancient and mediæval history. The first form of this was suggested by the constant reference to Biblical facts and traditions, which the mediæval masons like other guilds of the sort, constantly employed, and which were handed down in the traditions of the order. Hence the myth of a great secret society founded by Adam, or by Noah, or by Kings Solomon and Hiram at the building of the temple, and handed on to our own time. By some, again, the Knights Templars were proclaimed as a branch of this great society, and it was claimed that Masonry perpetuated that order, hence the addition of Temple Masonry to the older ritual of the craft. The French Masons, being less Biblical than the English, preferred to connect the order with the Greek and Egyptian mysteries, and cast ridicule on Hiram and Solomon. Our author seems to be most catholic in his his historical affiliations of his order. Nothing comes amiss to him. He carries the order back to India as well as Egypt. He reproduces the exploded accounts of Masonry in Anglo-Saxon England. He degrades the organization of the Masonic guild in 1275 into a mere convention of existing lodges. He claims as Masons the Rosicrucians, an order which existed nowhere outside the fertile brain of J. Valentine Andrae, (1616), and especially he labors to show that Masonry existed in Egypt, that the mural paintings of the Rhine valley disclose the ritual of initiation, and that the obelisk recently sent over as a gift to the American people, but kindly appropriated by the city of New York, is quite a monument of the craft as it once was. We can commend his book to such as are easy of belief and fond of mysteries.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

History of Political Economy in Europe. By Jerome-Adolphe Blanqui. Translated by Emily J. Leonard, with a preface by David A. Wells. Cloth. 8vo. Pp. 585. Price \$3.50. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. [J. B. Lippincott & Co.

Learning to Draw, or the Story of a Young Designer. By Violet-le-Duc. Translated from the French by Virginia Champlin. Cloth. 12mo. Pp. 324. Price \$2.00. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

The Creation and the Early Developments of Society. By James H. Chapin, Ph.D. 12mo. Cloth. Price \$1.75. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

Poems. By Edwin Arnold. Cloth. 12mo. Pp. 246. Price \$1.00. Boston: Roberts Brothers. [Porter & Coates.

THE
PENN MONTHLY.

DECEMBER, 1880.

THE MONTH.

THE situation in eastern Europe has not changed materially since the last writing. Thanks to Mr. Goschen's steady and skilful pressure at Constantinople, the Porte shows a fair degree of readiness to enter into the views of the European Concert, and has sent Dervish Pasha to put down the resistance at Dulcigno, and to put the Czernagorians in possession. But the nature of the Sultan's willingness is shown by the line of operations adopted by his general. Dervish Pasha will not attack the town, but has established a blockade by land, in harmony with that established at sea by the fleet of the Powers. He also is "demonstrating" against Dulcigno, and the fact that it will take a long time to bring the town to terms, is probably not displeasing to either the Pasha or his master. The Turks mean to tire out the fleet, if that be possible. Not daring to offer a steadfast resistance in a manly way, they have recourse, like the weak of all ages, to the unmanly arts of delay and deception. But united Europe is not likely to be long deceived by this line of policy, which has one great disadvantage. It does not give the less zealous members of the Concert an excuse for withdrawing.

That the Porte would rejoice to see the European Concert broken up, admits of no doubt. It is mad to cherish such a wish. It is only that concert which saves the Turks from destruction. Should the fleet of the Powers retire from Dulcigno without effect-

ing its transfer to Czernagora, it would be the signal for the last war upon the Ottoman Empire in Europe. Russia would lead in that war. England, we believe, would second her. It is true that many good judges doubt this. They think that Mr. Gladstone would be followed but a short way, in this direction, by the English people. We do not agree with them. It is true that London opinion would be hostile to the war, just as it was true that London opinion backed Lord Beaconsfield's foreign policy. Those who accept that opinion as indicating the feelings of the nation, are as much mistaken now, as when they predicted that, in the general election, Mr. Gladstone could do no more than reduce the Tory majority.

ANOTHER evidence of the great breach between London opinion and English opinion is seen in the proposals made for the repression of disorder in Ireland. There is hardly a London newspaper of either party which does not clamor for coercion. There is hardly a Liberal paper outside of London which does not oppose coercion, and sustain Mr. Gladstone in his determination to govern Ireland by the ordinary legal means. They are not generally in sympathy with either the objects or the methods of the Land League. They deplore the agrarian murders and other crimes. They probably would like to see Irishmen punished for sending to Coventry those who take farms from which tenants have been evicted. But they do not wish to see a state of siege introduced into western Ireland, and the whole people punished for what the League's enemies declare are the offences of a few, by the suspension of their legal rights. Besides the injustice of coercion, they have good reason to suspect its inexpediency. It has been tried in Ireland a good many times, without producing the effect desired. It has made disaffection more dangerous, by forcing it to have recourse to secret methods. It has substituted secret organization for open agitation. At this moment, the Fenian and other nationalist organizations could desire nothing better than coercion. It would turn the huge current of popular discontent into secret channels, and of these channels they have control. Mr. Gladstone is doing well for England in refusing to adopt coercion.

He would have done still better if he had refused to prosecute the leaders of the League, on such a trumpery list of charges as his

legal advisers in Ireland have managed to furnish him. As the indictment runs, its authors hold it illegal to hold meetings whose effect may be to dissuade people from acts which are legal in themselves, but of which the popular conscience disapproves; or even to taboo a man for such an act. A temperance agitator might be sued for his treatment of the owners of the "sheebens," on much the same grounds as the Leaguers are sued for their treatment of the owners of the land. We do not say that the Government cannot secure a conviction on the charges. Political verdicts are curious things, and nowhere more so than in Ireland. But their success would be only another form of coercion. It would be the use of Government power to destroy the right of free speech and public discussion. As such, it also would be a godsend to the Nationalists.

THE Government are evidently bent on a double policy. They mean to punish what they think sedition with one hand, and with the other to make large concessions to the Irish tenants. How far they will go is not yet ascertained. Mr. Bright's public declaration that a peasant proprietorship is not to be thought of, seems to point to some arrangement to secure permanence in tenancy. And yet it is reported that the former proposal has received favorable consideration from the Cabinet. The *Times* seems to have an inkling of such a purpose, and it is very significant that it expresses no opposition to the principles of such a measure. When Parliament adjourned, it would have scoffed at the proposal, but during the recess it has learnt something of the extent and the depth of Irish discontent, and that the conflagration is not to be extinguished by police measures. If the Peers have learnt as much in the same interval, the great obstacle to such a reform as the Land League demands will be removed. It is true, that they will not pass a bill to compel a landlord to sell his estates; but the agitation in Ireland has put Irish landlords into such a mood that this will hardly be necessary.

THE November elections have given to the Republican party for the sixth time the control of the National Government. This is an uninterrupted tenure of office equalled only by that of the Democratic party in the beginning of the century, which may be said to

have lasted through ten Presidential terms, being uninterrupted until the election of President Harrison, in 1840. And there is no reason to expect that the present series of Presidencies will be shorter than was that other. The Democrats are not only defeated; they are disheartened almost to the point of disorganization. It means something when Mr. Wade Hampton comes forward to beg his associates not to bury the old party yet; but these associates are not much disposed to listen to him, as they remember too well the part he had in procuring their defeat. We do not suppose that the Democracy will either die or reorganize in any sense, except, perhaps, some shifting of the leaders. They will grow less despondent as the years go on, and as their blood warms to the partisan struggles in Congress; and in 1884 we shall see the unterrified resolving once more in national convention that they alone can save the nation, and that they are most ready and willing to do it. For the present they feel their defeat so badly that they strike out wildly in the matter of seeking a new basis of party action. Mr. Dorsheimer proposes that they shall devote their energies to securing representation in the Senate on the basis of population, the election of the President by the direct vote of the people, and the elevation of our silver coinage to a gold standard. The last proposal is the first to call out newspaper denunciations. But it is the only sensible one of the three. It is the correction of a mischief inflicted on the country by Democratic votes. It will be effected long before the Democracy are strong enough to control the result. As for the other two, they are suicidal, if carried as distinctive planks in a Democratic platform. The two features of the Constitution to which Mr. Dorsheimer objects are the two practical survivals of that theory of States Rights, upon which the Democratic party is based. For the Democracy to get rid of them would be monstrous. Nor will the people at large agree to the direct election of the President, until they have some security that the majorities reported from the Southern States really represent the difference between the Democratic and the Republican vote. They mean that the election of the President shall be a matter of voting and not merely of "counting in."

In the South, as we predicted, there is some loose talk about withdrawing from national politics. It would be more impressive if it did not recur so regularly after every defeat. It does not mean

much. The white Southerners are by instinct and habit the most intensely political people in this country. They could cease to be such about as easily as their black neighbors could make themselves white. Their Senators will show how much this chatter means when a party question arises in that closely divided body. It means that they do not intend to vote for a President again,—until 1884.

APART from some silly talk about their defeat as a wrong and an insult to their portion of the country, the Southern Democrats seem to take their defeat very well. They show far more dignity and self-possession than their Northern allies, and they have manifested a unanimous repulsion to the tricks by which some Northern Democrats have tried to overturn the result. But they are not satisfied with their position, and very naturally so. They feel that their own attitude as a Solid South was one of the obstacles to a Democratic victory, and they would like to retrieve themselves in the eyes of the Nation. They can do so, but only by abandoning the political methods by which they have forfeited the good opinion of the North, and by establishing "a free vote and a fair count" in every Southern State. If they can carry the South solidly for the Democracy by the means by which the North was carried for the Republicans, no one will object to their solidity. It will be as legitimate as any other feature of the political situation.

IN the North only three States gave Democratic majorities. New Jersey was saved to the party it followed even in 1864, through its Democrats declaring themselves Protectionists, and inducing General Hancock to do the same. The victory in Nevada and California is less honorable to the Democracy. These States are the centres of the Anti-Chinese sentiment among the working classes. It was by an unfair appeal to that sentiment that they were induced to give their suffrages to General Hancock and not to Mr. Garfield. The latter adopted a most unequivocal position in regard to this subject in his letter of acceptance. He declared that he could approve of no change made in the matter of permitting Chinese immigration, except through a modification of the Burlingame Treaty. On the ground that it involved a breach of diplomatic faith, he voted against the Chinese Immigration Bill, which

Mr. Hayes vetoed. But he does desire a restriction of that immigration, and at any rate a total suppression of the practice of importing Mongolians as coolies.

Nothing in Mr. Garfield's published utterances contradicts this statement of his views. But the Democratic National Committee, in company with an obscure and not highly reputable newspaper, appeared before the world on the 20th of October last, with what professed to be a private and confidential letter of Mr. Garfield's, which gave a different version of his views. This letter was addressed to a person in Massachusetts, not a constituent of Mr. Garfield's, and certainly unknown to fame. It bore the date of January last. To this obscure person, to whom Mr. Garfield had no motive to communicate his views, he was made to express sentiments on the Chinese question, which, if published, would do him a political injury in any quarter. It might have made his election to Congress impossible. It certainly would have put his election as Senator from Ohio out of the question. And this dangerous letter, we were told, he wrote to Mr. H. L. Morey of the Employers' Union in Lynn, Mass., with no motive that can be divined, and on no occasion except Mr. Morey's desire to hear Mr. Garfield's views on a point on which he had already stated them with great publicity.

The handwriting of the letter, equally with that of the signature, was vouched for by the National Committee and by the publishers of *Truth*. Mr. Abram Hewitt, however, vouched only for the signature. As a "friend" of Mr. Garfield's, he was familiar with his writing, and he compared the letter with several in his own possession. Upon what he based this fine distinction does not appear. A comparison of the fac-simile with Mr. Garfield's handwriting shows that the signature is the worse piece of imitation. The body of the letter looks more like Mr. Garfield's writing. The signature is a manifest forgery, and was pronounced such, not only by a great number of business men, but by the chief expert in hand-writing, who afterwards certified to its genuineness. At any rate, it was taken up by the national representatives of the Democratic party. Mr. Hewitt declared his conviction of its genuineness at a public meeting on the night of the 20th. Mr. Barnum, the chairman of the National Committee, up to election-day continued to send out telegrams declaring the letter genuine, and informing

the public of any piece of evidence which was supposed to confirm it. The last of these went out on the morning of November 2d, and contained the evidence of a Robert Lindsay, as to the existence of the H. L. Morey, to whom the letter had been addressed. The Committee now say that neither they nor any of their sub-Committees had the letter before them or took any action on it. Their chairman and their most trusted members stood before the country as its sponsors, and their money was spent in sending fac-simile plates and copies of it to every part of the country, but especially to the Pacific Coast.

THE Republicans attacked the letter at once. Mr. Marshall Jewell made, indeed, a false step in opening negotiations for its suppression. Every other man of note in the party, beginning with Mr. Garfield himself, denounced it as a fraud. Even the independent newspapers, foreseeing what Indiana had promised, refused to take any stock in the letter; and so did several of the Democratic papers. A closer examination disclosed the fact that nobody in or near Lynn ever had heard of Mr. H. L. Morey; that although there was a local family of that name, it had never contained a man with these initials. The Mr. Morey in question was designated in the letter as representing the Employers' Union of Lynn. But there had been no association of employers in Lynn since 1878, and the one which had existed had not been known as the Union. No such person as the executor of H. L. Morey, who was said to have sent the letter to *Truth*, could be found. And when the fac-simile of the envelope came under the hands of the Post-office experts, they found that the stamps on it were such as had not been in use at the date the letter bore.

The arrest and prosecution of one of the editors of *Truth* caused a still more fatal break-down in the evidence for the letter. It was shown that the address had been written over an erasure, and that the envelope bore a New York office stamp, although a letter sent from Washington to Lynn on Friday would not even have entered that office. But worst of all was the collapse of two witnesses, produced at the instance of Mr. Barnum to vouch for the existence of Mr. H. L. Morey and their acquaintance with him. Both of them were detected in perjury, and are now under arrest; and the incriminated editor has been committed for trial.

IN the East, the letters produced little or no effect on the votes of the working classes. But even before the election, there were indications that Mr. Barnum's fac-similes were doing their work on the Pacific Coast. In these States of the farthest West, public opinion is inflammable on this subject. The very suspicion that Mr. Garfield might have written such a letter, would have lost him votes. But when the suspicion was backed by what looked like the *corpus delicti*, and this was vouched for by the National Committee and by such men as Abram Hewitt, the effect was more than considerable. The Hoodlum opinion is easily moved against the Mongolian. In Denver there was a fierce anti-Chinese riot, and destruction of life and property, while the mob cried, "Hurrah for Hancock! The Chinese must go!" In Nevada local influences already were helping to a Republican defeat, and the letter capped the climax. In California, where every impartial observer predicted a Republican victory, the balance was shifted, and a small Democratic majority was the result. All but one of the Democratic electors was chosen. The one rejected was the man who slew Mr. Broderick in 1859 in a duel. It was well made out at the time that the killing was a premeditated murder in the interests of the pro-slavery party. And it has not been forgiven or forgotten.

THE defection of California and Nevada threw the choice upon New York. But for the Morey letter it would have been comparatively a matter of indifference how the Empire State cast its vote. So it seemed to all but a few—Gen. Grant among them—who had some presage of what was to happen on the Pacific Coast. But, as it turned out, the Democrats would have elected Gen. Hancock if they could have mustered their usual majority of about 65,000 in New York city and its neighborhood. Instead of that they had barely 41,000. To this result many causes coöperated. First of these was the Democratic threat of "a change" in the direction of "a Tariff for Revenue only." As in Indiana, so in New York City, there has been a great extension of the manufacturing interests. But not the manufacturers only dreaded the change. Men in other sorts of business saw that an interruption of our fiscal policy would be an interruption of our general prosperity,—would bring back to us the hardest kind of hard times. The proverbially sensitive com-

mercial interests of all kinds took the alarm. The exchanges mustered for a political campaign as never before. The solid business classes declared for the continuance of protection.

A second cause is found in the attitude of the local Democracy. A side-show of the campaign has been the ratification of peace and unity between the two factions of the party. It was effected under personal pressure from Gen. Hancock. Had he been wise he would have let them fight on, and then have taken his chance of getting the solid vote of both. The reconciliation was far more scandalous than the quarrel. It was made a matter of negotiation for a distribution of offices, and when the parties could reach a decision in no other way they cast lots. The excitable New York imagination was fired by the sight. It reminded the newspapers of the Prætorians auctioning the Roman Empire, and of various other historical horrors. The last step, the crowning of the edifice, was to put a Catholic in nomination for Mayor. In most of our cities it makes but little difference as to the creed of the Mayor. Whether Mr. Stokley is a Catholic, or a Winnebrennarian, or a Schwenkfelder, or an Episcopalian, none of us know or care, so that he is not an Atheist. That is where Philadelphia draws the line. But the Mayor of New York sustains very important responsibilities as regards the public schools. He has the nomination of the Commissioners who control these schools and appoint the teachers. That Mr. Grace would comply with public opinion as regards their management, the people were assured. But it was felt that Roman Catholic influence in the city government was already too strong, and that a sect which was decidedly in the minority as regards votes, should not have nearly a monopoly of the offices. This feeling helped to alienate votes, not only from Mr. Grace, who was elected by a very small majority, but from Gen. Hancock as well.

FINDING themselves beaten at home, the Democrats began, at least, a show of contesting the result. To show that twenty thousand fraudulent votes had been cast was no small undertaking. But they thought themselves equal to it. The public awaited the disclosures with some impatience. They were treated to the sort of evidence which originates in the brain of angry, because defeated, politicians. Instead of facts, there were words. The talk became so trifling that it appeared as if the will of the majority

might be defeated because the Republicans had made the inadvertence of printing the word "electors" twice on their ticket, instead of once only. But it found no response in any other part of the country. The South once more showed that it was in no humor for courting a civil convulsion. It has had enough to last it for a century. The impression grew that Mr. Kelley, having defeated General Hancock, is anxious to shift the blame from his own shoulders to those of the wicked Republicans, who surpassed Tammany in all the arts in which Tammany is supposed most proficient.

