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THE
PENN MONTHLY.

DEVOTED TO

Literature, Art, Science and Politics.

VOLUME XII.
JANUARY TO DECEMBER, 1881.

PHILADELPHIA:
PUBLISHED FOR
THE PENN MONTHLY ASSOCIATION,
BY EDWARD STERN & Co.,
Nos. 125 & 127 NORTH SEVENTH STREET.
1881.

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THE
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JANUARY, 1881.

THE MONTH.

THE situation in Ireland occupies the largest share of attention of the students of European politics. The Land League, instead of dying out after a temporary flare of agitation, as its enemies hoped and its friends feared, has grown in power until it has the control of the country in its hands. When Mr. Parnell came to America, it had but thirty branches, and those weakly sustained. Now it has over five hundred strong and active branches. It carries with it the great majority of the people; and the minority who disapprove are forced to acquiesce in its doings, and even to seek protection in its membership. Ulster, the stronghold of Anti-Irish feeling in Ireland, is now invaded by its emissaries, and the Northern tenantry are finding that their interests are substantially the same with those of the tenants of the South and West, and are breaking the tyranny of the Orange Order and of the landlords who control it. In every part of the island, except the three North Eastern counties, the League will soon be supreme, and the unpaid magistracy, equally with the constabulary, have proved unable to cope with the violence of the agitation. In fact, the local administration of government has broken down in Ireland, because, like everything else provided by the English conquerors, it

has been made after the English model. In attempting to create a landed aristocracy in Ireland, the English invested them with the duties of committing magistrates. The justices of the peace, scattered all over the island, are country gentlemen, and successful tradesmen who have risen to the dignity of a place in the commission of the peace. They represent but one class and but one interest—as they are for the most part Protestant landlords. Even before the present disturbances, it was found necessary to deprive them of the powers vested in Englishmen of the same class, and their Courts of Quarter Sessions were each furnished with a stipendiary magistrate, under the name of assistant-barrister, who has all the legal authority which is vested in the court. This change was absolutely demanded by the consideration that these justices were, as a rule, violent partisans, and that they could not be trusted with cases where class prejudices were concerned. But the change has not tended to increase their authority over the mass of the people. It was a mistake to deprive them of the dignity of real magistrates and yet to leave upon them the responsibility of preserving the public peace in times of great excitement. Equally prejudicial to their authority has been the habit of suspending the ordinary modes of legal procedure whenever the strain has proven greater than usual. Taken altogether, the unpaid magistracy has been the most miserable of Irish failures, and whatever changes be made in the Land Laws, a new system for the administration of justice must be introduced. That in force in India would be the best model to follow, and the Irish people would gain greatly by having those local magistrates superseded by such judges as Cromwell, to their great disgust, gave the Scotch—"kinless loons, intent on nothing but bare, indifferent fair play."

MR. GLADSTONE and his associates have shown great moral courage in refusing to adopt a policy of coercion towards Ireland. Coercion could do no more than allow of arbitrary arrests, and the retention in 'prison of men who had a legal right to their liberty. It might help to strike down a few of the prominent leaders, but it would only exasperate the people. Were every Irish prison full of Leaguers, there still would be no cessation of the agitation, while the injustice of irresponsible imprisonment would be calculated to inflame the popular passions. English law, since the agitation in

regard to Trades Unions modified it, accepts the principle that it is not a crime to conspire to do any act not in itself criminal. Now the purposes of the Land League are, in themselves, all legitimate. Intimidation by threats of violence is not one of these purposes, and if it has been employed in some cases, it has also been disowned and repudiated by the leaders. It is lawful to refuse to have dealings with a person whose conduct gives you moral offence. It is equally lawful to point him out to others as an object of moral reprobation, under the restraints imposed by the law of libel; and it is equally lawful to associate for this purpose. This has been the means avowedly adopted and successfully employed by the Land League; and that it has been successful in the face of a garrison of 30,000 soldiers, shows how great is the tension of Irish opinion. In no other country of Christendom could any class have been sent to Coventry so effectually as have the Landlords and other agents in Ireland. This furnishes a comment upon the English government of "the sister island," to which the whole world is giving attention.

SOME nervous people are anxious lest the Land League should have as an ulterior object a civil war for Irish independence. They see behind Mr. Parnell and Mr. Davitt the warlike forms of O'Donovan Rossa and the Fenians. There is no ground for any such fear. It is true that the hopes which inspired the Fenian movement have never been abandoned. It is true that great bodies of Irishmen are still waiting a chance to strike for Irish independence. But it is also true that they would deprecate nothing more strongly than an uprising of the Irish people at the present time. We have reason to believe that they have made very recently an urgent appeal to the Irish people, and especially to the Land League, to abstain from any acts of violence which might justify the appeal to military force on the part of their enemies. They desire nothing so much as that the Land League should rest its case upon the moral forces at its disposal, and work on just the lines laid down in its own programme. They have not the faith of the League as to the sufficiency of the reforms it demands; but they would not like to see those imperilled by a mad and useless uprising, which could only lead to a wholesale slaughter of the people.

In one sense the Nationalist party is behind the Land League. If the coming Land Reform be of the sort Mr. Parnell hopes for, if an Irish peasant proprietorship is to take the place of a landlord proprietorship, England will have lost a great hold upon Ireland. She will have reduced the garrison by the withdrawal of its most effectual members, and will have taught the Irish people the power there is in united action. And then, when the great crash comes in European politics, and England is as much embarrassed as in 1776-83, an independent Irish parliament in Dublin will be the least of Ireland's demands.

WHAT measures of Reform Mr. Gladstone and his colleagues mean to prepare has been foreshadowed by the Liberal papers in England. They speak of the three F's—fixity of tenure, free sale of tenant rights, and fair compensation for unexhausted improvements. These would tend very greatly to improve the character of the Irish tenants. They would put a stop to the rack-rent system. They would legalize Ulster tenant-right throughout the whole island. But they are not sufficient for the purpose in view. They will not put a stop to the League and its agitations. The suggestion offered by Chief Justice James, that the government buy out those landlords who are unwilling to accept the new terms, would go a step further in the right direction. That we may hope for. But even Mr. Gladstone could not hope to carry through the Peers a law to put all Irish lands on the footings of the glebe lands of the Irish Church, and to enable the present tenants to buy them by extending them the aid of government credit. But nothing less than this will meet the case.

THE sight of a minister of religion shut up in prison as a criminal, for refusing to perform a church service in a particular way, is one which goes far to encourage Americans to maintain the legal separation of Church and State. It is quite true that Messrs. Dale and Enraght are justly punished for violation of the law of the land; but that any particular celebration of public worship should be enforced by legal penalties, and that such matters should come within the scope of the law, is the point which is offensive to all right feeling. Certainly nothing could be farther than this from the ideal of Christianity furnished by the Gospels. It is there assumed that

all such matters belong to the free sphere of conscience and instinctive sense of right; and that any appeal to the penalties of the law with regard to them is quite out of place. Imagine Jesus of Nazareth looking on while one of his disciples took another by the throat and thrust him into prison, lest the simplicity and purity of the Gospel should suffer by his being at liberty! In fine, all such Church establishments as those of England rest upon the unwarranted extension of the sphere of law into regions where it can have no rightful activity.

Dr. Lidden defends his Ritualist brethren on the ground that they cannot recognize the authority of the existing ecclesiastical courts, which are composed of laymen only. He thinks that if a court composed of bishops were given the jurisdiction over such cases the result would be different. But the law to create such a court, and to select the particular bishops, would have to pass a lay parliament, and the bishops on its bench would be clothed with no authority they do not now possess, except as delegated to them by laymen. The bishops and the Parliament have both pronounced against Ritualism, with no effect upon the resisters. What possible combination of Parliament and bishops would command their submission? The truth is that their notions of ecclesiastical independence are not consistent with the idea of an established church. The Scottish Kirk came nearest to it when it claimed for the General Assembly and subordinate courts an independent position as regards the State, and an authority derived directly from God. But no modern State will tolerate any such claim in an endowed and privileged church.

THE death of George Eliot is to be reckoned among the calamities of the year. Since her recent marriage she spent much of her time in Venice, and there was some hope that she might have in preparation a companion work to *Romola*,—a picture equally careful, vivid, and true of life in the rival Italian city, to set beside that she had drawn of Florence. So long as she lived there was always before us a chance of a new and great delight in a new book from her pen. She added to the wealth and color of human existence, and subtracted from its monotony, by the artistic worth of her creations. But now we know just how much her name is to stand for, and what are the bounds of her achievement.

Since Shakespeare there has been no greater writer of fiction in any of its departments. And since Shakespeare we have had no one mind that has exhausted with such mastery so many fields of thought, and subsidized them all for her main purpose of mimicking human life. The student of literary history finds in her *Romola* the most careful and discriminating studies of the whole Italian literature of the Renaissance, studies which leave Roscoe and his compeers out of sight, and are only rivalled by Symonds and Burkhardt. The physician discovers in the allusions in *Middlemarch* the most accurate acquaintance with his own especial branch of study. Again, nowhere in English literature has the rise of the Evangelical party been so vividly portrayed as in her *Scenes of Clerical Life*. Yet again, in *Daniel Deronda*, her studies of modern Jewish life and character, while often idealized, are unequalled by anything to be found even in the many brilliant writers whom modern Judaism has given to the world. And all these were but the *parerga* of this wonderful woman's activity. Her main business was the study of modern society, not on its conventional side merely, as with Anthony Trollope, but on all sides, that she might indicate the lines of social reformation upon which the best thought may impel the world. In this sense, we place her *Middlemarch* at the head of all her books, because of its great breadth of social interest, in spite of its want of the gracious traits that bring us again and again to the study of the *Scenes of Clerical Life*. And lowest of all we place *The Mill on the Floss*, as the book most unworthy of her pen.

Of her personal history we shall not speak here, for the simple reason that we do not know, with accuracy, its external facts, and still less her own view of it. We have to do with her books only, until a clearer light is cast upon the story than any we possess, and its true lineaments are disentangled from the contradictory versions of it furnished by our newsmongers. And as to her books, he would be a keen critic, indeed, who would find in them anything which was not calculated to refine and purify, or which was of a nature to favor lower views of life and duty than the great body of her countrymen profess to live by. This we know, that she enjoyed the unreserved confidence of many of the best people of her time,—people who knew her story much more intimately than it is known to the public, but who never found in it any reason for renouncing

her friendship. A woman whom Frederick Maurice and Elizabeth Browning included in their list of friends, is entitled to at least a suspension of judgment as regards facts which seem to call for explanation.

THE Anti-Jewish agitation in Germany, which came to a head with the opening of the Imperial Parliament, is generally misunderstood in this country, from want of information as to the principles and motives of those who are engaged in it. Chaplain Stöcker is at the head of the Christian-Socialist party in Germany,—a party which has gained great strength during the past few years, especially among the workingmen of the cities. In the view of this party, the serious evils attending the existing organization of society, the preponderance of corporations and of the money power, are not matters to be left to the slow redress of time. They call for two species of remedy. The first is the awakening of an active Christian spirit, in opposition to the spirit of greed, and the consequent reduction of the bitterness of commercial competition and industrial warfare. The second is the passage of legislation of a kind which would be likely to counteract, instead of intensifying, the dominant tendencies of the industrial world. When looked at from this platform, the whole business life of our days is found worthy of condemnation, and the necessity for reform is most urgent. And it is not the Jews only who have been subjected to the criticisms of the new party, or who are contemplated in its reforms. It is their prominence in two directions which has made the Jews the especial objects of attack. The *first* is that the newspapers they control, especially in Berlin, are hostile to Christianity, and show that hostility in the most unworthy style of attack. In the view of the Christian Socialists, the whole influence of modern Judaism in Germany, and especially in Berlin, is in the way of any revival of Christian earnestness and Christian principle, such as they believe indispensable to the industrial reform of society. The *second* is that the Jews of Germany so seldom engage in productive industry of any kind. They are speculators, brokers, employers of labor, but rarely, if ever, do they add anything to the wealth of which they manage to secure a considerable share. To other students of social movement, this is a matter of indifference. They say "It is none of our business," and pass on. But a Socialist

of any type cannot be expected to take this ground. He regards these matters as fairly open to government regulation. And so the Christian Socialists demand that the Jews shall place themselves upon an equality with other people, and take their fair share of the drudgery of the earth.

We do not wish to be understood as approving of the programme of this party, except in agreeing with them that a revival of Christian earnestness and Christian principle is needed for a reform of many social evils, and that such articles as appear in the *Börsen-Zeitung* and other Jewish papers of Berlin deserve the severest reprobation. We have no faith in Socialistic reforms of any sort. But it is due to this party to point out that they are making an impartial assault upon a whole system, of which the Jews are merely the more prominent part.

THE final cession of Dulcigno to the republic of Czernagora has removed that question for the present from the field of European politics, and leaves only the Greek and the Armenian questions for immediate adjustment. Greece seems bent upon a struggle with Turkey for the Janina frontier voted her by the Belgian Conference, and declines to reopen negotiations with the Pashas on the subject. The Great Powers can hardly be surprised at this, with their own experience as regards the cession of Dulcigno fresh in their memories. Turkish diplomacy is like Sheridan's negotiations with his creditors. It is merely a means to secure delay, without any purpose of doing anything. But Greece has a mere fragment of an army, while Turkey has a fleet which could lay in ashes Navarino and other Greek seaports, and might inflict irreparable injuries upon this plucky little nation. Unless Europe unite in insisting that the war shall be confined to operations by land, we do not see how Greece could persist in it for more than a month.

THE brief session of Congress, which precedes the Christmas holidays, has been, as is usual, all but wasted on mere beginnings, most of which will lead to nothing. The greatest waste of time has been over the joint resolution for the count of the electoral vote, which passed the Senate last session, and which the Democrats mean to force through the House as soon as they can muster

a sufficient vote. Thus far they have been foiled by Republican filibustering; and it will be well for them if they will use their vacation to reflect how much they may lose by passing a measure which enables one branch of the legislature to cast out the presidential vote of a state, or of any number of states. If they had carried the November elections, and had a fair chance of controlling both branches or either branch of Congress for years to come, the measure might have something to commend it to the more violent partisans of their number. But as matters now stand, there is no motive, except party obstinacy, to excuse their support of a plan which may be used to prevent a Democratic president-elect from taking his seat. Beside this, the measure is open to more general objections. We might apply to it what Burke said of the Royal Marriage Bill:—"Laws have till now been passed for the purpose of explaining doubts; but this is a law made to create them."

THE Funding Bill reported by the Committee of Ways and Means, contemplates the conversion during the coming year of some seven hundred and fifty millions of bonds. Unfortunately, it does not give the Secretary of the Treasury any discretion as to the rate of these bonds. It does not allow him to offer three-and-a-half or four per cent. interest. It ties him down to an offer of three per cent. for a subscription at par. A very large body of mercantile opinion is opposed to this restriction, on the ground that bonds at this rate cannot be sold at par. It is argued that they will not be remunerative even as the basis of the circulation of the National Banks, and that, sooner than accept them for that purpose, the banks will give up their circulation. In a few instances this has been done by banks who preferred to sell their bonds of higher rates for the premium they would bring, rather than count on the uncertain profits of circulation. For the same reason many of the banks have exchanged their four per cents. for fives and sixes, which, although for a higher rate, are worth less as being liable to conversion at an early date. *The Tribune* makes a suggestion that the banks be relieved of taxation to the extent of their investment in the new three per cents. We object to this as a part of that compensation and rebate system, by which our financial system has been too much complicated to the popu-

lar understanding already. Better give Mr. Sherman or his successor the discretion to accept the best terms the money-market can offer him, and leave the taxation as it is, or, if that be wiser, abolish it entirely.

Some people begin to look ahead to the time when the extinction of our national debt will make it no longer possible to base our bank-currency upon national bonds, and when we shall either be obliged to replace it with Treasury-notes, or fall back upon some other basis for security of the bank-note. When this contingency arises, the Greenback party will have their great opportunity; and if they will prepare for it by abandoning extravagant theories, and by moderating their tone, they will get a good many accessions from quarters where they do not expect any. We do not say this as rejoicing in their possible success. On the contrary, as disciples of Henry C. Carey, we look forward with great apprehension to a change which will destroy all local sources of issue and concentrate all at a single point. An exclusively governmental system of money cannot but prove a calamity, unless some system is devised of securing its issue for the benefit of local governments, rather than of the National Government. Let our Greenback friends try their ingenuity in devising some arrangement for the benefit of townships and counties, by which each of them shall be furnished by the Treasury with a quantity of paper money bearing a certain ratio to the value of its total assessed property, (after deducting for local debt,) and shall secure the same by bonds deposited with the Treasury, and recoverable in the United States Courts.

Failing that arrangement, we must fall back upon some system of State-Banking, and varying with each State's view of its own necessities. As a half-way step towards that arrangement, we might have an arrangement for the deposit of other securities than those of the nation as the basis of banking issues. This might include all those already privileged as investments, together with such others as competent judges would pronounce worthy of this confidence. We are aware that this would be a difficult and dangerous matter, but not, we think, incapable of adjustment.

If we must have State-banking pure and simple, we must expect

it to vary with the locality. In the East the degree of security required for bank issues will be very high,—far higher than before the war. Our banks will be as safe as the best Eastern railroads, with their double tracks, Wharton switches, Westinghouse brakes, Miller platforms, block system of telegraph management, and Bessemer steel rails. In the West they will be about as dangerous as a narrow-gauge single track road, with none of the modern improvements. To this, of course, we may object, but let us not forget that it was by the aid of an inexpensive and dangerous banking system that the Eastern States attained their present growth. No Western State could well go beyond the colony of Massachusetts in wild-cat banking; and the phrase, "A York Shilling," still recalls the time when the paper money of "the metropolis," although better than that of New England, was worth but half its face value. How would these colonies have prospered under the restrictions of our present banking system? How would the Western and Southern railroad systems grow under a general railroad law requiring all the arrangements for safety which are furnished by the Pennsylvania Central?

SENATOR BURNSIDE'S bill to disburse the revenue from public lands among the States, for the support of public schools, in the ratio of the illiteracy reported by the census, meets with very general favor. It has passed the Senate without serious opposition, and it will doubtless become a law before the New Year is well advanced. It is a good sign that the nation is waking up to its responsibility in this matter, and that the notion that this is a matter for local action only, finds no favor even among the jealous champions of local self-government. In this, as in some other instances, local theories about the rights and the sphere of the National government give way to urgent local necessities.

Of course it will be necessary to exercise a wise supervision over the disbursement of this money. It will be necessary to see to it that the colored people of the South get at least a fair share of the benefit intended. The country owes more to them than to any other illiterate class, since it connived so long at their retention in a state which made their education impossible.

Besides this the nation should enact some guarantee that the schools thus assisted are under competent personal supervision of

some sort. It is throwing away money to build schools and provide them with teachers, and then to leave them without the oversight which encourages the zealous, arouses the lethargic, and instructs the ignorant in the army of teachers. Philadelphia is the only Northern community, we believe, which is capable of such stupidity. Let the nation not repeat our blunder in the South. One such a man as Dr. Ruffner, of Virginia, in every Southern State, is worth a hundred teachers.

CIVIL Service Reform is attracting a fair share of public attention, and many of our Democratic friends are becoming dimly aware that the interests of the opposition lie in that direction. It is true that the spoils of office consequent upon a national victory would be much less extensive after a reform in the civil service in the direction of permanence in tenure of office. It would not be possible to make a clean sweep of everybody in office. But the offices to be filled upon the arising of vacancies would gain in value with their decline in number. And then the chance of carrying an election against the party in power would be much greater when assessments have become purely voluntary, and office-holders need not fight for a victory as for their official existence. Or if the reform is to begin where Messrs. Hayes, White and Curtis wish it to begin, at the other end, and no one is to get an appointment on any consideration, except that of his passing an examination, then the interest of the opposition in the reform is still clearer. It would throw the offices open to Democrats equally with Republicans, and give each a fair share of that money which seems to many Americans more precious than any other—the salary of office. *The World* had the wit to see this even before the election. But it commanded no general support from its party. The resolution on the subject at Cincinnati was clearly a piece of vague buncombe. Since the election disappointed so many hungry Democrats, the party has shown a more general disposition to take up the question in hand. It shows an especial sensitiveness as regards the assessment system, and apparently would like to have contribution from office-holders to the expense of a campaign made felony, if not treason to the government.

This is very natural, but it is beginning at the wrong end. Under the present system of official tenure nearly every office-

holder has a personal interest in the continuance of his party in power. He knows that a change means official decapitation. It is absurd to suppose that he will not do his share to prevent such a catastrophe. Under the present administration these contributions are purely voluntary. And to us they seem as legitimate as those given by the manufacturers who feared a change in the tariff. On the other hand, they do not amount to anything like the sum generally supposed. A contemporary estimates that during the last campaign over \$2,000,000 was raised by assessment upon office-holders. As a matter of fact, not *one-eighth* of that amount was obtained from *that* source, and not *one-fourth* of it from *all* sources.

THERE are some indications that our Civil Service Reformers are awakening to the fact that the reform needed is not in the manner of appointments, but in permanance of tenure. Calhoun denounced the law creating a four years' tenure, when it was first proposed, as a certain source of political mischief. Up to that time, the English tenure was in force. Every civil official, except members of the Cabinet and of the higher diplomatic service, held office for life or for good behavior. Hence the grief of the Democratic party when it obtained a majority, but found the offices filled by Federalists. "Few die, and none resign," was Jefferson's complaint of his hostile subordinates. The new legislation was intended to guard against making the office-holders too independent of their official superior. It was also meant to permit of such a rotation in office as would give a large number a chance at the public crib. It has fulfilled all the evil prognostications which Calhoun uttered at its birth. It is the one great evil, of Democratic origin, which the Republicans have done nothing to remove.

MR. SECRETARY SCHURZ'S Indian policy is the object of a severe criticism, which is centred mainly in Boston, but which finds an answer in the philanthropic sentiment of our city, and in other quarters. It relates to the treatment which the Poncas have received at the hands of the Interior Department, and the propriety of restoring them to their former possessions in Dakota.

There is no doubt that Mr. Schurz's Indian policy has been directed in the main by benevolent feelings. He has taken more

trouble about the Indians than any of his predecessors. While he has originated but little, he has carried out the new policy which was begun under Gen. Grant. What is wanting in Mr. Schurz's conduct is not a want of benevolence, but a want of justice. He seems to recognize in the Indians no *rights*, while admitting that they have *sensibilities* to be consulted. He would like the Poncas to be comfortable and happy, if they will be so in his way, and under his more than paternal government of them. But that they should prefer another way than his, and insist on getting back to a set of houses and farms from which he has seen fit to remove them, he finds intolerable. In a word, Mr. Schurz's ideas are those of the bureaucracy under which he spent his youth. The ideas of his critics are those of justice and equal rights, upon which American society is founded.

Mr. Schurz claims that he was the first to point out to the country the injustice that had been done the Poncas. True, but true also that he has been employing every kind of resistance to prevent a redress of the wrong. His arrest of those who left the new reservation, his subsequent arrest of Mr. Tibbles for going to the reservation, and his refusal to ask from Congress the means to restore them to their old homes, all mark his attitude as stolidly hostile to the fair play demanded by the Poncas and their friends at the hands of the Government.

WE have been observing with much interest the progress of the Reform movement in Philadelphia. The Citizen's Committee of one hundred members was a well selected representation of the business community, and set itself to study our municipal condition in a broad way, so as to see what changes in methods as well as in men were needed. Subsequently, however, the question of nominations for the three offices to be filled next February took precedence, and the Committee ordered its Executive Sub-committee to report names. From this course a minority of the Committee dissented, holding that it was wiser to procure good nominations from the Republican party, than to make them. The Sub-committee reported the name of Mr. Hunter of the Twenty-fourth Ward for City Treasurer, and that of Mr. Caven of the Fifteenth Ward for City Solicitor. They reported no nomination for Mayor, but Mr. Drexel and other representatives of the heavy money in-

terests brought forward the name of Mr. Stokley, who was nominated by a vote of fifty-two to thirty. This mode of procedure was anything but wise. It was well known that men of Mr. Drexel's stamp favored Mr. Stokley's reelection. But it is not generally believed that this class of persons feel the pressure of civic taxation most heavily, or are the most zealous for the public economy which would reduce its burdens. It would have been better to have had the nomination made by some representative of the Building Association wards, where the majority of the voters are tax-payers, rather than from a Third street member. We fear that the retroactive effect of these nominations upon the Committee will be such as to render it less fit for the large duties it seemed ready to undertake in the city's behalf. • It has already divided it into two factions, which can hardly be said to show full mutual confidence, while it has diminished visibly the public influence of the Committee. When its meetings began, the politicians evidently were anxious to secure its good will; but latterly they have begun to regard it with unconcealed indifference. We think the nominations as good as the Committee could have made. That of Mr. Stokley is less objectionable since Mr. Garrett, the respected Chairman of the Committee, obtained from the Mayor pledges, as regards reform, which cover everything except the political use of the city police. We only doubt the wisdom of making any nominations, and we shall deplore it especially if it is to have the effect of preventing the Committee from going forward unitedly in the great work it seemed disposed to undertake.

How powerless a mere Reform movement is to elect a municipal ticket, was shown in the recent Boston election. Boston is much more closely divided between the parties than is Philadelphia, but the Reform ticket, which enjoyed the whole support of the Republicans and that of a large section of the Democrats, was defeated by a small but sufficient majority. In Philadelphia the strength of the Reform vote, as tested by Mr. Pattison's election, was but ten per cent. of the whole vote, and the likelihood of the Democrats coming to their aid is not very great. The majority against a merely Reform ticket in Philadelphia would be sufficient, but not small.

PENAL AND REFORMATORY INSTITUTIONS.

THE relations of Social Science and Charity Organization are so intimate that they must necessarily occupy the same field of inquiry. Much of the work now undertaken by the Philadelphia Society for Organizing Charity, has been the subject of investigation by the Philadelphia Social Science Association. The Philadelphia Charity Organization Society has really undertaken an examination of the Penal and Reformatory Institutions of the city and its vicinity, and for this purpose appointed a Committee to investigate and report on the subject. This was done in order to point out to the Charity Society the kind of work which it could do in this direction and the nature of the inquiry which its members and representatives might advantageously pursue. The existing Penal and Reformatory Institutions of this city are of such varying extent and importance, that there cannot well be any general statement as to their work and their results. Each must be examined as to its means and its proportionate influence in alleviating the condition of its beneficiaries. The limits between purely public charities and those of a purely private nature are not very carefully defined, and much of the best relief extended to helpless poverty comes from private sources through public officers. The City Trusts control the expenditure of a large sum of money for the relief of the poor in various ways, including a small fund for the assistance of struggling mechanics. Girard College, with its provision for a thousand orphan boys, is on a scale of almost unequalled liberality, and it must bring home comfort and blessing to many whose children without its help would be in great danger of destitution. From this downward, both in numbers and resources, there is a long list of charitable institutions established and largely maintained by private beneficence, which care for children of all sexes, color and ages, from the most tender up to the time when they can support themselves, and do good work. How far they contribute to the increase of pauperism, by relieving parents from the duty of caring for their children, is one of the questions that may fitly be studied by the members of the Charity Organization Society in their visits to the homes of those who come to its offices for aid. No one can fail to see that in many instances habits of improvidence are encouraged by

the facility with which a family of children is distributed in public and private institutions throughout the city, from which they are taken at an age when their labor can make some return to the parents. In many cases, too, such children, after being tenderly cared for in these homes, are taken away by their parents and sent out into the streets to beg or to follow worse pursuits, to support their parents in vice by the earnings of their wretchedness. It is, therefore, entirely within the province of the Charity Organization Society, to examine the condition of the Penal and Reformatory Institutions of this city, to see how far they are doing their work for the benefit of the public who contribute to maintain them, and of the children and adults who are gathered together within their walls, and to suggest such changes as may bring them to the highest standard of efficiency. There can be no doubt that the results of preventive measures by means of Reform Schools are clearly traceable here as in other places, and it is well to study carefully reports of the work elsewhere. The systems of government in France and England are such that a paternal care is exercised by those highest in authority over the smallest of their subjects; but here, in royal disregard of the prevention of evil, the state leaves it to private benevolence to set on foot measures intended for the ultimate benefit of the whole community, and only when the result is shown by years of labor, does the legislature give something out of the State and city Treasury to the support of charitable institutions engaged in the care of young children and in trying to save them from ruin. In England, the government has made it compulsory upon the parents of children entrusted to such institutions, to contribute, according to their means, towards the expense of maintaining them, and in this way the necessity of parental duty is enforced. It would be well if some such measure could be devised to bring home to parents the good done their children who are placed in the House of Refuge and other Reformatories. Impressed with these views, the Charity Organization Society of Philadelphia, appointed their committee on Penal and Reformatory Institutions, and when their report was made to the Assembly of that body, referred it to the Board of Directors, with a recommendation that it be transmitted to the Governor and Legislature and to the Mayor and Councils, with a request for the appointment of a commission to consider the whole subject of Penal and Reformatory

Institutions, to examine their workings and to report such changes and improvements as may be suggested by such an investigation. This suggestion has an interest for all who are concerned in Social Science in its practical application. The action of such a Commission would necessarily be moulded by the recognized authorities on the subject, and there can be little doubt that their recommendations would do away with some existing incongruities, would prevent much waste of money and labor in reduplicated institutions, would enable the public to ascertain where their support could be best given, and would benefit the recipients of charity by so organizing it that it could readily be extended to all cases calling for its help.

The question of existing needs of the Penal and Reformatory Institutions in and near Philadelphia, is of itself broad enough to take all the force that can be expended in that direction. The data of what has been done here and elsewhere, fill a great volume of 719 pages, "The State of Prisons, and of Child-Saving Institutions, in the Civilized World," by F. C. Wines, published after the death of that veteran in prison science, and constituting a monument to his devotion to the subject. In it will be found succinct accounts of the work done in the way of improving penal and reformatory institutions the world over. The principles governing the former, as set forth by Mr. Wines, are briefly as follows: Prison reform consists of five principal heads, 1st, Safe-keeping, to detain offenders; 2nd, Repression, to intimidate them; 3d, Correction, to reform them; 4th, Duration of Imprisonment, so that it is, 1st, Repressive, and 2nd, Reformatory; 5th, Limit of Prison Population, which is fixed for this purpose, at 500.

The theory of imprisonment has for its aim the prevention of three things: escape, mutual corruption and relapse into crime, and, based on these conditions, it is the aim and purpose of Prison Reform to protect society from offenders against its laws, to punish such offences, and finally to convert the offender from an enemy of the law to one of its supporters; just so far as prisons and reformatories do these things they are successful, but when they fail in any of them they fall short of their task.

CHILD-SAVING WORK.

One of the greatest factors in the success of all prison reform, has been the rapid growth of reform schools; the preventive effect

of their work is clearly measurable in the reduced ratios of crime to population where such schools have been most flourishing. The statements made on this score have been such as to excite question, and yet they seem well authenticated; take for instance that of the County of Gloucester in England, where in the course of thirty years, instead of seven prisons there is one, and its population has been reduced from 870 to 170. The city of New York is the home of forty-four associations which have in view the redemption of vicious and exposed children. Of these the Children's Aid Society is the one best known by reason of the variety and success of its work. Besides its seven lodging houses, where thirteen thousand homeless children are annually sheltered, it has twenty-one day industrial schools and thirteen night schools; it has been busy since 1853 in finding homes in the West for poor boys saved from vice; beginning with two hundred in that year, it now sends out from three to four thousand annually, making a total of nearly fifty thousand men, who have thus gained the opportunity of useful lives. All this has been done at a cost of two millions of dollars, and to-day from legislative and municipal grants, but chiefly from private benefactions, it has an annual income of nearly a quarter a million. Now, as the result of this work, the Society points to the fact that the commitments of females for vagrancy fell from 5,880 in 1860 to 548 in 1871; if this proportion had followed the increase of population, it would have numbered 6,700 in place of 548. The commitment of young girls for petty thieving shrank from 1,133 in 1860, to 572 in 1871; and of juvenile female delinquents, from 240 in 1860, to 59 in 1870; and of young children, from 403 in 1863 to 212 in 1871. The same proportions hold good of males; for vagrancy the decrease was from 2,829 in 1859 to 934 in 1871, instead of an increase to 3,225; for petty larceny, from 2,626 in 1859, to 1,978 in 1871, instead of an increase to 2,861; of commitments of boys under 16, from 1,965 in 1864, to 1,017 in 1871; of juvenile pick-pockets from 466 in 1860, to 313 in 1871. Great Britain has 200 reform and industrial schools, organized by private charity and assisted by government only after individual efforts have secured the success of the undertaking. In twenty years, from 1855 to 1875, the number of children committed to prison, was reduced from 10,329, to 7,584; in London alone, in the nine years of work of the London

School Board, it has taken out of the streets over 5,000 vagabond children and sent them to industrial schools or to its own training ship, or its own infant schools. It is estimated that in the United States there are half a million children receiving no public instruction, a large number of them born and reared in crime. To arrest this downward stream, there must be infant asylums, kindergartens, orphanages, homes for abandoned children, industrial schools giving food and instruction, others supplying, besides, clothing and lodging, apprentices' schools, societies to help apprentices, and all such appliances in use in this and other countries, where it is recognized that it is cheaper to prevent crime than to punish it. During the last fifty years, Pennsylvania has spent perhaps a million of dollars in preventing crime, by reform schools, and each one of its penitentiaries has cost over a million. More than one-fifth of the prisoners in this country are under twenty; more than two-thirds under thirty, and certainly the statistics of our own state and city bear out these proportions, many of whom might be saved by preventive remedies. In an appeal to the State authorities, issued by the officers of the House of Refuge, it is stated that there were committed to the county jails near Philadelphia, between 16 and 21 :

In the years 1878-9-'80,	661.	
In Philadelphia,	813.	
A total of,	1,474.	

An average annual commitment of	491.	
There were committed to the House of Correction,		1210.
An average of,	403.	

A total average for each year of,	894.	

Total for three years of,	2,684.	

There are now in the Eastern Penitentiary, boys under twenty-one,	230.	
There were convicted of crimes and sent to county jails and Reformatories in this State, in the year 1878, offenders under twenty-one,	708.	938.

this number was $24 \frac{7}{100}$ per cent. of the whole number of commitments during that year.

The House of Refuge has had an experience of over fifty years;

it was established in 1828, and it has sent forth nearly twenty thousand young persons who have derived more or less benefit from their stay there. It is after this long and intimate knowledge of the difficulties that beset its inmates after they leave its shelter, that its venerable President now asks the legislature to purchase the present buildings and use them as a prison for offenders between sixteen and twenty-five, thus relieving our county prisons and jails from the burthen and responsibility of making hopelessly corrupt those of still tender years, who are sent to them, that with the proceeds of sale the House of Refuge may establish itself on a farm, where it can give its inmates the benefit of open air work and life in small family groups.

There can be little discussion over the condition of our county jails and prisons,—the Reports of the State Board of Charities, a body that only needs greater executive power to be more efficient, sufficiently attest the fact that they are nearly all bad,—it is only a question of degree as to which is the worst—there is almost no pretence of any reform being possible to their inmates, and the work of prison discipline can hardly be said to be applied to them. Certainly there is abundant room for the work of individual and organized charity in securing the introduction of reforms which suggest themselves to every observer. Another field of active usefulness very near at hand is that of the Station Houses, in which offenders of all classes and unfortunates of every kind are huddled together, where no small part of the primary instruction, and sometimes advanced lessons in crimes are given. That venerable body, the Philadelphia Society for Alleviating the Miseries of Public Prisons,—established in 1775, chartered in 1787, is full of honorable work done in its long career of usefulness; proof of its activity is the statement that in the last twenty years it has secured the discharge of 35,000 prisoners from the Philadelphia County Prison, saving an expenditure estimated at two millions of dollars, and suggesting a state of affairs in the administration of justice by the minor judiciary that must inflict untold mischief on the least helpful class. What the Prison Society, through its visitors and agents, has done for the Eastern Penitentiary and County Prison, remains in great part to be done at every county jail throughout the State, at every Station House and in the office of every Committing Magistrate in the city, where visitors clothed with authority from

just such an authoritative source as the Prison Society or the Charity Organization Society, ought to be frequent in attendance, watchful and constant against neglect or abuse. What has been done in other places, must necessarily guide our action here. In Great Britain, one of the latest and most effective steps taken in the matter of Prison Reform, is that of putting all prisons under central authority, and thus preventing any effort to secure economy at the expense of efficient control. It is as if the State of Pennsylvania, recognizing the mischiefs that are incidental to local influences, should hand over the County Jails and such parts of the Poor Houses as belong to preventive and reform work, and with them the care of abandoned and vicious children, to the Board of State Charities, not merely as an advisory board, but as an executive board, with power to require local management to come up at once to such efficiency as the requirements of prison and reformatory discipline dictate. There can be little doubt that the necessary outlay required to provide proper prisons, as supplementary to our own County Prison and in place of the more faulty county jails, would be fully returned in the improvement, now next to impossible, of their shifting population.

While political influence has been largely eliminated from our prison management, it still remains in the Philadelphia Alms House, that enormous aggregation of inconsistent establishments. The question of how to overcome its confessed evils, overcrowding and insufficient means of distinguishing between vice and misfortune, is almost necessarily bound up with the weighty problem of its removal. No greater benefit can be gained for the city and its poor, than the removal of Blockley Alms House, in whole or part, from its present locality, and re-establishing its great Hospital, its Lying-in Department, its Childrens' Wards, and its other branches in a better neighborhood. * Why could not the same principle be applied there that has been so well tested in many of our best charitable institutions? Private charity, individual munificence, organized benevolence have given us the Blind Asylum, the Deaf and Dumb Asylum, the House of Refuge, and scores of other useful institutions,

* This whole subject was exhaustively discussed by Dr. Ray in his paper read before the Philadelphia Social Science Association on March 27, 1873, "What shall Philadelphia do for its Paupers?" Unluckily, the question still remains unanswered.

and only gradually and after years of successful work, have the State and city come forward to supplement private foundations by a *per capita* or other annual appropriation. There are undoubtedly many existing institutions of approved usefulness and experience, in whose care many of the present inmates of the Philadelphia Alms House could be properly distributed, and maintained at an average cost not greater than that which is now expended at Blockley. In that way the overcrowded population now gathered there could be reduced to that average which is alone reconcilable with health and good discipline, and part of the land, now grown very valuable, be sold for trade purposes, producing enough to put the present buildings in habitable condition for such purposes as may best be carried on there.

The House of Refuge ought to be removed to the country, and established there on the system of family homes of less than fifty ; it could certainly take many of the inmates of the Alms House, the House of Correction and the County Prison and Poor House, out of the evil influences that necessarily surround every household counted by hundreds ; it could give its inmates the advantage of a training that would fit them to find homes in the far West, instead of almost forcing them now to find employment in the city in the midst of the very temptations from which they are sedulously guarded during their stay within its walls. There can be little doubt that the State would be a great gainer by taking the present House of Refuge for a prison for offenders between sixteen and twenty-one, and reforming them, instead of huddling them with confirmed criminals in the County Prisons.

A field for activity that promises great success, is that of training the officers of prisons and reformatories. The work so well done by De Metz at Mettray, by Wichern and by all the best men in various reformatories, was largely due to the fact that before the doors of their institutions were opened, they began to train those who were to be their officers. This system has been applied in Germany with characteristic centralization. The German Prison Society is not, as with us, a gathering of philanthropists, but it is an active association of all prison officers, high and low, whose training is special and whose efficiency is proportioned to the labor taken to reward merit and secure its acknowledgment by promotion. Almost as important is that of a suitable training of the

volunteers who undertake the duty of visiting prisons and personally becoming acquainted with the prisoners, their needs and condition, with a view to assisting them on their discharge, so that they may not relapse into vice and have the old and often valid excuse that they could get no work and had no means of earning an honest livelihood. The efficiency of all institutions, penal and reformatory, largely depends on intelligent supervision, for in this way the officers are kept up to an active discharge of their duty. The duties of prison visiting require great prudence and forbearance, and these are much more likely to be the fruits of intelligent and trained experience than of such perfunctory inspection by Grand Juries as is now too often all that is ever made. There is a criminal population of over 5,000 in this State, in the sixty-six county jails, two penitentiaries, workhouses and houses of correction. Over 50,000 pass through the criminal courts and those of the minor magistracy during the year,—of course, the larger proportion are discharged without trial, but still it leaves a great body whose offences are slight in proportion to the ruin to them in purse, in person, and in morals, inflicted on them by detention in prisons where they are thrown together, with no restraining influence, and out of which they go, poisoned by contamination, with no guidance in the right way, and with no helping hand to save them from sinking deeper and deeper into crime and vice. In the Reform Schools of this State there is a population of about a thousand, black and white, male and female, whose great danger arises from the shortness of their stay, and the difficulty, on their release from the care that protects them, in finding employment under wholesome influences. Their return to their old associations soon brings them back again, and the proportion of recommitments, nearly fifteen per cent. of the annual admissions, is in painful contrast to the returns of other reformatories.

There is great need of a prison for juvenile offenders, between 16 and 21, where a severer discipline would serve to deter and punish repeated offences. The study of the antecedents and surroundings of the inmates of the House of Refuge and other Reformatories reveals a painful picture of vice and crime, intemperate parents, parents separated, living in vice, without pursuit, on the proceeds of charity or worse, and yet to them the children must be surrendered as soon as they can earn a livelihood. In these insti-

tutions the employments found for the inmates are necessarily few, and, for the most part, of a kind that offers to them small resources on their release. The problem of how to teach them trades that shall be remunerative during their detention, and secure them work when they leave it, is one that is yet to be satisfactorily solved. A Poor Boy's Home, similar to the Newsboy's Homes in New York, might meet this need, where a boy, on leaving the House of Refuge, to seek a situation or employment, could find a home, surrounded by good influences, at a rate for board and lodging that would enable him to live comfortably on small earnings. Another much needed step is a school ship; this has been found effective in England and in New York. The Government will not admit on its school ships any boy who comes from a reformatory. It would be well if there could be a fund raised here to man and supply one of the old vessels, such as the Government gives to every city that will pay the expenses of maintenance, where boys from the House of Refuge, and those who may be on the way to become its inmates, could find work and instruction. Philadelphia has a large and growing shipping, and it would be well if charity and commerce could be united to secure to both a benefit likely to be of lasting mutual advantage. The floating population which now drifts across the river for the summer and autumn earnings of small fruit culture, and goes to the House of Correction for winter quarters, and the boys from the House of Refuge and Reformatories could furnish a great many sturdy recruits for our merchant marine.

Of the hundreds of children in the Blockley Alms Houses, few are likely to live to become good men and women. The example of the great London charities ought to be taken to heart here. There, at a vast expense, the old system, still in vogue in Blockley, of putting all classes of poor under one management, has been completely broken up, and now the Reform Schools and other charities for children are invariably established in the country, apart from all contaminating influences. The good result is clearly noticeable in the improved condition of the class to which their inmates belong. There is no good reason why the same experience should not be applied here with the same result:—break up the Blockley Alms Houses,—keep, if you will, a hospital there, with all the best scientific appliances, but send the children to the country, let them grow and flourish under favorable auspices for health and morals, and put the

old, helpless, and infirm people in wholesome country homes, too. The House of Correction and the new Insane Asylum at Norristown have relieved Blockley of the great pressure that bore so hardly upon it. Now let the city set on foot plans for such a reorganization as will further subdivide that great overgrown institution, and reduce it to its proper various departments, each under the charge, if necessary, of officers of the city government, but visited by representatives of the Charity Organization Society, volunteers properly authenticated as persons of prudence and benevolence, who shall bring to the help of the officers and the relief of the inmates, that spirit of kindness and that zeal in doing good, in raising up the lowly and relieving the poor in spirit, which alone will do more to reduce the permanent pauper element of the city than any dole of money. The House of Correction is hardly a suitable asylum for the minors of both sexes who are gathered in with the motley crowds that seek shelter and refuge there. The fault of short terms and lax rules as to discharges without regard to improvement, is especially heightened in the case of the youthful offenders or unfortunates who are sent there, while there are many other existing institutions where they would be better cared for, with a reasonable prospect of an effectual reformation, and a fair opportunity for starting afresh in the field of honest work here or elsewhere. The good done by the House of Correction has of late been largely increased by making its able-bodied inmates work upon public improvements, and this suggests a further extension of the same kind of service to other public works both as a means of securing a better classification of the able-bodied and the helpless, and to the end that those whose reformation is still possible can be brought back to honest lives by suitably rewarding honest labor with honest wages. The question of economy in the management of penal and reformatory institutions is secondary in importance to the other tasks assigned them, and yet its answer is one of the readiest tests of the extent to which their work is efficiently done; so far as they are maintained exclusively, or in the main, out of public funds, it is one for which every tax payer may ask an answer. It is next to impossible now to give any precise information on the subject, yet, without it, there can be no definite comparison, either of methods or results. If the Charity Organization Society can set on foot a scheme that will secure uniform and satisfactory re-

turns of the per capita cost of the inmates of Penal and Reformatory Institutions, it will lay the foundation for much future good work.

There is no longer any system of apprenticeship worthy of the name,—the question of securing good journeymen is now one that is every day becoming more and more difficult to solve. Penal and Reformatory Institutions might make their inmates masters of trades to such an extent as to protect them against a return to vice and a descent to crime. To the infinite honor of the workingmen, the statement is made by our authorities and experts in prisons, that an almost infinitesimal proportion of the inmates of the penitentiaries have learned any trade. The kind of employment in vogue at Penal and Reformatory establishments is very much limited by the necessity of making the work there such as can be profitable under the contract system. It would certainly be cheaper in the end to leave out of consideration the money thus earned toward the support of the inmates, if they could be fitted to earn their own livelihood on their discharge, and thus relieve the community from the necessity of providing for their support at regularly recurring periods. Almost all of these topics have been discussed by those best authorized to speak on such subjects, but thus far few of the Reformatory Institutions here have been enabled to apply to their practical working the experience of kindred establishments elsewhere. The best service that can be rendered the public, as tax-payers and as good citizens, bent on removing public burthens and relieving individual distress, is to secure the actual practical test of some of the remedies suggested, to note their workings and to report their result. It must be borne in mind that the distinguishing mark of all our best institutions, charitable and reformatory, is that they owe their existence largely, if not entirely, to individual exertion and to the energy of private associations. It is only after demonstrating the necessity and proving the success of these institutions, that they receive the benefit of state and municipal appropriations, and have become the recipients, or rather the agents, for distributing a portion of the revenue gathered from the tax-payers. The benefit of services rendered the community, in caring for helpless and vicious children and reforming them, that they may become self-supporting, is equally measurable. In other communities it has been shown that reform schools have worked an actual diminution in the criminal classes, that every dollar spent in

preventing crime was largely returned in the saving thus effected, and that the cheapest and best schools were those that made good citizens of the classes from which professional pauperism and crime had drawn their largest body of recruits. In the midst of the great prosperity of this city and of the state, too little care has been taken to gather the statistics of this kind and to note from time to time the effects of improved education, of larger facilities for learning a trade, and of the increase in the number of employments, as a means of saving the community from the results of neglecting to provide the decay in apprenticeship as it used to exist. It is a proper field of work for a Charity Organization Society, and one that may well employ its members and secure it new volunteers in the work that it has undertaken. Under our system of political administration, the officers of government, national, state and local, have little leisure or inclination to study questions about penal and reformatory institutions, or to apply their official knowledge, as almoners of state and city funds, to the needs of the institutions receiving them. The example of a recent official visit of the Governor of the State and the Mayor of the city to each of the Penal and Reformatory Institutions of the city was in the highest degree novel and wholesome. Both Governor Hoyt and Mayor Stokley have shown a lively and intelligent interest in the questions of just such reforms as are here broached. In England a minister of state, the Secretary for Home Affairs, took the initiative in an effort to determine how far corporal punishment could be substituted for imprisonment and fine of juvenile offenders. The whole community was kept alive to the interest and importance of the subject by a discussion opened in the leading journals, in which magistrates, Reformatory officers and men and women of all classes, took part. If it did no other good, it showed how largely the public mind abroad has been educated to consider the question of the reform of juvenile offenders as one lying very close to the solution of all penal and reformatory problems. In New York a legislative committee is now investigating the working of the reformatory and charitable institutions receiving state and city aid for their support. The result of their labors will undoubtedly throw much light on the vexed questions of how far these are managed in the real interests of the community and of their wards, the poor, the helpless, the abandoned and the vicious and neglected children, and how to put into actual

operation the reforms suggested by the rules of good charity organization. Here, with a great and growing population, there is less scope for such an investigation, for the existing system of individual homes and individual ownership of them has done much to relieve this community from the evils that are incidental to the crowded tenement houses and the absence of homes and home influences. Here the Building Associations have been the real safeguard for many families, their earnings have all gone towards procuring a home, and this has secured industry, sobriety, temperance and good habits, thus making the road easy for improvement in morals and in both physical and social condition. There are still sections of the city and classes of the community where these inducements are unknown, and from them come the recruits to the army of paupers and criminals that supply our penal and reformatory institutions with their floating population. It is to get at these that the Charity Organization Society is called on to consider the questions of the reforms that are needed and the best methods of securing their adoption. From its daily experience, gathered in the ward organizations, where good and bad, helpless and unfortunate, are all coming for help, many lessons may be gathered that will be of use. In every case where investigation is made, it would be well to ascertain the antecedents of the applicants, what education they had, what were their surroundings as children, how far the children of their own family are being fitted to support themselves, what kind of education they are receiving, how much they are likely to improve their condition by knowing a trade or handicraft, and what good orphanages and reform schools have done those of them who have been in them.

RECOMMENDATIONS.

The main points on which practical work can be done by the Charity Organization Society in a way to co-operate with existing institutions, and utilize the good done by the active laborers in the broad and ever widening field of organized charity, are these :

1st. In order to make a thorough-going and comprehensive scheme, it is necessary to obtain a complete census of the charitable institutions in and near the city, showing their capacity and how far their number is under or over it.

2nd. With such an enumeration there should be coupled a systematic statement of the average cost *per capita* of each of our

charities, as a means of determining how far the means can be obtained to provide for those who are yet to be brought within them.

3rd. There should be set on foot a system of inspection of all existing charities and for this end a body, such as the State Board of Charities, should be authorized to make returns showing the comparative cost and results of the work done by them.

4th. The co-operation of residents near every existing charity, particularly those in the country, should be secured by the extension of local branches of the Charity Organization Society.

5th. There should be engrafted on every existing penal and reformatory institution, a system of classification which shall keep minors apart from adult criminals, first offenders from those who have been recommitted once or oftener.

6th. To this end there ought to be established an intermediate prison for the reception and care of minors charged with and convicted of crime, now too often ruined by being associated with adult professional criminals.

7th. There should be some reform in the matter of recommitments. Those who are sentenced for the first time should be protected from those who have been returned to confinement for a repetition of offences. Those who go back for a second or third time ought to be put under a much severer discipline than the offender who is under restraint for the first time. The newcomers should not be ruined by the lessons of those who are older in crime.

8th. Every effort should be made to bring home to the taxpayer, the authorities of the State and city, the benevolent, all interested in reformatory institutions, the advantage, thoroughly tested by experience here and elsewhere, of establishing them in the country, where room can be got to introduce the system of family homes in households numbering not more than twenty inmates, with whom kindly influences can be made to work in a way that is clearly impossible in the congregate system, with its necessarily rigid discipline and uniform rules for all classes, without regard to temperament or other conditions or characteristics of the individual cases.

9th. When this is done, measures ought to be taken to bring home to those in authority, those who have the power to commit and discharge, the necessity of protecting the community by guarding children once entrusted to reformatory institutions from evil

home influences. To this end, children sent to reformatories should be kept there long enough to secure the purpose of their detention, and should not be released to return to early vicious associations, or to be placed in homes so near the place of their first offences, as to be easily brought back to vicious courses or criminal association. Homes should be found for them, chosen and supervised by competent persons, where they can begin life anew, freed from the contamination of city vices, the temptation of evil examples, and the risk of evil companionship, where they can find new friends and help in making a fair place in the race of life.

10th. The question of industrial technical training ought to be solved in some of the existing reformatories. The inmates too often find themselves discharged with a fair elementary school knowledge, but without any handicraft by which they can earn a livelihood.

With the steady support of the public, the Charity Organization Society may grow into a recognized bureau of information, doing here by voluntary labor, what is done elsewhere at great expense and with much official circumlocution, by census reports and statistical returns. Just as the society has reduced the charges upon both public and private charity, by demonstrating the mischief of indiscriminate alms-giving, so it can in time point to the results it has gathered by studying the influences, for good or evil, of the penal and reformatory institutions in and near the city. There is too little absolute information to enable even official persons to speak with authority of the work our Penal and Reformatory Institutions are doing, of the improvements needed in their systems of admission and discharge, and of the results of their training, both as matter of prevention and reform. Such a task is too large for any individual, but it is one that falls in with the work undertaken by the Society for Organizing Charity. To it the public and the authorities will in time learn to look for the knowledge that is needed to make provision for the classes coming to and leaving the penal and reformatory institutions of this city and of the State.

J. D. ROSENGARTEN.

CLIMATIC INFLUENCES ON MANKIND.

A NORTHERN gentleman who had been spending the winter at Austin, told me, on a warm day of last May, that it was no wonder that the people of the South had so little energy, the climate being so enervating. He was a graduate of Yale College, and had travelled extensively in Europe; hence, he may be presumed to represent the average Northern opinion in regard to our climate. A Southern clergyman, a college graduate and a D. D., expressed similar views to me last summer. In short, I have heard so many say the same thing, both at the North and the South, that I know this to be a general opinion. Hence, hundreds and thousands of Southern young ladies and gentlemen have been and are being educated at the North. That the want of energy, the lack of Southern authors, Southern periodicals, and high mental culture, which is said, and truly said, to prevail at the South in comparison with the North, is not caused by climate, I intend to prove by showing that the principal religions of the world originated in warm climates; for these have caused the best brain-work in the world; also that civilization began in such climates, and there attained its greatest development.

By warm climates, I mean those as warm or warmer than that of the Southern cotton States bordering on the Gulf of Mexico. The countries of Europe along the Mediterranean, have climates so mild that the orange, olive, lemon, fig, and pomegranate are cultivated in the open air. This is done in Spain, Southern France, Italy, Greece, and a large portion of Asia Minor. Orange trees are now growing in the grounds of the Vatican at Rome, and also at Athens in Greece. Smyrna, east of Greece in Asia, furnishes many of the figs of commerce, and Spain sends her oranges to Northern Europe. Travellers tell us of the delightful climate of Persia, where during "the long spring and summer the plains are covered with flowers, the air is laden with perfume, and the melody of birds, winds and waters fills the air. The fields are covered with grain, which ripens in May; the grapes, apricots, and peaches are finer than those of Europe. The rose bush, the national emblem of Persia, grows to the size of a tree and is weighed down by its luxuriant blossoms." Such is the description of the

lovely valley of Schiraz, at one end of which are situated the ruins of Persepolis, the ancient capital of Persia.

The work of civilization has been done by three great races, the Semitic, the Aryan, and Turanian, as men are now classed. This classification has been recently established by the study of languages, to which that of the Sanscrit has largely contributed. This old language of India is now taught in many of the universities of Europe and America, and its study has revealed to us the most ancient literature of the world, that of the Hindoos, and also caused the ethnology of Blumenbach, and his classification of mankind into five great races, to be no longer used. This has been done by the comparison of the Sanscrit with the Persian, the Greek, Latin, Keltic, Teutonic and Slavonic, which proves that these seven races all had a common origin; for a comparison of the languages of these people shows that the roots of their most common words are the same, as is also their grammatical construction. Any one who has studied the subject cannot have the least doubt but that these seven languages are all children of one mother tongue, the Aryan.

The Aryans were a pastoral people, dwelling on the great plains east of the Caspian Sea, long before the historical period. There the Aryans lived in a mild, warm climate, where many semi-tropical animals roamed over the plains of Central Asia, and fed upon its luxuriant vegetation. The animal and vegetable remains of Northern Asia and Europe, and also of North America, prove beyond question that the Northern Hemisphere once had a much warmer climate than at present. Elephants have been found quite recently imbedded in the ice on the banks of the rivers in Northern Siberia, as far north as latitude 75° , one so perfect that its flesh was eaten by the wolves when a part of its icy covering fell off. An eye removed from the socket of one of these animals is now in the museum at Moscow. But the change came, and this change from warm to cold may have caused the Aryans to emigrate. The Kelts, the Teutons, and Slavs went north of the Caspian Sea and of the Caucasus into Europe; and the Hindoos, the Persians, the Greeks and Romans all went southward.

The Semitic race includes the Assyrians, the Babylonians, the Phœnicians, the Hebrews, and other Syrian tribes, also the Arabs and Carthaginians. The languages of these people all show a common origin. Their civilization began before that of Greece and

Rome. Their countries are all in tropical and semi-tropical regions.

To the Turanian race belong the Chinese, the Tartars, Japanese, Turks, and a great host of inferior races.

I. To what race did the Egyptians belong? Ethnologists are not agreed on this point.

Alfred Maury (*Revue d. Deux Mondes*, September, 1867) says that "according to all appearances, Egypt was peopled from Asia by that Semitic race which comprised the tribes of Palestine, Arabia, and Ethiopia. Its ancient civilization was, consequently, the sister of that which built Babylon and Nineveh. In the valley of the Nile, as in those of the Euphrates and Tigris, religion gave the motive to civilization, and in all these nations there was a priesthood in close alliance with an absolute monarchy." M. de Rouge is of the same opinion, that the Egyptians were of the same family as the Asiatic tribes on the shore of Syria. There is also proof that a large portion of the original population of Egypt came down the Nile from Africa. Here, then, as in many other cases, a new civilization may have come from the union of two different races—one Asiatic, the other African. Asia furnished the brain, Africa both brain and fire, and from the immense vital force of the latter and the intellectual vigor of the former, sprang that wonderful civilization in Egypt, which illuminated the world for at least five thousand years, as a light in its Southern sky.