MR. JAMES A. GARFIELD is, beyond all peradventure, the President elect of the United States. Those of our readers who have followed the course of this magazine since May of 1879, will know what great satisfaction it gives us to make this announcement. He had been our candidate for the office for over a year before his nomination. In May, 1879, we suggested his name and gave our reasons. Ever since that date we have been keeping him before our public as the best man to be had, at times at the cost of some ridicule of our action. It was thought that a man with no following, and nothing but his record to commend him, need not be named in connection with the office. It would surely go to one of the *Primates*, who were mustering their forces for the struggle at Chicago. A few Republican papers, notably the Cincinnati *Commercial*, took the risk of saying that Mr. Garfield was an impossible candidate, as the charges against him in the Credit Mobilier matter would be fatal. They did Ohio the poor compliment of saying that a man might be chosen her Senator, whose record would prevent his election to a national office. We believed in Mr. Garfield, with pretty full knowledge of all that had been said against him, and we are glad that the party had the good sense to nominate him, and that the nation has had the good sense to elect him.

No support of Mr. Garfield, either before or since his nomination, can create any claim upon him. He actually did not want the office. He did not believe that he could be elected if nominated; his usually good judgment failed him at this point. His tastes led him to prefer the six years in the Senate, which were opening upon him. So far from being a lucky stroke for him, his election is positively a disadvantage. Even should he be re-elected

as we believe and hope he will, he will find the Presidency an awkward interruption to his political career. Twenty years hence it would be different. It would then come as a fitting close to his public life. But after four, or at most eight, years of the Presidency, Mr. Garfield will find himself that most pitiable of political characters, an ex-President,—a younger and a poorer ex-President than any other that we have not known what to do with. He will find it hard to keep out of public life and harder to get in, just as Mr. Hayes will, and as Mr. Grant has done. He will be less able than either of these gentlemen to do without public employment. We should not wonder if he felt a grudge at every one who has had a hand in his unwelcome promotion. If there is one *rôle* which will not pay under the coming administration, it is that of "the original Garfield man." We hasten to sacrifice ourselves, in order to save the office-seekers from the odium of that character.

WE believe that Mr. Garfield will give us a singularly pure and able administration. In point of integrity he could not go beyond his predecessor. Mr. Hayes's administration has been described by Professor Sumner as the purest since that of Mr. Adams. It has extorted praise from the Southern press by its cleanness and its fairness. It has prepared the way for Mr. Garfield in many respects. It has made things easy which he would have found difficult, if he had been Mr. Grant's successor. But Mr. Garfield we regard as an abler man than our respected President. He is not, perhaps, quite the intellectual giant Mr. Watterson pronounces him. Men who come up to the magnitude of Mr. Watterson's sesquipedalian adjectives are rare on this continent. We doubt if even Boston has many of them. But he is a man of broad views, scholarly thoughtfulness, keen insight, and practical talent. Better than this, he is a man of great decision of character,—one who can neither be bought nor bullied. What would be obstinacy in a narrower man is made decision by his calmness of judgment, and his intellectual breadth. And he is a man of large experience in the conduct of the government. We predict for him a very successful administration, and we do it with the certainty that he will be thought to have falsified all such predictions before he has been three months in power. Perhaps that verdict will come even earlier. His inaugural and his choice of a Cabinet will furnish the

materials for it. There is a proverb as to the class of people who cannot be trusted to see incomplete work. That class is numerous in this country and has its representatives in the press.

THE composition of his Cabinet is a matter of much speculation to the public, and we suspect of great amusement to the President elect. He is evidently in no hurry about it. He declares his intention of being a good listener for the next three months. We venture to predict that it will be a Cabinet representative of all sections of the party. Fortunately for himself, he cannot fill it with "Garfield men." There are not enough of them to make a Cabinet, and he feels no special gratitude to them, as we explained above. He will have to take Grant men, and Blaine men, and Sherman men, and Nobody's men, otherwise called Independents. The balance of power will be in his own hands. It will be a Garfield Cabinet, and a Garfield policy. And a Garfield policy means (1) a Hard Money policy; (2) a Protectionist policy; and (3) a policy of conciliation towards the South. What it means as regards Civil Service Reform, is the most uncertain thing about it. We hope that the new President will give that perplexing question a fair share of his attention. We know that he is not in harmony with the views of Mr. Curtis. We have no reason to believe that he is any more ready to adopt permanence in tenure of office as the true solution. We wish he were. But he must be aware that our Civil Service System is a source of some of the most serious evils which afflict our political life. And we ask of him nothing but such a plan of reform as will remove or minimize these evils.

THE election gives the Republicans a small majority in the House, and ties the United States Senate, with the certainty of a Republican majority in the Senate two years hence. The whole Government is therefore restored to the Republicans, and with it the most serious of responsibilities. We think that the interruption of their power since 1875 has been no unmixed evil to the party. It is just what many of its best friends could have wished for it. It was a warning that it had no monopoly of political power, and that it must behave itself or go out of office. The pious old colored brother, who prayed that the bad boys might be shaken over the bad place, but, still more fervently, that they

might not be allowed to drop in, understood one of the means to a moral reform. The Republicans have had their shaking, and they have not been allowed to drop in.

Their first temptation to go back to their old ways will be found in connection with contested seats in the House. There is a right and wrong way in this matter, and the choice must be made without much help from the newspapers. Whatever is done, those of one party will scold, and those of the other praise. That there are seats in the South for which Democrats have been returned, but to which Republicans are entitled, hardly admits of a doubt. The Shoestring district of Mississippi is a case in point. *The Vicksburg Herald* has done itself honor by exposing and denouncing the political crimes by which Mr. Chalmers has been once more returned for that constituency, without being elected. It is, however, not probable that all the contested seats in the South are of the same character. Some will be claimed, where there was a *bona fide* Democratic majority, perhaps, because the Republican vote was not brought out. It will not do to judge by election returns of other years. The negro cannot be bullied into voting against the Republicans, but he can be bullied into staying at home. And if he has stayed at home, it is not the business of Congress to seat the candidates whom his vote would have elected if he had been brave enough to cast it. It is true that the Democratic House set a very bad example in this matter during its term of office. But the Republicans should be guided by the excellent conduct of the best Democrats of the Senate in the matter of Mr. Kellogg's seat.

In Philadelphia the city election was satisfactory, except in the choice of members of the Legislature. Through some lack of attention to the matter, the nominating conventions were, in several districts, controlled by the worst elements of the party, and the worst selections were made. Men whose connection with the Kemble Bribery cases was such as to merit their permanent retirement from public life, were put forward for the suffrages of some of the most intelligent and wealthy parts of the city. Had it been a matter of choosing a legislature merely, their defeat would have followed as a matter of course. But the next legislature is to choose a successor to Senator Wallace, and it was feared, without good

reason, that the majority might be a close one. Of course, the Democrats had candidates in every district, but as their election might change the character of the United States Senate, Republicans felt bound to support their own candidates, and to elect the very worst of them.

In the matter of city offices the nominations on both sides were excellent, but it was generally felt that Mr. Pattison, the Controller, although a Democrat, deserved a re-election. He had shown himself both capable and upright, and it was thought no disadvantage to have a Democrat to check the bills. If the Republicans had bowed to this state of feeling, and had nominated Mr. Pattison as their candidate, they would have done a graceful and a wise action. But Mr. Pattison, in the discharge of his duties, had given personal offence to Mr. Wagner and other Republican leaders. It was thought that he must go, and a candidate was sought who could be elected, with the help of the *furor* of a presidential contest. The selection of Mr. Joel Cook was a very happy one, but Mr. Cook soon found that he had been put into a false position. Neither he nor any candidate could command the support of the party against Mr. Pattison. Mr. Cook withdrew, and his successor, Mr. Jeffries, came far short of a majority. Some 17,000 Republican voters cast their ballots for a Democratic Controller. So evident was it that there would be a great defection, that Republican ballots were furnished at the polls with Mr. Pattison's name substituted for that of Mr. Jeffries, and these were in the hands of the representatives of the Republican party.

THE Independents and Reformers were so elated by the election of Mr. Pattison, that they at once started a movement for a campaign against the Ring in the city elections of February next. We think they are taking a false step. It is true that the city was never less disposed to vote in leading-strings than at present, but is equally true that nothing will so strengthen the hands of our bosses than a bitter, personal campaign, such as is promised us. It is a great pity that we have professional politicians, and that our indifference to political management makes them a necessity. But it is folly to expect our people to hold them responsible for the faults of a system to whose evils we all contribute. Mr. McManes, as every one knows, is neither a moral monster nor an insolent

autocrat. He has, perhaps, a personal interest in some abuses, but he rather desires good government for the city than otherwise. The nominations upon which we have just been voting, including even those of Mr. Cook and Mr. Jeffries, are enough to show this. To begin a general attack upon him is to rally to his support many elements of our voting population, which would otherwise be indifferent. It would have been wiser to have met him with a proposal for such nominations as would have united the party and done credit to the city. As it is, the Reformers have little to offer us, except a chance to put the city into the hands of the Democrats. We know a good many voters who supported Mr. Pattison, but who will not contribute to the general success of his party.

LESSONS OF SOCIAL SCIENCE IN THE STREETS OF PHILADELPHIA.*

THE subject of this lecture has been suggested by the fact that social science has been studied to better purpose in the streets of Philadelphia than in any other city of the world.

More than a century ago there came to Philadelphia an Irishman of unusual gifts and force of character. When little more than a boy he had been the subject of one of those political prosecutions by which the English rulers of Ireland sought to prevent the expression of a public opinion hostile to their rule. He had found refuge in France, and employment in the printing office set up by Franklin and Adams, in furtherance of their mission to Europe. By their advice he came to America in 1785. It was under the patronage of Franklin and Washington that he began his career as an American publisher, editing the first great American periodical, and reprinting the great British authors in the first uniform American edition. He helped to keep our city where Franklin had placed it—the foremost in the Union as a centre of literary pursuits, and the home of literary men. He especially fostered the study of social science, by pointing out to the people of his adopted

* This lecture, originally written for the Workingmen's Guild of St. Matthew's Church, has been delivered some score of times in Philadelphia, and twice in suburban places. It has been modified a good deal and enlarged somewhat during this series of deliveries. It is now committed to the *Ars artium conservatrix*, in the belief that it has reached the limit of its usefulness as the spoken word.

country the laws by which nations attain to wealth or sink into poverty, and the means by which a community may become prosperous, independent, and vigorous, and by which wealth may be kept from gathering into the hands of the few, and may be diffused among the many. During the forty-five years of his residence in Philadelphia, it had no more public-spirited citizen, and none that contributed more to the development and the direction of our civic life.

He had a son born to him in 1794, who, until recently, was still living among us, and whom he took the utmost care to bring up in the love of all those interests which were dear to his own heart, and in the same unselfish devotion to the good of the city and of the land. As they used to walk our streets together (the boy holding his father's hand), that father lost no opportunity of pointing out those illustrations of the principles of social science, which were to be seen on every hand. That son became the most widely known of all our fellow citizens. Like his father he was an author, but *his* books speak to the world in eight European and one Asiatic language. His authority is quoted in the debates of German and Swedish Parliaments, of French Assemblies, and the governmental councils even of distant Japan. His doctrines are taught by his disciples in several of the great universities of continental Europe. He is singled out by some in both America and Europe as the author whom—before all others—they must answer and refute; and by others as the master to whose authority they bow, and as the very greatest writer on social science that has ever lived. And, perhaps, he owes no small part of his success and renown to the lessons of that father, who taught him to keep his eyes open for truths and principles as he walked the streets of Philadelphia. I speak, of course, of our townsman, the late Mr. Henry C. Carey, and of his honored father, Matthew Carey.

I claim, therefore, that our streets are the field of study in which this science has, thus far, been studied with most success. They share this honor with those of no other city of the world, for the writers of other schools have gone about it in a way altogether different. They have shut themselves up in libraries, lecture rooms, and studies, to evolve the science out of their inner consciousness, instead of seeking in the every day life of mankind around them, the indications of its first principles.

Every other science has been approached in Matthew Carey's fashion. The botanist and the geologist do not confine themselves to cabinets, museums, and collections. They go forth to the field and the grove; to the hillside, and the mines, to ascertain the great primary truths of their sciences, until, by long experience in questioning and cross-questioning facts, the student has acquired the habit of insight into the meaning of facts. And this habit of insight is not unlike a supplementary pair of eyes, by which the expert is able to see wonderful things where untrained eyes see only what is common-place. You take a botanist, for instance, down the Delaware to the low flat bank, where vessels returning to our port in ballast, are accustomed to discharge the soil they have used as such. You or I might pass that place and see nothing worthy of notice, but Prof. Rothrock would find there a whole botanical garden of rarities; tropical plants from the Cape or the East and West Indies, or Brazil, and side by side with them the contrasted growths of climates colder than ours, of Norway, Sweden, and the British Isles. And every leaf would confess its habitat and its nationality to his trained eye, and other countries and distant lands would rise up before his mental vision, as he explored that common looking, low, river bank. Or, take an instance still nearer home. Some years ago our special students of geology went out with the special students of civil engineering on Saturday, that being the day used by the latter for practice in surveying. They came upon a quantity of stones lying in the bed of the little creek which traverses the western part of West Philadelphia. To the engineers those stones were simply stones and nothing more, possible helps or possible hindrances to the erection of some structure, or the opening of a street or road. But the geologists saw, as at a glance, that they belonged to no rock or strata in or around Philadelphia, and that they must have been brought hither on the surface of some glacier or river of ice, flowing across West Philadelphia to the south. On further examination they were able to say where they had been picked up by the glacier, and to trace them back to their native bed in the mountains of the Schuylkill coal region.

To-night I wish to call your attention to some few of the things a student of social science would see in and around your city, in the use of his special insight, and to some of the inferences he would draw from them.

And first of all the very existence of a city where we stand, and its relation to the surrounding country, apart from all the peculiarities of this particular city, is full of suggestion to him. It recalls to his mind the age when all the civilized part of mankind lived in cities,—farmers, as well as traders and manufacturers. The open country between the cities was not then filled up with country houses, farms and villages, as now. The land around each city was farmed by the citizens, and lands that lay too far away for that mostly lay idle and unemployed. There were a few villages in out of the way places, but very few, and those “out of the world” as we say; so that when the rest of the world became Christian these remained heathen; and the word *pagan*, which once meant merely a villager, came to mean a heathen. As you read of Paul and the other Apostles preaching through those old cities, you might be inclined to ask who looked after the country people and preached the gospel to them. But the fact is there were very few country people inside that old Roman Empire. And the word *city* in those days was used in the sense of a society of men, being the only type of society known to them. Hence we are told that when Abraham went out from among his heathen kindred to seek a form or state of society in which the true God was worshipped, he “sought for a *city* that hath foundations.” And in the book of Revelation the Kingdom of God is represented as a *city* coming down from heaven to earth.

To a military man the modern city would seem chiefly distinguished from those of ancient times by its want of military defences, and its free capacity to grow and expand on every side in the absence of walls. But a far more remarkable difference is this, that the modern city is made up of homes and meant for a people whose social life takes place under the roof of home. In the ancient city the only grand buildings were the temples, the baths, the porticos, the forums, and the theatres, and, perhaps, the palaces and the courts. Nothing is so surprising in Pompeii, for instance, as the small size of the houses. They consist, at best, of a moderate sized dining room, which was also the sitting room, with a cluster of cupboards around it as sleeping-places. The ancients needed no more, for they spent their time in the open air on clear days, and in the public buildings and under the porticos when it was wet. And the houses were not only small and shabby, as compared with the

public buildings, but they were generally built with no attempt at architectural style and of very poor materials. The Apostle Paul seems to be referring to this in one of his Epistles to the Corinthian Church, and to be alluding to a recent conflagration in that city, in which the private houses, built largely of wood and thatched with straw and reeds, had been burnt up in great numbers, though the people escaped, while the temples, constructed of precious metals and precious building-stones, had been left intact.

And, of course, in such a city as that the width of the streets was a matter of slight importance. A street was but the pathway by which a man found his way home at close of his day's work to his dinner and his bed, and, as the Irishman remarked, after-dinner travellers were more likely to be bothered by the width of a street than by its narrowness. They needed wide and open spaces like the forum, but broad streets would have seemed a waste of ground. They indulged in no such waste, for, with the exception of the great avenue through which religious and military processions found their way, the streets were mere elbow-lanes, like those of oriental cities at the present day; never lighted, never cleaned, and only to be trodden after sun-down at risk of one's neck.

Of course civic life was a very different thing under conditions so different from our own. That home life, which is the charm of modern existence, was not indeed wanting. The affections which underlie it were sometimes exceedingly vigorous and sound. But still it was kept in position of subordination, which affected at once the character, the health, the industries, and the modes of living of the ancient people. Men living thus abroad from home were brought far more under the control of public opinion for good and for evil. With the decline of right opinion public morals had no safeguards left. We look in vain in all ancient history for such contrasts of domestic quiet with public disorder, as English history presents in the *Paston Letters*, which date from the bloody Wars of the Roses, or in Mrs. Hutchinson's life of her gallant Colonel, who lived amid the struggle of Puritan and Cavalier.

While any modern city suggests such general recollections as these, no American city is so rich as our own in suggestions which connect themselves with the history of Europe during the seventeenth century. I know not how far the Quaker founder of our city would rejoice to hear it called "the Quaker City." I fear he

would hardly recognize in us the fulfilment of the ideal that was in his mind when he laid the foundation. And yet the name has a justification, which is both indicated by the surface of our city and deeply imbedded in the city's life. Something of the old Quaker spirit clings to us to this day, and reflects itself both in the merits and the defects of Philadelphia. The *genius loci* is indestructible. There is a quietness of spirit, a love of the practical and the useful, a detestation of the noisiness of quackery, a disposition to be in no hurry to take the bushel off the candle, and a conviction that "he who believeth shall not make haste," which marks our city as historically associated with the great religious movement which began with George Fox in Central England in 1647. And there is one business maxim which the Quakers introduced and enforced upon their own membership, for which, I believe, our city is eminently distinguished. I mean the principle of "*one price and no abatement*," which the business world owes to George Fox and the early Friends. Up to his time, trading in England was conducted as it still is in an Eastern bazaar. You begin by offering about a fifth of what you mean to give, and the merchant responds by asking five times as much as he means to take. You approach each other through a prolonged haggling, and conclude by the buyer protesting that he is swindled and the seller that he is ruined, while both are excellently well pleased with the transaction. To this system of trade-lying the Quakers put a stop, not in England and America only, but in the marts of all Western Europe.