According to the concurrent testimony of the early Greek historians and other writers, Egyptian civilization began on the Upper Nile, and first came from Meroe, in Ethiopia. The remains of temples, pyramids, paintings, at Meroe and other ancient cities of Ethiopia show that the old civilization of Ethiopia was like that of Egypt. The civilization of Egypt was the great school to which men from Greece and other countries came to be educated. Here Moses, Pythagoras, Herodotus and Plato were taught. Here Thales, the celebrated mathematician and founder of the Ionic Sect, came to study geometry, astronomy, and philosophy. Returning to Greece, he taught his countrymen that the heaven is divided into five zones, and the solstitial and equinoctial points. He also corrected their calendar, and made their year 365 days. He is said to have been so well acquainted with celestial motions as to be able to predict an eclipse; for the Egyptians, his teachers, knew the form of the earth and the length of the year, and could calculate eclipses of the sun and moon.

Archimedes, who was one of the most famous mathematicians of antiquity, also was a student in Egypt. He flourished about 250 years before Christ, and some of his works on the higher branches of mathematics are still extant.

At Alexandria, in Egypt, Euclid the great mathematician was born, lived and taught and founded a mathematical school about 300 years before the Christian era. His *Elements of Geometry* has long been a text-book in the schools of Europe and America. These are our teachers in some of the most important branches of science. Let us not forget that they learnt their lore in the schools of the South.

The architecture of the Ancient Egyptians is well-known. In massiveness and grandeur it far excels that of the moderns. An obelisk of a single stone which weighs 300 tons has found its way from Egypt to New York.

The Egyptians, says Wilkinson, were unquestionably the most pious nation of all antiquity. The oldest monuments show their belief in a future life, and Osiris the Judge is mentioned in tombs erected two thousand years before Christ. Herodotus says, "They are of all men the most excessively attentive to the worship of the gods." Ethical ideas underlay their worship, and formed part of their contribution to the thought of the classical world. Minos and Rhadamanthus, the judges of the dead in the Greek mythology, seem to have been a reflex of the Egyptian belief as to future judgment, as reflected in their "Book of the Dead." How far Egyptian ideas are reproduced in the Mosiac faith of the Hebrews is a matter of much dispute. But some even of orthodox commentators are inclined to believe that their influence was considerable; and one New Testament writer reminds us that Moses was "learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians." On the whole, therefore, we may claim for this Southern land that its religion, as well as its scientific thought, has passed into the history of the world, and has become the birthright of all nations.

II. Tyre, once mistress of the seas and one of the chief cities of Phœnicia, was on the shores of the Mediterranean, in the northern part of Palestine. It was noted for its commerce, the wealth, luxury and enterprise of its inhabitants. The ceramic art of the Greeks and Romans is now known to have been derived from Egypt and Phœnicia, as is clearly shown by the late wonderful discoveries of

General Cesnola in the island of Cyprus, whose magnificent collection is now in the Metropolitan Museum at Central Park, New York. Besides porcelain work, this collection contains jewelry of gold, silver, and precious stones, which are as beautiful in design and perfection of workmanship as the best of modern times. Most of their things were found beneath the temple of Kurium in Cyprus, where they had been buried in subterranean chambers about 3,400 years; long before the destruction of Troy and the known civilization of Greece, which derived most of the letters of her alphabet from Phœnicia. Cyprus was a Phœnician colony. From the South, therefore, from Tyre and from its neighbor Egypt, came the beginning of the world's career in commerce and in manufacturing industry.

Carthage, a Phœnician colony on the shore of the Mediterranean, in Northern Africa, was long the rival of Rome. In the arts and commerce she resembled her parent Tyre. Being finally destroyed by Rome, little is now left to tell of her former greatness, except what is told by Roman historians.

We read of other great cities which flourished in Northern Africa during the wars between Rome and Carthage. Nor is the interior of Africa at the present time the benighted region supposed by many. Barth, a learned German, spent several years there and published his travels a few years ago. He tells of cities and cultivated farms and schools; the Mahomedan being the religion, and the Arabic the language, of the most intelligent of the people.

A few years ago Theodore Dwight (then Secretary of the New York Ethnological Society), showed me an Arabic manuscript of many pages made by a negro slave of Virginia, who was a native prince of Africa. The writing was much better than we usually see. Mr. Dwight told me that he had permitted several Arabic scholars to examine it, and they pronounced its grammar and construction of the first-class. His Virginia master had permitted the negro to write a sketch of his life, and how he was made a captive in war.

III. Persepolis, the ancient capital of Persia, is nearly in lat. 30°. Here was the palace of Darius and his successors, Xerxes and Artaxerxes, who conquered India on the east, and Syria and Asia Minor on the west. From here Cyrus, the founder of the Persian

Empire, probably issued his orders for the rebuilding of Jerusalem. Here was that famous palace which Alexander, when drunk, ordered to be burned, 330 years before Christ. Here, also, was the home of the religion of Zoroaster, the national religion of the Persians, whose sacred book is the *Zend-Avesta*, which is a collection of hymns, prayers, invocations, and thanksgivings. The followers of Zoroaster believe in two great antagonistic spirits—a good and evil—the good is called Oromazes and the bad Ahriman, to which was added Mithras as a Mediator. Finally the good spirit will conquer, and all mankind will be made happy, and neither need food or make a shadow. The Persian Magi had no altars or temples or images. They worship on hills and mountains, where they kindle fires and adore the heavens. Their religion is a moral one, and their sacred book abounds in good precepts. This great creed, which in the Gnostic, Manichean, Paulician, Bogomile, and Catharian sects extended its influence through Christendom until the later Middle Ages, originated in this Southern land, centuries before Christ, and gave shape to a great Empire which extended from beyond Egypt to the gates of India.

IV. A little southeast of the capital of Persia were the great cities of Babylon and Nineveh, of the great Semitic race. Recently, at the old site of Nineveh, beneath a mass of rubbish, were found the remains of what had been a great Assyrian library, the leaves of its books made of thin plates of baked clay. From some of these books made about 4,000 years ago, we learn that Chaldea may have been the parent-land of astronomy, for the Babylonians catalogued the stars and named the constellations, especially the twelve that make our present zodiac, to show the course of the sun's path in the heavens. They also divided time into months and years, and the week into seven days, six for work and the seventh for rest. These books have an account of the flood, similar to that of the Bible. For in these cities of the great valley, on the eastern frontier of the Shemitic race, was preserved the same great tradition of the beginning of the world and of the human race as was preserved among the Jews. If the current of tradition varies at all, it is that in Nineveh and Babylon these are later and unworthy additions to what the Bible gives in purity and simplicity. In both countries it differs utterly from the account preserved among the Egyptians.

V. According to the Hindoos, as taught by their most learned sect the Brahmins, India has the most ancient literature in the world. Certainly, at least a thousand years before the Christian era, she had powerful empires whose people had attained a high degree of knowledge in civilization and the fine arts, of which the ancient literature of the Sanscrit language and her architectural monuments give ample proof. Her two great epic poems, the *Raymayana* and *Mahabharata* give valuable information about the ancient customs, religion, and civilization of the Hindoos. Their oldest religious books are the Vedas, whose chief gods were Indra, Varuna and Agni; the first was the god of the air, the second the ocean of light, or heaven, the third of fire, to which were added two more, one of the sun and one of the moon. But Colebrooke says, "the ancient Hindoo religion recognizes but one God." Max Müller says, "It would be easy to find in the numerous hymns of the Veda passages in which almost every single god is represented as supreme." Agni is called the "Ruler of the Universe;" Indra is celebrated as the "strongest god," etc. In one hymn of the oldest Veda it is said, "They call him Indra, Mitra, Varuna, Agni; the he is the well-winged heavenly one: He who is One, and the Wise call Him many ways."

The unity of God is plainly expressed in one of the oldest hymns of the Vedas, of which I only have space to give a part.

"In the beginning there arose the Source of golden light. He was the only born Lord of all that is. He established the earth and the sky. He is the God to whom we shall offer our sacrifice.

"It is he who gives life. He who gives strength; whose blessing all the bright Gods desire; whose light is immortality, whose shadow is death. He is the God to whom we shall offer our sacrifice.

"He who through His power is the only king of the breathing and awakening world. He who governs all; man and beast. He is the God to whom we shall offer our sacrifice.

"He whose power these snowy mountains, whose power the sea proclaims, with the distant river. He whose these regions are, as it were his two arms.

"He through whom the sky is bright, and the earth firm. He through whom heaven was established; nay, the highest heaven. He who measured out the light in the air.

“ He to whom heaven and earth, standing firm by His will, look up, trembling inwardly. He over whom the rising sun shines forth.

“ He who by His might looked over the water-clouds, the clouds whose thunder’s strength lit the sacrifice, *He who is God above all gods.* He is the God to whom we shall offer our sacrifice.”

The best authorities consider the Vedic period to extend from B. C. 2,400 to B. C. 1,200. Hence, this hymn is probably about 4,000 years old.

But in after ages new gods and new doctrines prevailed. The old religion of Brahmin was eminently spiritualistic, teaching the efficacy of meditation and ascetic penances. And even its later modifications, though less in harmony with occidental thought, display a wonderful amount of mental energy in their construction and elaboration. The various philosophical systems, which succeeded each other in the Indian schools, remind us of the mediæval scholastic systems, by their acuteness, and of those of modern Germany by their audacity.

VI. The Buddhist religion also originated in India, from which it was expelled. It is now the creed of most of the Mongol nations; its followers are said to be about three hundred millions. It is the popular religion of China, of Thibet, and the Burman Empire, also of Japan. It has an immense number of sacred books in the Sanscrit language.

A little north of Central India, in the seventh century before Christ, there reigned a wise and good king, whose son, influenced by the ascetic doctrines of Brahminism, determined to turn hermit and devote his life to meditation and prayer, and prepare himself to make men better, and correct the prevailing evils of the world. So one night he left his young wife, father and friends, and became a mendicant. After spending years among the Brahmins he found no true peace there. He left them and wandered on until finally, when seated under a tree, the true knowledge seemed to come to him in a beatific vision. He determined to teach others how they might likewise become happy. He began to preach in the holy city of Benares on the Ganges. He was the original Buddha. His discourses compose the sacred books of the Buddhist. He converted great numbers, his father among the rest, and died at the age of eighty. Buddhism is an eminently moral religion, teaching :

- " 1. Right belief, or the correct faith.
- " 2. Right judgment, or the wise application of that faith to life.
- " 3. Right utterance, or perfect truth in all we say and do.
- " 4. Right motives, or proposing always a proper end and aim.
- " 5. Right occupation, or an outward life not involving sin.
- " 6. Right obedience, or faithful observance of duty.
- " 7. Right memory, or a proper recollection of past conduct.
- " 8. Right meditation, or keeping the mind fixed on permanent truth."

The five first commandments of the Buddhists are :

- " 1. Do not kill. 2. Do not steal. 3. Do not commit adultery.
- 4. Do not lie. 5. Do not become intoxicated."

Mr. Malcom, a Baptist missionary, says : " I saw no intemperance in Burmah. A man may travel from one end of the kingdom to the other without money, feeding and lodging as well as the people."

" I have seen thousands together for hours on public occasions, rejoicing in all order, and no act of violence or case of intoxication."

" During my whole residence in the country, I never saw an indecent act or immodest gesture in man or woman." " To love our enemies, to abstain from even defensive warfare, to govern ourselves, to avoid vices, reverence age, to despise no religion, show no intolerance, not to persecute, are the virtues of these people. Polygamy is tolerated, but not approved. Monogamy is general in Ceylon, Siam, and Burmah. Women are better treated by Buddhism than by any other Oriental religion."

Buddhism was, before Christianity, the first great attempt to establish a great world-wide religion. It came from the South, but has passed Northward, stimulating vast masses of otherwise inert people to thought and reflection on the greatest problems which can concern mankind. It is now the popular creed of China and Japan.

VII. The Koran, containing the rules of faith and practice of Mahomedans, whose numbers are about one hundred millions of the human race, was made by Mahomet, who was born and lived at Mecca, in tropical Arabia, early in the seventh century. The Koran is written in pure Arabic, in a highly poetical style, so much so as to be called by some a great epic. It teaches the worship of one God,

forbids the adoration of images, abounds in good precepts, and, judged by its influence, is certainly a great work.

To the Mahomedan schools of the Middle Ages, especially those of Spain, at Cordova, Seville, and elsewhere, are we indebted for the revival of learning in Europe, which during the ages immediately succeeding the introduction of Christianity, had sunk into a semi-barbarism, so barbarous that they are now termed the "dark ages." In these Mahomedan schools chemistry and medicine assumed the rank of sciences; arithmetic, algebra, geometry, and astronomy were taught, the latter mixed with astrology. Poetry, music, and the arts also received a due share of attention. This Moslem culture grows out of the religious and intellectual movement among the Arab tribes on the hot shore of the Red Sea. It has extended Northward to Kasan and Samarcand, as well as Southward into India and Africa; and the Arab prophet is regarded as the first of men and of teachers by millions who were born and died under a climate less "enervating" and "exhausting" than that of Mecca.

VIII. The Bible originated in Palestine, and there Christ was born. This last and supreme instance of the intellectual and moral obligation of the colder to the warmer lands, is one which will come home to every one. The figures and imagery of our most sacred book remind us of its all but tropical origin. "As rivers of water in a dry place, as the shadow of a great rock in a weary land," is its symbol of refreshment and comfort; while the imagery drawn from the colder North, and its contrast of the bleak winter out of doors with fireside warmth, are altogether wanting in the Bible, although found in Horace and other classic poets.

The Bible is a book which has more readers and influence than any other in Europe or America. The Psalms of David, the books of Job, Isaiah, and others, have received the encomiums of the most talented men of modern times, including both Christians and infidels. The Bible has given a tone and inspiration to the best literature of Christendom, of which we have prominent examples in the two greatest epic poems of modern times; those of Tasso and Milton. We owe all Christian types of architecture to the religion of the Bible, also, the painting and sculpture to elucidate its subjects, and adorn its churches and cathedrals, the sacred music, vocal and instrumental, at church and at home, the books

about the Bible, the sermons preached, the schools and universities founded by Christians,—all to this influence from the South country.

The other religions of the world have had a similar effect upon the literature and civilization of their various countries, causing their wonderful architecture, sculpture, paintings, and works in poetry and prose.

Thus we see that the best and most civilized religions of the world, as now prevailing in most enlightened and civilized nations, comprising by far the largest portion of the world's people, originated in warm climates, tropical and semi-tropical. To these religions we are indebted for a large part, if not the largest part, of the literature of the world, and its best literature, which is thus the product of warm climates.

IX. In North and South America the superiority of the civilization of their native populations within the tropics, over that of the cold temperate climes of the same hemisphere, is also well known. Peru and Mexico at the time of the discovery of America by Columbus were the seats of powerful and civilized empires. The city of Mexico had its gardens, fountains, palaces and temples. Montezuma had his fish-pools, zoological and botanical gardens, when these last were unknown in Europe. Common schools and institutions of learning were there, also an academy of science and art, and the city was adorned with statues and paintings. In astronomy they knew the movements of the planets and divided the year into months and seasons, as is shown by their calendar-stone, which was dug up in the public square of the city of Mexico. The pyramid of Cholula covers about 44 acres of ground, four times as much as the largest pyramid in Egypt. Peru was about equal to Mexico in its civilization.

X. I have now given a cursory view of the religions and civilization of the principal tropical and semi-tropical nations, and have only to give a mere glance of the Northern and temperate regions of Europe, where the Teutonic and Scandinavian religion prevailed during many centuries. Odin was their god of war, and war was their chief and most honorable occupation, and in this they were often more than a match for the more civilized nations of the South; often conquering the Roman armies, and finally the Roman Empire in Europe. To die in battle, fighting bravely was a sure passport

to Heaven, where, in the halls of Odin, they drank beer and feasted on swine's flesh. Their religion gave rise to their literature as shown in their Eddas and Sagas, and other writings in poetry and prose, all of which dwell mostly on blood shed in the chase, in single combat of man with man, or in battles fought with their enemies.

As has been said, they also were Aryans who came into Europe, North of the Caspian Sea, while their brethren of the same great family went Southward, and were progenitors of the people of Persia, India, Greece and Rome. Here is a great experiment, which it took very many ages to make; which proves unmistakably the superiority of warm climates for mental development and progress in civilization, as seen in the works of Persia, India Greece and Rome, compared with the people of Northern Europe. They were all Aryans, and what but climate has made the difference?

It may be said that the Southern Aryans had the advantage in being near the more civilized Semitic peoples of Babylon, Nineveh, Phœnicia, and also of Egypt. But the Northern Aryans of Europe were, during many ages, neighbors to the civilization of Greece and Rome, which they often saw during their wars, and from which they profited little. On the contrary, they caused the dark ages to overspread the larger portion of Europe for many centuries, during which, much of the ancient of Greece, Rome, and other countries was destroyed. Until the art of printing was discovered, in the Fifteenth Century, there was very little knowledge among the people of the greater part of Europe, and that little was mostly with the priests. Written books were expensive; besides, they were mostly on controversial matters pertaining to religion, and in the Latin language. But the translation of the Bible and the multiplicity and cheapness of printed works, mostly in the common languages of the country, gave a new impetus to civilization by bringing to the North the civilizing influences of the South.

Most of the famous writers of Europe, past and present, were, and are, classical scholars, and have been, as it were, inspired by the works of Greece, Rome, and other semi-tropical or tropical nations. Bunyan, whose *Pilgrims' Progress* has more readers in the English language than any other book, except the Bible, could not and would not have made his book without the Bible, which is a

semi-tropical work. Milton spent years in Italy studying the works of Dante, Tasso, and other Italian authors, and also the more ancient ones of Greece and Rome. Byron wrote the best of his poetry in Italy and Greece. Camoens, the national poet of the Portuguese, wrote his great epic, the *Lusiad*, in a rocky grotto, near Macao, in the Moluccas of the tropics. Friedrich Schlegel says, "the *Lusiad* of Camoens far surpasses Ariosto in richness of color and luxuriance of fancy;" and Humboldt, that "Camoens abounds in inimitable descriptions of the never-ceasing connection between the air and sea."

Even now students in music, painting, and sculpture resort to Italy to become more perfect in their studies.

A few words in regard to our own land. From what has been said we learn that whatever superiority the Northern States may have over the Southern in literature and science and the arts, the cause is certainly not race or climate, for we are all of one race, and our climate is more favorable than theirs for mental improvement.

In law and politics we have always been their equals, if not their superiors. Before the late civil war, it was often said at the North that Southern statesmen at Washington were superior to those of the North; that, although in the minority, they shaped the legislation of the country. Be this as it may, since the war, Gordon and Hill of Georgia, and Lamar of Mississippi in the Senate, are at least equal in debate to the most talented Senators of the Northern States. Law and politics had always been a favorite study with Southern young men, and the prominence given to this study may explain in part the deficiency in literature and science prevailing at the South. Here it was a prevailing opinion that white men could not do field work; that such work must be done by the negro; but the experience of the last few years proves that white men can do field work. It has also been a prevailing opinion, and still is, that our climate is unfavorable for mental study—hence, with few exceptions, there has not been the mental study requisite to make poets, philosophers, etc. The experience of the next few years will also prove the fallacy of such an opinion.

The Southern cotton states, with their productive soil and fine scenery, as shown in the Western Carolinas, the Northern parts of Georgia and Alabama, and also in Western and Northwestern

Texas, offer a rich field for the poet, the artist, and lover of the grand and beautiful. It is a land fit for making the most beautiful, pleasant, and desirable homes in the world.

A knowledge of these things is of practical value to us. It gives confidence in our climate and home resources. It should stimulate us to make universities, colleges and schools equal to the best of any country; that our children of both sexes may have just as good advantages for study and learning at home as abroad. In short, those will reap a rich reward who are willing to undergo the exertion necessary in the pursuit of everything which has a tendency to improve their minds.

S. B. BUCKLEY, PH. D.

AUSTIN, TEXAS.

A PLEA FOR A STRONG NAVY.

WHILE our two great political parties are fighting over again in Congress or in their campaigns the battles of the rebellion, while they are disputing whether our insignificant army should not be made more insignificant, the weakness of our navy is inviting insult to our flag upon the seas. It is possible for European iron-clads of even the second rate to enter our harbors uninjured in spite of our ships of war or of any guns mounted in our forts, to hold our chief cities at the mercies of their armaments, and to extort from our merchants tribute enough to build three navies. We are not even secure from invasion by foreign troops. The fleets of England alone could escort across the Atlantic all the armies of Europe, and the battle field between ourselves and foreign invaders, which should be the wide barrier of the sea, would thus become our own shores. Suppose some foreign power should attempt an invasion with a well-trained army of two hundred thousand men under the convoy of a powerful fleet. If we had an effective navy, such an expedition could never cross the ocean. But with our present fleet, our only defence would be the liability to a disastrous storm, and if no such accident should intervene, the expedition could without doubt choose its own landing place. And what would probably be the result? It is by no means sufficient to tell us that we are brave. Experience demonstrates that a regular army, manœuvring upon open plains, such as

the richest portions of our coast afford, should be encountered with discipline as well as valor. Nothing could be hoped for from our weak and scattered army, but we should be compelled to rely upon volunteers. And volunteers, however brave, could not at first do otherwise than to permit such an army to slaughter them. In a short time we would be disciplined, and, by incredible exertions, our unwieldy masses would be formed into armies. But in that short time our rich and unprotected cities, the wealthy tract of country along our eastern seaboard, would be overrun and pillaged, and, having destroyed or stolen the fruits of our unexampled growth, the invaders could retreat to their ships, as the English did from Portugal, and return unharmed. These are no mere chimerical dangers. If it is granted that they are not probable, they are at least possible. Wars do arise, and in these days of ocean cables and steamships they can arise quickly. Our defenceless condition and the possibility of inflicting a tremendous blow upon us might tempt the cupidity or ambition of foreign nations. It is criminal for us, through our weakness and our wealth, to permit such large appeals to the piratical instincts of mankind. We may presume too far upon the enlightenment even of this age. It seems little less than treasonable negligence upon the part of our statesmen to permit such humiliating possibilities. This nation, with 'nearly fifty millions of people, and second to no nation in the world in point of wealth, cannot risk such blows to her honor, if she can to her prosperity, for the sake of a few millions of dollars. And if some of our statesmen would consume less time in magnifying the dangers of a "Solid South," if others would consent for a little while to run the chances of liberty while there existed a few deputy marshals and some small squads of soldiers extended over a wide frontier, perhaps these high interests which involve to so great a degree the honor and safety of our country, might receive some of the attention that they deserve.

The Naval Committee, during the last session of Congress, through Mr. Harris of Massachusetts, made a careful and elaborate report upon the condition of all the vessels of our navy. From this report it appears that the entire available naval force of the United States consists of forty-three vessels, carrying a total of less than two hundred and fifty guns. More than two hundred of

the guns are smooth bores, which, for a navy of these times, are nearly as antiquated as flint-lock muskets would be for infantry. Of the rifled guns a very few are eight inch, while the great mass of them throw shot of less than one hundred pounds weight. Only fourteen of these ships are iron-clads, and as they are the pioneer vessels of that class, subsequent improvements in armor and armaments have rendered them almost useless even for defence. This, then, is the navy of the United States—some third-rate unarmored vessels, in which it would be folly to think of making war—some obsolete iron-clads, a few, but a very few ships, that would be formidable against merchantmen, and armaments composed of smooth-bores and small rifles. The Italian iron-clad, *Duillio*, with her twenty-two inch armor and one hundred ton guns, which throw projectiles each weighing twenty-five hundred pounds, could alone destroy in battle this entire navy with ease, unless our vessels sought safety in flight. We could scarcely cope with Turkey or Brazil, and as to the European powers, from Spain up to France or Great Britain, we should be absolutely at their mercy. Before the war of the rebellion, and at its close, we had a navy which for efficiency was scarcely second to that of England, and enabled us to demand and receive prompt reparation for any affront to our flag or injury to our commerce. Now we are in this respect scarcely above the Barbary states of Africa, and if we should have the impunity to resent any insult which some second rate foreign power might see fit to offer us, we should expose ourselves to the loss of hundreds of millions of property and to the utter extinction of our commerce. If the American flag is to hereafter have any place upon the seas, except at the sufferance of foreign powers, if our great commercial advantages are to be in any proper degree developed, and if we are to be in any condition to prevent war by being prepared for it, or to prosecute it with honor and the least possible loss when thrust upon us, we must remedy this intolerable condition of affairs and secure for ourselves at least a respectable navy.

During the last fiscal year the foreign commerce of New York exceeded that of Liverpool. We have, as the elements of commerce, extensive natural products, large and increasing manufacturing interests, many great and navigable rivers, a commanding position between the two large continents of Europe and Asia, and

an almost unlimited coast-line upon the two great seas. We should be the first commercial nation of the World. It is scarcely to be presumed that we will always continue the folly of depriving our flag of so much commerce because we cannot compete with the English in building ships. When our registry law is altered, which, rather than permit us to give England one profit for building a ship, compels us to give her the perpetual profit of our carrying trade, a great obstacle to the development of our commerce will have been removed. But in any event, with or without our present registry law, a strong navy is indispensable to the proper encouragement of our commerce. Our merchantmen must carry a flag that is respected. Our traders must know that their government is able to protect them. They know that the sea has twice been freed from our merchant vessels through the instrumentality of England. They know that if we are to gain anything upon the ocean, as we inevitably shall, our gain will be at the expense of that nation. What would be the result, if we, without any navy, should become in commerce formidable rivals of England, if she should see our flag supplanting her flag, and our merchantmen contending for that traffic of nations which has been to her the chief source of her wealth and her glory. She would await some favorable opportunity, she would select some pretext, of which a multitude can be conjectured, and effect the destruction of our commerce. Such a course, however infamous, would be entirely in accordance with her history. The insular situation of England, which renders her difficult of attack, and her strong marine, another defence to which her position and her valor have given birth, have been made by her the means of immunity from the obligations of the law of nations. She has emerged from this secure fastness of her privacy and has committed every manner of depredation upon more exposed or weaker nations. We need not go back of the present enlightened century to find precedents that would scarcely permit us to feel at ease in the power of such a rival. England, who, by an act of the most atrocious robbery deprived Denmark of her navy, who timed a declaration of war simply to seize the galleons of Spain loaded with corn, who has overhauled our merchant vessels, even our men of war, impressed hundreds of Americans from our decks, and compelled them to fight under the British flag, who by the most perfidious courses

destroyed our commerce during our late war and secured its transfer to her flag, who has conducted herself throughout as if the sea were created exclusively for her—such a nation would not fail to find a pretext, if without a navy we promised too successfully to contend with it for commercial supremacy, of sweeping our commerce from the seas. There have been many individuals, even strong political parties, in England, who have protested against her wicked methods of aggrandizement upon the ocean. Her most enlightened statesmen and her most eloquent orators have denounced the crimes against India, the destruction of Copenhagen and the robbery of Spain. And yet, attended by a fortune that has preserved her, by foul weather from the Spaniards and by fair weather from Napoleon, and apparently the especial favorite of some disreputable goddess of the sea, she has continued to regard all questions from the standpoint of her commercial interests and not from the standard of public law. In view of the fact that our chief commercial antagonist has violated all the principles of international law, it would not be wise for us to rely for our protection upon those principles alone. And until our merchants can be supported by force against her, who never respects rights unless accompanied by force, our commerce will not revive.

An effective navy is necessary not only to stimulate the growth of commerce, but as a means of defence and to place us in a proper condition for war. A strong armament would go far toward preventing war. No Spanish commander would dare lengthen the marine league into ten miles for the sake of offering such an indignity to the British flag as has recently been shown to our merchantmen, sailing almost in our own seas. Nations may presume on our naval weakness. While there is no special danger of war, there is always a liability that it may occur. The possession by foreign governments of large territories upon our continent and of islands adjacent to our coast, and the prospective Panama canal, may give rise to a possible conflict of interests. If we are in a position to maintain our rights foreign governments will be more likely to respect them and less desirous of war. A strong navy would enable us to demand a just solution of all questions affecting us as they might arise. But in the present condition of our navy we are not only not prepared to maintain our rights, but if we should assert them in any other than a modest tone, we might

pay roundly for our lack of preparation. It is possible upon our coast to carve out a single piece of territory of the size of Belgium, the most densely populated country in Europe, and have as large a population as has Belgium. It is then possible to carve out an additional tract adjacent to the first, and but a little larger, and have a nearly equal population. The defenceless condition of these rich areas might tempt some strong naval power, acting under an irritation at some supposed affront, to deal us a terrible blow. We hold out these opulent territories, as it were, as hostages to foreign powers that we will treat them with all possible respect, and will not demand respect in return. Or if we do not hold them out as hostages, it is most cruel for us not to provide for their defence, for we can only assert our honor at their great peril. If, for instance, in our present little difficulty with Spain, that nation should become arrogant, and should support her arrogance with arms, our seaboard, not to mention any injury to our commerce, might be damaged to the extent of many millions of dollars. The ultimate result of such a war could scarcely be doubted, but that would not justify our lack of wisdom in being taken unprepared and in suffering such needless loss.

Our naval history, while not very extended, is certainly brilliant. The heroic conduct of our few cruisers in the war of 1812, upon a sea covered with the thousand sail of England, before that time deemed invincible, would form a fitting introduction to the most glorious naval annals. A leading British review, in noticing the recent publication of the speeches of Webster, took occasion to regard them as an illustration of the American tendency to boast of our supposed achievements (a singularly unfortunate observation with regard to Webster, who was remarkable for his simplicity and moderation, and who has pronounced upon England a eulogy not surpassed in eloquence by any of her own orators) and it then proceeded to furnish an exhibition of a very marked British trait—to sneer at and belittle all victories gained over England. In the war of 1812, according to this article, British frigates contended with American vessels, frigates in name, but in reality line-of-battle ships. The allusion of the review was probably not to that feat of naval arms—the capture by two British ships, mounting in the aggregate seventy-five guns, of the American frigate *Essex*, carrying thirty-five guns, while that frigate was aground and in a neutral

harbor, nor to the memorable victory of the American frigate *Constitution*, of forty-four guns, over two British ships carrying in the aggregate fifty-five guns. But the allusion, if not to these combats, is difficult to determine. In no other contests between British and American frigates was the disparity more than two or three guns on a broadside. There were fifteen battles in this war between vessels nearly equal in number of guns (the advantage in this respect being frequently with the British) and in these battles the British ships were twice, and the American thirteen times, victorious. Two defeats in so many battles could be easily ascribed to fortune. But to make excuses for thirteen—some of which were so easily accomplished that the victorious ship was scarcely injured while the defeated one went to the bottom—has severely taxed the ingenuity of British writers. And that glorious frigate, the *Constitution*, which, before the war of 1812, was derided by the British journals as “a bunch of pine boards under a bit of striped bunting,” has, since that war, in the imagination of an English writer developed into a ship of the line. It can probably be said, without any risk of the charge of boastfulness outside of England, that the Americans have displayed as great an aptitude for the sea as even the English.

The proposition to increase our navy could not be regarded with the sentimental objections that are entertained in many minds towards a standing army. A large regular army—many fold larger, indeed, than we are ever likely to maintain in time of peace—might, under certain conditions, become a real danger to our institutions. Should our public morals degenerate, should the lower elements of society gain possession of the government and threaten the rights of property; should a conflict of authority ever occur, such as might have happened after the presidential election of 1876, a large regular army might support some illustrious general, and, under the names of law and order, set up a government by the sword. But experience shows that an established government, whether free or despotic, has little to fear from a navy. Had the army of England, two hundred years ago, contained as many men as her navy, her government would probably have become as absolute as were the governments of France and Austria. But her sailors, scattered over the whole ocean, and rarely coming in direct contact with their

country, would naturally possess little of the influence of an army, which, from its position, might quickly be made the instrument of despotism or usurpation. But even if the political influence of a sailor were no less than that of a soldier, the conditions of naval warfare have so changed that no danger could be apprehended. A powerful navy in time of peace would not now require more than twelve thousand men, and from that number of men, whether scattered over the sea or not, we should not be in the slightest peril.

Since, then, a navy is so necessary to our commercial prosperity, so necessary even to the preservation of peace, and so necessary to our proper defence if we are to have war, we should, by all means, be secured, unless the probable expense would prove a serious objection. The cost of constructing a navy, however, so far from being an obstacle, would be practically nothing when compared with our resources and the high interests at stake. An appropriation of ten millions of dollars annually for three successive years for the purpose of building ships, would increase our navy to the proper strength. With that sum we could secure six fine modern iron-clads, as many rams of the greatest power, a suitable number of gun and torpedo boats, and a splendid fleet of fifteen unarmored cruisers of the greatest speed, carrying heavy rifled guns of the longest range. The guns carried by these cruisers would be sufficient to crush any armor they would be likely to encounter; and if they should meet a too formidable adversary, their speed would enable them to escape. They could make themselves terribly destructive to an enemy's commerce which is, of course, the chief object that we could effect in a naval war. While such a navy, united with our present fleet re-modelled and with improved armaments, would not be numerically as strong as two or three European navies, it would be ample for any emergency likely to arise; and, if suitable guns were mounted in our forts, it would render us safe against invasion. If any very formidable war should spring up, it would furnish us protection for the short time in which we could create as powerful a navy as there is upon the ocean. With such a fleet we could maintain an honorable and secure peace, for no nation would feel tempted to take up arms against us unless to resist a clear encroachment upon its rights. And let us hope that this republic may never commit such an act of injustice.

SAMUEL W. MCCALL.

THE OTHER S. P. C. A.

THE Society for the *Promotion of Cruelty to Animals* held its annual session on the 28th ultimo, in Constellation Hall in this city. This society seems to have been overlooked by the newspapers. We, therefore, think it not improper to lay some account of its proceedings before our readers.

In the absence of President Hayes, Mr. John Smith was called to the chair. He acknowledged the honor in a very brief speech, and, after reading letters of regret from various ornaments of Church and State, he called upon the secretary to read the annual report.

Mr. Towser, the secretary of the society, reported that the past year had been a very encouraging one as regards the objects of this society. The public mind has become more and more alive to the great social interests it aimed at promoting. It was true that there had been great drawbacks. But such might always be expected in the course of a great undertaking, and there was no reason to fear that any of these would present permanent obstacles to success.

The society's financial position was never better than at present. In the early part of the year, the treasury had been in need of replenishing, but a number of cock-fights, dog-fights, and other manly entertainments had been devised for its benefit, with the result of putting it on a most excellent footing.

The tone of public discussion had been rather more favorable than formerly. It is true that there had not been so large a hydrophobia harvest during the past summer, as in some previous instances, and public attention, therefore, had not been called as formerly to the immense danger associated with their care of that four-footed parasite; but, on the other hand, it must be reckoned as a good sign that the most reckless of the dog-worshippers had ceased to deny the existence of that horrible disease. It must also be counted a good sign that newspaper reporters had ceased to fill their vacant places by crude inventions about animal sagacity. Even the London *Spectator*, usually the wildest paper of the party, had ceased to entertain its foolish, and disgust its wiser, readers by wild inventions of this kind.

On behalf of the directors, the report proposed a repeal of the by-law by which lady drivers had been constituted honorary mem-

bers of the society. That by-law, while right enough in itself, had had the effect of cumbering the society with a great number of honorary members, who had no proper understanding of its aims, and no desire for active coöperation.

As to the society's more active operations, the report showed that it had prosecuted successfully forty-five persons during the past year for keeping vicious dogs, four for exposing others to vicious horses, and seven for keeping mad bulls in places where the public were open to their attack. Nearly all of the dogs were ascertained to belong to that specially dangerous class, which "never were known to bite any one in their lives."

The society had circulated in four or five States petitions for laws forbidding the keeping of dogs in cities of over twenty thousand inhabitants. While our legislatures are so largely composed of persons hostile to the aims of the society,—of dog-fanciers, in fact—there was but little hope of these petitioners obtaining that hearing to which they are entitled. But every signature they procured helped to create a public opinion in favor of their objects.

Besides this, the society had expended some four thousand dollars in the purchase of a very useful and ingenious machine, the invention of a resident of Cincinnati. It is constructed on the principle of the Maiden, formerly used in the Spanish Inquisition, but the works have a fineness of construction and a readiness of automatic action, which completely distance that famous invention. In its external appearance it is a large and well-furred tom-cat. What seems its head is furnished with a miniature fog-horn, which imitates the tom-cat's most defiant notes with great accuracy. At a very slight touch it flies open and discloses an arrangement of steel knives, nine in all, which clash together again with great energy. The whole is screwed tightly together to the roof of a house, and worked by a strong clock-work, placed just below the roof. It is believed that no midnight prowler within a mile's distance will be able to resist its note of feline defiance, and its rapidity of action gives us the assurance that before dawn the roof will be covered with fur and fiddle-strings. Of these excellent inventions the society has secured four, which will be placed at well selected positions in different parts of the city.

The society has offered a large premium for some similar machine for the extermination of our canine population. The

inventor of the above machine was already concentrating his attention upon this problem, and it was also occupying the attention of a young gentleman of remarkable mechanical genius, connected with one of our Universities.

The Board of Directors had had before them, since the last annual meeting, the question of a proper design for a coat of arms or banner for the society. They had concluded to adopt that employed by *the other society*, with the omission of the angel which now disfigures that otherwise excellent work of realistic art.

In conclusion, the report recommended the election of a number of gentlemen to fill vacancies in the Board of Directors, and that Mr. Sylvanus Jones Wilston be chosen president for the ensuing year.

These elections have been carried with great unanimity. Mr. Smith vacated the chair, which was taken by Mr. Wilston, who then pronounced his inaugural address. He remarked that it was the proudest moment of his life. He had always, from earliest childhood, cherished the great objects aimed at by this great and influential organization. But he had never hoped to be chosen by the representatives of this great cause to a position of such honor and respectability as that of president of the Society for the Promotion of Cruelty to Animals. He did not suppose it necessary to explain to that audience the great principles which underlie this movement and are exposed in that title. Their presence on this occasion, the interest they had shown during the reading of the report of his excellent friend Mr. Towser, showed that there was no such necessity. But perhaps his words to-night would reach a larger audience than that here assembled, and might aid in awakening to serious thought those who had never given this great subject their attention. For this reason he would venture to trespass upon their time for some moments.

He might remark, at starting, that the great object of this society was to offer a united resistance to one of the worst and most degrading tendencies of the age,—its abject worship of the brute creation, and its sacrifice of human interests to their comfort. It was meant to serve as a moral check and balance in the great machine of society. It was to recall men to a true sense of the proper gradations in the great hierarchy of existence. In fine, it was to give man a chance, when he was jostled and thrust aside for the

sake of the lower order of creation (Hear! Hear!). In adopting this line of action, the society did not content itself with merely negative results. It aimed not merely at the diversion of human sympathies out of channels in which they had too long flowed, but at their conversion into channels in which they were meant to find free and abundant outlet.

"Man," he said, "is a finite being,—limited in his affections and his sympathies no less than in his physical and intellectual powers. For this reason his emotional energies need to be wisely concentrated upon their proper objects. Whatever affection is expended upon an improper object, is deducted from the whole limited store. It could not but detract from the amount expended upon that which was entitled to receive the whole. Just here is the function of this society. They had all heard of labor-saving machinery. This is an affection-saving machine. Its ultimate object is to enrich all human life, by diverting to human objects that sympathetic energy which it may succeed in diverting from objects lower than the human.

"I lay it down as a thesis sustained by every consideration based on the nature of things and confirmed by all experience, that every kind of special and extraordinary devotion to the welfare of the merely animal creation is attended with an indifference to humanities and duties. And I further maintain that this is a moral danger which is especially great at the present day through the tendencies at once of philanthropic and scientific thought.

"First of all, the philanthropic drift of our day exposes us to this danger. The leaders of our philanthropic movements have begun by accustoming their followers to dwell upon the merely physical aspects of human misery. They adopted the easier way of awakening sympathy by making the flesh creep and the blood curdle, so that a horror of suffering as such has arisen among us, such as bids fair to rob us of all regard for the higher aspects of human misery. This is true even of the best of them. The protest against war, from the pen of Dr. Chalmers, is perhaps the finest illustration of a whole literature of vicious and mischievous tendency. If that protest, with its parade of physical suffering, be accepted as well grounded, then it were better for a Christian people to groan for ages under a Moslem tyrant, enjoying no rights and no justice, with their daughters liable to be taken for the harem of the Pasha, and

their sons to be dragged in infancy to a barrack, to be taught a false religion and the military arts by which their own kindred were oppressed—it were, I say, better to endure all this, and to spend whole centuries without calling their souls their own, rather than to strike a blow on the battle-field for their own liberation. In every bad human situation—be it oppression, or slavery, or beggary—there are two sorts of misery, the higher and the lower, the misery of the spirit and the misery of the body. The latter is that for which it is easier to awaken popular sympathy. The former is that which should be insisted upon as the greater and more terrible of the two.

“Out of this dwelling on the mere bodily misery has grown a horror of physical suffering which bids fair to unnerve the human race, and to rob it of much of the energy with which it has faced and subdued evils. This new horror calls itself *humanity*, which properly means the kindness due from man to man. But it has come to apply this word to the exaggerated tenderness it feels toward the brutes. It has lost all sense of any distinction in the matter, and very rightly, for in the only point in which it has any insight into human wants there is no difference. Being the objects of this new charity only on our animal side, we are, in its purview, on a level with them. Nay! not quite on a level! We are a little below them. This troublesome thing called character, this awkward possession of will and choice, makes us much less interesting and pliable objects of its benevolence. There is something in us which rather repels and embarrasses this that calls itself *humanity* and yet cannot understand the human. There is truth in the passionate outcry of the English poetess:—

'Tis cold dark midnight, yet listen
 To the patter of tiny feet!
 Is it one of your dogs, fair lady,
 Who whines in the bleak cold street?
 Is it one of your silken spaniels,
 Shut out in the snow and sleet?
 My dogs sleep warm in their baskets,
 Safe from the darkness and snow;
 All the beasts in Christian England,
 Find pity wherever they go—
 These are only the homeless children
 Who are wandering to and fro.

* * *

Our beasts, and our thieves, and our chattels
 Have weight for good or for ill ;
 But the poor are only His image,
 His presence, His word, His will ;—
 And so Lazarus lies at our doorstep,
 And Dives neglects him still.

Yes, but worse than our neglect, oftentimes, is our help. Being addressed merely to those physical needs which alone we seem capable of understanding, it has too often the effect of injuring the higher nature while it helps the lower. Forgetting that man does not live by bread alone, we treat the poor as consisting of stomachs to be filled and backs to be warmed, without wasting a word or thought of sympathy on their poverty in all those social ties and affections which humanize life. We help them as we might a hungry dog ; and they, finding this their valuation in the eyes of the strong and successful part of society, accept it too often as undeniable truth, and attune their lives to it. Nothing but right relations with the poor, as human beings, will ever put a stop to the great pauperizing forces which seem to threaten the ruin of even American society.

“ Parallel with the philanthropic, works the scientific tendency of the age. That grand discovery which the old Greeks made, and which, as the wiser students of history say, led to the dissolution of Greek society,—the discovery that man is merely the cleverest of the animals, possessed of a superior degree of cunning and force, is the one which modern society is now learning anew at the feet of its Haeckels and its Huxleys. What such fools as Plato, Kant and Coleridge took for a spiritual nature in man, differing *toto cælo* from the highest developments of merely animal existence, we are now learning to regard merely as a peculiar inheritance of physical experiences, with no especially ethical character. The old line between right and wrong, supposed to be eternal, because first divine and then human, vanishes into the limbo of forgotten hypotheses, with the discovery that the Universe has nothing higher than animal life in it. We are found to be akin to the beasts through the whole gamut of our existence, and to have been deceiving ourselves with fond fancies, when we supposed that

we had in us something of a higher kind than the dog's shrinking from the blows of his master. We are, indeed, only dogs who have learned to walk on our hind-feet and to put on airs. Our whole attempt to assert for ourselves a loftier position in the scale of being, and to claim kindred with the skies, is discovered to be a piece of fraud and imposture akin to that practiced by pretenders who pass themselves off as scions of some noble house in the old world, with the difference that no such nobility exists anywhere as we have been importing into our genealogy.

This is about the outcome of the advanced thought, as it is called, of our quarter of the Nineteenth Century. It has hardly had time to give us full proof of its quality, and of its influence upon the general thought, through which it is percolating. But it is not hard to predict what it will result in. It will present to our view the whole mass of mere physical suffering, as the one evil which calls for reformatory effect in its removal. It will efface all distinctions in that suffering, except those of degree. It will elevate the torture inflicted upon the gorged mosquito by a vindictive slap, as equal in dignity with any which plagues the mosquito's victim, man. It will thus exhibit as the woe of the universe a huge mountain of indiscriminate pain, (most of it beyond all human effort for relief,) while it will close men's eyes to the root evils of moral misery, for which they might else have toiled.

What a revolution this will involve, as regards the whole scheme of philanthropic reform, need hardly be said. The huge mass of sensitive misery in the world will diffuse and scatter the attention now concentrated on human minds, and by the law of finite energy will weaken its power at each single point.

We are not left without examples of the operation of such a theory upon the habits and character of mankind. The greatest of the purely Oriental creeds, Buddhism,—the only pre-Christian attempt at a universal and world-wide religion,—proclaimed the equal dignity and sacredness of all animated existence. It obliterated the line of distinction between man and other forms of sensitive life, with a thoroughness of which Haeckel might be envious. It taught the world that the meanest and most grovelling shape of animate being,—the worm in the dunghill or the carrion,—might be the incarnation of some degraded king or saint, who in this form was expiating the demerits of a previous state of existence.

In fact, it declared humanity to be no separate existence, but only a loftier and more comfortable stage of being, occupied for the present by persons whose next change might be either into the company of the gods, or into that of the hyænas. It organized mankind, so far as its influence extended, into a great society for the prevention of cruelty to animals. The veils which it hangs on the mouths of its devotees lest some insect should meet its death by inhalation, the fine strainer through which it passes every drop of drinking water, are the expression of a morbid "humanity," which would be the logical outcome of our own humanitarian theories. But equally with its care for all sentient life, grows its inhumanity to the highest and noblest forms of that life. It enacts for human beings the harshest and most miserable of existences. It enjoins the mortification of every living power, the extinction of every human desire, as the only path out of what it regards as the worst of all possible worlds. It finds salvation for man, not in restoration to the love of a Father in heaven, but in Nirvana, —the eradication of all desire, so that when the present stage of life ceases, there will be nothing left in us to stretch forth a hand and lay hold of any existence beyond this. It finds its great exemplar in Sakya Muni Buddha who, to save his selfish and miserable soul fled from the ties of friendship and kindred, to find a home amid the wild beats of the Indian Jungle. Such is the most "humane" of all creeds, and the one for which our dabblers in the comparative history of religions cannot find words sufficient to express their admiration.

"Let it not be said that these are old and outlandish theories, which can have nothing to do with this age of the world, can exert no effect on its thought. The most popular of all philosophies at this present moment is one closely akin to Buddhism, if not essentially the same. Schopenhauer starts from substantially the same premise. Life, he tells us, is one under all forms of existence. It is but so many manifestations of the "will to being," which is the root of the universe. Man and beast differ only in that the "will to being" is in the former accompanied by the intelligence which enables us to appreciate its moral character. And that character is only evil, and that continually. Vices are the fundamental facts of existence. All moral systems must begin with them, as does Buddhism. Western moralists have

failed to explain the moral significance of the universe, because they all, Plato and Kant equally with Paul and Augustine, begin with the virtues. And all vices are summed up in the one great root evil, the will to exist, as all virtues are but forms of the will not to exist. The method of virtue is the method of the Buddhists, and that of the Trappists. It is by self-renunciation and the mortification of all desires and powers. Master Eckart and the German Theologians are the Christian writers who came the nearest to a correct theory of the matter, because they are the nearest to Buddhism. Other Christian mystics fall short, by their disposition to emphasize the idea of a larger life in God to be attained through their asceticism. That is their delusion. Mortification for its own sake, is the true, the Buddhist theory.

“ In Schopenhauer’s view, man, as being the union of intelligent with sentient being, is the only form of life which is capable of salvation, through forming and cherishing the will not to exist. But he is, at the same time and for the same reason, the basest of all sentient beings. His egotism, the necessary consequence of his intelligence, makes him a viler beast than any that walk on four legs. He more than exhausts the whole gamut of animal vice and ferocity. “ O for an Asmodeus of morality, who should enable his favorites to see through, not merely roofs and walls, but through the veil of misrepresentation, falsehood, hypocrisy, grimace, lies, and deceit, which is spread over everything, and to discover how little real honesty there is in the world, and how often, even where we least expect it, dishonesty sits at the helm, behind the virtuous outworks, hidden in the inmost recess! Hence the frequency of friendships with four-legged creatures among men of the better sort; for, indeed, how should we make our escape from the endless misrepresentation, falsehood, and malice of men, if there were no dogs, into whose honest faces we might look without distrust? Our civilized world, what is it but merely a huge masquerade? We meet there knights, parsons, soldiers, doctors, lawyers, priests, philosophers. and what not! But they are not what they pretend to be; they are mere masks, under which, as a ruler, are hidden money-makers. . . .

“ ‘ Man is at bottom a horrible wild beast.’ We know it only in the state of restraint and domestication, which we call civilization; therefore we are frightened at the occasional outbreaks of its nature.

But wherever and whenever the padlocks and chains of civil order are removed, and anarchy finds an entrance, then he shows what he is. Whoever, in the meantime, cares to be enlightened without waiting for such an occasion, can derive from a hundred old and new accounts, the conviction that man is behind no tiger or hyena in cruelty and implacability.

“ There nestles, first of all, in each of us a colossal egotism, which overleaps with greatest ease the bounds of right. . . . With this boundless egotism of our nature there is also associated, and in every man more or less present, a store of hatred, wrath, envy, rancor, and wickedness, gathered like the poison in the snake’s fang, and only waiting its opportunity to find a vent, and to run wild and rage like an unfettered demon. . . .

Gobineau, in *Des Races Humaines*, calls man *l’animal méchant par excellence*, which gives offence because it hits home. But he is right, for man is the only animal which inflicts pain upon others for its own sake, and without any further purpose. The other animals never do it, save to satisfy their hunger, or in the rage of conflict. . . . No beast ever inflicts torture for torture’s sake; but man does so, and it is this which constitutes the devilish in character, which is far worse than the merely bestial. . . . Therefore it is that all the animals have an instinctive fear of the sight, or even the trace of man, the *animal méchant par excellence*, for man alone makes chase after wild things which are neither useful to him when caught nor hurtful when at large.

“ There actually lies, then, in the heart of each of us an untamed beast, which only waits its opportunity to run wild and mad, whilst it would inflict pain upon others, and, if they blocked its way, destroy them. It is just this that is the source of all delight in conflict and in war. It is this, too, which Intelligence, having been assigned to it as its keeper, has plenty to do to put it under bonds, and hold it in some degree of restraint. People may call it, if they please, the Radical Evil, which serves the purpose of those for whom a name is as good as an explanation. But I say it is the Will to Live, which, more and more embittered by the ceaseless misery of existence, seeks to alleviate its own torment by tormenting others. But in this line of development it attains by degrees to an especial wickedness and cruelty. And we may add that as, according to Kant, matter exists through the antagonism of the forces of expan-

sion and contraction, so human society exists only through hate or wrath and fear. For the hatred implanted in our nature would probably make each of us a murderer some day, had we not received a suitable dose of fear to keep in bounds; and this fear again would make it the jest and sport of every rogue, were it not for the rage which lies in wait in it and keeps guard. . . .'

"Elsewhere he depicts the happier and more virtuous lot of his four footed friends.

"The animals are much more satisfied than we with mere existence. . . . Consequently, their lives embrace less suffering, but also fewer enjoyments than ours, and that especially, because, on the one hand, it is free from care and anxiety, with their torments; and on the other, from hope in the proper sense of that word. . . . The animal is the incarnation of the present' . . . while the human horizon embraces the whole of human life, and even extends beyond it. But for this very reason the animals, when compared with us, appear in one regard really sensible, that is to say, in their peaceful untroubled enjoyment of the present. The apparent quiet of mind, of which they are partakers, often shames our own estate, since this is one of unrest and discontentment through thought and care. . . .

"This peculiar capacity of giving themselves up to the present, contributes much to the enjoyment we find in our domestic animals. They are the personified present, and they enable us to appreciate the value of every unburdened and untroubled hour. . . . But this very property of the animals, to derive a greater satisfaction than we from mere existence, is often abused by selfish and heartless man, and often taken advantage of, since he grants them nothing, simply nothing, beyond a mere bare existence. The bird, whose organization fits it to roam over half the world, he shuts within a cubic foot of room, where it yearns and cries for death; for *l'uccello nella gabbia canta non di piacere, ma di rabbia*. And his most faithful friend, the intelligent dog, he lays in chains! Never do I see one so treated without the keenest sympathy for him, and profound indignation against his master; and I think, with satisfaction, on the occurrence reported in *The Times* some years ago,—that a Lord, who kept a large dog thus chained, once, when passing his kennel in walking through the courtyard, tried to fondle the animal, whereupon the dog tore open his arm from shoulder to wrist. And

justly; he meant to say, "You are not my master, but my devil, since you convert my brief existence into a hell." May every one who chains up dogs share the same fate!

"What a peculiar pleasure is furnished us by the sight of a free animal, when it exists without hindrance for itself alone, seeks its food, or cares for its young, or seeks the society of its fellows, and the like, being always just what it ought to be and can be. And, were it only a bird, I find it possible to gaze upon it with prolonged pleasure; yes, or a water-rat, or a frog, but, by preference a hedgehog, a weasel, a roe or a stag! That the sight of the animals gives us such delight, is chiefly due to the fact that it places before us our own nature so greatly simplified.

"There is in the world only one lying being; it is man. Every other is truthful and honest, as it gives itself out without concealment as being just what it is, and expresses itself as it feels. An emblematic or allegorical expression of this fundamental difference is that all animals go about in their natural forms, which contributes so much to the pleasing impression we have at the sight of them, which, with me, makes my heart leap, especially when they are free animals,—while man is converted by his clothing into a caricature, a fright, whose very sight is repulsive,—an impression rendered all the deeper by his unnatural white complexion, and by the mischievous consequences of his consumption of flesh, spirituous liquors and tobacco,—excesses and disease. There he stands, a blot upon nature. The Greeks minimized their clothing, because they felt this.

"But enough of this humane and modern philosopher, from whose *Parerga und Paralipomena* I might quote to the utter exhaustion of your patience, similar tidbits of backhanded compliment to human kind,—similar eulogies of the bestial orders of life as our moral superiors. What I have alleged is enough for my purpose,—enough to illustrate the intimate philosophical connection existing between such *theiolatry* as Schopenhauer's and the misanthropy of all haters and despisers of the human race. Into the vacuum of a heart emptied of all love and respect for man, there crowd these baser affections and admirations for the weasel and the hedgehog, and especially for that four-footed viper, the dog!

"If I am right in ascribing this significance to Schopenhauer's

speculation. then we shall find that wherever the misanthropic tendency makes its appearance in history, the theriolatric tendency appears with it. To pursue the evidences of this though the field of human history, would be too severe a draft upon your patience. Permit me, however, to call your attention to the simultaneous appearance of the two just at the time when Buddhist monasticism became naturalized in the Christian Church. The monasticism of those early ages at least, was both in principle and in effect misanthropic. As its motto, might be taken that saying which Schopenhauer loved to quote from A Kempis: *Quoties inter homines fui, minus homo redii*. The devotees of that first age fled from human society because the fellowship of mankind was inconsistent with the safety of their souls. What the monastic fury, which threatened the desolation of whole provinces, meant in cruelty and inhumanity to the kindred of those who were seized by it, its historians are not careful to tell us. Jerome alone has the candor to depict the Syrian youth, tearing himself by main force from his gray-haired father's restraining arms, leaping over the body of his aged mother, where she had laid herself across the doorway to prevent his exit, and flying to the desert from those to whom he had been given as the one support of their frail and declining years. Such was monasticism on its manward side; such it has been in all lands and all ages in the cruel rending of human ties, and the repression of human affection. The students of life in Burmah describe it as inflicting just the same suffering upon its victims and their kindred, as in every Western land where it has taken root.

"And, as usual, the man who has fled from friends and kindred, seems to find friends and kindred among the beasts of the field. So marked are the traces of this unnatural alliance, that nearly every student of the subject has been struck by them. The Count de Montalembert, in his *Moines de l'Occident*, tells us that the early accounts of these Fathers of the Desert, 'Show us the most ferocious animals at the feet of such men as Antony, Pachomius, Macarius and Hilarion and those who copied them. At every page we see wild asses, crocodiles, hippopotami, hyaenas, and, above all, lions, transformed into respectful companions and docile servants of these models of society.' Doubtless they had learned, with Schopenhauer, to look into the honest faces of their four-footed friends, to find there a moral worth, which they had in vain sought in man, *l'animal mechant par excellence!*

I need not point out to you the inconsistency of all this, with the Bible these 'holy' men professed to follow. In that book, the duties man owes to the lower orders of life are not overlooked, but neither are they exalted from their proper place. 'The merciful man is merciful to his beast,' is the sum and substance of Bible ethics on this point. That is, the duty of kindness to them is regarded not in direct reference to their comfort and ease, but with regard to the mischievous reaction from needless severity which may result to human character. The notion that the animals as such have rights against men, is nowhere sanctioned. No Bible worthy is an animal-lover, a dog-fancier, a horse-worshipper, or fills any of those fantastic rôles, which receive such publicity in our days. We find none of them weeping over a dead ass, and neglecting an aged mother, like Laurence Sterne. They seem to have found in human beings scope for all the wealth of affection they had to bestow upon sentient and animated existences. Among the good deeds they perform or commend, we find no such hospital for decayed, superannuated and feeble-minded cats, as exists in this very city, on Lombard Street near Broad. In their praise of God's wonders as seen in his creation, they stoop to none of the puerile inventions and lying wonders which our newspapers catalogue under the rubric 'Animal Sagacity.' While recognizing that the brute creation are participants in the misery which oppresses the earth, groaning and travailing together with us in pain, they tell us that misery is to be relieved, not by direct and express efforts for the amendment of their condition, but by the moral restoration of the human race, 'by the manifestation of the sons of God.'