The names of the streets in the old city, borrowed from the forest trees they have displaced, are another relic of the Quakers—of their abhorrence of man-worship. Penn—as you know—protested most earnestly against the affixing his father's name to the new province, and offered the Under Secretary of State twenty guineas to change it. When he reached the city, he found that the streets had been named after persons most prominent in the province, and these he expunged from the plan and substituted those they afterwards bore. But when he came to give names to those suburban localities, which lay around the city proper, he took the names of the corresponding districts of London—Southwark, Spring Garden and Kensington. He thus for ever stamped the connection of our city with that of the great English metropolis, in that our city was founded by Londoners. And when the question arose as to the

right of the city to erect her new buildings on what was called Penn's Square, it was found that that piece of ground had been given to the city for such use as the city of London made of Moorsfields, and the decision of the case turned upon an investigation of the history of that locality in London.

It is not England and the Quakers only with whose history we are connected. The name of Christina street, now incorrectly called Christian street, reminds us of the gifted but wilful daughter of the great Gustavus Adolphus, under whose patronage the first European settlement was made within our city's limits. It recalls that splendid period of Scandinavian history, when Sweden stood at the head of the Protestant powers of Europe, and her king disputed with Richelieu honor of being the greatest statesman of Christendom.

And the name of the Schuylkill recalls the greatness of Holland, in the era of her naval power and her colonizing aggressiveness, when the national energy, developed by her deadly struggle with Catholic Spain, was still in the flush of hopefulness and initiative. And strange as it may seem, the plan carries us back to one of those great cities of the far East, which modern explorers are now laying bare to the gaze of the world. It was from the description of Babylon given by the Greek historian Herodotus, that Penn seems to have taken the idea of his straight rectangular streets, and Dean Prideaux in his *Connections* refers to Philadelphia, then recently founded, as the best exemplification of the plan of Babylon as described by the Father of History.

Such are some of the traces of our historical relations to the past of Europe and of Asia, and only a few. They are enough to remind us that society is a historical fact, bound by innumerable ties to the past. They tell us that every new form of social life had to borrow its elements from those which preceded it, and is thence blending in new relations of forces which were at work in the remotest past of human history.

But our history is connected with a still remoter past than that of human history,—with the geological past. These land-marks which seem to us so fixed and ancient, were after all not here from the beginning. The Delaware itself is but the crack left by the last great earthquake, which sundered the two geological systems, to which Pennsylvania and New Jersey respectively belong. Its

tributary, the Schuylkill, which seems so settled in its present channel, has been for ages past shifting that channel, and is still going on with that change of bed. In remote ages it emptied into the Delaware at or near Race street wharf. I do not mean yesterday, nor in Penn's time, but, let us say, a few million years ago. And to this day that river continues to cut away the soil from its right bank and to deposit mud on the left, so that, since the United States Government is to last through all the millenniums which shall elapse before the final refrigeration of the system, you will see that it acquired a magnificent possibility in getting possession of League Island and the adjacent mud-flats.

If you will draw a line across the city, past Cherry Hill to Race street wharf, you will separate by that line the part of Philadelphia which stands on original land, from the part which stands on soil deposited by the Schuylkill. All this lower part of the city is built over a bed of auriferous or gold-bearing clay, and wherever you dig down you will find more or less gold. For all through these vast ages while the river was gnawing away its western bank, and depositing soil on its eastern, it was bringing down little particles of gold from some place in the interior of the State, where there were gold-bearing rocks and sands. The gold under the city has been repeatedly mined for, and enough of it got to make a coin or a ring, or some similar trinket, but at a cost greater than its market value; for the quantity found is too small in proportion to the labor expended, for it to be worth working.

Now this fact—that here is gold which is too dear, illustrates some very important principles of social science. It shows you that the *price* of a thing is determined by not the cost of its *production* but the cost of its *reproduction*. The gold dollar dug from under the city's site is worth in the market just what it will cost me to replace it by a gold dollar from some other gold mine. If a quantity of gold which cost me a day's labor can be produced in California by an hour's labor, then I am wasting my time in digging for gold under Philadelphia, for even gold may be bought too dear.

And the same facts show us the nature of *value* also. We often use value in the same sense as *usefulness*, but they are very different things. Water, for instance, is just as useful at one time as another. It is one of the most useful of minerals, but because it can be had in plenty for a very small payment, it has very little value.

The way in which our Philadelphia housekeepers make it fly on Saturday mornings, shows how small its value is in this part of the world. But when a drought comes and the Schuylkill runs low, and there is hardly any water to turn our turbine wheels, and the possibility of a great fire becomes a popular horror, and the Mayor sends out his proclamation to forbid the washing of pavements, and to ask people to stint themselves in its other uses, then all at once water becomes valuable, even though water rents are the same. Its usefulness is not a bit greater than before. It does not quench thirst, or wash faces, or put out fires a bit better. Why then more valuable? Because *nature now offers greater resistance* to our city's obtaining the quantity she needs.

Or (to go back a bit in our history) water was most valuable at the very beginning, when every father of a first family trudged down to the river's bank with his bucket and carried home a supply, and when for that reason, the water needed was obtained by the greatest outlay of labor. The next step was to dig a well and set up a pump, and then a few strokes of the arm took the place of a trip to the bank of the river, or one of the creeks. When I first knew Philadelphia the Northwestern parts of the city had plenty of these pumps and still used them. The first attempt at a more general water supply was to furnish pure water, untainted by the sewers to the pumps of the city. The water was pumped by steam into wooden troughs, which were laid under the streets of the city, and was pumped out of these by hand, as often as it was needed, either for household use or to extinguish fires. In digging the foundation of the new public buildings some of those old wooden troughs were laid bare "to puzzle posterity" as to their uses. Then came the last step, that of pumping water into an elevated reservoir, and then to furnish such a pressure upon our water pipes that the slight turn of the hydrant gives us a supply at any level.

Now all these changes have been reductions of the value of water, but additions to its utility. For value is the measure of nature's resistance to the efforts man makes to secure her services. It sometimes is embodied in the current price as that rises or falls, and sometimes (as with our water) the value and the price are for the time independent of each other. It is therefore the very opposite of *wealth*, for we are wealthiest in water when we have an abundance of it and its value is the smallest. *Value* is the measure of nature's

resistance to man, and *wealth* is the measure of man's power over nature.

But let us come back to our Philadelphia gold mine. Suppose that instead of stingy little spangles in that clay, there had been fine large nuggets of it every three or four inches, so that a Philadelphian only needed to dig a few feet below his cellar floor to find a horse-load of it; do you suppose that each of us would then be as rich as a man who has now a horse-load of it? Not at all; for the price of gold would at once fall enormously. That is, stingy mother nature would have given up that resistance to men's getting gold which now keeps it dear, and the value which measures that resistance would fall to a point beyond all experience. With the fall of value of gold the world's true wealth would be greatly increased, for we could then afford to apply gold to a great many uses for which it is now too costly, but for which its intrinsic qualities, such as its freedom from rust, greatly fit it.

From the mining, let us pass to the agricultural aspect of our city's site. As the first settlers were chiefly farmers, a great part of the site of the city was devoted to agriculture,—all of it, indeed, except a strip along the Delaware. And when we look at the nature of their farming, and the traces it has left in our streets, we find that it illustrated and confirmed that great law of settlement which it was Mr. Carey's glory to have discovered.

When a mass of settlers, like the Quakers and Mennonites who landed here in 1682, come into possession of a new country, which class of lands do they first occupy? Is it the rich lands or the poor lands? Do they pass from the richer land to even poorer lands as the population increases?

The older students of social science had not been trained by their fathers to observe what went on as they walked the streets, and they said, "Why, of course, they take the best lands first of all, and those who come later have to put up with the worst." But Mr. Carey pointed out that the continual circulation of water on its way from where it falls to the creek and river beds, carries down many of the most valuable elements of the soil to the low and swampy places,—places which cannot be brought under tillage until people are numerous enough and skilful enough to undertake their drainage. He showed that the first settlers naturally take those high lying places, where no drainage is needed, and where there is

no malaria, but where the soil is poorer than elsewhere. That is the meaning of the Ridge Road, that dear old interruption of the rectangular monotony of our city. It is the road that ran along the ridges,—the highest and driest places to the northwest of the old city. For, as the old maps show, the first farms lay all along the line of that road, and better lands east and west of it were still unoccupied. And all the old roads of the State are Ridge roads. They go twisting about as if hunting for hills to climb over.—even in limestone regions, like the Logan Valley, where there is no malaria,—while the newer roads run close to the banks of the streams. And the reason is the roads ran where they were wanted,—ran past the places where people lived.

A knowledge of this law that the worst lands must be taken up first, and the better as numbers and the power of coöperation grow for their mastery, will save men from many mistakes and losses. The ignorance of it has often caused great losses. One of the Australian colonies, Queensland, was nearly wrecked by those who undertook it proceeding upon the contrary supposition. But we need not go to Australia for an instance. The block of buildings on the south side of Chestnut street, between Seventh and Eighth streets, is erected on the site of a magnificent mansion, which was never finished. Those who have occasion to dig down into the yards of these houses, sometimes come upon the remains of the vast foundation walls of what was long known as "Morris's Folly." Robert Morris was the banker of the revolution. He contributed to its success as much as any single man, after Washington and Franklin, by raising money, the sinews of war, and restoring the credit of the Government. He founded the Bank of North America, which still exists, and which was the first real bank on this continent. But his large and well earned fortune was scattered to the winds at the very time when he was putting up that splendid residence, by his embarking in land companies for the purchase and improvement of lands along our own two rivers and the Susquehanna—lands the best in the State, but not then available for agriculture as they now are. Robert Morris died a poor man, comparatively, and his half-finished mansion stood thus for years, the monument of a great fortune wrecked on a false theory of social science.

Our city, in the arrangement of a few of its streets, tells us that its past history illustrates another fact of social science, viz: in the growth

of large social unities out of the union of smaller ones. When Penn drew the map of his new Babylon, he fixed its northern and southern boundaries at Vine and South streets, and its eastern and western at the two rivers. Probably there were many who laughed at the extravagance of those large limits, as we still laugh at the map of some western cities and their magnificent areas. And when the city entered upon its second century, they were still far beyond the limits of its growth. Within the memory of people now living, there were hardly any houses beyond Broad street, and twenty years ago was an old lady alive, who, when a child, had gone black-berrying at Eighth and Market streets.

The districts north and south of the city Penn organized as townships of the county, calling them by the names of the suburbs of London: Kensington, Southwark, Spring Garden, and so forth. Possibly he expected that they would become pretty rural appendages to the city, such as those places then were to London. But instead of that they grew into compact and populous cities, joined on to the mother city by community of business interests, and by daily intercourse. At last in 1854, they were brought under one municipal government with Philadelphia. We already almost forget that they once were separate cities with mayors and councils and city halls of their own, and that the police of Philadelphia thirty years ago, could not chase a criminal across South street or Vine street. But the streets still recall that old period of local government, especially those that like Spring Garden and Poplar streets, do not run east to the Delaware. And so do the old roads—York, Ridge, Passyunk, Gray's Ferry and Darby—which took their present direction before those places were laid out as cities, or anybody expected that they would be built. Spring Garden street was evidently meant to be the great central thoroughfare and avenue of the city, whose name it bears; and there are still many other local traces of the old state of things.

Now this is the natural method of growth the whole world over. All great communities have been formed by this consolidation of smaller but older communities. Yorkshire, for instance, is older than the kingdom of England—and was once an independent country. The old hundreds into which Yorkshire is divided, are older than the shire itself, and were once independent of each other. The marks or manors or townships which make up those hundreds

are older still, and were once independent and sovereign communities. And our own nation has grown up by just the process by which our city grew, and by which England grew. First came the town or township, then the colony, then the commonwealth, then the nation,—each older and smaller unit being gradually absorbed in the newer and larger. And the existence and importance of the earlier lines of separation lapse out of sight as utterly as we now forget in crossing Vine street, that we are passing what was once the border of two cities.

Now this insensible and silent revolution never goes backward. The larger unity cannot again be sundered into its component parts. You cannot rend England into those shires which once boasted each its separate king,—nor America into the colonies which surrendered their independence and abdicated their sovereignty in the organization of the Nation.

If one were asked how large is the built up portion of this consolidated city, it would probably be found difficult to give such answer as would convey any adequate idea. Suppose that we put it in this way: the city contains seven hundred miles of paved streets, nearly all underlaid with sewers and gas-mains, and lined with houses. If those streets, instead of lying side by side, were made into one long street, which began at the Delaware and ran due west, it would stretch across Pennsylvania, Ohio and Indiana, and would terminate just beyond the boundary line of Illinois. It would take a day and a half for a railroad train to traverse that street, running at ordinary express rates and without stoppages. It would take an army from thirty-five to fifty days to traverse it at ordinary rates of march.

If we could range the houses on that street, not in their present order, but that of the date of their erection, a most instructive picture would be presented of the history of our architecture, and of the growth of the popular tastes. After the old Penn cottage on Letitia street, would come a few miles of those solid, glazed brick mansions, which line North Front street and other parts of the East of the city. We should then pass into a middle region of red brick and white marble, stretching from about Lancaster, clear into Indiana, and interrupted here and there by a piece of plastered pretentiousness, which was thought in classic taste when it was new. And if we were compelled to pass that tremendous series of red and

white, white and red, in uninterrupted review, it would breed in us no kindly wishes for the Friend who invented that style of architecture, and the Brethren who made it popular. The whole impression of this middle region would be not unlike that dreary monotony which reigns in the landscapes of Dante's Purgatory.

At last, when well across the farther boundaries of Ohio, the signs of a coming change would begin to show themselves, first in the brownstone fronts, such as constitute the sombre glory of New York's avenues, and then in sandstone and serpentine, and the more tasteful combinations of our brick, which characterize the new era. Last of all would come that fearful and wonderful combination of colored bricks and fantastic tiles, which suggests a savage in his war-paint.

The æsthetic architect has perhaps the right to speak the first word in regard to the display thus made of our public and private buildings. I fear that his verdict would hardly be very complimentary to us. He would speak of the barrenness of our imaginations, the lack of noble invention, the waste of money and materials, such as in 500 miles (more or less) of carpenter's cornices, and the general failure to put to any effective use our supplies of the finest brick and the finest stone in the world. He might say: "Behold a city in which no poet ever sang, no great work of art or imagination was ever conceived—a city in whose civic feasts the arts and letters sit below the salt, a city whose standard of judgment is prosaic and utilitarian." All this, of course, would be purely malicious slander, and might provoke on our part the question, "What difference does it make whether our streets are or are not monotonous? Have we not the civic virtues without the graces?" But, as people of his class are fond of having the last word, he would retort that human nature is not cased in rhinoceros hides; that it absorbs subtle influences from every surrounding in life; that the world has been filled with beauty, with grace of form and color by a wiser Architect than we; and that the men who have repute of seeing farthest into these things, have pronounced that there are subtlest relations between the good and the beautiful, relations best discerned in seeing how human faces are transfigured and beautified by indwelling goodness. "It cannot," he might say, "but make a great difference to the character of your citizens that they are, from generation to generation, obliged to dwell amid such surround-

ings. It must deduct something from their capacity for insight and aspiration. It must weaken in them that devotion to the ideal which is as much the root of moral as of æsthetic culture. I do not deny," he might say, "the refining influence of your picture galleries, parks, and the scenery overhead, which no one, not even advertisers, can spoil. But these, after all, are but alleviations of a great mischief."

So much for our grumbling æsthetic friend. Looked at from the standpoint of a student of social science, the picture is a much brighter and a more cheerful one. In most of our cities there are recognized centres of interest—show-places we might call them—to which the visitor is carried by his friends. The great bulk of the city is left out of sight, and the traveller departs with an impression gathered from a few fine streets or handsome districts,—from the Monument region of Baltimore, or the two avenues along the lake shore in Chicago,—while he knows nothing of the great wilderness of sordid squalor and utter meanness which constitutes the greater part. To the student of social science the city in its entirety is more interesting than its show-places. He finds nothing more profitable than to make a bee-line section across its breadth or its length, and thus to see what it is made up of.

No city that I have seen on either side of the Alleghanics will bear this test so well as our own. It will be found to be especially "the city of homes," of nearly 150,000 homes, and possessed of more dwelling-houses than any other in the world except London, which has four times our population. In the eleven years which followed the war, 5,000 houses were added to the city with every year.

Better still, the vast majority of these homes are those of the middle classes. In this, the strongest social element, our city is stronger than any other. We have fewer great fortunes among us than are to be found elsewhere. But the classes who are altogether without fortune, and who depend on each day's earnings for that day's food, are also a smaller proportion of our population than in most cities. The great middle class, who are neither independent of their own exertions, nor without something to fall back upon in hard times, is the central and the largest element in our city.

But our city's especial crown of glory in this regard, are the homes owned by her working people, erected chiefly by aid of the

600 Building Associations, and now valued at one-fifth of the whole valuation of our real estate. We have neither palaces nor tenement houses in any great numbers; but we have miles upon miles of two-story houses, in which our workmen enjoy the sacred privacy of family life, instead of being crowded into those dismal and morally pestiferous tenement houses, in which three-fifths of the population of a sister city are housed, or—shall we say—kennelled.

So long as our growth is of this sort, we may be proud of it—we need not dread it. And few people have any notion how rapidly the city is extending, or how soon our long street will have stretched beyond the Wabash to the Mississippi. Since the war Philadelphia has built more new houses than there are in the whole city of Boston, or Brooklyn, or Baltimore. The sites of our camps and our hospitals are now built over.

This rapid increase is in great contrast to the slower growth of the earlier decades, although even then our city was for a long period, although the youngest, the largest in America. Young Philadelphia clung to the bank of the Delaware; even at the end of the first hundred years, it seemed anything but likely that it would have reached the Schuycill in our times.

There are some amusing contrasts presented by the story of its expansion.

When Benjamin Franklin sent up that historic kite, which brought down the lightning, you may be sure he went well out of town, and from the observation of his fellow citizens. He did not want it to be said that Ben. Franklin, the printer, had lost his wits, and had taken to flying kites. So he went far out of town, to a solitary and quiet place far off the roads, to a place on Chestnut Street between 9th and 10th—about where the Markoe House now stands,—and there the great experiment, which showed that lightning and electricity are the same thing, was accomplished.

It was about twenty years later that the Continental Congress met, and rode out through the woods every day to the State House.

A gentleman tells me that he found in the public library of Salem, Massachusetts, an old Philadelphia newspaper, containing an account of a debate in our city councils on the propriety of removing the jail from Front and Market streets to Sixth and Walnut streets. It was voted down, apparently because the proposed site was thought too far out of town!