"Take that especial instance of human folly and maladministration of our post as the heads of creation, the dog. You will search in vain through Holy Writ for any praises of this much-belauded animal. It is only in the apochryphal 'Book of Tobit,' the stupid and superstitious fiction of man's devising which some have sought to foist into the Old Testament, that this detestable beast appears in his modern character as the friend and companion of man. That the majority of Gideon's raw recruits lapped the water 'as a dog lappeth,' was reason enough for dismissing them from a conflict which was for all time to symbolize the victory of human civilization over brutish barbarism. 'Is thy servant a dog, that he should do this thing?' are the strongest words which the Syrian Hazeal

can find to express his horror of the base and treacherous act Elisha predicts of him. 'A living dog is better than a dead lion,' is one of the bitter speeches by which the hero of Ecclesiastes indicates for us how deeply he had sunk into doubt and disbelief of all things noble and excellent. 'Give not that which is holy unto dogs' is the warning which marks forever the sunderance between this unclean animal and human kind. 'Without are dogs,' is one of the points in the description of that holy city into which nothing that defiles can enter. In the thirty-eight references which the Bible makes to this unclean animal, there is not one which is not disparaging, one of the very worst being the solitary one which is sometimes alleged as favorable to him. 'Moreover the dogs came and licked his sores,' is sometimes interpreted as if it were intended to contrast their pity of Lazarus with the rich man's hardness. But, as both the English 'moreover' and its Greek equivalent indicate, the sense is exactly the contrary of this. It is meant as one more detail of the misery and degradation to which the poor man had been abandoned by his kind, one more of the 'evil things in this life' which made up his lot, that he was exposed to this annoyance, and perhaps pain, from these filthy and degraded beasts. It is no wonder that Schopenhauer turned away in disgust from Bible morality to that of the *Oupnekhat*. 'How thoroughly the *Oupnekhat* breathes the holy spirit of the Vedas! How full every line is of firm, definite, and thoroughly self-consistent meaning! And on every page there meet us profound, primitive, lofty thoughts, while a high and holy earnestness pervades the whole book. All that is here breathes the air of India, and fresh, naturelike existence. And oh, how the mind is here washed clean of the Jewish superstition with which it was so early inoculated, and from all philosophy which sustains a servile relation to that superstition. It is of all reading that which best rewards and elevates the student; it has been the consolation of my own life, and will be that of my dying hour." Schopenhauer was not a Sanscrit scholar. He knew his Indian Bible only in a Latin version of the Persian translation—*Oupnek'hat, seu Theologia et Philosophia Indica; edidit Anquetil Du Perron* (Argent, 1801-2). It is a scholastic system, related to the Vedas much as the *Summa* of Aquinas is to the Gospel. But little stress seems to be laid upon it by the students of Indian thought, with the exception of Joseph Goerres.

“That such extravagances as those of Schopenhauer are not without significance for us, is seen in the recent history of humanitarianism, or rather of theriolatry, in our own country. It is to Mr. Bergh of New York that the popular attention is always turned, when this topic is mooted; and it is in Mr. Bergh that we find the best instance of the ultimate outcome of the theories this Society was organized to combat. Let me not be unjust to Mr. Bergh. In a few instances the labors of his Society have been productive of good to the human race. His recent prosecution of a swill-milk dealer in Brooklyn is an instance of this. In these few cases the welfare of mankind and the comforts and conveniences of his four-footed clients happened to be identical, and for the sake of the animals he condescended to be the benefactor of man. But in the more usual outbursts of his theriolatric energy, he seems to regard himself as holding a brief for all four-footed creatures against all who have the misfortune to walk on but two. Instances will better explain what I mean :

“A gentleman in delicate health goes out for a ride in Central Park on a snowy and slushy day. His horse falls lame, and he proceeds homeward, driving at a moderate speed. At once he is seized by the agents of Mr. Bergh’s Society, made to dismount from the carriage, although very lightly shod, and forced to walk a good distance through slush and snow to the office of a police-magistrate, where he is detained until his friends can be had from a distance to release him on bail. It was already near the time for closing the office when they arrived, and had they been a few minutes later, he would have been consigned all night to the *durance vile* of a police station, to the still greater danger of his already imperilled health.

“A heavy snow-fall has blocked the avenues of New York, and diminished the amount of services to be had from its street cars. Mr. Bergh’s agents at once set themselves to see that no car is permitted to carry one more than its legal quota of passengers. A multitude of clerks and shop-women are standing in the cold slush, waiting for a car to take them one of New York’s magnificent distances to their humble homes or boarding-houses. They have been toiling all day in hot rooms and under conditions the most unfavorable to health. But there they must wait, lest any street-car horse be over-taxed by a heavier load than usual, until,

after an hour or so of delay, the insufficient conveyances have relieved the human congestion in the city's arteries of trade and traffic.

“ This is the spirit in which this society administers laws which, I believe, were passed, or at least amended, at its instance. But a finer illustration of its governing principles is furnished by a recent speech from Mr. Bergh's own lips, which, although spoken without much deliberation at the time, has been adopted by its author as a fair expression of his own views. The occasion was a meeting of a Prisoners' Aid Society in New York City. Of the methods adopted by this Society in its dealings with its beneficiaries, I know nothing. For aught I know, they may be the wisest possible; or they may be such as flow out those mistaken ideas of charity which regard merely the animal in man. Be that as it may, there is no doubt as to the claim this class of unfortunates have upon human sympathy. I use the word ‘unfortunate’ deliberately. I do not ignore the guilt by which they have deserved the penalties under which they suffer. I maintain that guilt *is* misfortune,—misfortune of the very highest degree. And I hold that no Christian has the right to treat those who have fallen from their innocence, on the footing of base desert and demerit. The law must so treat them; but the Christian feeling of a truly Christian community will go out to them with tender pity. If wisely directed, it will not make their rescue from deserved penalty its object. It will not concern itself chiefly with those externalities and surroundings which most concern the animal man. It will aim rather at cherishing those influences for good which the criminal has brought with him from his previous life, in awakening others in his heart, and in giving him the assurance of a friendly interest and neighborly help, which will be extended to him when he resumes his place in society. In a word, it is to the human in him, and not to the animal, it will address itself, in seeking to fulfil the command ‘Remember them who are in bonds, as bound with them.’ If it concerns itself at all as to the question of their punishment, it will be to see (1) that it is one exactly proportioned to the offence, and therefore likely to impress upon their minds the great law of equal recompense, which is the foundation of righteous law; and (2) that it is not likely to destroy those lingering remains of human feelings, such as self-respect, which are a man's last chance of redemption.

I have said so much to prevent any misapprehension of the views of this society on this head. And from all I can learn of the Prisoners' Aid Society, I believe that these are the ends at which it aims. Certainly the gentlemen who spoke for it, Dr. Armitage and Rabbi Gottheil, spoke in this sense.

"From Mr. Bergh's speech I omit some just censures of the namby-pamby treatment of gross criminals, which is, in the last analysis, traceable to just the animal notion of charity, on which his own charity towards animals, as well as animalized charity is based. The rest is as follows :

"Every word that I shall utter, is in opposition to the sentiments of this meeting. * * * I have acted as Assistant District Attorney in the Special Sessions for twelve or fourteen years, looking after the moral interests of that class of beings which is called the lower creation. I am glad to be able to say that my clients don't commit such atrocities as yours do.' (Mark the Schopenhauer touch). . . . A great deal has been said about improving criminals. Let me tell you how I would improve them. I would abolish all the penitentiaries in the land, and save the expense of running them. In their place I would have whipping-posts everywhere. (Cheers). And to make sure that the lash was laid on feelingly, I would offer a reward for the invention of a steam machine that couldn't be bribed with offers of political place or money. . . . Years ago, when travelling in Egypt, I stopped a few days in Cairo, and, as a sort of pastime after dinner, I used to go up on the hill where the court for trying petty criminals was held. I have seen them thrown on their faces for petty crimes and given a charming licking, which they call the *bastinado*. They squirmed and shrieked, and called on Allah to witness that they would never do so any more. My dragoman told me that they never did. They were all contented with what they got. They were morally improved.' (I am surprised that Mr. Bergh does not go on to describe the other striking features of punitive justice in Egypt. He surely saw them impale men alive, and could describe it with as much gusto as young Benjamin Disraeli did, forty years ago, in the hearing of N. P. Willis. Impalement and the *bastinado* are parts of the same system). That is the kind of treatment which I advocate. I would abolish every penal institution except the State prison, and I'd send felons either there or to the gallows.'

“I feel certain that I may leave this public utterance of Mr. Bergh to your moral judgment without further comment of mine. I might have taken it as the text of my discourse on this occasion. In one sense it has been my text. My object has been to lay before you the general considerations which will lead you on to a just appreciation of this remarkable utterance. I want you to see that it is not accidental that the chief patron of the supposed rights of ‘what *is called* the lower creation,’ (to use Mr. Bergh’s significant phrase) is also the patron of the whipping-post and the admirer of the bastinado, and of all those punishments which have been found to save society by destroying men. My purpose has been achieved if I have shown you that history justifies us in expecting just such an association of devotion to the comfort and the rights of the lower forms of life, with this contempt for the moral character and the moral welfare of the noblest form of sentient life known to this planet.

“Ladies and gentlemen, I thank you once more for the honor you have done me.”

The meeting then adjourned.

NEW BOOKS.

THE ORATOR'S MANUAL; designed as a Text-book for Schools and Colleges, and for those who are obliged to study without an Instructor. By George L. Raymond, Professor of Oratory, Williams College. Pp. 342. Large 12mo. Chicago: S. C. Griggs & Co.

This is not a receipt for making orators; it is a treatise on Vocal Culture, Emphasis and Gesticulation. As a text-book it will answer its purpose. But for those “who are obliged to study without an instructor” its success cannot be complete, because of the intrinsic difficulty in the way of representing sounds and inflections of the voice to the eye. Nor does the introduction of the musical scale remove the difficulty, for it is useless except to those who have some knowledge of music. Such subjects—at least the first two, vocal culture and emphasis—can be correctly learned by direct oral instruction only. But the intrinsic difficulty is not the only one; the number of technical terms used would be discouraging to one obliged to study without an instructor. Indeed, the author seems to have forgotten this class, after the title page of his book, for nearly all the exercises imply and require the presence of

an instructor. The chapter on Gesticulation is an exception. It admits of a clearer means of representation. The study of Gesture is often condemned as useless and artificial, and so it might be, if its only products were the awkward sawing of the air, which we commonly see, or the studied efforts of the mere elocutionist. The author's plan, however, is for such a study of the art as shall conceal the art, and make it automatic—a part of ourselves.

As a text-book, the work will no doubt be of great assistance to teachers. It presents the results of the author's experience, with "the best that has been published or taught on the subjects of which it treats." Supplemented by the guidance and assistance of an instructor, it cannot fail to produce—where there is no organic defect in the student, of course—a successful style of oratory, so far as Vocal Culture, Emphasis and Gesticulation conduce thereto.

It would seem, however, that even in a book which treats professedly only these subjects, the author should have been at some pains to impress upon his readers that neither of these, nor all combined, is oratory; but that its life and soul are in the theme itself, and in that intense earnestness which is begotten of a firm conviction of its truth. The temptations to a showy style of oratory are many. They may be guarded against in the class-room. The book, however, being intended for others than students of colleges, its value would have been enhanced if it had contained at least some general instruction as to the nature and true aim of oratory.

THE ART OF READING. By Erneste Legouvé, of the French Academy. Translated, and illustrated with Copious Notes—mainly biographical—by Edward Roth, A. M. 16mo. Pp. 367. Claxton, Remsen & Haffelfinger.

An exceedingly interesting book, and in view of the attention that seems to have been drawn of late to reading, as a means of social entertainment, it is opportune. Its style is lively and piquant. The usual French characteristics—short, chopped sentences, exclamation points, interrogation points, dashes—in abundance! It abounds in personal reminiscences, illustrations of the subject-matter. In fact, as the author himself observes, perhaps the best name for his work would be: "Memoirs of a Reader." Its principles and chief points are presented under forms of his own personal experience, and he endeavors to make them as vivid as possible by giving in detail all the circumstances to which they are indebted for their origin.

It is not a formal treatise, and yet it has a didactic purpose. "Read as you speak," says Girardin. "Certainly," says Legouvé, "Read as you speak—if only you speak well. Reading is an art—as difficult as it is real, and as useful as it is difficult." He demon-

strates its utility by showing what it has accomplished in his hands, and if success is a criterion of merit, then a large share of merit must be accorded to him. The chapter in which he details the means he took for inducing Rachel to play the rôle of "*Adrienne*"—against which she had taken a prejudice—shows his wonderful power as a reader. And the means he took of teaching Ristori the French pronunciation were certainly ingenious and unique. It is all the more interesting for the manner in which it is told.

According to Legouvé—and he is undoubtedly right—the good reader must be a good critic. He must understand the meaning before he can reproduce it in speech. In order to do this, he must analyze, he must weigh, he must be a critic—a judge! This is the necessary work of the good public reader. Our *eyes* skim over a page, passing dozens of words unnoticed, and yet we correctly apprehend the meaning. But if we were to read the same passage to an audience, not a word could be passed by: each one must be heard. And not only so—due emphasis, and proper subordination of parts must be observed, otherwise the sense is not easily nor properly apprehended. All this requires thought, and judgment and skill. Hence there is an art in reading. Its elements, in addition to this critical faculty, are a flexible voice, a distinct articulation, and command of the breath—particularly the latter two. The book abounds in poetical hints to learners.

In the course of discussion, a compliment is paid to the American educational system, which makes reading one of the first elements, as well as a constant one, in the education of youth.

The translation itself is good. Mr. Roth has caught and reproduced the "*esprit*" of the original. Of the 367 pages contained in the book, 215 are taken up with notes by the translator. The preparation of notes is often a thankless task. They are seldom read by the casual reader, unless they are absolutely essential to the understanding of the text, though they be ever so careful and true. No one would wish to stop at the end of a sentence or a chapter, to read a biographical notice of Rachel, 16 pages long! They are interesting, however, in themselves, and are reliable as far as we have examined them. We are not willing, however, to concede all that the compiler claims for them. To quote from his preface, "the reader will hardly deny that they convey as much reliable, interesting, peculiar, information on as great a variety of subjects as can be found compressed within the same space in any book published in any country." This sounds arrogant, and is not justified by fact.

IRISH DISTRESS AND ITS REMEDIES. The Land Question. A visit to Donegal and Connaught in the spring of 1880. By James

H. Tuke, author of a visit to Connaught in 1837. Sixth edition, with map of Ireland. Pp. 120, 8vo. London: W. Ridgway.

Mr. Tuke bears an honored name among the English Friends. He has been identified with both the great efforts made by his own religious body to relieve Irish famine. In the winter of 1846-'47, when the Friends expended about a million of dollars in relief of Irish suffering, he accompanied the father of the present Secretary of State for Ireland in his visit to Connaught. He undertook a similar service during the spring of last year, and this pamphlet gives the results of his observations. So far as a mere description of what Ireland is can help us to an opinion, Mr. Tuke's pamphlet is of the highest and the greatest value. He looks on Ireland with friendly eyes, but with no desire, evidently, to make out a case for either side. Where he finds evidences of improvement since 1847, he chronicles them with pleasure. Where he finds the continuance of intense and painful misery, he feels it his duty to tell the English people of the woes they have to relieve if they are to govern Ireland justly, and give the country a fair chance. Mr. Tuke stands, therefore, in a judicial attitude towards the two parties to the Irish question. In the main his evidence is a justification of the present agitation, without saying anything of its methods. The perusal of his pamphlet is known to have secured votes in the House of Lords for Mr. Forster's bill to restrain evictions. It has done much to bring about the existing feeling in England that Irish Land Reform is a question of more or less sweeping measures, but that some great change must be had at once.

Mr. Tuke's authority ceases to weigh with us, when his functions as a witness as to the facts is changed into that of the expert who recommends remedies. He regards two changes as desirable (1) the creation of a peasant proprietorship, and (2) the transfer of a large part of the population of Western Ireland to some less unpropitious climate and more productive soil. On these two points he agrees with Mr. Parnell, except that Mr. Parnell would find new homes for the Connaught people in the grazing districts of Munster and Leinster, while Mr. Tuke would ship them to Canada.

Our author reviews with great candor the legislation of 1847 and 1870. He admits that he and his friends joined in the advocacy of the Encumbered Estates Act of the former year, and expected great results to follow the transfer of the land from the old and decayed families to new and substantial holders. But they left out of view the right of the tenant to secure a share of the land in this great process of transfer, which in ten years included more than a third of all Irish estates. Since 1849, when the court began its sittings, the relations of landlord and tenant have grown distinctly worse. It is the new owners who have, as a rule, proved the most unmerciful rackrenters and the most persistent non-resi-

dents, while the old have been generally merciful and popular. In 1847 English statesmen did not look back upon the history of Land Tenure in England, or they would have anticipated just such a result. It was the new owners, created by the confiscation of church lands at the Reformation, who drove the yeomanry of England to the verge of rebellion. A long continued possession of the soil, unless accompanied by non-residence, leads to the growth of personal relations between the landlord and his tenantry, which mollify the harshness of first occupancy.

The land-act of 1870 Mr. Tuke justly regards as going nearer to the nerve of the question. It did not assume that Ireland's only need was landlords who could spend money on their estates. It proceeded upon the supposition that right relations between landlord and tenant were still more important, and it enacted provisions to secure such relations. Mr. Tuke does not stop to explain why legislation should be needed to regulate what English political economy assumes to be self-regulative, and indeed incapable of such artificial adjustments as statutes furnish. He points out, also, that the Parliament which adopted the Bright Clauses of that Act, thereby declared that the creation of a peasant proprietorship in Ireland would be a proper and desirable thing. He regrets that these clauses have proved inoperative; and while he thinks that Ireland's chief need is farther legislation in the line of the Act of 1870, it is evidently in the line of these clauses that he thinks such legislation should move.

To all this we assent, with great qualifications. We cannot see, with Mr. Tuke and Mr. Parnell, that any land legislation, whether supplemented by schemes for the promotion of emigration or not, will suffice to effect a radical cure of Irish misery. It is the absence of other employments which keeps the Irish cotter so wretchedly poor. It is this which makes his holding unprofitable. The Donegal cotter, whom he found sitting at his empty loom, with his feet on the treadle, pulling the frame backwards and forwards, is the emblem of Ireland in her present situation. Fill the looms, which English rapacity rather than Irish landlords have emptied of warp and woof, and the Land Question will be far less difficult to settle.

We could wish that no American newspaper editor were allowed to write another word on the Irish Question, until he had passed an examination upon Mr. Tuke's excellent pamphlet. It would check the deluge of pharisaic, mockwise twaddle, which our Polonises of the daily and weekly press inflict upon a suffering public. For instance, *The Alliance*, a religious newspaper of Chicago, tells us, "If the Scotch people had been on Irish soil, we should never have heard of a famine or of exorbitant rents. An intelligent press would have discussed the differences [disagreements?] between

the landlord and the tenant, between the home government and the people, and the difference would have been settled years ago." This sage has never heard of the Land Question in the Highlands. He does not know that the people of half of Scotland are living under a tyranny, as regards the land, even more frightful than in Ireland, and that only the smallness of their number and their deficiency in spirit prevent a similar agitation. If he doubts our facts, let him ask Prof. Blackie of Edinburgh, or John Murdock of the Inverness *Highlander*.

A DOCTOR'S SUGGESTIONS TO THE COMMUNITY, being a series of Papers upon various Subjects, from a Physician's Standpoint. By Daniel B. St. John Roosa, M. D. Pp. 234, 12 mo. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. Philadelphia: Porter and Coates.

MEDICAL HERESIES HISTORICALLY CONSIDERED. A Series of Critical Essays on the Origin and Evolution of Sectarian Medicine, embracing a special Sketch and Review of Homœopathy, past and present. By Gonzalvo C. Smythe, M. D. Pp. 228, 12 mo. Philadelphia: Lindsay & Blakiston.

COMMON MIND TROUBLES. By J. Mortimer Granville. Pp. 102.

THE CARE AND CULTURE OF CHILDREN. A practical Treatise for the use of Parents. By Thomas S. Sozinsky, M. D. Pp. 484, 8vo. Philadelphia: H. C. Watts & Co.

EYESIGHT, GOOD AND BAD. A Treatise on the Exercise and Preservation of Vision. By Robert Brudenell Carter, F. R. C. S., Ophthalmic Surgeon to St. George's Hospital, with numerous illustrations. Pp. 267, 12 mo. Philadelphia: Presley Blakiston.

The medical profession neglect the best part of their vocation, in so far as they do not labor to instruct the community in the laws of life, as well as to heal its diseases. We hope the day will come when every church in Christendom will be open one night in each week for the doctors to expound to the public the physical conditions of human life. Dr. Roosa seems to have a proper view of his functions in this regard. His papers are not all addressed to the public, as their titles seem to suggest, but they have all something in them from which the public may derive instruction. If we are not misinformed, the eye is Dr. Roosa's speciality. Certainly the paper on "Human eyes" is not the least valuable in the series. It is very largely devoted to a defence of the use of spectacles, and to an explanation of their value. The paper on "The Old Hospital" is the most interesting to general readers, and will gain a place among works on local history, as it contains a graphic account of the City Hospital of that city. Dr. Roosa takes high ground in his paper on "The Relations of the Medical Profession to the State." He would like to have the sale of patent medicines sup-

pressed by law. A fairer demand would be for the suppression of those of them whose indiscriminate use is injurious to health. But so long as the people prefer to be doctored in this way, the State has no right to prohibit the sale of any.

Dr. Granville's little book on *Mind-Troubles* strikes us as exceedingly well written and sensible. He discusses defects of memory, confusion of thought, sleeplessness, low spirits, bad temper and some other subjects. His object is to promote self-culture in these matters, and to offer suggestions which may be useful. He strongly emphasizes our responsibility for allowing our minds to take a false direction, and combats the materialistic doctrine that we are "the creatures of circumstance."

Dr. Smythe's book we took up with the expectation of finding in it a satisfactory discussion of the theory of homeopathy, from the orthodox standpoint. We wonder that this subject has been so much neglected by literary men in the medical profession. We are of those who have had to meet and counteract the Hahnemannian propaganda, with but little help from such "regular" medical books as came in our way. We therefore turned to Mr. Smythe's book with some interest, but we found in its opening chapter such evidence of its author's incapacity for fair discussion as shook all the rest in our confidence. If he has treated Hahnemann as he has treated the theologians, his criticism is of no importance.

Dr. Sozinsky's book on the care of children is the best American treatise of the sort that we have met with. Dr. Chauvenet's admirable manuals have been found useful in thousands of American homes, and Dr. Sozinsky quotes them. But they suffer from two demerits. The first is, that on one or two points Dr. Chauvenet is cranky. The second is more serious. It is that they are written for the latitude and atmosphere of England, and are therefore not suitable for our own "intemperate zone." Dr. Sozinsky's division of his subject, while practical enough, seems to us hardly logical. He discusses the care of children under the two heads *Health* and *Sickness*. He then proceeds to treat of their culture under the rubric, *Physical* and *Mental*. We think it hard to separate the care of a child in health from his physical culture.

Since we received Dr. Sozinsky's book we have had several occasions to make a practical test of its merits. We have found it highly satisfactory in every instance. Dr. Sozinsky is a clear, careful writer, and, as we judge, of sound discretion. We endorse his work as strongly as a layman may.

Dr. Carter's book on *Eyesight* is an English treatise on a subject in which our climatic differences are of infinitesimal importance. The author is an oculist in large practice, and finds too much of his time taken up with explanation of the principles upon

which the treatment of the eye in health and disease is based. This suggested to him the preparation of a treatise, in which the matter is explained from beginning to end. He begins by describing the formation of the eye, and giving the outline of the theory of vision. He then takes up the diseases from which the eye principally suffers, and from these proceeds to practical suggestions as to the care of the eye. He writes clearly, although at times with more thoroughness than many readers will like, and his suggestions seem very sensible. He recommends, as an eye-saver, Remington's type-writer, which he himself has used for years. On one point we venture to differ from him. He recommends porcelain shades, green externally and white internally, as best for those who write by candle-light, and naturally lift their eyes and look toward the light at any pause in their thought. Some years ago we used such a shade, having procured it at the best establishment in this city. After we got it, we observed a soreness and smarting in our eyes after writing at night, but failed to associate it with the shade, until, by a lucky accident, we broke it, and at once the smarting ceased.

WOMANHOOD. Lectures on Woman's Work in the World. By R. Heber Newton. Pp. 315. 12mo. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

This is a volume of sermons preached by the rector of Anthon Memorial Church, in New York, on Sunday evenings, to young women. To those who have read anything of Mr. Newton's writing, or have heard him preach, we need not say that they are much above the average. This is an age when as much good writing and valuable thought is given to the world in this shape as in any other; and Mr. Newton's work always ranks with the best.

The object of these sermons is not to urge on the public attention any special hobby of their author, nor to advocate any special reform. Mr. Newton understands the preacher's true vocation, to take the common and everyday things of life, and make us feel their vast importance. And so he takes womanhood as he finds it, shows us the glory which graces her social functions, and the open doors of opportunity which God has set before her and no man can shut. He turns to the past history of her sex, to illustrate the present and the future. The whole book seems to us an expansion of a splendid passage in Charles Kingsley's *Yeast*—a passage which it is impossible to forget after having read it once with due attention.

Mr. Newton analyzes his subject as follows: (1) Woman's Vocation; (2) The Lady, Housekeeper and House-maker; (3) The Queen, or, the Rulership of the Heart; (4) The Mother; (5) The Modiste, the Fashioner of Manners and Morals; (6) The Angel of Mercy; (7) Education. It is the sixth of the sermons that especially

attracts our attention, as an exposition of what woman may do beyond the circle of home, without entering that political sphere which some of her sex claim as her rightful domain. In this direction there has been a great onward movement in our times, represented by Florence Nightingale in its inception, and by Octavia Hill in its consummation. To both these great women, and to their associates in merciful works, Mr. Newton renders an ample meed of praise, and holds up their example before their sisters as the highest points reached in human service. Certainly nothing can be grander as an educational agency than the enlistment of women in the service of the suffering poor. It is a mutual education. No one can exercise such influence as a woman in the bestowal of praise and blame. And no other work so broadens and refines a true woman's nature, and lifts her out of and above the limitation of our border existence, as that of benevolence.

LEARNING TO DRAW, or the Story of a Young Designer. By Violet-le-Duc. Translated from the French by Virginia Champlin. Illustrated by the Author. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

Violet-le-Duc was a man of immense learning in his own special branch of study, who was yet able to use his learning in a light and graceful way for popular instruction. That the author of the *Dictionnaire de l'Architecture* should also be the author of *The History of a Fortress*, of *The History of a House*, and of the book before us, shows him to have been a man of as great versatility within a single field, as other men are in ranging from field to field.

The skeleton of story which runs through this excellent treatise is that of an eccentric and learned gentleman, who takes a fancy to a little boy, and sets himself to educate him. He is struck with the boy's drawing of a cat. He has represented it as he actually saw it—rudely and with vitality, and an evident feeling for life and form. His young friend, who has been taught not to look at things, but at drawing masters' pictures of them, disputes its accuracy, but the incipient artist defends his work, and the dispute attracts the attention of their elders. So M. Magorin adopts Jean, with the consent of his parents, and sets about, not making an artist of him, but giving him the sort of training that makes a man in his own eyes and fits him for any occupation in which the use of the observant powers is fundamental. From looking at a table he brings him to the essentials of geometry, thence to botany, mensuration, comparative anatomy, and so on. At every step he encourages him to use his eyes and fingers in making pictures of what he sees. In fact, he makes drawing the central stem of an education, in which the training of the powers of observation and of judgment are the chief objects. We do not regard that as the sum of

genuine education as M. Le-Duc seems to regard it. We think he would leave untouched still more important powers, whose training is essential to all good citizenship—to mention the first and simplest of their uses. M. Le-Duc writes under the influence of the prejudices of his own age, in assuming that this is all. It certainly is a very important part, and our author has shown excellently well how it may be effected.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

Our American Hash. A Satire. By John M. Dagnall. Sw'd. 8vo. Pp. 111. Price 25 cents. New York: Published by the Author.

Report of the Commissioner of the Bureau of Education for the year 1878. Washington: Government Printing Office.

Introduction to the Study of Indian Languages. By J. W. Powell. Second Edition—with charts. Cloth. 4to. Pp. 228. Washington: Government Printing Office.

Schiller and His Times. By Johannes Scherr. Translated from the German by Elizabeth McClellan. Cloth. 12mo. Pp. 454. Price \$2.00. Philadelphia: Ig. Kohler.

All Round the Year, Verses from Sky Farm. Elaine and Dora Read Goodale. Cloth. 16mo. Pp. 204. Price \$1.25. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. [Claxton & Co.

Nestlenook. A Tale. By Leonard Kip. Sw'd. 12mo. Pp. 315. Price \$1.00. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. [Claxton & Co.

THE
PENN MONTHLY.

FEBRUARY, 1881.

THE MONTH.