When the yellow fever came hither in 1793, brought by refugees from the Revolution in the French West Indies, it was in Front and Water streets that it chiefly raged. The fashionable place to live in in those days was Front Street,—the very west end of the city.—but Water Street was still a very fine and respectable street, for those who did not like to live so far west. And when you go up or down these old streets still, and get beyond the parts that have been rebuilt with wholesale stores, you find the old mansions built of glazed brick, in which the city aristocracy once lived, but which are now let out by floors or single rooms to the poor people of that once wealthy district. When they wanted to put the yellow fever patients clean out of all contact with the rest of the citizens, they sent them to Bushhill mansion, on Nineteenth Street below Coates.

Longfellow's *Evangeline*, you remember, found her lover dying of this same yellow fever in the old Alms House at 10th and Spruce, where a part of its wall still encloses the yard of Mr. John Welsh's residence; and it was then—as the poet says—far out of the city.

In those days Philadelphia was the Capital of the United States, and President Washington lived in almost rural seclusion at Sixth and Market streets. His successor, John Adams, occupied the country mansion built by the city for the President on Ninth Street, between Market and Chestnut.

When the late Dr. S. B. Wylie, (afterwards Vice-Provost of the University), came to Philadelphia in 1798, he landed at Chester and walked up to Philadelphia; and when he got to the site of our new public buildings he asked how far it was from the city, and was told about a mile.

When the University of Pennsylvania left its old quarters at 4th and Arch streets, and moved into the President's Mansion on Ninth Street, on the removal of the National Government to Washington, its ruin was foretold, because it had removed away to its pupils and their homes.

But it may be asked: Do you really think that we have not gained less than we have lost; are poor people of the city are as well off as they were fifty or a hundred years ago? Is there not a great growth of poverty and pauperism among us since then? Has not the rise of the factory system tended to its increase?

A hundred years ago was a time of special distress consequent

upon the ravages of war. Fifty years ago was a time of special prosperity and industrial growth; but I do not hesitate to say that the working classes are far better off now than they were in 1830. Matthew Carey, in his *Letters on the Charities of Philadelphia*, published in 1829, has given us the materials for a comparison. Every avenue to employment (he tells us) was clogged with applicants, and men were glad to leave the city and their families, to find work in digging the new canals at 75 cents a day, and to face the malaria which killed them by dozens. The highest rate of pay for women was twenty-five cents a day, and great multitudes of them were fighting desperately on the brink of starvation, while cases of death from simple want of food were not unknown. The ladies of the city did their share to stem the tide of pauperism. But when they appealed to the Secretary of War, asking that at least living wages be given to the women engaged in making clothes for the army, they were answered that the Secretary admitted the facts, but dare make no change, *as it might disarrange the relations of labor and capital throughout the city*. Appeals for aid were continually met by the then popular doctrines of the Political Economists, that the poor must be driven to the almshouse if pauperism was to be kept in check. In a city of 160,000 people, the total income of the charitable societies, excluding charity schools, was \$36,000.

Nor is the change for the better an accident. It is the result of a fixed law of social science, by which labor continually grows in the power to command the services of capital as population grows. And men continually pass from worse to better in labor, land, and food.

“But is not this rapid growth a very unfortunate thing in other respects, even if labor is better paid now. Jefferson says ‘great cities are great sores upon the body politic.’ And the newspapers show that there is a vast amount of wickedness going on in them. The simple old-fashioned life of our country is corrupted. Luxury and extravagance and ostentation spread among all classes in cities. Men seem to degenerate, both morally and physically, and the moral bone and sinew, as well as the physical, must be sought among her farmers.” What I have just said expresses an opinion which is very general, but it is a mistaken opinion. The statistics of the crimes of great cities compare very favorably with statistics

of a country area of equal population. Men do not grow worse, so far as we can judge, from their close association with one another, but better.

Some years ago I was spending the summer in a country town in the interior of the State, and when court week came I went in once or twice to see what was going on. I say "once or twice," for, although the community and the whole country around it were about as sober and well behaved as any in the State, it was not pleasant to see the malice, the love of law-going, the wickedness of all sorts that came every day before that court. I asked a lawyer whether they were not worse than we in the city are, and he answered: "If you had as much law business in Philadelphia as we have in one of our counties, in proportion to your population, you would need to have your courts sitting night and day to get through with it." The figures tell the same story. London is more moral than any area of English country district with the same population, and Philadelphia than any district of Pennsylvania equal in population.

Our newspapers are in very large measure responsible for this false impression as regards cities. The very best of them you will find to be, in its department of local news, made up of the misfortunes, disasters, and scoundrelisms of our fellow citizens. A man might be born and die in our city, live here an honest and useful life, and be a blessing to every one in contact with him, and never be mentioned by any of our papers, except, perhaps, once in the marriages and once again in the obituaries. But let another rob his neighbor's till, or break his neighbor's head, and next morning every paper in the city will serve us up that passage of his biography at the breakfast table. It is doubtful how far the habit of reading the papers is sanctioned by a wise regard for our moral culture, and it seems certain that they are partly responsible for the gloomy views most people take of the world. There is something to be said for the hermit Thoreau, who for years abstained from newspaper-reading on principle. He broke down, indeed, when they hung his friend John Brown, of Ossawatimie. He read the New York *Herald*, and then "washed his clothes in water, and was unclean until evening."

We have no reason to be excessively proud of ourselves. We might be a good deal better yet without being mistaken by any-

body for the New Jerusalem. But we need not despair. We are good enough to have some chance of mending.

I fear we cannot make out so good a case for the physical healthfulness of city life. In mental health, it is true, we have the advantage. Fewer city people lose their reason, and that from a very simple cause. Insanity is largely produced by melancholy taking the form of hypochondria, and about one-third of the white races are by their constitution melancholy. The cure for it is to avoid solitude and to cultivate social habits. Dr. Martin Luther suffered dreadfully from melancholy or hypochondria in its worst form. He says he was cured by rushing out of his study to find company whenever he was attacked by it. If he could not find grown people to talk to, he sought children; if there were no children about, he ran to his pig-sty to look at his pigs and talk to them rather than be alone.

Now you will see that the solitary and quiet life of the country gives a better chance for the development of insanity in this direction, than does the more active and social life of the city. It is said that more farmers' wives and daughters proportionally become insane, than of any other class.

In point of physical health, however, the country has the advantage. It is not that they take more exercise than we, but they distribute it better over their bodies. They do not walk much, but they have much work in the open air, which employs their arms and the upper parts of the bodily frame. Their horror of walking indeed is often very amusing. They will hitch up a horse to go less than a mile along a good road. I remember that once, in Illinois, I walked down the road about three-quarters of a mile to the post-office, to the astonishment of my host. "Why didn't you tell me you wanted to go to Clarissa?" he said, "I would have drove you over." Clarissa—I may say—consisted of a blacksmith shop and a country store. Our former Vice-Provost and Professor, the venerable Dr. Wylie, used to say that *he* had seen a countryman chase a horse three or four miles round a field, and when he caught him, hitch him up to drive a mile and back again. As a consequence, the countrymen showed much less marching power during the war, and were foot-sore and worn out by distances, which left city regiments fresh for the road.

City health is also worse than country health for want of fresh

air, especially in the summer time. Our own city is probably the hottest on the Atlantic coast, as it has not like Richmond, Baltimore, and Wilmington, the advantage of an elevated site; nor like some others, that of proximity to the sea. Our noble park is a great gain in this respect; but we need better means of access to it from the lower parts of the city. When Penn laid out the plan of his new Babylon, he adopted another pet plan for his new city—viz.; that every house should have a garden around it. Penn's plan is not practicable in a city of vast population. It would make our distances entirely too magnificent if we gave so much room to each single house. But we should cling to the spirit of his plan in giving up its letter. We need more wide streets, more open spaces and breathing places, more ways of access to the park, to the river, to the country. The importance of wide streets to the public health is only beginning to be understood. When Sir Thomas More sketched in his *Utopia* (over three centuries ago) the plan of an ideal state, he insisted that every street in the cities should be at least twenty feet broad. When you know that that was the bold dream of an eccentric thinker, and is now the law of this and other sober cities, you know why the death rate in London two centuries ago, in an ordinary year, was greater than in the worst cholera years of our century.

The importance of this subject cannot be exaggerated. The people of a great city live (as it were), touching elbows with one another. They dare not, if they would, become indifferent to each other's health and bodily welfare. They are one and all in danger from every dirty, neglected, narrow corner and alley of the city. God, in his Providence, has bound them up together in civic brotherhood. If they go on denying, by their indifference and neglect, the claims of the lowest upon the highest classes in the city, they will be awakened some day to a sense of those claims by the sweep of the pestilence. You call that pestilence a *judgment*, and so it is; but not merely or chiefly upon the irreligiosity, the Sabbath-breaking, the pleasure-seeking of the poor or of the rich. It is a judgment upon the want of human fellow-feeling, which left the poor to live like beasts and die like dogs in such dens as abound in our own city's Fourth Ward, where those whose kinship to us we have ignored and practically denied, will some day prove it by infecting us with the pestilences that have been bred among them by their miserable surroundings.

Or—to look at the subject from a still broader point of view,—there is no nation to whom this question of public health is of such incalculable importance as our own. We are an experiment in this respect, whose results are still uncertain. Race after race has occupied our national domain, and has passed away leaving but traces and fragments to record that they were here. The Aztecs were not the first; their annals record their deeds in expelling other people from the Valley of Mexico. The Aztecs vanished Southward before the mound-builders; the mound-builders before the red Indian, the red Indian is vanishing before the white man. Will the white man be more permanent than his many predecessors, whose remnants we find in the *pueblos* of Arizona—those fragments of great populations, whose variety of languages and of physiognomy record for us how many and how various the waves of humanity that preceded our own. We *may* be permanent; but we begin our experiment under a disadvantage common to none of our predecessors. We have been suddenly transferred from a moist to a dry climate in passing from Europe to America. We have not passed as they did, gradually and slowly from one stage of climate to another, on their way from their first home in Asia. And (as we all know), nothing is so trying to health as these sudden changes, We may hold out, but it will be by care-taking and watchfulness and by the diffusion of right views of health, diet and personal habits. As yet our cities are the weakest places in our system. The birth rate of Philadelphia is, in some years, less than its death rate. Our increase in population is chiefly by constant drafts upon the country districts of Europe and America. Our successful business people are, in a majority of cases, country boys who come up to the city with a fine stock of health.

But I must stop before you find out that I have been talking to you about a subject which is proverbially known as *the dismal science*. I have touched but its outskirts, but I have brought to your attention some facts from our city's history, perhaps, not quite familiar to all of you; and I have presented to your attention the three great foundations of social science: (1) that value is the measure of nature's resistance to man; (2) that wealth is the measure of man's victory over her resistance; and (3) that price depends not on the cost of production, but on that of reproduction. But it has been my main purpose to awaken or to cherish your interest in

this dear city of our homes and our affections, this city of homes, of Schuylkill water, of clean streets and clean records; this city which has taken the lead of the cities of America in its abundant provision for public benevolence of every sort, and over whose people still hovers the spirit of the great and good man by whose orders in 1681 the site was selected and laid out. In a few years we will have come to the second centennial anniversary of the foundation, and will be comparing the day of small things with these days of our enlargement. We have no need to be ashamed that we are Philadelphians, the children of a city whose foundations were laid in peace and righteousness, of a city illustrious for great sacrifices, of a city fragrant with the memory of great lives, of the city of William Penn, Thomas Story, Benj. Franklin, William White, Robert Morris, John Fitch, Oliver Ellsworth, Matthew Carey, Benj. Rush, Elisha Kent Kane, Stephen Girard, Henry C. Carey, and of others in our own day not less illustrious for their devotion to every good and great cause.

Pray for the peace of our Jerusalem;
 May they prosper that love thee!
 Peace be within thy walls,
 Prosperity within thy palaces;
 For my brethren and companions' sake
 I will now say, Peace be within thee;
 Because of the house of the Lord our God,
 I will seek thy good.

ROBT. ELLIS THOMPSON.

ART-CHINA KERAMICALLY CONSIDERED.

"Old china is below nobody's taste, since it has been the Duke of Argyll's, whose understanding has never been doubted by his friends or his enemies."

Lady Mary Wortley Montagu's Letters.

POTTERY must have been known to the world almost from the beginning of time, first as sunburnt or baked vessels of clay, called by the Italians, *terra cotta*; then as glazed or enameled or vitrified ware, called *terra incitriata*; and lastly as modeled or painted vessels, such as Etruscan vases and urns; and there are

abundant records, as well in sacred as in profane history, of its existence in every variety of form, many centuries before the Christian Era.

In the catacombs of Thebes, which are proved to be quite four thousand years old, a series of drawings was discovered, exhibiting the potter's art as then practised, by which it appears that the clay was kneaded with the feet, worked at the wheel, baked in a cylindrical oven, and lastly painted. And judging by the completeness of all the appliances, this must have been an advanced stage of the art. The ancient potters took rank with the highest class of artists, and their praises are sung or said by many of the Greek and Roman poets.

The earliest known specimens of unglazed ware are to be found in the British Museum and in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York.

Found in the tombs of Egypt are figures, rings and beads of blue enameled ware. As a rule, the larger of the rings have intagliated hieroglyphics, and were probably used as signets. The figure of Isis usually appears on these, and not infrequently Thoth, a very noted deity with the Egyptians, and by them regarded as the type of nearly all the best gifts to man, and also as the supposed inventor of writing.

The exquisite finish and fine color of these rings and other relics of enameled pottery, show that the art was more perfect in the Pharaohic age than it had been at some intermediate periods.

Etruscan ware, or, as the earlier manufacturers more learnedly called it, *Italo-Greek* pottery, is traced back with certainty to five hundred years prior to the Christian Era, at which period, Phidias and other celebrated artists, furnished designs for the potters; and if Herodotus is to be believed, in his account of the pottery of Samos, it existed even ten centuries before Christ. Of Etruscan ware many examples can be seen in the museums of Europe. One of the most remarkable specimens seen by the writer was a jug in the form of a negro's head; its character is both curious and uncommon; its glaze is a lustrous black termed Thericlean, because it is supposed to have been invented by Thericles of Corinth. But it is more remarkable for its ferruginous reticulated work, meant to represent hair, though more like a nutmeg-grater. Some of this ware of the earlier character, presents a ground of yellowish red,

the figures being glazed black with white touches, which three colors are those principally used by the ancient potters. The white having been put on after the vessel was baked and glazed, would not incorporate, and, therefore, easily wore off, so that scarcely any of the Etruscan vases are found perfect in the white parts. The colors, however, though often damaged by abrasion, seem never to have faded, for those vases which are in a good state of preservation, are as vivid as if they were the work of modern times.

Beyond this, it may be sufficient to say, that every country had pottery of more or less perfection from the very earliest periods. Babylon, Armenia, Arabia, Scandinavia, the Celtic tribes, South America, Mexico, and especially China, which claims for this art the highest antiquity.

Glass follows pottery, and was likewise in use before the Christian Era. Pliny tells us that in very remote times it was accidentally discovered by some Phœnicians, who, supporting their kettle on two blocks of native soda over a strong fire on the banks of the river Beus, produced transparent streams of an unknown liquid, which proved to be glass.

It is certain that the first glass makers were in Phœnicia and Egypt. Pliny praises the glass-makers of Sidon, and Herodotus and Theophrastus record the wonders of the glass houses of Tyre.

The specimens of Greek and Roman glass extant in the museums of this country and Europe, exhibit the perfection to which vitrification had been brought at least twenty-five hundred years ago. For color and form they are not surpassed by all the science of the present day.

The knowledge which the ancients had of vitrification would naturally lead to the discovery of the enamel required for porcelain; and there is reason to believe that it was made in the East, especially in China, at a very early period. The transition from glass to porcelain is well illustrated in some of the Græco-Roman examples alluded to above.

The Mediæval Ages did not, as far as is known, add anything to the progress of the ceramic art, although Venice, long before the fifteenth century, had achieved wonders in glass-work; and other countries excelled in enameling, especially Byzantium, from the fourth to the thirteenth century, and Limoges, from the fourth to the sixteenth, and later.

And now we come to Luca della Robbia, a ceramic artist of the fourteenth century, of great and deserved fame.

Luca della Robbia studied under Leonardo, a skilful goldsmith of Florence, about the middle of the fourteenth century. Finding his genius for design cramped by the slow process of working in metal, he devoted himself first to sculpture in stone, and then to modeling in clay and wax, as being more easily manipulated. His first productions were in a whitish clay, without glaze, and proclaim the powers of the master. After many experiments, he succeeded in discovering an opaque, white, highly lustrous enamel, which gave to his clay forms, the polish of glass and the durability of marble. His subjects were mostly figures or bas-reliefs, adapted to the decoration of churches and palaces. He soon added colors, principally yellow, blue, green and violet, upon white grounds.

His brothers and their descendants continued to work in the same style.

One of them, Girolamo, was called to France to decorate the so-called *Chateau de Madrid*, the palace of Francis I, in the Bois de Boulogne, nicknamed the *Chateau de Faïence*. In the French Revolution this was recklessly demolished, and Della Robbia's beautiful decorations, which had cost \$75,000, were crushed to atoms, and made into cement.

As terra cotta and enameled sculpture continued to be made by Luca Della Robbia and his descendants for upwards of a century and a half, specimens of the later periods are not of very great rarity. Many of the churches and old buildings in Florence are still decorated with bas-relief figures of the Della Robbia school.

Majolica, or as it is variously termed Faenza, Gubbio, Umbrian, or Raphael ware, is a beautiful enameled ware of the end of the fifteenth and earlier part of the sixteenth century. Its original title of Majolica is supposed to have been derived from Majorca, because it much resembles, and was, perhaps, founded on the Moorish pottery and enameled dishes brought from Majorca by the Pisans in the twelfth century, and afterwards by other trading cities along the coast.

The Spanish Moors were, no doubt, far advanced in the manufacture of decorative pottery, as we see by their painted tiles and magnificent vase in the Alhambra; and during the whole of the Italian Majolica period they still continued to supply Europe with their beautiful works.

Their iridescent or metallic lustre plates, of the fourteenth and fifteenth century, certainly have very much the character of the early Italian Majolica, and the patterns in both are often purely Alhambraic. An early and fine enameled plate of Moresque pattern will show the character of the Majolica manufacture, and the so-called Hispano-Arab Majolica plate will show the Italian version of it.