THE Queen's speech at the opening of the Imperial Parliament was sufficient evidence that the Ministry had not as yet come to any final decision as regards their Irish policy. It foreshadowed Coercion on the one hand and Land Reform on the other; but it gave no indication as to the relative strength of either measure. But the fact that Coercion is to precede Reform shows that Mr. Forster and the Whigs, rather than Mr. Bright and Mr. Chamberlain, have controlled the Cabinet in its deliberations. This may be the best order of procedure for ordinary cases. But where a whole people have risen against wrongs which have oppressed them for centuries, and which thus far have received no attention in spite of their prolonged agitation and outcries, Reform should precede measures for the restoration of order. The latter should be aimed only at those who persist in agitation in spite of the just concessions made to terminate agitation. Those concessions should serve as a dividing and sifting agency, to sunder honest discontent from factious turbulence; and the weight of the law should fall only upon the latter. Mr. Gladstone makes it fall equally upon all. His new legislation, so far as it succeeds, will restore the process-server and the evictionist to all their baleful energy, while it will impart an additional motive to their activity, in view of the threat of legisla-

tion which may put an end to their power forever. But it will not succeed. As Burke said, you cannot draw a bill of indictment against a whole people; and neither can the Irish people, at this stage of their agitation, be cowed into submission and passivity by any law which can be passed at St. Stephen's, or any display of force used to carry it into effect. Had Mr. Gladstone looked into English history for precedents, he would have found that his mode of procedure was a vicious one. He would have seen that the great and successful rulers were those who, like Elizabeth, swept away the popular grievances before trying to dictate terms to their subjects, while the king who tried coercion first and reform afterward, came to his end on the scaffold at Whitehall. But English statesmen do not regard English precedents as applying to Ireland; that country is, in their view, a conquered and dependent province, with which its rulers may deal as they please, and from which they have nothing to fear except annoyance.

ANNOYANCE enough from Ireland Mr. Gladstone is likely to have before this session of Parliament is over. The Parnell party are now so strong in numbers that the old rules to guard the House against their encroachments on its time are no longer of any avail. Each of them may confine himself to the legal number of motions *per* fortnight, and yet put a stop to the progress of business. How they mean to proceed has been shown during the ten days spent in debating the reply to the Queen's speech, which usually occupies less than a day. If the ministry resolve to introduce more stringent rules for the prevention of obstruction, the Parnellites, with the help of Lord Churchill and the discontented Tories, will contest the passage of those rules at such length that they will probably be withdrawn, as causing loss of time. When it comes to the Coercion Bill the same tactics will be followed, and here the Leaguers will have the aid of Mr. Cowan and the other English radicals. It will be well on in the year before the Land Reform Bill will be brought in; and when it will pass, or when room will be found for other business, no one can foresee.

This obstruction policy does not find as much sympathy in America, as do the other parts of the Land League's programme. But we think this is because many of the essential points in the case are not known to Americans, and others are overlooked. The

first is that obstruction was begun because of the systematic neglect of Irish business by the House of Commons. Gross abuses, long ago removed in England and Scotland, still linger in Ireland, because it was thought inadvisable to make the law for their reform applicable to Ireland, and because no ministry or parliament has found the time to adopt any supplementary legislation for the purpose. In English and Scotch boroughs, for instance, every householder has had the suffrage since 1868, and the members chosen actually represent the people of the boroughs. In Ireland there is still a large property qualification required, which throws the choice of members into the hands of a small minority, chiefly Protestant Tories, and prevents any real representation of the people. And although the present struggle over Irish policy may lead to a dissolution of Parliament, yet the ministry refuse to promise that any measure for the redress of this inequality will be introduced this year. A second excuse for obstruction is found in the fact that the wishes of Irish representatives are constantly ignored in the preparation of Irish measures. When a bill relating specially to Scotland is on hand, the Scotch members as such have their wishes consulted. They are not voted down by the brute force of majorities. Scotch public opinion is ostentatiously courted and quoted by both parties in support of Scotch bills. But Ireland, although so much larger a country, is treated with no such deference. She is governed according to English ideas, not her own. To make her over again after some English pattern, instead of enabling her people to work out their destiny in their own way, has been the constant rule with English statesmen. Is it, then, to be wondered that her representatives meet the brute force of majorities with the brute force of obstruction?

IN the present instance they are offering obstruction to prevent the abolition in Ireland of such guarantees for personal liberty as the Constitution gives them. Throughout the greater part of the time since the Union, those guarantees have been in a state of suspense through coercion laws, although the Irish people are confessedly, as regards ordinary offences against law, the most orderly people in Europe. And when these are suspended, the control of matters passes into the hands, not of English officials, nor indifferent administrators, but of the Irish landlords and Orange partisans,

who make up the commission of the peace. Is it to be wondered that the Irish representatives in Parliament mean to resist by every means in their power the establishment of martial law under such administrators? No English ministry, whatever the local disorder, would dare to establish such a rule in Lancashire or Yorkshire, or in Ayrshire. But Ireland is the step-child, for whom any treatment is good enough.

WHAT Mr. Gladstone means to do in the way of Land Reform is indicated but dimly in the Queen's speech. It was natural that he should speak of the new bill as an extension and reinforcement of the Land Law of 1870. It is both English and Gladstonish to insist that the boldest "new departure" is but the logical outcome of previous action. It is no doubt to the Bright clauses of that law that he has especial reference, and we think it likely that every Irish landlord who can be induced to sell his estates will find a purchaser in the Government, which will recoup itself by some such system of repayment by instalments as was used in creating freehold tenements out of the Irish Church's glebe lands. This plan of procedure falls in with English ideas. It is in the line of what has already been tried successfully. It interferes in no way with the sanctities of contract. But it remains to be seen, how he will extend the law of 1870 for the tenants of those landlords who do not choose to sell. English Liberals, of the advanced type, pronounce for the three F's proposed by the late Councillor Butt, of which we spoke last month. To this there are objections drawn from the probable practical effect of such legislation, and others from the principles of English Political Economy. The three F's are so many legislative interferences with freedom of contract between the landlord and his tenant, and Englishmen who have abandoned all other sanctities still insist that the general interests of society should be sacrificed to this. And this policy has not the support of the Land League. They want to give every Irish tenant the right to purchase his holding with Government assistance, whether the landlord is willing to sell or not. And they want the Government to effect large removals of people from overcrowded districts of the western coast, to lands in Leinster and Munster, which are now laid out in grazing farms.

WE are surprised to learn that our reference to the Anti-Jewish crusade in Germany last month has been very generally misinterpreted, as though we occupied an attitude of indifference toward the shameful wrongs which have been inflicted during the past few months upon that much enduring race. It is the purpose of these paragraphs, not merely to express our judgment of the events of the month, but to enable our readers to form their own judgment by putting them *en rapport* with the actors. Thus, a few months ago, we took the pains to state the case of the Turks against the concession of Dulcigno, not because we have any liking for the Turk, but because we think it helpful to an understanding of the case to look at it through other men's eyes. Especially is this needful where a whole theory of life and duty, not shared by either ourselves or our readers, underlies public action, as is the case with Chaplain Stoecker's Christian Socialist movement. We had taken the pains to learn exactly what that gentleman has to say for himself, and we found that the motive to his unwise and lamentable agitation was not personal hatred of the Jewish race, as is charged in both German and American newspapers, but wrong-headed theories of the sphere and duties of the Government in the correction of social evils,—which evils he assails with just as much emphasis when represented by Gentiles. And this we thought it fair to say, although our own disagreement with him was made only the greater by a closer familiarity with his theories. We join most heartily in reprobating the *Judenhetze* and all its ways, but we mean to exercise toward its author the fairness proverbially due to the devil himself.

Our statement that certain newspapers in Berlin, which are owned, controlled and generally edited by Jews, had published articles which gave just offence to Christians, has been challenged. We spoke by the book, for we had seen and read those articles. We do not say that they furnished any adequate justification of the acts of Chaplain Stoecker, much less of the outrages perpetrated by those who carried the agitation to a point he had never contemplated, but ought to have foreseen as a possible and even a probable result of his speeches and pamphlets. But in view of these articles, and of the part taken by Jewish journalists and representatives in the *Kulturkampf*, we cannot say that this agitation, although utterly absurd and unjust in itself, was entirely unprovoked.

THE most remarkable fact in the European situation is the prominence of Russia in insisting that Europe has bound itself to see that Greece obtains her just demands as to the extension of her territory, and the extreme readiness of France to rid herself of all such obligations. This is a situation more favorable to Greece than we could have expected, for there is a decided jealousy of the Hellenes among the Slavic peoples of the Balkan peninsula, who are Russia's especial clients. It indicates that if Mr. Gladstone can manage to settle his Irish difficulties, Greece will have a strong and united support from two great Empires in her demands for Epirus and Thessaly. It is true that the support of Russia is rendered less valuable by the prospect that she may soon have an Asiatic war on her hands. The Kuldja matter is still unsettled, and the Mantchu war party grows in power in the imperial councils at Pekin. As Col. Gordon pointed out, a Chinese army is a very formidable thing through its numbers, its recklessness of life, and its freedom of movement. And at present the Russian forces in that quarter are busily occupied with police measures for the restraint of the Tekke Turkomans, the wild nomads who roam the deserts between Khiva and Merv, the next point in the Russian advance towards India.

ALTHOUGH this session of Congress is not marked by so many partisan outbreaks as the last, the general incompetence of the body is displayed at every point of its proceedings. It will probably go down to history as the most honest and the most incapable of all the Congresses of our first century. Hardly anything has been done or undertaken by it, which has not either proved a blunder, or at least open to very serious objection even from those who care little for partisan successes. From this condemnation we may except the Education Bill, proposed in the Senate by Mr. Burnside, and regarded as certain of an easy passage through the House. Our only objection to this measure is the smallness of the appropriation it makes for the assistance of schools in districts where illiteracy is greatest. The government revenue from land sales is now about a million and a half a year. This sum is to be capitalized as a fund, whose interest is to be expended on schools. This will give \$45,000 the first year, and, if the receipts of the Land Office continue, an additional sum of that amount every subsequent

year, until by the end of twenty-one years there will be a million dollars a year available. We think it would have been better to have given the million dollars a year at once, and to have charged it to the general revenue. We fail to see what special connection there is between land sales and education, beyond the fact that in early times, there being little money to give the schools, land was given them. A country with our revenue should think a million dollars a year a good investment if spent in diminishing the number of voters whose ignorance leaves them at the mercy of demagogues. And a Congress which has wasted hundreds of millions in paying fraudulent claims for arrears of pensions, might have been ambitious of being remembered for putting the smaller sum where it would do the country most good.

It is feared that the bill will excite opposition among the Southern members—whose States are entitled to eighty per cent. of the amount—because they regard it as involving national inspection of their educational system. We see no such legislation in the bill. It merely requires that the States accepting the money shall maintain for three months of each year “a system of free schools open to all children between six and sixteen years.” It does not insist on the conjoint education of white and colored children in the same school, nor give the government any right of interference with the schools. It does not create governmental inspectorships, and it leaves the Department of Education to ascertain in the simplest way which States have complied with these scanty conditions, and which have not.

It is evident that the Democratic majority in this Congress does not mean to make any provision for Mr. Grant. In this we think they show a singular unwisdom. Even as Democrats, it is their interest to show the country that they are capable of magnanimity towards the man for whom three out of every four Americans feel a high regard and a sincere gratitude. And a provision which would take his name out of the mouths of those who are using it for factional purposes, would be a gain to the whole country. Mr. Grant is not credited with friendly feelings toward Mr. Blaine, but Mr. Blaine put the matter both truly and forcibly when he said that the call of his country took Mr. Grant from his permanent and well earned position as General of the Army and put him into the preca-

rious office of President; and that the country owes it to him to give him as good a place as that from which it removed him. We think this reasoning should be final with every one who voted for Mr. Grant in 1868, and that includes a good many Democrats outside Congress and some who are members of that body.

THE Funding Bill which the House has passed is an experiment upon the public credit. Its provision that the new bonds shall bear but three per cent. interest, although redeemable after twenty years, has the sanction of a few of our financiers, but not of the majority. Should the measure succeed it will show that the credit of the United States is better than even that of Great Britain, for that country's three per cents have not sold at par for twenty-seven years. But if we enjoy such credit anywhere, it must be in the money-gorged bourses and exchanges of Europe, and this new Funding Bill will force the export of all the bonds sold under it, which are not retained by favored investment in America. For a time this will serve to keep the balance of trade with Europe in our favor; but in the long run it will operate to turn the tide of gold in the other direction and will impose a heavier burden than would be the payment of five or six per cent. interest to American holders. This is, therefore, the last and worst of the funding bills, and will either fail to effect any conversion of the outstanding bonds, or will intensify the tendency to make our national debt a debt owed to foreigners. The only good feature of the measure is that it contemplates the early and rapid reduction of the national debt. The bonds and treasury-notes it provides for will be within the government's reach, and before this generation passes away we may see our country as free from debt as are Iowa and Illinois.

THE general demand for the regulation of railroad traffic by a national law is represented by Mr. Reagan's bill for that purpose, but we see little prospect at present for the passage of such a law. These corporations are too well represented by their lawyers and employes in Congress, to leave any opening for such action, until the people at large, following the example set by the Western Grangers, make it a test matter in elections, and insist upon their interests being put before those of the great transportation companies. Equally improbable is the passage of the proposed law for

the establishment of a postal telegraph. Just at present there is some pressure in this direction, as Mr. Jay Gould's successful consolidation of the great lines is raising a popular apprehension that the monopoly thus created will prove oppressive. But the experiment of purchasing the existing lines, or establishing a rival system at the cost of the national treasury, would involve an outlay of public money too great to be lightly undertaken. Telegraphy is a business where a private company's success gives no certainty that the Government would not sustain a severe loss. The companies open offices only where there is a reasonable expectation of a remunerative business. But if the business were in the hands of the Government, telegraph offices would have to be opened as freely as post-offices, and run, as many of the post-offices are, at a loss. But could not Congress legislate to regulate the charges made for the use of the lines, as a part of the "commerce between the several States"?

Judge Lowell's plan for a national bankrupt law seems more likely to become a law than any other measure of its class. In this case there are great interests demanding the law, but none resisting its passage. The debtor and the creditor alike are suffering from the confusion and imperfection of local enactments on this subject, and no one will suffer from its passage, except local politicians who made receiverships a matter of political patronage. This evil has been confined to new York City, so far as we have been able to learn. The fear that it may spread to other localities should make business men more urgent to have this delicate class of cases brought under the control of judges who have nothing to dread and nothing to hope from the political managers. Even in our own city we should fear the consequences of such a temptation being offered. Already our elective judges show, by the choice they make of men for our Board of Education and our Board of Trusts, that the influence of the bosses is not unfelt in their action.

WE see no urgency in either party in the House to press to a vote Senator Eaton's bill for a commission to revise the Tariff. This is the more reprehensible as the passage of such a bill is demanded by both sides to this great controversy. It is demanded by the Free Traders in their complaints of the inequalities and anomalies which are found in the present law; and most of them,

we believe, have given up hope of securing the removal of these grievances by such steps as they used in getting the duty taken off quinine. It is demanded formally and distinctly by the protectionists, who refuse to have that policy any longer identified with the maintenance of the defective law now in force. They made this demand through their Industrial League, the Iron and Steel Association, and the Wool Manufacturers' and Growers' Association, before the recent election brought to view the dominance of Tariff sentiment throughout our country. They have repeated the demand since the election, with an emphasis which admits of no doubt as to their sincerity. They know that the Tariff can be so modified as to deprive the current criticisms of it of much of their force, They even hope to secure such a measure as will make a second revision needless for sixty years to come, and will take this question out of our political discussions. And they will not regard as real friends of the Protective policy those who offer in Congress or elsewhere any resistance to the measure proposed by Mr. Eaton and adopted by the Senate. Mr. Garfield, we believe, shares fully in this view. He will suffer no bill to pass his veto which involves an attack upon the protective system; but he will urge the duty of Tariff revision upon Congress until the work is undertaken in earnest.

THE new Treaties with China for the regulation of immigration and of commerce, have reached the public, through some trickery, in advance of their consideration by the Senate. At first reading they certainly seem all that could be desired, and yet past experience with these wily diplomats suggests that they should be looked into very closely. They allow our Government to regulate or suspend the immigration of Chinese laborers into the country, but secure liberty of immigration to all other classes, and pledge the United States to give protection to all Chinese residents in America. The first objection that has been made is that the ambiguous term laborers, is capable of being construed as applying only to unskilled, manual labor, while skilled artisans and the like might not be reached by our regulative legislation. This we think a weak objection, as the evident intent of the Treaty is to admit freely those who do not come to compete for employment, and to enable the Government to exclude all others. Of much greater force is

the objection that neither this nor the Treaties which preceded it secure a fair reciprocity in this matter of intercourse. The Chinese traveller may go anywhere throughout our country, but the American, be he trader, traveller, or missionary, is confined to the treaty ports, and takes his life in his hand when he attempts to penetrate the interior of the country. The Chinese government has never pledged itself to give him protection if he should leave the limited area of those ports. Again, we doubt if the Treaty does not convey a promise which exceeds the constitutional powers of the national government, when it assures the Imperial government of the protection of Chinese residents in America. A government which cannot protect its own citizens in the exercise of the political duties it requires at their hands, should be sparing of the promises it makes for the citizens of other countries resident on its soil.

The Treaty of Commerce is not of such immense importance as some of the newspapers seem to think. Our commerce with the Chinese is small and declining. Even where they are purchasing more largely of our fabrics, such as cotton, their purchases are generally made through other countries, and not directly. The treaty is notable chiefly in throwing open what commerce we have to the freest competition of Chinese ships and sailors. While we claim the right to regulate their immigration, for the benefit of workmen on land, we renounce the American sailor to the merciless competition of a race that can live and save money on five cents a day. As a consequence, we shall soon see our trans-Pacific commerce entirely in the hands of the almond-eyed Celestials, and their mercantile marine driving ours from that great ocean, except its scanty coasting trade. There is, besides, a want of fairness as regards the proposed regulation of the opium traffic. No American ship is to take it to China, while English ships are allowed to do so. If China will make up her mind to abolish the opium trade, root and branch, she will have the united support of the civilized world in so doing. But if she means to let it go on, she has no right to require of us that it shall be confined to British bottoms. If that restriction be the first step to the abolition of the traffic, it is all right. If less than that, it is all wrong. We believe that the Chinese do honestly desire to see the end of the traffic,

although nearly all Englishmen and a few Americans profess to doubt their sincerity. We fail to see what evidence they could give of their sincerity which they have not given. And we believe that only courage and tact is needed to put a stop to it. They complicated their case in 1838 with side issues, which gave the English their opportunity. But if the main issue were put fairly before the people of England and the world, it would be impossible for the English Government to repeat the infamy of 1838, whatever it might cost their East India revenue.

THE mining camp called the State of Nevada, after selling a United States Senatorship to a millionaire, has taken a vote on the Chinese question, and by a great majority has declared that "the Chinese must go." The only thing remarkable in the matter is that the aforesaid mining camp should think its opinion worth quoting in this connection. There is no community in the United States whose opinion has less moral weight, and there is no sin in the record of the Republican party greater than the erection into a State of this barren wilderness, with a population of money-hunters, stationary in numbers, though constantly shifting in composition, and with a soil poisoned beyond any hope of redemption short of the Day of Judgment. Only the general credence given to the gross lies told by the promoters of the first Pacific railway, can account for the popular delusion that such a country and such a people were fit for admission into the American Union as a State.

In California the approval of the new treaties has been made a party question in the Legislature, the Republican majority giving them its support. The minority, and those they represent, are dissatisfied, of course, because no provision is made for the expulsion of the Chinese already in our country. We think the whole people of the country, with a few exceptions, would regard their expulsion as an act of the grossest cruelty to a large body of poor creatures, most of whom have risked their whole substance and the best years of their lives in pushing their fortunes in America. On the other hand, the Chinese colony in America contains but few families, and gains little by natural increase. Its members come with no intention of staying permanently in this country, and by the moderate exercise of the power secured in the treaty, their numbers will be so reduced that their competition will be much

less formidable to the white laborer than it has been. Exactly what use will be made of those powers, is a matter which will cause some discussion among our own people, and we may look to see an energetic division of opinion between the Pacific coast and the rest of the country. But the chief value of the treaty is that it will enable us to get rid of the sectional alienation which has been rising between that and the other parts of the country, and which forms one of the serious dangers of the national situation.

THE Senatorial elections of the month have been the most important events in its politics. Mr. Hale of Maine, Mr. Dawes of Massachusetts, Mr. Thos. L. Platt of New York, Mr. Sewell of New Jersey, Mr. Bayard of Delaware, Mr. Conger of Michigan, Mr. Cockrell of Missouri, Mr. Philetus Sawyer of Wisconsin, Mr. Sherman of Ohio, Mr. Harrison of Indiana, Mr. Fair of Nevada, and Mr. John F. Miller of California, have all been elected or re-elected to the United States Senate. In most cases their election was decided before a vote had been reached even in the nominating caucus, the less prominent candidates having withdrawn their names for the sake of harmony.

In New York the struggle for the Republican nomination was a three-cornered one, the Conkling wing of the party having divided upon two candidates, and the Reformers having taken up Mr. Chauncey Depew, the attorney of Mr. Vanderbilt's railroads,—a singular choice for such high-toned politicians as the New York Independents. The struggle was between the following of Mr. Arthur and that of Mr. Cornell in the Conkling ranks, and for a time Mr. Conkling seems to have avoided any expression of his preference, possibly through fear of causing an alienation of a large number of his own friends. At length his much-invoked aid was extended to Mr. Cornell's candidate, and Mr. Platt was nominated. The affair is significant as promising a division in the Conkling ranks. Mr. Arthur's friends assured us, during the recent campaign, that there could be no greater mistake than to class the Vice-President as "Mr. Conkling's man." They claimed for him an independence and decision of character quite inconsistent with that designation. That they were right seems to be established both by the smallness of the comfort Mr. Conkling derived from Mr. Arthur's nomination, and from the character of the recent

struggle, in which Mr. Arthur supported the claims of Mr. Crowley, a young Roman Catholic lawyer from the western part of the State. We may therefore look for a new era in the Republican politics of New York, with Mr. Arthur in an independent and influential position as the head of a body of Republicans who are not willing to wear the Conkling collar.

BOTH in the New York and in the Pennsylvania canvass for the Senatorship, it was secretly whispered and openly boasted that Mr. Garfield was about to place the federal patronage of those States at the service of the Senators already in power, and that those who did not accept their leadership might expect to be treated as Mr. Grant had treated them during his administration. In our own State it was alleged, on what must be regarded as high authority, that Mr. Cameron had been offered a seat in the new Cabinet, and that if he declined, it would be left to him to nominate the Secretary of War, or possibly of the Treasury. These stories were made up to influence doubtful votes, and were simply lies. That Mr. Garfield had made no compacts and would make none with the Senatorial Ring, was well known to those who cared to know, long before the November election. Of course, he is not going to follow Mr. Hayes's weak policy of proscription of "the stalwarts," as they are pleased to call themselves. But he is not capable of the baseness of conferring exclusive favors upon the men who, for the sake of getting the offices for their own faction, risked at Chicago the success of the party by their persistence in support of one he knew to be an impossible candidate, and who took his own nomination in a manner which was personally insulting, to say nothing of the danger to which it exposed the whole party. Mr. Garfield owed neither his nomination nor, in any eminent sense, his election to the "stalwarts," and he is under no bonds either of gratitude or contract to do their bidding.

IN New Jersey the candidates actually before the caucus were none of them worthy of the position, and the caucus magnanimously elected the worst. General Sewell is an employé of the Pennsylvania Railroad, and his election by the Republican Legislature, in view of what that Railroad did last November to effect the defeat of the Republican candidate for Governor, might be

taken by a stranger as an evidence of the forgiving spirit which reigns in our political councils. The truth seems to be that Mr. Sewell's election was secured by just the same underhand and dishonorable influences as effected Mr. Potts's defeat, and that he goes to the United States Senate as the representative not of the Commonwealth, but of the corporations which have so long ridden roughshod over its interests. As the time is approaching when the State will have the right to take possession of the Camden and Amboy Railroad at an appraised value not exceeding the cost of construction, there seems to be a determination on the part of the companies to secure the control of the State by every means; and Mr. Sewell, it may be, was selected as the agent who can best use the federal patronage to that end.

IN Pennsylvania the opposition to Mr. Grow's candidacy was not publicly concentrated on any one man, until the Legislature was about to meet. It then appeared that the Machine had been busy in the dark, and that Mr. Oliver, a Pittsburg manufacturer, was to be put forward for an office for which he possessed no fitness except his wealth and a certain amount of local influence. For a time it was in doubt how Mr. McManes would direct the large vote he controls in the Philadelphia delegation, but it seems that bargains formed at the time of Mr. Kemble's pardon, and growing out of that unsavory transaction, obliged him to vote with the Machine under the direction of Mr. Matthew S. Quay, the chief engineer in that transaction, as in Mr. Oliver's candidacy. It was evident from the first that Mr. Oliver was the Kemble candidate for the Senatorship; that he was also the Cameron candidate soon appeared. The Grow men, relying upon the instructions given to representatives by their constituencies, were confident that Mr. Oliver could not obtain a majority in the caucus. But they were reckoning without their host, for they soon discovered that, by methods not new in Harrisburg, eight of their men had been carried over to Mr. Oliver's support, and that in spite of their own vote for Mr. Grow and the scattering vote for other candidates, Mr. Oliver would have a majority of two. In these circumstances they determined very properly not to enter the caucus. Up to the morning of its meeting, the Oliver men were assured of an easy success, but were suddenly confronted by a public pledge, similar

in its character and wording to that which broke down the Unit Rule at Chicago, binding the Grow men to stand united against caucus dictation. At this writing, repeated balloting in the Legislature has effected no change in the situation, while there has been a very general satisfaction among honest people with this revolt against the tyranny of caucus rule.

IN West Virginia, Tennessee and Nebraska there have been dead-locks in the election of Senators. In the first and the last instances the issue at stake has been no larger than the comparative claims of statesmen of the dominant party in either State. In Tennessee it turns upon the prolonged struggle between the High and Low Taxation Democrats, *i. e.*, between Democrats who wish to pay sixty per cent. of the State debt, and Democrats who want to pay forty or less. Neither party has a majority, and the Republicans have some hopes of electing Mr. Maynard, for whom they vote solidly. The Republicans in general favor the payment of the whole debt, although a majority of the State's creditors have offered to take the sixty per cent. offered by the better class of Democrats. It is to be hoped that they will make no descent from this platform to secure a United States' Senator or anything else. Great as may be the importance of a single vote in the Senate, the importance of keeping the record of the Republican party clean in this matter of the public obligations is still greater. It can better afford to have the Democrats rule the Senate than see the future mortgaged by degrading compliances.

It is questionable whether the secession of Messrs. Forney, Sickles and Butler from the Republican party left a vacuum. If it did, there is some reason to fear that Senator Mahone of Virginia is about to rush in and fill it, and that he is to have the sanction of a certain class of Republican leaders in so doing. His recent manifesto, in which he gives the history of the party divisions in Virginia and their relation to the State debt, was not a spontaneous affair. It was carefully arranged by a set of Republicans of the Cameron stripe, more bent on getting one more vote to their side in the Senate, than on just dealing with either Virginia's creditors or her Democratic politicians. They set Mr. Mahone to whitewash his political record by pleading (1.) that the State cannot pay its

debts in full and that nobody in Virginia proposes that it shall; and (2.) that no party propose terms to the creditors of the State more favorable than those offered by his Readjusters. The manifesto was meant to cover Mr. Mahone's accession to the Republican ranks, and to show that he is a much misunderstood statesman. We are glad to see that the Democrats of the other and honester school have torn it to rags, and shown his allegations to be unfair and inaccurate at every point. They hold that Virginia can pay her debts, after deducting the fair proportion due for West Virginia; that Mr. Mahone's figures are based on false valuations as regards the wealth of the State, and that honest Democrats propose to do their utmost to secure to the State's creditors all that the State can pay and the creditors can fairly claim.

A CERTAIN class of Americans are always crying for a more drastic treatment of the Mormons, just as they cry for Prohibition and Compulsory Education, and as they used to demand "unconditional, immediate emancipation," and denounce the Republican party as half-hearted. The Governor of the Territory has earned their applause by refusing a certificate of election to Mr. Cannon, the Mormon candidate for delegate, who had 18,000 votes, and giving it to Mr. Campbell, the Gentile candidate, who had 1,300 votes. That is as it should be, in their opinion. They only wonder that it was not done before, for the man is a polygamous Mormon, and the Governor says he never was naturalized as a citizen. Now this is altogether wrong. Not even to put down the Mormons can we abandon our regular and constitutional mode of procedure. We cannot afford to pack juries, as was done in Utah a few years ago, for the simple reason that that is a precedent which might be turned on its inventors. Nor can we afford to have Governors undertaking to decide on the eligibility of those whom the people have elected to represent them in Congress. That duty belongs only to Congress; and however lax it may be in excluding polygamists or unnaturalized citizens, the whole control of the matter rests with it, and must be left there. For the sake of the whole frame of our liberties, we must take our measures against Mormonism within the line of strict legality and substantial justice.

WE cannot congratulate our Democratic friends upon their

mode of procedure in rallying their forces after their defeat in November. In their view, they owed that defeat to the dissensions and treasons in their own camp, especially in New York city, and they proceeded to expel the supposed traitors from the camp, and to effect a local reorganization on new lines. We doubt the sufficiency of their theory of the defeat, and we think they have weakened themselves by their new measures. Mr. Kelly is still at the head of the Tammany Hall faction, and although considerably weakened by recent events, is still strong enough to repeat the tactics which resulted in Gov. Robinson's defeat. The bitterness which existed between the two factions, and which time might have mollified, has been made more intense. And the outlook for the Democracy of that State is distinctly worse than it was in November last. There is grave reason for the suspicion that the recent movements were designed less for the benefit of the Democratic party, than to gratify the revengeful feeling which Mr. Tilden entertains toward Mr. Kelly, who, by defeating Gov. Robinson, made Mr. Tilden's nomination at Cincinnati impossible.