Although it seems very likely that the term Majolica was derived from Majorca, there is no evidence that it was so called among writers earlier than Scaliger who wrote in 1557, and Ferrari, of Padua, who lived in the next century. It appears at first to have been called Faenza, where it was principally made or exported. There is a want of positive testimony about this, and some well versed on the subject have a theory that the term may have arisen from the family of Maioli (called Maggioli) of Ferrara, who at the end of the fifteenth and beginning of the of the sixteenth century, were promoters of the fine arts, and distinguished for taste and vertu. Aldus, then at Venice, printed for Lorenzo Maioli in 1497; and some of the finest specimens of Italian binding, between 1500 and 1530, bear the inscription "*Maioli et Amicorum*," and are called Maioli bindings. These are now as valuable as Majolica dishes.

Majolica appears to have been first made at Faenza and Pesaro, then at Gubbio, and afterward at Urbino, the birth-place of Raphael, Perugia, Ferrara, Monte-lupo, Naples, and other places in Italy. It is said that Raphael furnished patterns for this ware, and even painted some of it; but there is no positive evidence, and as he died in 1520, and the best specimens of art, as regards drawing, are after, rather than before, his death, it has been thought by many as improbable. This view is based upon the fact that Guidobaldo, Duke of Urbino (1538-1574), the great patron of Majolica, is known to have begun collecting Raphael's sketches several years after that master's decease, for the purpose of decorating pottery. Previously Andrea Mantegna, Marc Antonio, and the early masters of the Bolognese School, whose works had become familiar by engravings, were the type of nearly all the early Majolica paintings. After this period, the designs became more *Raphaellesque*. The Urbino plates and other forms dated 1538, give evidence of this. The leading artists in Urbino at this time were the Fra Xanto and Oratio Fontana. There is a plate extant, formerly in the Marlborough House collec-

tion in London, supposed to represent Raphael and Fornarina in the studio of an artist, employed in painting a piece of Majolica. It was originally in the collection at Stowe, and at the sale there, in 1848, brought twenty dollars; a few years later it was sold for six hundred dollars. This latter price was reached under the impression that the plate was printed by Raphael himself, or at least during his lifetime, but it was evidently executed long after his death.

During all the great Majolica period, and even to the end of the century, it was the fashion for lovers to present their mistresses, or their betrothed, with small ornamental pieces, called *Amatorie*—generally plates, dishes, or vases—adorned with the portrait and christian name of the favored fair. They are for the most part more interesting for costume than for the beauty of the lady.

The artistic character of Majolica declined and almost ceased, before the end of the sixteenth century, but was revived in the next century at Naples. Of this late, or Neapolitan ware, the color seems thinner and colder than in the earlier specimens, and the drawing more correct. These differences or traits are particularly marked in the Monte-lupo manufacture.

In the mean time the taste for Majolica had spread to other countries, particularly to France, in the reign of Francis the First, no doubt introduced by Catherine de Medicis, daughter of the Duke of Urbino, who had, in 1533, married the king's son, afterwards Henry the Second. This kind of enameled earthenware, then termed Fayence (supposed from Faenza, the great emporium of pottery), was in full perfection when Henry the Second ascended the throne in 1547, and so continued until his death in 1558. The exquisite manufacture of this latter period is now distinguished as the *Faïence de Henri et Diane*, and is of extraordinary value.

Some French antiquaries, it may be observed, claim a greater age for the French term Fayence, and insist that it is derived from Fayence, an obscure town in France, where there is said to have been a pottery long before it existed at Faenza in Italy.

The Fayence, now called Nevers, was, it would appear, manufactured during these early periods, but came to no perfection till Louis Gonzaga, kinsman of Catherine de Medicis, succeeded, in 1565, to the Dukedom of Nevers, and then imported artists from

Italy. It was at first of fine Italian character, but subsequently degenerated into very ordinary Fayence, blue and orange being its characteristic colors.

Palissy, that is the Fayence or enameled pottery which passes under his name, was made in France, about the middle of the sixteenth century. The discoverer was Bernard Palissy, a man of humble birth, and almost without education, but extremely ingenious, and a most unbounded enthusiast. His history is a romance.

From a low condition he became a land surveyor, acquired a taste for experimental chemistry, and taught himself painting by copying the works of the great masters; and being one day struck with the beauty of a piece of enameled pottery, valued at a high price, set about discovering the secret of its composition.

In making experiments, during several years, he exhausted every means in pursuit of his object, spent all the money he could earn or borrow, burnt his tables, chairs and other furniture, and even some of his flooring, to provide fuel for his furnace—and reduced his wife and family to the last stage of distress. At length, however, after some sixteen years of experiment, he succeeded in discovering the composition of various enamels, and was patronized by all the great art-patrons of his day. But in 1562, the year of the massacre of the Huguenots at Vassy, fresh troubles beset him, for he was a firm Protestant, and the edicts against the Protestants, followed by the massacre of St. Bartholomew in 1572, exposed him to continual danger and persecution. And though he escaped these for a time, by royal protection in the Tuilleries, where many of his best works were produced, he could not, some years later, (1576) escape the Leaguers, who kept him in prison till his death, which occurred in 1589.

The Fayence of Palissy is very peculiar, invariably in relief and colors, and generally copied from subjects near at hand, especially fish, frogs, lizards, shells, and plants found in the vicinity of Paris. Of this style was his *Rustique Figuline*, a fountain of exquisite shape, and ornamented with shells, fish, and reptiles of the Seine. His plates were also very remarkable. Some were perforated like a sieve, and decorated with masks and flowers, especially the daisy called Marguerite, which he is supposed to have adopted as his mark in compliment to *Marguerite* of Navarre, his Protestant pro-

tectress. It may be said here that perforated work either in pottery or porcelain is always of difficult workmanship, and bespeaks the artist.

The pottery of Germany, Flanders, and England follow next. The earliest dated vessels of enameled ware of German origin are of or about 1540; but there is printed evidence that there was much of an earlier time—German hard pottery or stone ware was made at the beginning of the sixteenth century. Nürnberg manufacture may be mentioned, (*circa* 1560.) The polychromatic enamels, and the correct drawing show the high state to which art had attained at that period.

Delft ware is of Dutch origin, It was Japanese in character, (as will be explained below), and was first known in the Seventeenth century. It was by means of the Dutch that England was principally supplied with the porcelain of China and Japan; and as the supply was long unequal to the demand, the Delft manufacturers were led to imitation, in which they were very expert, especially in their method of painting the common white ware with brilliant colors, and passing it off as Chinese. This Delft ware was, so to say, the parent of pottery in England. There are no authentic records of English pottery till late in the reign of Elizabeth, although there is no doubt that it was manufactured in Great Britain during the Roman period, and very early in Staffordshire. There is a jug dated 1594 in the Museum of Economic Geology, and several early pieces in the British Museum, but the most interesting relic of that period—the Elizabethan—is the Shakespeare jug of the date of 1603. It is supposed by some that even this was made in Flanders, and others contend that, from certain peculiarities of the ware and form, this famous jug is about a century later than its hitherto accredited date.

The domestic vessels and utensils of the English had, prior to the dates given above, been either gold, silver or other metal, or earthenware supplied from abroad.

When the workers in metal found that their trade was damaged by the extensive introduction of earthenware from the Low Countries, it is supposed they applied their moulds to the purposes of pottery—hence the metallic forms in some of the early pieces.

After the age of Elizabeth, at different periods, there were several attempts at enameled stone ware in England, especially at

Fulham, about 1640; Lambeth, in 1680; and Staffordshire, in 1700; but little of a positive character is known of these early English manufacturers, nor were they of any consequence till the time of Josiah Wedgwood.

Wedgwood deserves especial notice. His career began about 1760, when thirty years of age, and continued until 1795, when he died. The son of a poor potter at Burslem, his education was of the most moderate kind. But he fought through adverse circumstances with as much endurance as Palissy himself, and by extraordinary energy, and a diligent study of his art, succeeded in placing himself at the head of European manufacturers. His early or cream-colored ware was patronized by Queen Charlotte, and hence became known (as indeed it is at the present day) as Queensware. Subsequently, when he succeeded in giving to pottery the varied colors and brilliant glaze of porcelain, all the varieties of his manufacture bore his own name, which was stamped upon it. He employed among other distinguished artists the famous sculptor, Flaxman, for his designs; and his earthenware cameos were so much esteemed that they ranked in value with the choicest productions of Dresden and Sevres.

Wedgwood's enthusiasm for his art was such that he bid as far as a thousand pounds for the Portland Vase—at that time known as the *Barberini* Vase—when it was offered for sale, and though he did not obtain it, he got permission to copy it; and not being allowed to mould from it, lest it should sustain injury, he paid an artist four hundred and fifty pounds for making a model, and then published by subscription fifty copies at fifty guineas each. This celebrated vase was broken in the British Museum many years since by a mad fanatic. It is composed of two layers of vitrified paste or glass, one white, the other blue, so perfect an imitation of an onyx cameo that it was long regarded as a natural production. It was discovered between the years 1623 and 1644, during the pontificate of Urban III., (Barberini), in a sarcophagus beneath a mound of earth called Monte del Grano, about three miles from Rome. Inscriptions show that the sarcophagus was dedicated to the memory of the Emperor Alexander Severus and his mother, both of whom were killed in the year 235, during the revolt in Germany.

Enamels form a direct link between pottery and porcelain.

Early Byzantine examples are rare. The best known collection is that in the British Museum. Limoges is a painted enamel on copper, generally of great beauty, and which universally prevailed as an article of decoration until superseded by the introduction of the higher classes of faience and porcelain. It attained its greatest perfection in the sixteenth century, and went out entirely in the seventeenth. It is not intended here to say much on enamels, but to confine the limits of this article to ceramics. We will now turn to porcelain, and begin with China, in which kingdom it no doubt originated.

Porcelain is an intermediate substance between pottery and glass, more translucent than the one and more opaque than the other, and is presumed to be of Chinese origin, either before or in the beginning of the Christian Era. Be this as it may, there is evidence of its use in the fifth century, and in the beginning of the fourteenth, the famous porcelain Tower of Nanking was built, three hundred and thirty feet high. It was destroyed by the Tæping rebels some twenty years since. It consisted of nine stories of enameled bricks or tiles, in five colors, white, red, blue, green, and brown.

Chinese porcelain did not come fully into Europe till the sixteenth century, when it was brought first by the Portuguese and then by the Dutch and Italian traders. The term porcelain is supposed to be derived from the Portuguese word *porcellana*, which originally signified a little pig, then a cowrie shell, from the similarity of its shape to the back of a pig, and afterwards a porcelain cup. Dr. Johnson whimsically derives the term from "*pour cent années*," from a notion which will be referred to later on. In England it was at first called Gonbron, because at that settlement in the Persian Gulf the East India Company used to exchange for it with the Chinese.

The Chinese kept their manufacture a great secret, and pretended it was made of egg-shells, sea-shells, and other matters mixed in given proportions, and buried for eighty or a hundred years, (that is, *pour cent années*), and for two centuries Europe, led astray perhaps by these fictions, endeavored in vain to discover the composition of their white transparent paste.

Every nation seems to have attached great value to Chinese porcelain, and justly, for we are told that their fine specimens were

made with so much care that out of two hundred pieces they would destroy a hundred and ninety-nine as not sufficiently perfect.

Sir Thomas Roe records in 1615 that the Great Mogul had one of his attendants of high rank whipped for breaking a cup, and then sent him to China at his own expense, to buy another.

It is impossible now to dwell further on the porcelain of the Chinese. It would require a volume for its history. However, a summary of the most interesting points concerning it has been given.

Japanese porcelain has much similarity to that of China, and existed at almost as remote a period. The paste is generally more brilliant, the glaze tinged with blue, and the ornamentation simpler and bolder, often in relief. The favorite colors of the Japanese are yellow, blue, and red; and they exhibit marked excellence in perforated work.

The Portuguese were the first to bring it to Europe, early in the sixteenth century, and were themselves in the next century driven out of Japan for meddling, through their missionaries, with the ware, getting legends of saints substituted for the native patterns. Some of the specimens, now regarded as the most curious and interesting, are those in which the Jesuits have covertly introduced the cross or other emblems of Christianity.

The first European manufactory of true porcelain was at Meissen, near Dresden, in the beginning of the eighteenth century. In 1706, Johann Friedrich Böttcher, an apothecary's assistant, at Berlin, being suspected of alchemy, had been obliged to leave his native country to avoid prosecution, and took refuge in Dresden. Here the king, after questioning him closely as to the art of making gold, placed him in the royal laboratory under Tschirnhaus, who was then engaged in searching for a universal medicine. Böttcher, in the course of his experiments unexpectedly produced a composition which assumed many of the characteristics of oriental porcelain. The king, perceiving the importance of the discovery, immediately transferred him to the castle of Albrechtsberg, at Meissen, and afterwards, with his companion workmen, under an escort of cavalry, to the fortress of Königstein, where he continued his experiments. In 1707, having obtained the confidence of the king, he returned to Dresden, where he pursued his experiments with great vigor,

and with eventual success. His first productions were only a kind of semi-porcelain, or red stone ware; but in 1709, he succeeded in producing white porcelain, which, though it at first bent and cracked in the fire, was brought to perfection in 1715. This is generally conceded to have been the first European discovery of porcelain, and its quality has never been excelled.

Böttcher was so devoted to his work, that on making some great experiment, he is said to have sat up five days and nights watching his furnace.

How he composed his artificial paste is not now known; but the natural paste, or kaolin, which he afterwards so successfully used, was discovered by accident. A rich iron master, named Schnorr, in riding over his lands, found that his horse's feet continually stuck fast in some soft and perfectly white earth. Hair powder being at that time a great commercial article, it occurred to him that it might be made of this earth, and experience justified his discernment. This powder soon becoming an article of general use in the kingdom of Saxony, fell into the hands of Böttcher, who perceiving, by its weight, that it was an earth, tried it in the fire, and found, to his great joy, that it was the very material that he wanted, namely, the true kaolin. Hearing this, the king ordered it to be carried to the manufactory in sealed barrels, by persons sworn to secrecy, and its exportation strictly prohibited. Indeed, every thing connected with the Dresden manufactory was carried on with a degree of secrecy that in the present day would seem absolutely ridiculous. The workmen were bound by the most solemn oaths, confined within a castle, having all the character of a fortress, which they were never permitted to leave, and into which no stranger was allowed to enter. "Be Secret until Death," was the motto hung up in every department.

Dresden ware may be divided into three periods. (1.) The Böttcher, of a red or jasper color, generally with Chinese figures in gold. (2.) The middle period, mostly cups and saucers of extremely fine paste, and decorated with Watteau subjects. (3.) The Marcolini period (1796.) Count Marcolini was then the director of the Dresden factory. Among those who decorated Dresden china at that time was Angelica Kaufman.

The Dresden mark is, and for a century and a half always has

been, two electoral swords crossed, so that the Dresden of the present day can only be distinguished from the original by a practiced eye.

Notwithstanding all the vigilance of the Elector (king) of Saxony and his vigilant gens-d'armes, one of the workmen, named Stöbzel, escaped just before Böttcher's death, (1719), and got safely to Vienna.

The importance of porcelain, as an article of commerce, was so strongly recognized by the German princes, that Stöbzel was received with open arms. Thus arose in 1720, the great manufactory of Vienna, which has since produced some wonderful specimens of workmanship, particularly in gilding, but the body of the ware is not equal to the Dresden.

The Vienna mark is a shield with the armorial bearings of the Austrian Empire.

The secret having got to Vienna, could not easily be concealed, and as every state regarded it as scarcely second to gold mines, it transpired by degrees, in a great many directions, notwithstanding the precautions of the Elector of Saxony, and the jealousy with which each successive possessor endeavored to keep it from spreading. As workmen increased they dispersed, and before the middle of the century (*circa* 1740) arose the factories of Höchst, in Mayence, Fürstenberg, in Brunswick, Frankenthal, in the Palatinate, Nymphenburg, in Bavaria, Baden, Ludwigsburg, and Berlin. The men who possessed the secret continually changed masters, as opportunities offered, and among them was especially one Ringler, who seems always to have been open to the best bidder.

At all the places some very fine specimens were occasionally produced. Höchst is famous for its statuettes and for the violet-red and deep blue colors of its porcelain of the early period, but the paste does not equal the Dresden, to which Fürstenburg comes nearer, but even that is inferior in painting. Frankenthal, often called "Carl Theodor," because for a long period under his patronage, produced extremely good porcelain, but nothing equal to the Dresden, though conducted by Hanung, through whom and his son hard paste was introduced at Sèvres. Ludwigsburg, better known as Krönenburg, is often of high quality, the figures well modeled, and the paintings executed with great artistic excellence. The paste, as a rule, was brought from France, and the best German workmen employed.

Now to speak of Berlin, second only to Dresden, and often quite equal to it. The Berlin factory was founded in 1751, by a merchant who bought the secret from some of the Höchst workmen. During the Seven Years' War (1756-1763), Frederic the Great, alive to the importance of what was becoming a staple of commerce, transported, by force, all the best Dresden artists to his own capital, Berlin, where they remained, to the great detriment of the parent establishment. The Berlin mark is a sceptre.

We now arrive at what may be termed the great period of soft paste. This begins with Chelsea, where a factory existed in the reign of Queen Anne. Its productions made no mark until some time after the Hanoverian accession, and did not reach perfection until about 1750, when, under the direction of an artist named Spremont, the Duke of Cumberland took the manufactory under his especial protection, and, it is said, aided it pecuniarily. A year or two before the Duke's death (1765), Spremont, the director, retired, which circumstance, added to the influx of foreign porcelain, ruined the establishment, and the models and the workmen were transferred to Derby. Much of the porcelain made there during its zenith was of singular beauty, especially the vases. A set of seven were sold some thirty years since for fifteen thousand dollars. Chelsea was never cheap, for we are told by Horace Walpole that even in 1763 a service made for the Duke of Mecklenburg cost at the factory twelve hundred pounds.

The paste of the Chelsea porcelain is extremely delicate, and will not stand a second firing. The predominant colors of this ware are deep blue, often a little wavy, claret red, canary yellow, and sea green, with rich and very solid gilding, the ornaments being generally birds, especially peacocks.

The usual Chelsea mark is an anchor in red and gold.

The "Bow" china, produced at Stratford-le-Bow, near London, is about coeval with that of Chelsea, and ceased about the same time. Its character is similar to that of the Chelsea ware, well shaped, and tastefully embossed. The mark is sometimes a bee modeled or painted on a conspicuous part of the piece; but the usual mark is a triangle.

Now follows the so-called Chelsea-Derby. The models, and most of the workmen, having, as has just been said, been transferred from Chelsea to Derby, it produced, after 1765, some very fine

porcelain, but never anything quite equal to its predecessor, and the paste, though fine, is somewhat less transparent. This factory, now long discontinued, was in full operation in 1777, as we learn from Dr. Johnson, who says that the china made there was beautiful, but as dear as silver. The usual mark of this ware is the letter D crossed by an anchor.

Next we have Worcester, the most important, in a mercantile sense, of the British manufactories of porcelain, whether hard or soft. The factory was established in 1751 by Dr. Wall, a physician, well skilled in chemistry, who had successfully employed himself in researches and experiments toward the improvement of porcelain. To him is attributed the first idea of transferring printed patterns to porcelain, an invention of very considerable importance. At first an imitation of the Nanking blue and white ware, as well as of the Japan, both at that time very popular in England, were the principal articles of manufacture; but very soon the Sèvres and Dresden patterns, especially the Clue-de-roi and salmon-scale grounds of the former, and the birds, flowers, and insects of the latter, were successfully copied.

The paste, even of the best periods, distinguished as old Worcester, is not quite equal to Chelsea, though quite up to the average Derby, and it possessed the advantage of keeping its color in use, without cracking in the glaze. No porcelain, before or since, has ever been more deservedly popular.

These works passed, in 1783, to Mr. Flight, and at the present time are conducted by Mr. R. W. Binns, who ably sustains their renown.

There are many other manufacturers who could, did space permit, be named here. Notably, the Mintons of Stoke, famous for decorative porcelain, and their imitations of Majolica and Palissy ware, quite equal, if not superior to, anything that can now be produced at Sèvres, at the same time being infinitely cheaper. M. Solon, formerly of Sèvres, is their principal artist. This concludes the sketch of the *pâte tendre* of England, and now we turn to that of France, beginning with Sèvres, the most famous of all. This beautiful porcelain originated at St. Cloud, where an artist named Morin, after experimenting more than twenty-five years, succeeded in discovering an artificial soft paste. In 1735, a runaway carried the secret to Chantilly; and in 1740 it was carried in like manner

to Vincennes. It was not, however, till several years later, that it arrived at perfection, and not till 1753, when Louis XV. took a share in the establishment, that its recognized date commenced. Three years after this, the factory becoming too small for its extending operations, it was removed to Sèvres.

The extraordinary perfection to which this porcelain arrived, is especially attributable to the patronage of Madame de Pompadour, who, from 1744 to 1764, was the strenuous supporter of all elegant arts.

The *pâte tendre* manufacture, however, was limited to the use of the wealthy, and never became a staple article of commerce, as the difficulty of its composition, and the loss sustained by its liability to fall in the process of firing, made it slow of production and very expensive. The true porcelain, or *pâte dure*, such as was used by the Chinese, and had recently been discovered at Dresden, still remained unknown at Sèvres, in defiance of the unremitting researches made to discover the secret. In 1761, G. A. Hanung, son of the founder of the Frankenthal factory, sold them the secret; but it was comparatively useless, for want of the white earth called kaolin, which had not been found in France, notwithstanding the diligent inquiries of scientific men.

Chance led to its discovery in 1768. A poor woman named Darnet, the wife of a surgeon at St. Yrieux, near Limoges, found some unctious earth in a ravine, which she thought might be used as a cheap substitute for soap. On showing it to her husband, who was aware of the inquiries made for a porcelain earth, he took it to a neighboring chemist, through whose means it was proved to be the true kaolin. This led to the hard paste manufacture at Sèvres, which, from 1769 to the present time, has been on a very extensive scale, giving employment to thousands.

Madame Darnet, who made the discovery, was, in 1825, still living, and in poverty. Learning this, M. Brongniart, then the superintendent at Sèvres, applied to Louis XVIII, who being made acquainted with her wretched condition, granted the poor woman a pension.

Notwithstanding this important discovery of the true kaolin, soft paste continued to be used for the higher objects of art till 1804, as the artists found that they could not produce such brilliant effects in glaze and coloring on hard paste as were yielded by the softer material.

The value of Sèvres consists in its creamy and pearly softness, the beauty of its paintings, and depth of its glaze; and these qualities are only united in great perfection in the *pâte tendre* of the early period. Specimens of *pâte dure*, however, exist, and, as works of art in regard to painting, cannot be surpassed.

All descriptions of old Sèvres porcelain have for years past been collected with excessive eagerness. "*Pièces de luxe*," which are generally painted by the best artists on grounds of "*bleu de roi*," "*gros-bleu*," "*turquoise*," "*Rose du Barry*," "*jonquille*" (a canary yellow), "*vert-pré*" (a bright green), or "*ocil de perdrix*," (partridge-eye), sell at auctions for fabulous sums. At a sale in 1855, the late Marquis of Hertford paid £1,942—about \$9,700—for a pair of "*du Barry*" vases, the height of each of which was only fourteen and one-half inches. For a pair of "*turquoise*" vases, eighteen inches in height, the same nobleman paid £1,417—about \$7,000. The Marquis also purchased at the same sale, a single "*bleu de roi*" vase, eighteen inches in height, for which he paid £871—about \$4,350. A cup and saucer, "*gros bleu*," at the same auction, brought £160—about \$800.

The most famous examples of Sèvres at the present time are in Mr. Rothschild's collection, (one worth millions), and also in the Kensington Museum. It might be well to mention here that the prices stated above, though apparently enormous, are by no means the current value of those pieces of Sèvres. They would, if for sale at this time, bring double the amount paid for them by their present owners.

While the establishment at Sèvres was progressing, manufactories of soft paste porcelain arose in several other parts of France, of which Chantilly and Tournay were among the best. Omitting the many hard paste manufactories of this period, a few words may be said of Italy and Spain. Capo di Monte is undoubtedly the most beautiful of Italian porcelain, and was made first at Naples in 1736, and was continued until 1821. What is recognized under this name is always moulded in high relief, and the best quality richly colored and gilt. The earlier manufacture is less brilliant than the later, both in paste and coloring, but all are very valuable.

Doccio, near Florence, had a manufactory of hard paste porcelain some years before Capo di Monte. Later on both soft and hard paste were used.

The principal production at the present time consists of copies of the Majolica ware (vases and dishes), of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. On this work some two thousand persons are constantly employed.

Venice had a manufactory which produced a fine enameled pottery, called in England "Venus Purselayne," long before the cities just mentioned, and appears also to have made porcelain at an early period. It is known that the Chelsea factory was originally carried on by glass-workers from Venice, and there is so much similarity between the best periods of Venice and Chelsea porcelain that it seems very probable the same workmen were concerned, and it is further confirmed by both having adopted an anchor as the factory mark. There is nothing more to say of Italy; and of Spain the fact may be stated that the factory of Capo di Monte was removed in 1759 by Charles IV., of Naples, (afterward Charles III., of Spain), and transferred to Buen Retiro, a royal palace near Madrid. This porcelain is very beautiful and extremely rare.

In conclusion it may be well to remark that the writer's object, without going into extensive detail, has been to give to those who are appreciative admirers of Art-Pottery in its varied forms, and yet who have not the leisure to read up the subject, a concise account of the Plastic Art, and of the most famous workers in connection with it. Great care has been taken to gather from the best authorities of the present, and of former times, the facts here given.

WILLIAM DE BEAUVOIR FRYER.

"FROZEN MUSIC." *

More than a fable is the tale,
That mighty dream of ancient singers;
How Ilion rose to the swell
Of music 'neath Apollo's fingers.

His wizard harp is not yet dead,
Its nine strings are, as yet, unbroken;
The oracle has never fled
That from its mystic frame has spoken.

Still is he only at his birth,
And still we see the golden flowers
Bloom near us on our sea-lapped earth,
And cluster round our floating bowers;

And still into the breathing air,
The architects of sound are building
Dream-castles, high and wondrous fair,
Facades the fronted dawn is gilding.

Oh! bring my lute and I will raise,
High up into the dawning splendor,
A palace, where the sun may gaze
And gloat, 'till comes the moonlight tender.

Each various stop shall open wide
A window to the view far gleaming;
And echoes ranged from side to side,
Mirror the music of our dreaming.

JOHN ARTHUR HENRY.

* Madame De Stael calls Architecture "Frozen Music."

ENGLISH LAND TENURE.

“ALL ancient legislators,” says the historian Niebuhr, “and above all Moses, rested the result of their ordinances for virtue, civil order and good manners, on securing landed property, or at least the hereditary possession of land to the greater possible number of citizens.”

In this statement, it will be noticed, hereditary possession is distinguished from real ownership. A man who has received from his father lands tilled on a perpetual lease, subject to a rent which cannot be raised, has “hereditary possession,” though he may not own the land.

This great principle of public policy—the wide diffusion of land among many possessors and security of tenure of some sort to the actual cultivator—is coming into recognition as a maxim among all thoughtful people on both sides of the ocean. It is, however, in sharp contradistinction to the actual arrangements which exist in the British Islands, and is the subject of some very animated discussions in politics and in literature.

As modern investigation shows in every part of the world where we can trace the history of land tenure, land was held in common by groups of persons who were or were supposed to be of the same kindred. These groups cultivated a part of their domain in common, and grazed their cattle on the rest. Afterwards they assigned to each family a lot in the cultivated part of the farm, but kept the grazing ground in common ownership. Hence the name “commons,” which we continually read of in connection with the history of English villages.

By a very early date—as early as the time of Tacitus, indeed—there had arisen a lord or lawkeeper in each of the groups, whose house towered above that of the rest, who had a larger share of the arable land, who grazed his cattle on the common lands, and who led its men to battle in war, and sat as judge among them in peace. This was the origin of that aristocracy each of whose members now owns all the arable lands and all the common lands, not in one of these little domains, but in hundreds or even thousands of them. How did he manage to get the whole? It was very slow and gradual work. First of all, these little domains,

which were at first independent of each other and sovereign powers, began to gather into larger and stronger communities called kingdoms. Then the king became such a great person that his servants were ennobled by serving him, and when any of these manors, as they were called, lost their lord through his banishment, or the extinction of his family, the king handed over those manors to his own servants, who had taken the oath to be his men. Then the other Lords of Manors saw that it paid to become the king's men, and they renounced their independence and became his men too, giving all their lands and their authority into his hands, and took it back as a gift from him. The same ideas were applied inside of the manors; other freeholders—for the sake of ample protection or some other advantage—took an oath of fealty to their lord. In this way we see a general tendency at work to substitute personal dependence for the earlier independence, and to supplant the old local and hereditary aristocracy by a feudal aristocracy, *i. e.*, by an aristocracy who hold their lands of the king, and under condition of military service. Blackstone's *Commentaries* tell us that Feudalism came into England with the Norman Conquest. But an aristocracy essentially feudal had arisen in the island before that date—more feudal, indeed, in some respects than anything William the Norman would tolerate among his people.

The position of the common people was certainly not improved by the Conquest. A small part of them were already slaves who could be bought and sold like cattle. The great majority sank into serfage, *i. e.*, they constituted part of the wealth of the lord, because they were on his estate and bound to render him service, but they could not, like slaves, be sold away from the land. How old those feudal services were, it is quite impossible to say, but they are certainly much older than the Conquest, which made them more numerous and burdensome. The serf had to sow, reap, thresh, and grind his lord's grain. He had to drive his lord's cattle to and from the pasture, and to tend them there, unless the lord had slaves for this work. He had to make special gifts to his lord on special occasions. If he died his son had to pay a fee to be invested with his holding. The amount of the services was not arbitrary, as it soon became fixed by custom, and could not be increased at his lord's pleasure. Their number and nature was written in the "copy" or "roll" of the Manor, and when a dispute occurred in the leet court of the Manor, the appeal was to this document.

Gradually a system came in of commuting these services for a money payment, which amount was also written in the Manor roll, and this, also, when once fixed was fixed forever. The lord discovered that the serf could pay him for his time, at a rate which exceeded the value of his labor in enforced services. The serf thus became master of his own time, and not merely managed to support himself, and to pay his lord the sum agreed upon, but also to save enough to buy his land free from even this money charge. This upward movement towards freedom and the ownership of land was going on in all quarters.

Under this feudal system, the tenant, whether he paid money for his land or rendered services, had, in Niebuhr's phrase, "hereditary possession of land." He could not be ejected at any one's pleasure. Provided he complied with the stipulated conditions, he was as secure in possession as was the lord himself.

As the tenants managed to save money, and their lords were often impecunious, it became very common for the tenants to buy their lands outright; and in this purchase they simply secured a release from all services and payments to the lord, while they retained possession both of their part or parts of the arable land, and also of their rights to grazing in the "common" lands. They became freeholders or franklins, subject, indeed, to the jurisdiction of the Manor-court presided over by the lord or his baliff, and with no right to appeal to the king's courts to defend their rights in the land, but under the protection of custom, which reigned in those times with omnipotent sway.

Under the feudal system, then, not only had the cultivators of the land hereditary possession of what they tilled, but the tendency of the system was to turn mere tenants into owners, and to break up the great estates into small holdings.

It is necessary to remember this, because the adjective "feudal" is now often applied to a state of things directly the reverse of this—a state in which no one but the few great land-owners have hereditary possession, and in which the tendency is not to diffusion, but to the concentration of the land.

One fine morning, the landlords woke up and found that they were getting the worst of it. The land of England was slipping out of their hands, acre by acre. Where it had not yet been bought outright by their tenants, it had been very largely brought under a money rent by commutation of services. But as wages had

risen, this money would no longer bring as much labor as it represented when the bargain was made, and they began to set themselves to recover what they were losing. Their first device was to carve new estates out of the commons lands, by enclosing a part of those lands as arable land, and getting a title to them as such. Such enclosures had been made away back in Anglo-Saxon times, and in contrast to the feudal or feudal lands, they had been called allodial lands.

The landed class got the Statute of Merton passed in 1236, less than two centuries after the Norman conquest, providing that the lord might create new arable land wherever it could be done without hindering the tenant from his right of way, or depriving him of sufficient grazing. If the tenant disputed on either of the two points, then there was to be an inquest as to the merit of his objection.

The statute *reads* innocently enough. We might happen upon it in any English history, and see nothing to complain of in it. But it was the engine of a vast amount of oppression and wrongdoing, as actually administered. For we must not transfer to the medieval courts the ideas of judicial probity which we have inherited from Sir Matthew Hale. The courts of the later Middle Ages, as Sir Thomas More shows, were horribly corrupt. Wealthy suitors bribed the judges with almost no pretence at concealment. And the Statute of Merton was so applied as to deprive the tenants and franklins of nearly all their grazing land, and thus to make their system of agriculture impossible. As a consequence, many lost their all by these usurpations, and were either driven from the manor or obliged to accept a much less advantageous position in it.

Two centuries and a half later came the wholesale confiscation of the Church lands, which then covered more than a third of England. The new grantees proceeded upon the supposition that the persons found on these manors had no rights they were bound to respect. Freehold lands were seized without compensation, and the terms of copyhold tenures were obliterated. The lands were either converted into sheep-walks, or were re-let upon terms such as had never been heard of. Nearly simultaneous with this change came a new series of enclosure laws, which went far beyond the Statute of Merton. Not only the common lands, but the lord's share of the plough lands, were made liable to enclosure; and if the lord managed to include in his grasp reaches of land which

had never belonged to him, there was no real means of redress for the tenant. A cry of horror and indignation at these wholesale robberies went over the whole land. The complaints of the people forced the Protector Somerset, in the reign of Edward VI., to appoint a Royal Commission to inquire into their cause. The Commission reported that the facts fully bore out the complaints, but that no redress was possible.

To sum up the whole transaction: The feudal period finds the nobles and the people in partnership in the possession of the land. By the Inclosure Acts this partnership was terminated violently, and with no regards to the vague and imperfect, but real rights of the weaker party.

After this great series of outrages the yeoman class seem to have rallied for a while under the early Stuarts, and to have ruled England under Oliver Cromwell. But the restoration of the Stuarts in 1660 determined the ascendancy of the nobles. It abolished all the good, and ended all the essential, features of the feudal system.

The feudal system provided that upon the land owners should rest the burdens of the national defence. Unfortunately, to meet the necessities of the Civil War, the Long Parliament had invented the method of taxation called excises. This was strictly a war measure, like our issue of national paper money, but it proved as perpetual in its operations as our greenbacks seem likely to be. The Restoration Parliament took this, along with several other leaves out of the Commonwealth's book, and proceeded to release these lands from all feudal burdens whatsoever, and to provide for the expenses of the government by levying new excises. At the same time they abolished the jurisdiction of the manor court, turning its copy-hold tenures into soccage tenures, subject to the jurisdiction of the King's court. With 1660 the feudal system of land tenure comes an end in England, and the modern system which then begins is not feudal in either the faults or the merits of feudalism.

The *faults* of feudalism were two. *First*, the recognition of imperfect and ill-defined rights on the part of the tenant. Since 1660 these have been swept away by the simple assumption that all rights which encroach upon the ownership of the land are innovations to which the landlord is not bound to give any attention.

This assumption is the exact contrary of the truth. The rights of the tenant are the original rights, as they represent the claims which have descended from the free owner of the land. The rights of the landlord are an innovation upon these rights, and represent a gradual and steady encroachment on the owners of the soil.

The *second* fault of the feudal land tenure was its tolerating the primitive methods of tillage, in cultivating the fields in common and by traditional usage, and in keeping so large a portion of the land waste as pasturage.

This system put a stop to anything like an advance in agriculture. It kept the people down to the level of obsolete and ignorant methods. The abolition of all such customs and the conversion of all communal tenures into severalty tenures was a clear duty on the part of the government. But this, like the abolition of the ill-defined rights of the tenants, should have been done with great care and tenderness. Instead of that, it was done so as to oppress and rob the people of their claims on the land.

In the beginning of the present century the same problem had to be solved in Prussia. The representatives of English ideas in the king's councils urged that it be done in English fashion. They said the English system of large farms and large capital gives a larger return than can be had in any other way. The opponents of these ideas did not contradict this last assertion. They seem to have thought it quite true, although it has been proved to be just the reverse of the truth. But they said the state's chief interest in the question is that there should be, not the largest yield from the land, but the largest population living on it in contentment, wealth, and efficiency. So they compensated the tenants for their imperfect rights over large tracts by lesser grants of land with a clear title, and they created the peasantry which won Leipzig, Sadowa, and Gravelotte, out of a population which had been utterly oppressed and impoverished, and many of whom had been simply slaves (*sclaven*) within the memory of people still living. That was the wise and just way of settling a very difficult problem—very unlike the English way.