IN Philadelphia politics, the Ring have got over the fright occasioned by the organization of the Citizens' Committee, and have made up the regular ticket much after the old fashion. Mr. Stokley is renominated for Mayor, as everyone expected. Mr. West is renominated for City Solicitor, although singularly incompetent for that office, as he is not a lawyer of any standing in his profession, and has low ideas of his duty as an official. Mr. Pierie, the secretary of the Corn Exchange, is nominated for Receiver of Taxes, and does not lack for ability, nor perhaps for good intentions, but he will have very hard work indeed to give the public an honest administration of that office, and to prevent the Ring from using it as an instrument of public corruption. On the whole, Mr. McManes might have done worse for us, but it would not have needed much insight and skill to have done a great deal better.

OF the gentlemen nominated by the Citizens' Committee, Mr. Caven declines the nomination for City Solicitor, Mr. Hunter accepts that for Receiver of Taxes, and Mr. Stokley, while quite willing to accept that for Mayor if not asked too many questions, is withdrawn by the Committee itself because he will not sign its declaration

of principles. The Committee's action in Mr. Stokley's case has the appearance of haste and the want of due consideration. But this, they say, was not their fault. They had made up their minds not to nominate Mr. Stokley until they could have further conference with him; but their hand was forced by Mr. Drexel and some others who would hear of no delay. We think the whole situation offers sufficient evidence that the Committee adopted a wrong mode of procedure throughout. Making nominations should have been their last resort, instead of their first. They thus came before the public in the attitude of a third party, having men of their own to urge on its attention, and robbed their movement of the power it had against the Ring. Had they simply stood on the alert, they would have had far more influence to prevent the making of bad nominations, and to make doubtful nominations good by exacting definite pledges.

MR. GOLDWIN SMITH has been on a visit to our city, to inspect our system of Charity Organization, and to get such hints as it may furnish for a similar movement in Toronto, of which he has been chosen Chairman. Young as Canada is, Canadians find, as we do, that this is a vital issue with them. The movement is advancing in all the great cities of both Europe and America. Of Boston and Buffalo we have spoken formerly. Cincinnati is now fully organized, on the same footing as Philadelphia. Glasgow, which more than half a century ago cast out Dr. Chalmers's grand experiment with scorn, is taking up his ideas again, as they come back with the approval of the civilized world. And New York is laboring after something of the kind, although the peculiar position of her city charities makes its attainment exceedingly difficult.

THE PERSECUTION OF THE JEWS IN GERMANY.

PHILADELPHIA, January 24, 1881.

MR. EDITOR:—I do not know whether it is the policy of your magazine to publish letters, especially such as complain of your writings, but whether you choose to print this or deem it fitter for the waste-paper basket, I feel impelled, as an American Jew, to say something concerning the sentiments expressed in the paragraph on the anti-Jewish agitation in Germany, contained in "The Month" of your January number.

Leading principles of liberty, such as the right of every man to his religious opinions, and the responsibility of each individual for his own acts and his irresponsibility for those of others, ought not to be overlooked, even by accident, in a magazine bearing the great name of Penn and claiming to represent distinctively American thought. Yet even the least interested reader must have noticed that you wrote as if these ideas had not been in your view.

In apologizing for the course of Chaplain Stœcker and his party, you appear to think that the writings of certain editors of the Jewish faith, and the avocations of certain other persons of the same faith, are reasonable causes for the passage of punitive laws against the Jews as a class. If the writings and avocations alluded to are injurious to the public weal, doubtless every good citizen of Germany has the privilege and duty to favor the passage of laws punishing them, and no Jew, at least no American Jew, can be found who would utter a word by way of protest. What we denounce, and what you ought to have condemned, is the indiscriminate attack upon all persons of the Jewish faith, regardless of their guilt or innocence in the respects complained of.

But are your facts sure? Did I not know to the contrary, the tone of your article would certainly have inspired the conviction that both premises and conclusion had been filtered through the brain of a Teutonic Jew-hater; for you should know that the mania for persecuting the Jews is nothing new in Germany, even in modern times. In periods of excitement, it has always been the fashion of the rabble to shout "Hep! Hep!" and to annoy, injure and oppress the Jews. It happened in 1818-19, and again in the exciting season of 1848-49, and at other odd times before and since.

And on those occasions the reasons now given could not be urged, because restrictive laws had prevented Jews from being offensive editors or even considerable employers of labor.

I deny your facts, however. I know the Jewish newspapers of Germany, which (pardon me for saying it) you certainly do not; and the literary labors of their editors, Fürst, Frankel, Gratz, Geiger, Stein, Philippson and others, have become classics in the Oriental literature of Germany. They certainly have never discussed Christianity disrespectfully or unworthily. It may well be that there are secular journals in Germany employing irreverent and blasphemous scribes. Unfortunately, such persons are not unknown even here. It may also be that some such persons are Jews by birth or profession, though how a sensible man can believe the silly story that the bulk of the German press is in Jewish hands, I do not see. Such a fact would be the completest vindication of the nobility of the Jewish character, and so overwhelming a reproach upon the rest of their countrymen, that it ought not to be uttered by a thoughtful man. If, however, there be secular journals employing editors who happen to be Jews, that is no reason for charging their sins on the Jewish church, and your characterization of the *Börsen Zeitung* (the Bourse Gazette), of Berlin, as a Jewish paper, is as unfair as if I were to denounce one of the flashy, obscene, illustrated sheets that meet us at every street-corner, as a Christian newspaper, because its publishers and editors probably adhere to some Christian church.

Nor is it true that the Jews of Germany are "speculators, brokers, employers of labor, but rarely, if ever, do they add anything to the wealth of which they manage to secure a considerable share." Without adverting to the fact that even socialistic students of political economy have hitherto thought that the intelligent dealing in money exchanges and the wise supervision of labor are virtuous and useful methods of adding to a country's wealth, I beg to point out the fact that one of the chief objections urged by their persecutors is that the Jews, ignoring mere material advantages, devote so much labor to their education that their eminence in the learned professions of law, physic and scientific teaching threatens to increase inordinately their mental and moral influence over the people of the Empire.

Admitting even what you deny—the right of the government to

dictate to its citizens certain kinds of labor, how could these Christian Socialists justly claim that there should be one kind of regulation for the Germans of the Christian faith and another for Germans of the Jewish faith?

The truth is that the movement is not confined to the small party of Christian Socialists, but embraces large numbers of other parties, and instead of being the expression of a desire for a better social state, is simply a relic of medieval barbarism and nothing but an attack on the freedom of religious opinion. The thin disguise of the learned academical term "Anti-Semite" ought not to obscure the vision of an American. You should blush for humanity when you learn that thousands of the most talented young Germans hold conventions at universities to deprive their Jewish countrymen, not of profitable sinecures, but of the privilege of attending institutions of learning, and you should feel mortified to reflect that you have defended, or at least not condemned, an attack upon a whole community for the acts of a trifling fraction of them, even if these acts were as reprehensible as they are probably noble and beneficial to the State.

It is a notion often expressed or implied of late in our newspapers, that the Jews are foreigners in Germany. Nothing can be further from the truth. Jews probably dwelt in Germany before Christ was born, and the rites of the Jewish Church were celebrated while the barbarous native tribes practiced heathenism, and before Christianity had obtained a foothold there. I, myself, within the last few months, read from the tombstones in the cemetery at Worms, the inscriptions commemorative of Jews who were buried there more than eight hundred years ago, and no man knows for how many centuries they had lived there before.

It is true that prior to the nineteenth century they were deprived of civil rights, on the avowed ground that they were not Christians, and it is also true that at the beginning of this century, when the influence of the French Revolution was stirring men's minds all over Europe, many brilliant intellects embraced Christianity as the only method of entering a state of which they felt themselves component parts by birth and by the immemorial residence of their ancestors. But liberalism became triumphant and gradually their emancipation followed. Jews became artificers, mechanics, lawyers, doctors, soldiers, officers and judges. In all

the industrial branches they have labored zealously, and the blood shed for their step-mother country has reddened the battle-fields of Europe.

But they are Jews, and therefore every wrong perpetrated by one of them is charged upon the whole community, and their very virtues are distorted into crimes. The court preacher and the university professors and students shout that the Jews are rich, and though the great majority are as miserably poor as their fellow-citizens, and though they furnish at least their proportion to the Socialist party, these utterances incite mobs to insult, rob and murder them. Well may Karl Hillebrand, Carl Vogt, Mommsen, Virchow, and the other great leaders of modern thought, whom you seem to believe ignorant of the causes and meaning of this movement, blush for their country and its shame, and the reproachful words and indignant protests of a Beecher and a Collyer reflect honor on the American name and on the excellency of human nature.

You, however, deem it due to the Stæcker party "to point out that they are making an impartial assault upon a whole system, of which the Jews are merely the more prominent part." That is to say, that the eightieth part of the German population is the part that is to be singled out and assaulted for the social system which exists all over the civilized world, and this you call impartial!

Do you happen to have heard of the German Jews Lasalle and Karl Marx, the two men who, in modern times, have dealt some of the heaviest blows at the Capitalistic *régime*? And did you read the Russian attacks upon the Jews as Nihilists or Socialists?

To a lover of freedom all these subterfuges ought to be painfully transparent. In every country where barbarism temporarily or permanently obtains the upper hand, free thought is oppressed and reasons of the most inconsistent and contradictory nature are given therefor. When the Russian wishes to knout and exile the Jew, he denounces him as a Socialist; when the German professor or preacher has the same end in view, he calls him an Anti-Socialist. The true inwardness of it all is a brutal ignoring of human right, and I am ashamed and humiliated when I see that any of my fellow-countrymen have permitted themselves to be deceived, and especially when, as in your case, they have been made the unwitting instruments of misleading others.

When this craze shall be over, and the virtue and true Chris-

tianity of Germany shall again obtain the upper hand, the demon of persecution will be allayed, and many now led by contagious and unreasoning passion will regret the reproach which their acts have thrown on their country.

On that day let it not be said that America was partly to blame for having encouraged wrong and oppression.

Respectfully yours,
MAYER SULZBERGER.

SCENES OF YOUTH.

(From the German.)

My soul returns in dreamings
To the gladsome days of yore,
To the days whose joys and sorrows
Are fled forevermore.

High o'er the waving hedges
The castle turrets rise,
And the scenes of happy childhood
Greet my weary, aged eyes.

I recognize the towers,
The archway and the door ;
I enter at the gateway,
And pass the bridge once more.

Through the loved old park I wander,
Along the well-worn way ;
I cross the courtyard pavement
With time grown old and grey.

I greet the well-known faces
Of companions old and dear,—
I hear the pleasant voices
Which I never more shall hear.

There gleams the moss-grown fountain,
And the flowers are as gay
As when beneath their fragrance,
I dreamed my youth away.

Oh years of fondest mem'ry!
 Could I once more behold
 In life the forms I love so well,—
 Those loving friends of old.

Could I but for a moment
 Revisit as a child
 Those scenes of youthful pleasure—
 Of my boy-hood free and wild,

I would crave to live no longer,
 But would freely lay my head
 'Neath the flowers by the fountain,
 And be happy with the dead.

EDWIN CHAMBERS.

BERNARD PALISSY.

THERE are certain destinies in the histories of literary men which posterity appears to take delight in rendering posthumous justice. From the many of the class alluded to, take De Foe for an example. De Foe has been redeemed from ignominy, by the admiration of the people of Europe and America, and were dear Oliver Goldsmith to rise from the grave, the debts whose evil influence rusted the powers of his mind during his life would be readily liquidated by his admirers. But this sort of posthumous influence is usually attained by writers of poetry and romance, whose spirit seems more vital in its grasp upon the human mind. Toward the men of science, we remain cold and ungrateful. The march of experiment is so rapidly progressive, that each decade seems to efface the marvels of its antecedent; and newer discoveries blot the memory of those to whom we are so largely indebted. At the best, we estimate their achievements according to the value their isolation represents.

We overlook their toilsome days, their sleepless nights, their sacrifice of health and property, and measure out our tribute of laurels, or the palms of martyrdom, with a niggard's hand. For though no subsequent fiction, be it said, can dislodge from our affections Robinson Crusoe, or the Vicar of Wakefield, or Tam o' Shanter, the lustre of such names as Davy, Farraday and Morse

has "paled the ineffectual fires" of many whose lives were devoted, and not infructuously, to the advancement of science.

It is a source of bitter reflection on the capriciousness of fame, to peruse the biography of these early struggles in a career now so smooth, and though posthumous fame affords a sufficiently hollow compensation for a life of toil and utter privation, the giver, if not the receiver, of such honors is benefited by the tribute.

All this is exemplified in the history of Bernard Palissy, a name but little honored in his own country and but little known in others, though it be that of the father of several highly important discoveries, beside being a valuable link in the powerful chain of philosophy.

Palissy belonged to the great epoch of the revival of the arts, yet, though an artist, lived a beggar and died a captive. While Francis I. was despatching messengers to Italy to engage the services of Benvenuto Cellini, of Andrea del Sarto, and of Leonardo da Vinci, a man of genius was starving in his own town of Saintes, to whom the fosterhood of his patronage would have afforded means of bringing to perfection certain arts of his invention, which have since afforded, and still afford, to France one of her most important branches of commerce. But Palissy was a native artist; Palissy was undistinguished by the stamp, then essential, of an Italian origin, or education.

To foreigners were assigned the creation and the embellishment of the new palaces; and to Palissy, obscurity, contumely and neglect. Born in some village, the name of which is unknown, in the diocese of Agen, about the year 1500, he followed the humble calling of land-surveyor, to which, as he advanced in years, he added that of painting on glass. At that period the art of porcelain making was unknown. The discovery of Herculaneum and Pompeii have enabled us to determine the progress made by the ancients in Keramics, and in the beginning of the sixteenth century the only manufactory of crockery which could pretend to the name of porcelain, was at Faënza in Italy; whither it is said to have been transported from China by the Venetian merchants. From this factory was derived the name of faiënce, a term familiar both in this country and throughout Europe. It happened that, in a visit to Agen, Palissy, the painter on glass, saw a specimen of faënza, or Oriental porcelain, which inspired him with the hope of discov-

ering some sort of white enamel—known now as “tin enamel”—by which a glossy encrustation on the surface of earthenware might be successfully produced, and from that moment he devoted fifteen years of his life to the pursuit of this single object. It appears a simple method to have proceeded at once to Faënza and become a workman in the famous pottery at that place. But means for so long a journey were wanting, and he accordingly gave to the enterprise all that was in his *power*, every moment of his days and every faculty of his mind.

As a painter on glass, the art of mixing and fixing colors was well-known to him; but the difficulty of transferring pottery-ware and covering them with a transparent silicious varnish seems to have baffled his most persistent endeavors. Scarcely able to provide for the maintenance of his wife and family, he had the greatest difficulty in procuring colors and pottery, to effect his experiments. Half his time was lost in grinding and pounding materials, and in the vain attempt to construct the requisite ovens; at length he contrived to interest the owner of a pottery, who undertook to bake for him his experimental pieces; but, partly from ignorance and partly from ill-will, the attempt was inexpertly made; and, ruined in fortune, health and spirits, at the close of twelve years of incessant labor, Palissy was compelled by the wants of his family to abandon his pursuit and resume his more thriving calling as an engineer. Having obtained from his district a commission to drain certain salt-marshes, he executed his task with credit and profit, and thus having obtained the means of continuing his attempts, he returned with greater diligence than ever to his enamelling, and sent the new samples of his skill to be baked in the furnace of a glasshouse. And now, for the first time, the composition he had invented, proved fusible. Out of *three hundred* specimens of various experiments submitted at the same time to the action of the furnace, a single one presented, on cooling, a hard, white vitreous and brilliant surface. The joy of poor Palissy may be easily conceived.

“I was, however, at that time of my life, so simple,” says he, in his narrative of experiments, “that the moment I had hit upon the real enamel, I set about making the pottery-ware to which it was to be applied; and after losing eight months in the task, I had next to construct a furnace similar to those of the glasshouses in

which it was to be baked. No one can conceive the trouble it cost me, for I had to do all by the single labor of my hands—to sift the mortar, and even draw the water with which it was to be mixed—I had not so much as the help of a single man in fetching the bricks; my own back bore all. My first baking prospered pretty well, but when it came to the second, after the enamel had been spread over the pottery I was unable to produce the heat necessary for the fusion. Six days and nights did I remain feeding and watching the furnace, half distracted and almost stupefied by the intense heat and my own bitter disappointment. At last it occurred to me that the composition contained an insufficient proportion of the substance which had produced the fusion in the former instance; and I accordingly set about pounding and grinding, though still obliged to keep up the fire of the oven, so that I had treble labor on my hands. The former pieces being now spoiled, I was forced to go out and purchase new pots to be covered by the fresh composition; and on my return had the misery of discovering that my stock of wood was exhausted! What was to be done? I rushed into my garden and tore up the trellises; and these being insufficient, was obliged to sacrifice the dressers, stools, tables and boarding of my house! All these were successively thrust into the furnace, in the hope of melting the enamel!"

The reader will probably recall to mind the account given by Benvenuto Cellini, in his Memoirs, of having contributed all his pewter dishes and household utensils to the metal prepared for his famous Statue of Perseus, which proved slow and also difficult of fusion. But the Italian *protégé* of princes makes a vaunt of *his* sacrifice, whereas the meek Palissy couches his statement in the terms of a confession.

"Scorched by the heat of the furnace," says he, "and reduced to a skeleton by the transpiration arising from this prodigious heat, I had now a new vexation in store for me. My family having indiscreetly circulated the report of my taking up and burning the flooring of my house, I was considered insane by my neighbors, and my precarious credit entirely destroyed.

"If I had then died, I should have left behind me the name of a madman, who had ruined his family by a frantic speculation. But though sick and dispirited, I cheered myself with the certainty

that the discovery of which I had been so long in pursuit was effected; and that henceforward I had only to persevere in my labors. The difficulty of maintaining my family for five or six months longer, till a satisfactory result could be obtained, was the first consideration; but in order to hasten the period, I hired a potter to assist me in my work, furnishing him with models and materials.

"A cruel drawback it was, that I was unable to maintain this man in my dismantled home, for I was forced to run up a bill for his board at a neighboring tavern. Nay, when at the end of six months, he had made me the various articles of crockery according to my designs, so that nothing remained to be done but to cover them with my enamel and submit them to the furnace, being forced to dismiss my workman, I had no means of paying him his wages, except by giving him my clothes, which I accordingly did, and my person was now as thoroughly dismantled as my house!"

All the rest of his labors poor Palissy had to encounter alone, though his hands were so cut and bruised with his work that he was obliged, he says, to eat his pottage as well as he could with his hands wrapped in linen rags. The hand-mill in which he ground his materials required the power of two strong men to work it, yet he was wholly without assistance. Nor were his disappointments yet at an end. After having, with infinite pains and considerable cost, constructed a new oven, it turned out that the mortar he had used was full of flint—probably the refuse of his materials—and when the furnace was heated these flints flew, and attached themselves to the pottery, so that it was completely spoiled.

"On passing the hand over my vases," he says, "little fragments of flint were perceptible, which cut like a razor. I instantly determined to break them up, rather than sell them in a deteriorated state for what they would fetch, which might have injured the reputation of my discovery. But no sooner had I done so than I was beset by the maledictions of my starving family and the mockery of my neighbors, who treated me as a madman, for not having realized a few crowns by my damaged goods."

Nevertheless, the man of genius toiled on! Satisfied of the strength that was in him, and of the importance of his discovery, he went to work again with an injured credit and constitution, an object of hatred to some and contempt to others. From the

exhausting nature of his labors, his arms and legs had become like sticks ; so that, according to his own brief description, there was nothing to keep up his garters, and his stockings came upon his heels as he walked, till he was the picture of wretchedness and woe. Between the action of the tremendous heat of the furnace and the influence of the rain and frost on his poorly constructed works, his workshop was frequently unroofed, so that he was compelled to borrow material for its repair. But this was not always to be accomplished ; and he tells us that he often remained watching his oven through winter nights, exposed to wind and weather, with the owls hooting on one side and the dogs howling on the other.

“Wet to the skin with the beating in of the heavy rains, and groping about in the dark for want of a candle, I have often retired to rest at midnight, or even at day-break,” he says, “looking like some drunken wretch who had been rolling in a gutter. But the worst I had to suffer was from the accusations of my neighbors, who had assisted me, and who now regarded me as a robber ; and the reproaches of my family, who treated me as a selfish lunatic.”

This is but a faint outline of the miseries and fatigues endured by Bernard Palissy in bringing to perfection an art which has proved so highly beneficial to his own and to other countries. The furnaces and ovens of his invention, be it remembered, are still in use at Sèvres, and have been closely copied by the porcelain workers of other countries. The moulds in which the vases are baked to secure them from accident, were devised by Palissy after his unlucky loss from the flying flints ; and his recipes for the mixing of colors are still patent.

The porcelain of Palissy soon acquired a prodigious reputation, and but few museums or collections of objects of *vertu* in our day but contain specimens of his works under the name of Raphael ware, or china of the middle ages. The embossed dishes exhibiting reptiles and animals, in great perfection, were the invention of Palissy ; and several of his dishes and vases present copies of celebrated pictures executed in relief. Table services, to replace the wooden and pewter vessels then in use, were the chief objects to which he devoted his art ; and with so much taste and skill that many of the original designs exhibit the genius of a first-rate sculptor.

The fame of his discovery extended rapidly through France, and

orders were given him by all the nobles of the court of Henri II.; among others, by the Duc de Montmorency, who employed him to decorate his stately chateau of Ecouin. One of the salons was paved with tiles of Palissy's porcelain; these still remain perfect, unless where the design has been destroyed by the introduction of one of those huge N's which, during the Empire, were made to disfigure all the ancient public edifices of France.

It was while he was working for the Connétable de Montmorency, that the artist had to undergo a new species of persecution. Being a strict Huguenot, his manufactory was denounced by the Commission under the command of the Duc de la Rochefoucauld; and the Catholics of Saintes caused him to be arrested and sent to Bordeaux, to be burnt at the stake. But the reputation of Palissy was then so deservedly great, that, having presented a memorial to the queen-mother, Catharine de Medicis, he was rescued by her intervention from this terrible sentence. It was probably in gratitude for her interference that he invented the miniature statues, or *figulines*, of the king and queen-mother, to which he frequently recurs—a name derived from *figulus*, or working in clay.

Thus driven from his native place, Palissy established himself in Paris, where he commenced the first collection of natural history ever attempted in France, and a series of experiments in chemistry and metallurgy of the highest importance. Georges Agricola, who passes among the French for the father of the latter science, was just then publishing his treatises on mineralogy. But he wrote in Latin, of which Palissy did not understand a word; and it was the laborious experimentalist who was the first to communicate to his countrymen the contents of the bowels of the earth. The first course of public lectures ever given in Paris was delivered by Palissy, who placarded the walls of that city with an intimation that, for the price of one crown, he was ready to communicate to all who were desirous of information, the whole of his discoveries in physics and natural history, and to argue with those who were prepared for refutation. Such as were not satisfied with his instructions were to receive back their crown on demand. Palissy has informed us that the crown was not in a single instance demanded; and he has also furnished us with a list of his audience, which comprised the leading nobles, prelates, and magistrates of

the time. In order to appreciate the merit of his undertaking, be it understood that at that period a royal astrologer monopolised the scientific patronage of the court, and that alchemy was cultivated not alone by the ignorant, but by the learned of the times. The city was, moreover, distracted by civil wars, and the bold lecturer, without understanding a word of the learned languages, had thus thrown down the gauntlet to all the philosophers of the age, belonged to the persecuted party. Nevertheless, he continued to assemble around him the most remarkable personages among the learned of the day; and the simple-hearted but enthusiastic old potter, after wasting his best days over his wretched furnace, had the glory of enlightening the minds of the most enlightened.

In that original course of lectures, the branch of science to which Cuvier and Agassiz have added in our time such remarkable illustrations, was first called into existence. Palissy was the first to assert that the fossil shells and plants hitherto esteemed a sport of nature, were the identical objects in a state of transformation. The modern theory of the earth was shadowed forth in his assertions concerning the nature and origin of fossil fishes, which for more than a century afterward were suffered to lie dormant. By this wondrous instinct of an uninstructed mind, the memory of Palissy became exposed to the sneers of the more learned, but far more ignorant, Voltaire, who speaks of him as "a visionary." "Palissy and his shells" afforded a fertile theme for the pleasantries of one to whom a jest was more available than a fact.

Poor Palissy had now tasted as largely of the sweets of fame and prosperity as was compatible with the evil spirit of the hour. While still collecting around him a host of eager disciples, he was seized and flung into prison. But for the intervention of the Duc de Mayenne, immediate execution would have followed his arrest, and the venerable professor, who was now eighty-eight years old, was incarcerated in the Bastille to secure him from an ignominious death.

Some months afterwards he was visited in prison by Henri III., who was making a tour of inspection of what he termed his "heretic-coop." "*Mon bonhomme*," said his Majesty, "unless you can manage to conform in matters of religion, I am under the necessity of giving you up to your enemies."

"Sire," replied the poor old man, "I am content to dedicate the

remnant of my days to the glory of God. I am sorry to hear so great a king pronounce that he is under the necessity of acting against his conscience, and in that particular am greater than my sovereign or those by whom he is constrained, for I have no fear of death, and am consequently independent."

A few days afterward, Bernard Palissy expired in the Bastille, full of years and virtues, about the year 1588.

The works he has left us are of high and varied interest, comprising treatises on medicine, agriculture, hydraulics, fortification, beside those on metallurgy and chemistry. The history of the Reformed church in his native province, for which we are indebted to his pen, is equal to the works of the foremost historians of his age. But, above all, the shrewdness of his observations, penetrating his simplicity of manners and language, has afforded an invaluable addition to the moral history of those troublous times.

Such was Bernard Palissy, who, in addition to the creation of an important mechanical art, called into existence the germs of our most valuable scientific theories and institutions—the first china-maker of France—the first public lecturer—the first originator of a collection of natural history—the first to assert the nature of fossil remains and to create a school of mines and forests. He is also noted as the first writer upon the subject of springs and fountains. But his memory is entitled to higher reverence, as that of a zealous and persevering man of genius, who overcame, by energy of mind, the united evils of persecution, poverty and ignorance.

WM. DE BEAUVOIR FRYER.

PIERRE LANFREY, THE BIOGRAPHER OF NAPOLEON.

THE publication of Lanfrey's life of Napoleon was a marked event in its day, and the leading reviews gave account of the contents of its successive volumes down to the fifth, which brought the story almost to the opening of the Russian campaign. Soon afterwards the author died, and only lately in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, Count Haussonville has given a sketch of his life. A special interest is due to the fact that while Lanfrey was a Republican and a Liberal of the most uncompromising kind, his biographer is a strong Conservative, and a statesman of the Louis Phillipe type, while Lan-

frey's nearest friend, Count Costa de Beauregard, was of the strictest order of Legitimists. It is plain then that Lanfrey was a man of a high order of intellect, and of great personal virtue, thus to commend himself to men of such opposite political and religious faiths and such different social orders. The story of his life is one of the redeeming incidents of French politics and literature, showing a man earnest in pursuit of high ideals of excellence, singularly free from the faults that are (often erroneously) supposed to be typical of Frenchmen, and unselfish in his love of country and in his sense of duty as a citizen and as a representative. To us, and perhaps to his own countrymen, his life of Napoleon will always remain his greatest book, and all the more important as a sharp contrast to the well-rounded praises and swelling peans of Thiers' History; yet curiously enough, Thiers was Lanfrey's strong political leader and friend, and they were closely united in the views they took of what was necessary for the regeneration of France, and its future good government. Assuming that our readers know Lanfrey's Napoleon, and need no reference to its striking qualities, it is fair to presume that every one who has read that book will be glad to know something of the author, his birth, training and public life. Born in Chambery, in 1828, Lanfrey was the son of the representative of an old family of Savoy, one of Napoleon's officers, and a devoted admirer of the great captain. The mother was of humble origin, but strong in her religious convictions, firm in her maternal devotion, and powerful in her will to do her duty to her only son; she survived through a long and trying widowhood, and in her eighty-sixth year died happy in the fact that he had accomplished all she had hoped for him: was a successful author, a deputy, a senator, and an ambassador. From his earliest letter to his latest, in writing to his mother, he showed himself thoroughly imbued with her qualities, and with the affection and respect which naturally tended to make her influence very lasting and powerful. His early troubles with Jesuit instructors only helped to shorten his path to Paris, that nursing mother of his intellectual and political ideas; but it was the tender tie of affection to his mother in her little country home, making sacrifices to enable him to study in Paris, that kept him free from impure or injurious associations, and made his whole struggle for recognition of his merits and abilities, one in which his mother's sympathy and encouragement were of

infinite and acknowledged service. From the stormy scenes of 1848, as he saw them both in Paris and in the Provinces, he determined to devote himself to the task of historian, sure that by dint of diligent labor, he, too, could make such a record of the men and events of earlier times, as would serve to secure a recognition of his abilities, and a means of guiding his readers on the true path of wise liberty, which alone could be good for mankind.