We have said that the English system had not the demerits of the feudal land-tenures. Neither has it any of the merits of that system.

The *first* of those merits was the association of the idea of land-

ownership with that of duty to society. The land was held from the king, on condition of rendering military services; and the landed class constituted the militia of the kingdom. But in 1660, finding themselves in the majority in Parliament, this class abolished all these duties without surrendering any of the rights they had received for their discharge. Now, this duty to king and country had involved a corresponding duty to their tenants. They had to furnish a quota of men for the king's wars, and these men in good condition and capable of bearing arms. This involved the maintenance of a large tenantry upon each estate, and their maintenance upon conditions not unfavorable to them. But since 1660, the English landlord can do what he pleases in this regard. He can clear his estates of tenants entirely, and farm by bailiffs. He can reduce them, by turning small farms into large ones, to a very small number. He can require of them every penny they can afford to pay for their lands, while he gives them no lease, no security of tenure. He is no longer an office-holder under the State, bound with the duty of taking charge of the human material of the State's wars, and required to see that they are in good condition when called on. He simply owns land, with no duties corresponding.

The *second* merit of the feudal system was the comparatively just distribution of taxation. What taxes were collected, scutage and the like, were paid by the great land owners. But in 1660 these old-fashioned taxes were replaced by excise duties, paid by rich and poor alike, and paid by the poor in far greater measures than their comparative resources would justify. The English taxation system became a system of indirect taxation, and still remains so. But every system of indirect taxation tends to increase the differences of social condition, to make the rich richer and the poor poorer. Such has been its effect in England.

There have been two alleviations of the English system of indirect taxation. The first was at the revolution of 1688, when the country or landed party became the minority, and the Whigs voted a tax on lands. But it was made a mere trifle in the amount, through the vigor of the Tory opposition; and afterwards it was converted into a permanent charge on the land, with the privilege of commutation. That is to say, the land owners, by paying a larger sum towards the expenses of any given year, would buy themselves free from the duty of contributing to the expenses of

any subsequent year. And this they generally did. The second was during the French War, when the younger Pitt wanted to revive the land tax, but it was resisted as a breach of faith on the part of the government, on the plea that most of the land owners had purchased exemption from such taxation. He therefore devised an income tax which should press upon all large incomes, whether derived from trade or from land. In this way he raised a fraction of the sum he needed, while by far the greater part was levied by excise duties on rich and poor alike. When the wars were over the income tax, as being a war measure, was repealed, and the whole taxation was returned to its previous unjust incidence. In Sir Robert Peel's time the revival of the income tax was forced by the necessities of the revenue, and it still continues in force. But at no time has more than a small fraction of the revenue of England been raised by this, the only just tax England imposes. We feel justified, therefore, in saying that the English land system has not the second merit of the feudal system, a just incidence of taxation.

The *third* merit the feudal system had was that it secured the hereditary possession of land by a great number of citizens. It must be borne in mind that "hereditary possession" does not mean ownership, and neither does it involve freedom from paying rent. It means security of tenure under rent which the landlord cannot increase. And this was the position of the feudal tenant. Just as the lord was the king's tenant, bound to render military services, and make certain customary payments, so the under-tenant under the baron held a secure position under the duty of customary payments. He paid not a competitive rent, but a fixed charge for his farm, resembling exactly the crown-rent paid by the baron to the king; and in this position it was the king's interest to maintain him. The success of the kingdom in its wars depended on the number of yeomen, and their number was very great, as was that of the freeholders. Chief Justice Coke says one-third of England was still held in copyhold. Macaulay estimates that in 1660 the land-owners numbered 160,000, and formed, with their families, one in every seven of the population. They had been steadily growing in spite of the Enclosure Laws. They now number about 40,000, and with their families constitute one in every 115 of the population. While the population has been multiplied by four, the land-owners have

been divided by four. Once (as Prof. Cliffe Leslie says) everybody in England either had land or had the hope of getting it. Now the number of these who either have it or can hope to have it is both small and decreasing.

It might seem as if this were a matter for which nobody could be held responsible. But it will be found that in every country the distribution of the land and the nature of its tenure is the result of public policy. The English policy is disclosed, (1) in their abolition of feudalism; (2) in their taxation system; (3) in their enclosure acts; (4) in their rending the people from the land.

Let me say a word about these enclosure acts. The enclosure acts, as we have seen, began in 1236 with the statute of Merton. They ended in 1868. They were the most numerous during the eighteenth century. Between 1701 and 1867, one-third of all the farmed and grazing land of England was thus enclosed. In a few instances the enclosures took in really waste lands which had not been used by any one. In the great majority it was the commons of the villages and the manors,—lands upon which the common people had claims that the courts and lawyers ignored as unauthorized innovations. And this work of taking the lands away from the poor was regarded with so much approbation that in cases innumerable the money needed to effect their enclosure was advanced out of the public treasury.

In 1867 the process stopped. But why? Because a few English philanthropists began to consider the matter of suburban commons in its relation to the health of the people. They thought the indiscriminate enclosures were destroying what in the vicinity of London were the popular parks. They looked a little into the history of these lands with the help of some legal antiquarians, and they discovered that enclosure laws were a legalized robbery, which should be stopped at once. And stopped they were. Not another such law, we may safely predict, will ever pass the English Parliament—a fact which furnishes the best comment on the justice of the process by which the great estates were created.

The *fourth* feature of the English public policy is the national devotion to manufactures, and the coöperating tendency of the landlords to get rid of small farms.

By the legislation of 1660, land ceased to be a public trust, and became a piece of property to be treated on purely mercantile

principles. Now on mercantile principles, a wholesale purchase is always preferable to a retail one. If a man will buy by the ton instead of the ounce, I can put the price lower to him, for one reason, because he saves me trouble. So the English landlords followed the policy of turning the small farms into large ones, reducing the former tenants to the level of farm-laborers, or forcing them to leave the lands and go into the cities. In Northern and Central England the latter was the result. In Southern England the former. At the Reformation fully two to one of the population were engaged in farming. Mr. Seebohm tells us that now it is only one in three of the people that are so engaged, and of this small number the condition of the greater part is so pitiable that they have been driven to organize a laborers' union to save themselves from destruction. They are the most joyless peasantry in the world, Professor Leslie says.

PROFESSOR JOHN STUART BLACKIE AND THE HIGHLANDERS.

THERE are few men more frequently before the Scottish public than the versatile Professor of Greek in the University of Edinburgh; and yet there are not many so imperfectly understood. I say this at the same time that I know that he has of late made considerable way into the minds of those who form the opinion of the age in Scotland. Still there is much to be learned regarding this rare man even by his compatriots.

For one thing, John Stuart Blackie is so loyal to truth that he comes straight out in her defense when he sees her assailed, without ever thinking how the defence or the manner of conducting it affects himself. Many would conclude that so far from being zealous for truth, he did not care very much how he stood with regard to her. His famous debate with Ernest Jones was a case in point. He thought that the able and accomplished ex-Chartist leader was extreme in his views regarding aristocracy and democracy. The result was what I am very sure accorded well with his own feelings and with the judgment which he formed on Jones's character. From that day, Ernest Jones went up in public estimation; he had never before met a foeman worthy of his steel; and in a very short

time he was the chosen of Manchester to represent her in Parliament. A test vote declared the nomination, but death snatched him away the day of the vote. The cause of democracy and of land reform owed a great debt of gratitude to the professor for this certification of Jones's moral and intellectual status.

For a number of years Professor Blackie was the subject of adverse and sarcastic criticism—in the columns of the *Scotsman* in particular—for his letters from the Highlands protesting against the eviction of the people from their ancestral holdings in the glens. The organ of the Whig landlords, and indeed of all landlords—including those of the public houses—derided the Professor's lamentations and protests as unavailing. The people were out of their holdings, and were all the better for the change; and the Professor was simply giving vent to some of his "sentiments," a commodity which had no market value, and was no factor in commerce or in the management of estates. The Professor referred to the hardships of rooting the people out, because they loved their native spot. He pointed to the ingratitude and bad policy in treating the stock from which the best soldiers Britain ever saw, in such a heartless manner. All this was nonsense in the eyes of the *Scotsman*. "Why," said the latter, "for all your Jeremiads about the Highlands, there are more people there, per acre of arable land, than there are on the banks of the Yarrow." But Blackie persevered, and now hardly *Scotsman* or Englishman ventures to break a lance with him on that subject. No two men in the kingdom were more thoroughly as one on this point than himself and poor Ernest Jones.

In the course of his Highland rambles, he penetrated more than the glens. He entered the houses of the people, tried to get into conversation with them, got them to translate some of their words and phrases for him. By and by this acquired a zest for him, and he pressed his suit with these Gaelic-speaking mountaineers, until he discovered something classic and piquant in their language. To him even, the Professor of Greek, and the master of Latin, Hebrew, and Sanscrit, this was quite a discovery. Every word which he learned was like an opening made in a partition which hid away a chamber of rare and beautiful valuables. As soon as he had a fair hold of the matter he delivered a lecture on the Gaelic Language, and published it as a pamphlet. He claimed that Gaelic ought to be studied by the learned and utilized by the comparative phil-

ologist. That was a great stride ; but he was only piercing holes in the partition wall which ignorance had put up between the speakers of English and this ancient language of the Gael.

The language was interesting and valuable ; but it was more than that. Just as a man might find a casket which was useful and rare and beautiful, and with which he was for a while so much interested that he did not think of examining the contents. When he does examine he finds that the casket contains some of the most ancient lore in Britain, aye, in Europe ! He might well clap his hands, and rush to print and startle the English world with statements which were old and thread-bare among the old and unlettered denizens of the highland glens and distant isles. This language contained valuable traditions, legends of the strangest character and rarest composition, songs innumerable, the most rich descriptions of scenery—composed long before any one out of the Highlands knew that there was such a thing as beauty in a landscape ; and dialogues of the most perfect naturalness. It is no exaggeration to say that the discovery of Herculaneum was a very small thing compared with the Professor's discoveries in the Gaelic language. He says now that some of these compositions are unequalled. Specifically he says that there is nothing in Greek to compare with the dialogues in the *Tvachdaire Gailhealach* for wit and wisdom.

The Professor took up the cause of the Highlanders from sheer humanity, and here was a rich reward in coin of which he never dreamt. And since then he has translated numerous poems, notably Duncan Ban McIntyr's *Bcinn Dorain* and Alexander Macdonald's *Long Chlann Raduäil*, the former one of the sweetest descriptions of mountain scenery ; the latter an animated and minute account of how "Clanranold's Barge" ought to be manned and managed, and how she was taken by a band of brave and able seamen in safety through a storm. It was exceedingly difficult to bring out the spirit and rhythm of these poems, and carry into another language all the atmosphere of allusions which must float about every composition of the kind. The Professor discovered all these valuables ; he learned a language, and by means of it got into quite unexpected secrets belonging to other tongues. Among these is the fact that Gaelic words are in broad Scotch, in English like the currants in a "barn-brach." Longfellow and "Hiawatha"

are in relation to the Indians something on a small scale like Professor Blackie and the language and lore of the Highlanders.

A natural sequel to these things was the taking up of the cause of the Celtic chair. A movement had been on foot for some time to get up the necessary funds, but all the funds collected had been spent, and the cause was at a hopeless stand. The professor had undergone the exact preparation which was necessary for the work. The old, old language and its lore were new to him, and he went into the work with all the zeal of a neophyte in possession of one idea, although he is like the neophyte only in being young in heart and nobly in earnest. He went to Inverness, and, under the auspices of the Gaelic Society, there delivered the first address of the mission. He spoke on the subject, he wrote letters to the papers, and he sent circulars abroad where his voice did not reach. From every quarter of the globe money was sent in. A few months ago Toronto sent on over \$400, and Australia and New Zealand made equally creditable contributions towards the rebuilding of this Highland temple of learning. The result is that while he projected the campaign to collect \$50,000, he concluded with \$60,000; and the money is now invested, and yielding the interest which is to make up the salary of the Celtic professor.

It only makes this all the more striking to state that Professor Blackie is not himself a Highlander, and does not profess to have a drop of Highland blood in his veins. He has often reproved Highlanders for leaving this work for the Teuton to do for them. His friendship for the Celts shows itself in the truthful manner in which he points out the shortcomings on their own part which have led to the neglect of their language, and to the eviction of themselves. While he advocates their cause, he never fails to urge them to stand up like men, to respect themselves in order that others may respect them; and, instead of shouting to Jupiter, he tells them to put their shoulders to the wheel.

In the course of this philanthropic and philologic work, the professor has published "Lays of the Highlands and Islands" in book form. My first acquaintance with this volume was made in a little inn at Croig in the Island of Mull. I spent a Sunday in that place, and the most of the time was devoted to the "lays." The name of "Croig" is not suggestive of an attractive spot; but leaving out of view the surroundings, and the very nice girl who did

the cooking and sewing, the charm of the book was quite enough to account for the bright picture which I still retain of the place. He has given a charming book to the world on the "Language and Literature of the Scottish Highlands;" and I have no doubt that his article in the *Contemporary Review*, is an instalment of a work which he has been preparing on those questions which have been dealt with by political economists, and in which he insists upon morals being above rather than below economics. This work is another outcome of the interest which he has taken in the Highlanders. He has made innumerable speeches which have been published in the papers—although he is one of the most difficult men in the world to report, inasmuch as voice and gesture and action have a great deal to do with the effect produced by his platform efforts. He speaks with all the freshness and point of a man who is merely speaking off-hand what comes uppermost at a moment's warning. But with all his vivacity and vigor, he speaks what he has well thought through; and I have known him refuse to get up to speak until he had time to lay down the scheme of his speech. Still, he is most ready to speak to any remark from the audience—as when, last summer at Inverness, he was hissed for his castigation of those who had added field to field until there was no room for the people—"Stand up" said he "that we may see whether you are a goose or an ass." He puts the sheep farmers about when he speaks among them; but no class can now afford to ignore him; and when he is at their wool-fair, they always invite him to speak at their great dinner.

This is the result of his downright bravery. He is, without doubt, the most wholesome influence at work in Scotland. People talk of Blackie as an "eccentric" man. His crowning eccentricity is the rare combination of courage, truth, and kindness which enters into his character. "Prudence," "policy," "party," "church," a fear to offend, and a reluctance to do justice are so many restraints on the actions of men; and people say that Blackie is eccentric when he casts those trammels aside and speaks as truth and kindness impel him. His courage is equal to his love of man and of truth. Hence the hard knocks which he sometimes gives. Hence, also, just as much the hard words which he utters in defence of those whom the full and the strong so often trample under foot. His truthfulness is just as conspicuous when dealing with foe as when dealing with

friend. He will not allow a hair's breadth of injustice to be done, or even implied, in anything he says of his most pronounced antagonist. He is so direct, simple, and manly that people do not understand him. Upon Highlanders, much of what he says comes with an agreeable surprise; not because it is strange or new, but because it is so very much what they thought themselves many a time, only that they had not the courage to say it. They are pleased to hear their views uttered by a learned man; and because the rich and learned around them were so much in the habit of repressing Highland sentiment and thought, it is surprising to them that a learned man is so completely of their own mind.

Then, Blackie holds and teaches that character is above gain, and that sentiment, so far from being contemned, is a thing to be cherished as one of the most valuable elements in a people's character, without which a man is nothing higher really than a hewer of wood and a drawer of water, let his learning and his wealth be what they may. In his advocacy of this sort of thing, he is counteracting the strong tendency which exists in Scotland to subordinate every thing to wealth and what wealth can procure. There can be no doubt that on this side of his nature he found himself attracted by the Highlanders, who in their humble cottages and straitened circumstances still lived in an old-world element. They had a strong attachment to names and places, and they felt a value in things which could not be bought or estimated in money. They were surrounded by walls black and canopied by smoke, but their lore and their works of art were in their minds. No mansion was hung with finer pictures than these people had in their brains, handed down from the old masters of legend and of song. And Blackie, like Burns, knew that to root the people out of their places, and to abolish their language and their lore, would reduce them to mere workers and eaters and drinkers, when we should always nurture within them what money cannot buy.

And there is no doubt that Blackie has done good in this respect, and also in respect to elevating faith and courage and brotherly kindness above dogma, or the tenets of church or sect.

Coming back to his finished works, I should not omit to mention that he bought an acre and three quarters of land at Altnacraig, near Oban, and built a very nice house upon it. Here he usually spends his vacations, and is seen about Oban with his

slouched hat, Highland plaid, and stout-walking stick, out on the sea shore or on the hill side, when he is not engaged in his study. He is never without work in hand, and a most industrious man he is. He often makes fun of himself, as a Highland laird on an acre and three quarters. Here also he is true and, as it happens, consistent. When he bought the bit of ground there was an old carding mill on it, driven by the *allt*, or running brook. He was advised to have this eyesore removed. "Me remove a tenant! Never. I practice what I preach." And the mill goes on with all the poetry and sentiment which it has accumulated in the course of generations, and the poor man who has it is making a living out of helping poor people to turn their bits of wool into clothing for themselves.

The last time I was there was in company with Mary Mackellar, the bard. We had both arrived in Oban, and had heard that the "laird of Altnacraig" had returned from Egypt. We had a rare night of it, but I have not space in which to give details. I have done one good thing in introducing Mary Mackellar, who has the distinction of being bard to the Gaelic Society of Inverness, and who is equally gifted in Gaelic and in English, like Evan MacColl, the veteran bard of Lochpyne, now serving her Britannic Majesty in the custom house at Kingston, Ontario.

To keep the morsel of history which this paper contains from making a wrong impression, it should be stated that, although the fund has been made up, the Celtic chair has not been filled. That, I hope, is waiting to be taken possession of by Dr. MacLauchlan of St. Columba's Church, Edinburgh.

This does not profess to be any more than an introduction of the brave Professor to American readers, with just the smallest hint in the world that a visit from him to this continent would afford a great treat to Americans and Canadians, and would reinforce himself for the work in which he is engaged—rousing Scotsmen to a sense of their power and responsibility in relation to the moral and political work which has been left them by their brave fathers to finish.

JOHN MURDOCH.

INVERNESS.

THE CENTENNIAL OF KANT'S "KRITIK."

NEXT year will complete the century since this remarkable production was given to the world. It made an epoch in the history of philosophy, not only in Germany, but all over the thinking world. It revealed and vindicated the inherent power of the mind, and the independent activity of thought to a degree and in a manner never before attempted. The thoroughness, depth, and logical character of the author's investigations may be said to have introduced the rigorous method of science into metaphysics, and delivered it forever from the reproach of vagueness and dogmatism. All the thinking of centuries preceding seemed, in contrast to the *Kritik*, to be shallow and purblind. All the thinking that has followed it has been amenable to a higher standard of judgment, and must render a stricter account of its attitude towards those fundamental conditions of knowledge, of which Kant has shown that thought cannot legitimately rid itself. No one dare attempt to construct a system of philosophy to-day without reference to the work accomplished by Kant. He cannot be passed by a flank movement; his lines extend across the whole field; his positions must be met and fairly captured, or incorporated into and harmonized with the new principles of the proposed new system.

What this wonderful speculative reformer accomplished for the thinking of Germany can only be learned by a survey of the progress and development of German philosophy during the century. The whole of that mighty movement has been the direct outgrowth of the *Kritik*. And in these last days, after speculation has wandered widely and wildly from the original path, the countrymen of Kant are coming back to the soberer and solider principles of the *Kritik*.

The thinking of Scotland has been immensely widened through the influence of Kant. In the greatest representative of the Scottish school, Sir William Hamilton, the Kantian spirit and tendency struggle constantly with the older and simpler tendency derived from Reid. Almost everything in Hamilton which is stirring and stimulating, which widens the view, which is disciplinary and tonic, which is fresh and original, may be called Kantian, either in its

source or in its spirit. His school, if we may speak of such, is Scoto-German, just as Kant himself by extraction was.

Dr. McCosh, in one of his recent writings, has proposed to the new generation of thinkers, especially in America, the problem of discriminating between the good and the bad in Kant. That there has been not a little to condemn in Kant (especially the *proton pseudos* of the Kritik, that the primary principles of knowledge may possibly be true only for human minds), the writer would unhesitatingly admit. But the honored President of Princeton College appears disposed to recognize extremely little of good in Kant, and, perhaps, would discourage any considerable awakening of interest in the study of the Kritik in our American colleges.

For our part, we believe the general American mind has arrived at a stage of thought and has attained a capacity of speculation where it can profitably occupy itself with the problems of the Kritik. Nor will any one doubt that the national mind needs to be pinned down to close thinking, not only upon such topics, but needs also to acquire that habit of close thinking on all topics which will be cultivated best of all by the study of the Kritik. Using the experience of a whole century, chiefly that of Germany, as a test of the good and bad in Kant, our youth, with little peril to important principles, can enjoy the incomparable advantages of the study of this great author. I cannot doubt that the Kritik itself ought to form part of the curriculum of the higher classes in every college; they ought not to be put off with lectures, criticisms, or scanty abstracts, but the author himself, with all his difficulties and in his own way of stating and deducing his principles, should be put into their hands in a faithful translation.

The object of this paper is to propose to all interested in the study of the higher problems of philosophy in this country, a *celebration of the centennial of Kant's Kritik* some time in the year 1881. It is believed that there are enough so interested to secure success, if not to give *éclat* to such an occasion, provided their attention can be turned to the subject. The existence of the *Journal of Speculative Philosophy*, lately transferred from St. Louis to New York, is a proof of the reality and strength of the speculative spirit in our land. There are thinkers among us competent to handle every aspect of the critical philosophy which would demand attention. Their essays and discussions would give an impulse to higher

philosophical studies, and would elevate the standard of instruction in those branches. It would help to establish or diffuse more widely among us those fundamental and impregnable principles of the spiritual philosophy which are so powerfully assailed by the materialistic tendencies of our time. It would help to concentrate, crystallize, and organize an American school, or if not that, a recognized American sentiment favorable to the cultivation of exact thinking in pure metaphysics, parallel to the demand for exact calculation and experiment in natural science, vindicating and demonstrating the logical priority and superior comprehension of and depth of the former to the latter.

Such a centennial celebration might be made an adjunct to some of those regular educational gatherings which are held every summer. Possibly it might come off at Concord, but the movement would gain immensely in dignity and efficiency if it could be carried on independently of every other interest.

While the work of the celebration ought to be substantially the presentation of the Kantian barrier to all the loose and materialistic thinking of our time, it ought not to exclude the opposition to Kant on metaphysical grounds. It would indeed be essential to such an occasion that the defects and errors of the *Kritik*, and the wrong tendencies and great evils which grew out of it, either by misconception or exaggeration, or as legitimate results, of Kant's own teachings, should be fully exhibited. The purpose of the celebration should not be the indiscriminate eulogy of the famous thinker, but the attainment, as nearly as possible, of a just estimate of his work. Thus guarded there is no good reason to fear a recurrence of the long train of evil consequences which followed the original acceptance of the Kantian philosophy in Germany. The age and the time would not admit of such a glaring anachronism.

A few of the topics which might be profitably treated on such an occasion would be—

1. The higher problems of philosophy.
2. The utility of the study of Kant, its relations to the sensationalist and materialist schools of to-day.
3. Kant and rationalism ; evils and defects of his teachings.
4. Kant and the Scottish schools. Is a return from Hamilton to Reid logically admissible ?
5. Fortunes of Kant in Great Britain and America.

6. Revival of Kantian studies in Germany.
7. Is Realism the teaching of the Kritik?
8. Can the Kritik be fairly treated from the ground of Hegelianism?
9. The interdependence of empirical and of metaphysical knowledge. The harmonizing of divergent tendencies of thought.
10. The first and second editions of the Kritik.
11. Metaphysics as a science and metaphysics in the sciences.
12. Is a return from Hegel to Kant logically admissible?
13. Historical relations of the Kritik, before and after. Under this topic an immense field is opened, which it would be useless to attempt to cover.
14. A compendious statement of the main principles of the Kritik, in the nature of an introduction to the study of the work itself.

Many more suggestions might be added, as to topics to be discussed, as to the place of meeting, and as to the disposition of the valuable material which would then be accumulated. If published in a volume, it would not only form one of the best introductions to the study, but would be no unworthy monument to the hundredth anniversary of the appearance of the Kritik.

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NEW BOOKS.

SONGS AND POEMS FROM THE GERMAN. Rendered into English verse by Ella Heath. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

We welcome every attempt to bring to English readers the great treasures of that poetical literature which is only second to our own in its abundance. By confession of all the best poets, the Anglo Saxon, if not the most poetical of modern races in some respects, has been the most prolific of good poetry; and English critics are now agreed that next to their own, the German poetry is the richest in genuine poetic voices.

Miss Heath has selected Rückert, Uhland, and Heine as the poets she would help to naturalize among us. She avoids comparison with the great body of translators, who have tried their strength on Goethe and Schiller. But she has not attempted an easier task in Heine, for his poetry is so full of subtle effects that its adequate

translation is nearly impossible. Uhland is easier, even Rückert is easier, for Rückert's wonderful mastery of rhyme and rhythm, in which Platen rivals him, is a less recondite and a more manageable thing than Heine's poetical witchcraft. Miss Heath has done fairly well with all her authors. If she is not the best, she is not by any means the worst of our translators. Might we suggest that she would gain the public ear better by rendering some larger and continuous work than by an anthology of this kind. There, for instance, is Rückert's *Liebesfrühling*, of which she has given us a single passage. A translation of the whole would be a real addition to our literature. It is one of the few love poems which bear the stamp of genuine passion, and such passion has seldom been more truly depicted. In reading it one feels as in reading some of Browning's lyrics, or his wife's "Sonnets from the Portuguese." It is the work of a man who has *felt* and not merely *imagined* the moods he depicts. It would be of world-wide fame, had not Rückert, like Wordsworth, written too much for his own fame, and thus buried his best things under a mass of good yet inferior poetry.

We give, as a specimen, Miss Heath's rendering of one of Heine's songs, premising that the German is printed on the page opposite her translations:

There comes a star, down falling
From out its shimmering sky;
It is the shining star of love
That flutters swiftly by.

Down from the trees are dropping
Blossoms and leaves to earth;
The zephyrs, softly blowing,
Have scattered them in mirth.

Upon the lake so tranquil
A swan swims to and fro,
And, ever sweeter singing,
Sinks to its grave below.

It is so still and darkling!
Afar the leaves have blown;
The star to dust has crumbled—
Hushed is the swan's sad moan.

JAPANESE FAIRY WORLD. Stories from the Wonder-lore of Japan;
by William Elliot Griffis, author of "The Mikado's Empire."
Illustrated by Osawa of Tokio. Schenectady: James H. Barhyte.

All readers of "The Mikado's Empire" will be glad to know that Professor Griffis, in accepting a pastorate at Schenectady, has not lost his interest in the land in which some of his younger years were spent, and that he still has something to tell us of it. He gave his readers a sort of introduction to the Fairy-world of Japan in his former work, but in this the view is much broader. He has

made a selection of the best stories, and has pruned them of objectionable features, which would else have excluded them from family reading. There was, no doubt, great need of such pruning. This wonderful people, who are often held up as an example to Christian nations, and who in the matter of their infinite good humor have something to teach us, are on some important points of morality deplorably deficient. Not only is there an absence of the reserve we think essential to decency, but they indulge in the obscene to an extent which the roughest foreigners sometimes find disgusting. In buying wares in Japan, as an Anglican bishop once discovered to his horror, it is necessary to keep a strict watch against this tendency in the native workmen. The Sydney Custom House would not pass his tea set bought in Japan!

The quality of these stories is not up to that of similar stories in the West. The elements of beauty, and pathos and humor are altogether wanting. The Japanese, like the Chinese, can escape from the commonplace only into the grotesque, and grotesque is the best name for the tales in this volume. Mr. Griffis should have added notes for his grown-up readers, explaining the origin of some of them. Those about the Onis, for instance, evidently point to the cannibal aborigines of the Island Empire, whose descendents still exist as Pariahs in the South and as independent savages in the far North.

CLUB ESSAYS; By David Swing. Chicago: Jansen, M'Clurg & Co.

Prof. Swing is one of the intellectual forces in the great and growing metropolis of the Northwest. He and Dr. Thomas, recently of the Methodist Church, represent the tangential forces at work in its orthodox churches, both of them having, for conscience' sake, become "come-outers" from former ecclesiastical connections, without finding rest for their feet in any of the "liberal" churches. We think this volume shows Professor Swing at his best, and that his best is not the pulpit, but literature. As a theologian we think him unsatisfactory. He is not a man who feels his positive theological convictions throughout his whole system. He does not speak with the certainty of a Maurice or a Vinet or a Soren Kierkegaard. He has not the earnestness of a volcano in active eruption, nor "fire enough in his belly to burn up the sins of the world." But he has a graceful literary talent, a fine power of expression, and a genial sympathy with life. We like his leisure better than his work.

The essays in this volume are (1) "Augustine and his Mother;" (2) "A Roman Home;" (3) "Parlez vous Français?" (4) "The History of Love;" (5) "The Greatest of all Arts." We think the first is the best and the second the worst of the series. Augustine and Monica furnish one of the most beautiful groups in all church

history, and the oft-repeated but seldom verified saying about the "mothers of great men" finds the fullest application in this instance. To Monica the Catholic Church owes the greatest and holiest soul since the death of John in Ephesus. Professor Swing has told their story admirably, although now and then he diverges into brief theological digressions. The last of these is suggested by the fact that Monica, when dying, asked her son to pray for her whenever he was at the altar. It seems that some Protestants dispute the inference in favor of Prayers for the Dead being in use at that early date. If they do, they cannot have read the treatise on this express subject in the works of Augustine, nor have seen the monograph, *Prayer for the Dead in connection with Worship and Doctrine, according to the Writings of St. Augustine*. (Nordheim, 1857), by A. Frantz, a Lutheran theologian. Frantz approves of the practice; so does K. A. Leibbrand, a Stuttgart theologian, who published a treatise in 1864. So did Coleridge; so did Archdeacon Hare, the staunchest of English Protestants. In conducting a funeral service in his own parish, over a number of persons who had met with a sudden, and for some of them an unprepared for death, he supplemented the burial service by a prayer for the repose of their souls, of which we have seen a manuscript copy. All these Protestants take the ground occupied by Professor Swing himself, that in rejecting the whole cultus of the Roman Catholic Church in this matter, good and bad were cast away together; that no creature can pass into a state where it will not need Divine grace, or where it will be either useless or improper for us to ask that grace for it; and some of them maintain that the Apostle Paul (2 Timothy, I, 16-18) prayed for Onesiphorus, knowing him to be dead.

We hope that Professor Swing's essay will help to call attention to Augustine's *Confessions*, one of the great classics of the world's literature.

His "History of Love" disappoints us by keeping so closely to classic and Jewish ground, and leaving to other hands the later and, as we think, much more interesting chapter. In that history Edmund Spenser holds a grand place, as the first great poet of love, in whose writings the vicious antithesis of the Middle Ages disappears, and the wife is also the mistress. His Laura, his Beatrice, was the good and fair woman, for whom he wrote one of his beautiful *Epithalamia*.

HISTORY OF POLITICAL ECONOMY IN EUROPE; By Jérôme Adolphe Blanqui. Translated from the Fourth French Edition, by Emily J. Leonard. With a preface by David A. Wells. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

The title of this book illustrates the slight difference of mean-

ing between the French *Economique Politique* and the English "Political Economy." The latter means strictly the science of public economy. The former quite as commonly means that economy itself. The English and American reader will open this book expecting to find it occupied with a discussion of books and theories, as is Prof Twisse's *Progress of Political Economy*. Instead of that he will find it taken up with affairs of Government, the acts of statesmen, and the historical influence of economic facts. It is in the main, a study of European history from an economic standpoint. This adds very much to the interest of the book, and commends it to a much wider range of readers. Many will take it up merely to look into it, in the expectation of finding it a dry discussion of contesting theories, and will be attracted to its perusal by finding that M. Blanqui's chief purpose was to study history continuously from a new and very important point of view. It is only in the last chapters that the theorists and their theories come into prominence.

M. Blanqui belongs to the cosmopolitan school of economists. In his treatment of the Reformation, although French by nationality and Roman Catholic, at least by instinct, he admits that that movement did much for the world. "Protestantism must have contained within it fertile germs of the future, since, wherever it has become established, people have contracted more regular habits, stricter morals, and a more pronounced inclination to labor. Compare Holland and Portugal, England and Spain, Lutheran Germany and Catholic Germany: what a contrast in respect to intelligence, wealth, and morality. What a difference between the life which reigns on the one side, and the apathy in which the others vegetate! One can well judge of it in future in America, where civilization seems to have established its two extremes: the United States in the North seem to have attained the highest degree, under the influence of free investigation, and with a Protestant population; the republics of the South, notwithstanding the natural advantages of their climate and the richness of their soil, have not yet been able to establish a regular government, because of their Catholic prejudices." This surely is not true of Chili or even Brazil. But he finds fault with Protestantism that it knows better how to create wealth than to distribute it equitably, and that it has put an end to the cosmopolitanism of the Middle Ages by its revival of national feeling. "It has broken the bond of the united Christian Nations, and substituted national egoism for the universal harmony to which Catholicism contributed. There is no longer any common thought in Europe to-day in a position to rally minds and convictions."

The translation seemed to have been made by a competent hand, although there are places where a mere idiomatic rendering would be preferable. What, for instance, is the force of the words "in future" in the fourth of the sentences quoted above?

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- N. W. Ayers & Son's American Newspaper Annual. Cloth. Svo. Pp. 616, Philadelphia: N. W. Ayers & Son.
- Higher Education of Medical Men. By F. D. Lente, A. M., M. D. Sw'd. Svo. Pp. 16. New York: Chas. L. Birmingham & Co.
- Medical Heresies, Historically Considered. By Genzalvo C. Smythe, A. M., M. D. Cloth. 12mo. Pp. 228. Price \$1.25. Philadelphia: Presley Blackston.
- Japanese Fairy World. Stories from the Wonder-Lore of Japan. By William Elliot Griffin. Cloth. 12mo. Pp. 304. Schenectady: James H. Barbyte.
- Current Views and Notes of Forty Days in France and England. By John Swinton. 16mo. Sw'd. Pp. 46. Price 25cts. New York: G. W. Carleton & Co.
- The Publisher's Trade List Annual for 1880. Cloth. Svo. New York: F. Leopoldt. [J. B. Lippincott & Co.]
- Marco Polo, his Travels and Adventures. By George Makepeace Towle. Cloth. 12mo. Pp. 274. Price, \$1.25. Boston: Lee & Shepard. [J. B. Lippincott & Co.]
- Ego. A Novel. By Harry W. French. Cloth. 12mo. Pp. 258. Price \$1.00. Boston: Lee & Shepard. [Claxton & Co.]
- The Eden Tableau, or Bible Object-Teaching. A study by Charles Beecher. Cloth. 12mo. Pp. 163. Price \$1.50. Boston: Lee & Shepard. [J. B. Lippincott & Co.]
- Coleridge, Shelley, Goethe. By George H. Calvert. Cloth. 12mo. Pp. 297. Price \$1.50. Boston: Lee & Shepard. [J. B. Lippincott & Co.]
- Club Essays. By David Swing. Cloth. 16mo. Pp. 189. Price \$1.00. Chicago: Jansen, McClurg & Co. [Porter & Coates.]
- Second Hebrew Reader, for Jewish Schools and Private Instruction. By Max Stern. Boards. 12mo. Pp. 43. Price 25 cents. Chicago: Max Stern, Goldsmith & Co.
- Songs and Poems from the German. Rendered into English Verse. By Ella Heath. Cloth. 12mo. Pp. 109. Price, \$1.25. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. [J. B. Lippincott & Co.]
- A Doctor's Suggestions to the Community. By Daniel B. St. John Roosa, M. D. Cloth. 12mo. Pp. 234. Price, \$1.50. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. [Porter & Coates.]
- Womanhood. Lectures on Woman's Work in the World. By Heber Newton. Cloth. 12mo. Pp. 315. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. [Porter & Coates.]
- Unbeaten Tracks in Japan. By Isabella L. Bird. Cloth. 12mo. Vol. I. Pp. 405, Vol. II, Pp. 392. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. [Porter & Coates.]
- The Care and Culture of Children. A Practical Treatise for the Use of Parents. By Thomas S. Sozinsky. Cloth. \$8, Pp. 484. Philadelphia: H. C. Watts & Co.