He spent two years in diligent study in Paris, but in the midst of his successful work, he looked forward to solid and durable history as the occupation of his life. He completed his legal course at Grenôble, and then, after much doubt of his future, hesitation between leaving his mother and sacrificing the advantages of political and literary associations in Paris, varied by profitable journeys in Italy, he settled in Paris in 1852, and in the midst of the danger and discouragement due to the *coup d'état*, started out on the career which led him slowly but surely to honor and distinction. His letters to his mother are full of bitterness and anger at the harsh rule under which all literary men were forced to submit their productions during the dark days of the Second Empire. Publishers, editors, authors, all lived under a ban, and Lanfrey, each in turn, complained of the obstacles in his path to the public. His first book on the Church and the Philosophers of the Eighteenth Century, received much praise from competent judges, but they dared not praise or blame it in print, and he was content to be rewarded with the appreciation and friendship of such sympathetic readers as Ary Scheffer, Henri Martin, Renan, and other leaders in the new movement toward liberal opinions. Beranger advised him to abandon serious literature and especially to avoid the newspapers; Villemain warned him against the dangers of too sudden popularity. He wrote a drama, threw it into the fire, and, again returning to history, wrote an essay on the French Revolution, which excited the greatest interest from his bold judgments and novel opinions. He declared roundly that the absolute Democracy preached by Rousseau, was an unlimited despotism; he denounced Robespierre and praised Mirabeau; he extolled Lafayette as a brilliant hero representing, in the American War of Independence, chivalry in the midst of a revolution, and carrying the virtues of past ages, honor, loyalty, unselfish devotion, love of the glory, into the new world. He praised Montmorency, Roche-

foucauld, d' Aiguillon, Noailles, as the flower of the French nobility hastening to assist a cause in which they had no other interest than that of the general welfare of their fellow-men. For such ideas as these he was heartily denounced as wanting in his old republican faith, and that by writers who were devoting their pens to the praises of Napoleon III. He found himself once more isolated, and just at this time Scheffer and Manin, two of his warmest friends, died, the latter making him his executor, and this again brought him in close contact with the best Italians, who joined French liberals in erecting the noble monument to Manin, in Turin. In the midst of the depression caused by these sad events and by the failure of the efforts made by his friends to secure him a hearing through a newspaper, he wrote and published his most successful book, *The Letters of Everard*, in which, under the thin disguise of a novel, he bitterly satirized the men who were making France the sport of events. Pierre Leroux and Proudhon, Cousin and Sainte Beuve, authors, artists, philosophers and politicians, all figured in his sharp and telling sketches, and while the clever women of the Paris salons welcomed him as the Werther of liberty, Charpentier, the publisher, at the suggestion of Laboulaye, invited him to take charge of the *Revue Nationale*. For three years, from 1860 to 1864, Lanfrey supplied the *chronique*, that important element in French journals, and maintained alike his independence of the Imperial *regime* and of the ultra-Democracy, the two most dangerous enemies of sound liberty, in his opinion. He was positive and almost brutal in his denunciation of the leaders of the extreme radicals, and equally energetic in standing up for the liberties of the religious orders. He pointed to Bismarck as the most irreconcilable and most dangerous enemy of France, and he was steadfast in his opposition to the foreign policy of the Empire. When he collected and published, under the title of *Etudes et Portraits*, his principal sketches from the journal which was obliged to discharge him in order to avoid being suppressed by the Government, he printed in permanent form his judgments of men and measures, of books and opinions, many of which he afterwards modified; but all alike were characterized by his sturdy devotion, his almost boyish energy of speech, and his unrestrained vigor and vehemence, on behalf of his idol, liberty. Thanks partly to the influence of two women who shone in the literary and liberal soci-

ety of Paris, Lanfrey was led to write to them freely and in a tone that better fitted the subjects and his correspondents. These letters have been reprinted in a volume of "*Souvenirs Inédits*," published in 1879, and give a much gentler side to his character than most of his published works. Laying aside by compulsion his other occupations, Lanfrey resolved to devote himself to his History of Napoleon the First. He published the first two volumes in 1867; the third and fourth in 1868 and 1870, and the extraordinary merit of his work has been almost universally recognized. It was a curious acknowledgment of this fact, when M. Schneider, President of the Corps Legislatif, quoted from one of Lanfrey's later volumes of this History, the phrase: "The author of a war is not he who declares it, but he who makes it necessary," and the Emperor Napoleon, in repeating it, attributed it to Montesquieu. When the war burst upon France, Lanfrey showed himself ready to do his duty, both as a soldier and a citizen. He took an active part in the newspaper discussions of his native province, and the other provincial papers reprinted his articles, full of earnest advocacy of a true republic, and of indignant protest against changing one form of tyranny for another. Gambetta offered him an important post in the Government, but Lanfrey refused it, and looked on it as only intended to put him out of the way of expressing his opinions. Almost equally characteristic was his refusal of promotion in the regiment in which he served as private. When the operations of the army were definitely concluded, Lanfrey was defeated for the Legislature in his native town, and was elected in Marseilles. At Bordeaux he at once joined the party of Thiers, and gave him and his measures a support all the more effective as it was purely disinterested, absolutely unselfish, and that of an early literary and historical opponent. It was at the suggestion of Jules Simon, that Thiers appointed Lanfrey Ambassador to Switzerland, and he spent two years in Berne, at a time when the relations of the two Republics, the old and the new, required and found in Lanfrey an able representative. With the fall of Thiers, he returned to the Legislature, and was equally removed from Gambetta-ism and from the union of the two branches of the Bourbons. He surrendered his diplomatic honors to the Duc de Broglie, and the two were and remained strong personal friends and equally strong political opponents. Returned to political life, with

no great pressure of duties, he took up again his History of Napoleon, and published the fifth volume in 1875, receiving great praise for it, even from Gambetta; but now, indifferent to public opinion as to his literary merits, he devoted himself to politics. In the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, he printed a moderate article on Ultramontane Politics, and he prepared an address in the name of the party of the right centre, the conservative Republicans, which secured the hearty approval of Thiers and the best men allied with him. Lanfrey was one of the intimate circle of Thiers' house in the Place St. George, although there were frequent quarrels, one of the bitterest on account of his correction of some error made by Thiers in the geography of his Napoleonic history; but these were soon cured, and when Lanfrey was ordered to the South for his health, Thiers, not anticipating his own early death, was very earnest in his advice to his younger friend, to take care to get well and go to work again. Lanfrey's last illness was a brief one. He died at Pau. With characteristic inaccuracy, M. Haussonville does not give the date of his death. It was on the 16th November, 1877, in his 49th year. But his memory was honored with the strong praise of men of most diverse political opinions. The Duc d'Audiffret-Pasquier said that his works and his politics were inspired by pure love of his country and its liberty. M. Costa de Beauregard, author of the "Homme d'Autrefois," the farthest removed from Lanfrey in his religious and political faith, received his last letter, in which the dying man regretted that they were separated by at least four hundred years in their opinions. Lanfrey is one of the most interesting characters of French literary and political life of our own time. Liberal in politics, and firmly conservative in his Republicanism, he was opposed to the pressure put upon the religious orders, and he had no faith in Gambetta and the ultras who had gained power in France. His honesty was such that he was looked on as a Puritan in principles and in practice; he would not receive his salary as ambassador when he was not occupying the office, nor that of deputy when he was at his post at Berne. His affection for a young cousin led him to have her educated in a convent, that she might be well cared for, while he declined all religious services in his last illness, and forbade them at his grave. His rise in social importance never made him forgetful of his mother, to whom he constantly and affectionately

acknowledged his infinite indebtedness, nor of the numerous relationships with very plain and humble people in the mountains of his native Savoy, to all of whom he gave time and services in a way that was far beyond any money value. His style is singularly free from the besetting sins of his contemporaries; it is clear, strong, nervous, emphatic and energetic. Indeed, his study of the Wellington correspondence, which he praised for its good sense, straightforward honesty, and all the virtues that are wanting in that of his great adversary, seems to have affected his own composition with the happiest influence, for his History of Napoleon has all the fire and vigor of a book inspired by an earnest desire to get at the truth, and to tell it in plain, unvarnished fashion. The world is richer for having such a book, as it is the poorer for the early loss of such a man, and for being thus deprived of the later volumes in which he would have brought the story of Napoleon down to the close of his wonderful career.

A GREAT BOOK AND ITS AUTHOR.*

“IF you ask me,” says Dr. Hedge, “what missionary agent, since the age of the Apostles, has done the greatest work, has been most effective in its action on the souls of men, I should say it is no itinerant going about in the flesh; not Austin nor Anselm; none of those whose names are so celebrated in the history of the Church, but it is a little volume which appeared toward the close

* *Rècherches Historiques et Critiques sur le véritable Auteur du Livre de l'Imitation de Jesus Christ; Examen des Droits de Thomas à Kempis, et de Gersen et de Gerson, avec une Réponse aux dernières Adversaires de Thomas à Kempis.* MM. Napoleone, Cancellieri, de Gregory, Weigl, Gence, Daunon, Onèsime Leroy, Thomassey, Vert, Veratti, etc., etc. Suivi de Documents inédits. Par Mr. J. B. Malou, Evêque de Bruges. III^{me} Edition, revue et augmentée. Paris and Tournay, 1858.

Prolegomena zu einer neuer Ausgabe der Imitatio Christi nach dem Autograph des Thomas von Kempen. Zugleich eine Einführung in sämtliche Schriften des Thomas, so wie ein Versuch zu endgültige Feststellung der Thatsache, dass Thomas und kein Anderer der Verfasser der Imitatio ist. Von Karl Hirsche. Erster (einzig) Band. Berlin, 1873.

Thomæ Kempensis de Imitatione Christi Libri Quatuor. Textum ex Autographo Thomæ nunc primum accuratissime reddidit, destinxit, novo modo disposuit; Capitulorem Argumenta, locos parallelos adjecit Carolus Hirsche. Berlin, 1874.

Denkschrift über den wahren Verfasser des Buches von der Nachfolge Christi von Herrn G. von Gregory. Revidirt und Herausgegeben durch den Herrn Grafen

of the fifteenth century, under the title of *Imitation of Christ*.—a small volume in the Latin language, unheralded by any *Literary Intelligencer*, for there were no newspapers then to advertise books or forestall public opinion about them. Unheralded, this little book was cast upon the world, I think, in the year 1486, a book of unknown, or at least disputed, authorship. During the fourteen remaining years of that century there were twenty editions of that book in Germany alone, and there has been no book ever written, with the sole exception of the Bible, of which there has been so many editions. Early in this century, some one undertook to make a collection of all the editions of this book, and got together five hundred editions, but knew the collection to be very incomplete. It was translated, not merely into all modern languages, but into Greek, and even into Hebrew. There were sixty translations into the French language alone. It spread far and wide. It found its

Lajuinais (Paris, 1827). Ins Deutsche übersetzt und mit den nothwendigen Erläuterungen und Zusätzen versehen von Johann Baptist Weigl. Sulzbach, 1832.

Dissertation sur soixante Traductions Françaises de L'Imitation de Jesus Christ, suivie de Considérations sur l'Auteur. Par A. A. Barbier. Paris, 1802.

Nouvelle Considérations historiques et critiques sur l'Auteur et le Livre De l'Imitation de J.-C., ou Précis et Résumé des Faits et Motifs qui ont déterminé la Restitution de ce Livre à Jean Gerson, Chancelier de l'Eglise de Paris. Par J.-B.-M. Gence-Paris, 1832.

Gerson, Gerson und Kempis; oder: Ist Einer von diesen Dreyen, und welcher ist der Verfasser der Vier Bücher von der Nachfolge Christi. Mit einem kritischen Rückblick auf die Behauptungen der neueren Französischen Kritiker A. A. Barbier und J. B. M. Gence. Von J. P. Siebert. Wien, 1828.

Les derniers Travaux sur Thomas à Kempis, par Charles Ruclens. Bruxelles, 1859.

Les recentes Recherches sur l'Auteur de L'Imitation de Jésus-Christ. (1858-1876.) *Etude critique et bibliographique par A. Delvigne.* Bruxelles, 1877.

Scutum Kempense sive Vindicie Quatuor Librorum De Imitatione Christi quibus Thomas à Kempis contra Joannem Gerson, in sua à tribus seculis non interrupta possessione stabilitur. Ubi simul utriusque Partis Argumenta pro et contra expenduntur. Authore Eusebio Amort. [In Ven. Patri. Thoma Malleoli à Kempis (Canonici Regularis Ordinis S. Augustini) Opera Omnia: ad Autographa ejusdem emendata, aucta, et in tres Tomos distributa. Opera ac Studio R. P. Henrici Sommali et Soc. Jesu. Editio novissima, a pluribus mendis expurgata. Cologne, 1759.]

Le Livre de l'Internelle Consolation. Première Version Française de L'Imitation de Jésus-Christ. Nouvelle Edition avec une Introduction et des Notes par MM. L. Moland et Ch. d'Hericault. [Bibliothèque Elzevirienne.] Paris, 1856.

Quæritur e quibus Nederlandicis Fontibus transcripserit Scriptor Libri cui Titulus est De Imitatione Christi (1384-1464). Auctore G. Bonet Maury. Paris, 1878.

way into every corner of the civilized world. Wherever the name of Christ had been heard, this book was known, and it has been a stimulus, it has been a monitor, it has been a guide, it has been a comforter; in one word, it has been a *missionary* to millions of souls. Well, sir, what was it gave this book its missionary power? It was not genius; it was not poetic ability; it was not literary art. There was nothing of that kind in it. It was simply the spirit of the work—nothing else. A very plain, simple book—nobody knows who wrote it—but here it was, breathing the very concentrated spirit of Medieval Christianity. As Milman said of it, it embodied in one volume all that was best in all the mystics and all the piety of all preceding writings.”

“The *Imitation of Jesus Christ*,” says Michelet, “the finest of Christian books, next to the Gospel, sprang like it from the bosom of death. The death of the ancient world, the death of the middle age, bore these germs of life.

“The first known manuscript of the *Imitation* seems to belong to the end of the fourteenth century or the beginning of the fifteenth. From 1421, the copies became innumerable; twenty were found in one monastery alone. The newly born art of printing was chiefly employed in reproducing the *Imitation*. There are two thousand editions of it in Latin, a thousand in French. The French have sixty different editions of it, the Italians thirty, and so forth.

“All nations have laid claim to this, the book universal of Christianity, as to a national work. The French point out the Gallicisms in it; the Italians the Italianisms; the Germans the Germanisms.

“All orders of the clergy, which are, as it were, so many nations of the Church, equally contest the authorship of the *Imitation*. The secular priests claim it for Gerson; the Canons Regular for Thomas à Kempis; the monks for one Gersen, a Benedictine. Many others, too, might advance pretensions to it, for we find in it passages from all saints, all doctors. St. Francis de Sales alone has pierced to the truth of this doubtful matter. ‘Its author,’ he says, ‘is the Holy Ghost.’”

Such is the book which has been recently the occasion of a centennial celebration in Europe, little noticed in the newspapers of either world, but as worthy of notice as any of recent years. For the recent history of European thought shows that this little work, instead of losing its hold upon men’s hearts, is extending its power

into quarters where few would expect to hear of its being loved and honored. That it was the book of devotion which lay next Pio Nono's breviary in his plainly furnished room, is not surprising. But Sir W. Molesworth, when he visited August Comte in his Paris lodgings, found Corneille's metrical French translation one of the few books honored with a place on the mantle-shelf of the founder of the Positivist Church. And on finding his Benthamite admirer was not acquainted with this manual of medieval altruism, he urged him to get it and read it. How far George Eliot accepted the teachings of M. Comte, we do not know; but the part the *Imitation* plays in *The Mill on the Floss* shows that she shared his admiration of Thomas à Kempis's wonderful book, and had felt its wonderful fascination. Those who were familiar with her private life and habits, tell us that the book lay always at hand in her bedroom, and that in its influence on her thought was disclosed a reminiscence of her earlier life, when she was a devout Christian. Yet, as the example of Comte himself shows, there is a value in the book for the Comtist, apart from its distinctively Christian character. It teaches the same lesson of self-renunciation as makes the sum total of Positivist morality. It is only necessary to assume that "the invisible Teacher" is the wisest of human teachers, with no more insight into the world beyond than Comte himself, to find in the book an impassioned exposition of the "altruism" of the school. *The Mill on the Floss* was written at a time when its author had already ceased to regard the Christianity of her countrymen as anything but a curious theme of sociological study, as interesting in its way as Buddhism. Seven years previously she had published a translation of Feuerbach's *Essence of Christianity*, whose thesis is that faith is a pure product of the moral imagination, men always having made their gods in their own image. Yet she makes Thomas à Kempis play a decisive part in the moral development of the heroine, in bringing her back from her own self-willed fancies into contact with the realities and duties of life:—

"She knew nothing of doctrines and systems, of mysticism or quietism; but this voice out of the far-off middle ages was a direct communication of a human soul's belief and experience, and came to Maggie as an unquestioned message."

"I suppose that is the reason why the small, old-fashioned book, for which you need only pay sixpence at a book-stall, works mira-

cles to this day, turning bitter waters into sweetness; while expensive sermons and treatises, newly issued, leave all things much as they were before. It was written down by a hand that waited for the heart's prompting; it is the chronicle of a solitary, hidden anguish, struggle, trust and triumph,—not written on velvet cushions to teach endurance to those who are treading with bleeding feet on the stones. And so it remains to all time a lasting record of human needs and human consolation; the voice of a brother who, ages ago, felt and suffered and renounced,—in the cloister, perhaps, with serge gown and tonsured head, with much chanting and long fasts, and with a fashion of speech different from ours,—but under the same silent, far-off heaven, and with the same passionate desires, and with the same strivings, the same failures, the same weariness."

It must, indeed, be a wonderful book which has fascinated minds so different in their beliefs,—which has commanded the homage of Chalmers and of Comte, of Sailer and of Michelet, of Pio Nono and Lamennais, and which has been the familiar friend of Richelieu and of the unhappy Maximilian of Mexico. And yet the semi-millennial of its author's birth last year attracted hardly any notice in England or America, although the book has been printed hundreds of times in both countries, there being more than a score of American editions of a single English translation.

The *Imitation* cannot be understood without reference to a religious movement or revival, which began in the Low Countries before its author was born, and by a man who died when Thomas à Kempis was but a few years old. Gerard Groote* (1340–1384) was the son of a wealthy merchant and local magistrate of De-

* The sources accessible for Groote's biography are the *Vita Gerardi Magni* in the works of Thomas à Kempis, and the "Scriptum Rudolphi Dier a Mudén," in the first volume of Dumbas's *Analecta* (Deventer, 1719). Later accounts are found in Ullmann's *Reformers before the Reformation* (Vol. II.), in G. H. N. Delprat's *Verhandeling over de Broederschap van G. Groote en over den Inloed der Fraterhuizen op den wetenschappelijken en godsdienstigen Toestand, voornamelijk van de Nederlanden na de veertiende Eeuw*. (Second edition, Arnheim, 1856); in Böhringer's *Deutschen Mystiker des vierzehnten und fünfzehnten Jahrhunderts* (Zurich, 1853); in G. Bonet Maury's *Gerard de Groote, un Précurseur de la Réforme au quatorzième Siècle d'après Documents inédits* (Paris, 1878); in B. Bähring's *Gerard Groote und Florentius* (Hamburg, 1849); but especially in Karl Hirsche's long article on the "Brüder des gemeinsamen Lebens," in the second volume of the new edition of Herzog's *Realencyclopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche* (Leipzig, 1877).

venter, a town of modern Holland. In those days, the country was still recognized as a part of Germany, and shared with what is now Belgium in the distinction of being the portion of Europe in which the standard of private wealth and comfort was the highest. Young Groote was in a position to enjoy the good things of a burgher's existence to the full; but being endowed with a large measure of intellectual energy and curiosity, he was not contented to fill just the place occupied by his father and his uncles. He was ambitious of entering the learned and clerical class. He pursued his studies at Paris (1355-58) and at Prague (1358-62), and long after he had left the University, he was still remembered at Paris as among the brightest of her students, a man in his day surpassed by no one. On the completion of his seven years' curriculum of study, he received the minor orders, which enabled him to rank so far as a clergyman that he could hold ecclesiastical benefices, and yet left him free at any time to renounce the clerical name and its privileges, and to marry. Being sent to the Papal court at Avignon, in 1366, in an embassy for his native town, he secured for himself two prebends,—one at Aachen and one at Utrecht,—which made a considerable addition to his income without requiring of him any clerical duties, or even preventing his wearing a secular dress and leading what might be called a fast life. Such abuses were common in those days, and gave little scandal, as did the fact that he decided to live at Köln rather than Aachen or Utrecht. It was not as a worldly prebend that he gave most offence to pious souls, but as a student of magical arts, and the owner of magical books. He shared in the unbounded curiosity which awakened in the later middle ages, and which is personified in Dr. Faustus. But our young Faustus was not allowed to go on in his career of self-indulgence. He fell ill, and lay sick to death during a visit to an uncle in Deventer, and called upon the curate of the parish to give him the viaticum. The curate demanded that he should burn his magical books, and renounce all magical practices. Groote at first refused, but finding, as he thought, that death was imminent, he had the curate recalled and complied with the conditions. He recovered, contrary to all expectations, but the impressions received as he lay at the point of death, and looked forward to an eternity of punishment, never left him. From that time he was an altered man, devotion taking the place of self-

indulgence, and meditation supplanting curious and unlawful studies. The circumstances of his conversion cast a tinge of gloom over his piety, which is visible in his general influence and teaching.

The convert hastened to divest himself of the superfluous possessions he had inherited from his father, and then (1374) of the ecclesiastical benefices he held. His kindred protested against his simple resignation of these into the Pope's hands. They wanted them for their own sons, but Groote refused to do them the harm of such a transfer. A large part of his estate he devoted to pious uses as an asylum for poor and pious women. He betook himself to a monastery, and devoted his energies for five years to saving his soul according to the lights of his time. During this five years, he visited (1377) an eminent man, whose writings and teachings exerted a decided influence upon his subsequent life. Jan Ruysbroek (1294-1387), the Prior of the religious house at Green Valley, (near Brussels, at the other end of the forest from Waterloo,) was one of the three great contemporary mystics who had felt the influence of the bold teacher Master Heinrich Eckart of Köln (ob. 1329). Of the other two, Heinrich Seuse of Ulm (1300-1365), and Johann Tauler of Strasburg (1290-1361), only the latter seems to have had personal acquaintance with Ruysbroek, having visited him at Green Valley. But as Seuse and Tauler were fast friends, we may assume that the three great mystics were not unacquainted. Of the three, Ruysbroek follows most boldly in his master's footsteps. Groote and the great Chancellor Gerson were equally shocked at expressions in his chief work,* which sounded to both as verging on the Pantheism with which Master Eckart had been charged, and which Pope John XXII. had condemned as such in

*The work meant is *Die Chierheit des gheesteliken Brulocht*, or in Latin, *De Ornatu spiritualium Nuptiarum*. Ruysbroek's works have been published in the original Brabantine dialect by J. David. (Five volumes. Ghent—1857-69.) We have seen only the Low Dutch version of this and some shorter pieces (Dialects of Köln and Coulers) which Arnswaldt published in 1848, and the old Latin translation of this treatise, which Henry Stephen published in 1512 for Jacques Favre de l'Étaples. It is probably the translation made by Wilhelm Jordaens, one of Ruysbroek's immediate disciples, under his supervision. Groote's translation has never been printed. Gerson, himself a mystic, assailed the work in his *Epistola ad Fr. Bartholomeum Carthusianum super tertia parte libri Joh. Ruysbroek de Ornatu spiritualium Nuptiarum*. He speaks of the work as regarded in some quarters as the product of

1329, after Eckart's death. Groote visited Ruysbroek in the Green Valley for conference about the Christian life, and received from him such benefit that he never ceased to cherish a high regard for his memory. We find him in later years, after Ruysbroek's death, exhorting the monks of Green Valley to defend their prior's memory from the charge of heresy. Ruysbroek's influence upon Groote was purely beneficial. Although the more learned man of the two, Groote had no disposition to follow the Brabanter into the regions of theological speculation, in which he seemed at times to lose himself. His own experience had given him a horror of all speculation that did not bear immediate fruit in the amendment of life. He took what he found of useful and instructive in Ruysbroek's writings, and passed by the rest. What he learned was needed to impart a less gloomy and legal tone to his own thinking. Ruysbroek, like the other great mystics of his age, aimed to attain for themselves and to guide others into what they called the friendship of God,—a state in which the soul welcomes gladly whatever God chooses to send it, and has cast behind it all fear of hell and its punishments. What Groote heard on the subject from Ruysbroek startled him at first. He thought, and told Ruysbroek, that the fear of hell was a motive to holy living, which every one needed; but the Brabanter replied that he had no longer any fear of what God might chose to send him, be it life or death.

It was not Ruysbroek, but the monks of the monastery where he had taken refuge, that called Groote away from spiritual exercises to active service for others. They discovered his gifts as a preacher and exhorted him to put it to use. From the responsibilities of the priesthood he shrank as too great for his weakness; but an old custom sanctioned the preaching of deacons in the archdiocese of Utrecht, to which Deventer belongs; and the Synod of Tournay had enacted that every curate who could not himself preach should provide his congregation with a preacher at least twice a month. There was then an opening for Groote, and, hav-

Divine inspiration. He objects to its author's statement that when the soul reaches the fulness of contemplation, the third and highest stage in the spiritual life, it not only beholds God through the brightness of His divine being, but is itself transformed into that brightness, putting off the form of creaturely existence. One of Ruysbroek's immediate disciples, Jan van Schönhoven, defended his master.

ing received deacon's orders in 1379, he went forth as a preacher to his countrymen in 1381. Like Richard Rolle of Hampoole [ob. 1349], in the North of England, and Berthold of Regensburg [ob. 1272], in Southern Germany, he was a mighty preacher of repentance, whose words found access to the consciences of priests and laymen. His sermons lasted three hours, and he often preached twice a day. Through all the cities and towns of Holland and Guilderland, he passed like a second John the Baptist, speaking at first in Latin, but afterwards abandoning that language for his native Low Dutch.* His plain speaking won him fast friends and made him bitter enemies. The former perpetuated his influence, and the latter soon closed his mouth as a preacher. The archbishop, in 1383, was induced to withdraw from deacons the right to preach, and no intercession could induce him to give Groote even a special license which would allow him to exercise his gift where the curate of the parish gave permission. An appeal was taken to the Pope, but before an answer came Groote had died (in 1384).

His preaching had already, in two short years, produced effects which his enemies could not touch. It had gathered around him a body of devout men, who looked up to him as their spiritual guide. This term "devout" (*devotus*) came to be used to designate those who had come under Groote's influence, and the movement itself was called "the modern devotion" (*moderna devotio*), as it often happens in religious history that common words are given a special sense. The *devoti* were mostly laymen, although a few were priests; and they grew naturally into an informal association, with Groote at their head. The most notable were his friend Jan Brinckenrick, who had accompanied him on his journeys as a preacher, Floris Radewynzoon, whom he induced to become a priest, and Jan Voss. Floris exhorted him to found a community whose members should not assume irrevocable vows, but should have all things in common, and should accept the rule of a common master. Groote objected at first that the mendicant monks would wage bitter war upon such an irregular community, and finally consented only upon the condition that there should be formed in close connection with the new brotherhood, a branch of some regular monastic order.

* The picture Charles Reade gives in *The Cloister and Hearth* of the success of his hero Gerard, as a preacher in these same cities, seems to be borrowed from the life of Groote.

The order selected was that of the Canons Regular, living under the rule of St. Augustine, and the name given to the free community was that of "Brethren of the Common Life" (*Fratres Communis Vitæ*). Its members were forbidden to ask alms except in cases of the direst necessity, and were required to live by the labor of their hands. The great experiment made by Francis of Assisi was thus declared a failure by a man whom Francis would have recognized as a mind kindred to his own. Groote reaffirmed the wiser maxim of Benedict of Nursia, that honest toil is better for the human soul than the idle beggary by which Francis vainly hoped to insure the poverty and spirituality of his order. The manufacture of books was the industry which Groote commended as best, especially for the clerical members of the new brotherhood. To this he was moved partly by its suitability to the dignity of the priesthood, but partly also by a motive which, perhaps, he hardly owned to himself. He was a passionate lover of books, and he stamped that love upon his order. We have seen the part his books of magic played in his conversion. His spiritual exercises in the years following were interrupted by a visit to Paris, "in his penitential garb, during which he bought many books with which our library is enriched, and paid for them gold enough to fill a wine-cup, as I myself heard him say." (*Rud. de Dir.*) When he went out preaching, he could not bear to be separated from them. The storm by which Satan tried to prevent his passage by water from Utrecht to Holland was so great that "he was hardly able to save from the water his books which he had with him in a cask." Before his death "he associated with himself, in the care of his books, of which he had no small store, Master Floris and Jan van Gronde, on condition that there should always be three trustees to keep them. . . . And it was his desire, as I have heard from Jan Brinckenrick, that they should be generous in giving others leave to use them." The library grew because his associates and successors followed his example. Jan van Gronde "having books of no small value, gave them over to the common stock. Master Floris had few books, but what he had he gave over to the stock; so that those brethren had all things in common, even to their books." Groote's own taste, for what was best in the literature he knew, fastened upon Augustine and Bernard as the best of the ecclesiastical authors. He knew Bernard's works so intimately that he was

able to distinguish between his genuine writings and the spurious productions which in that hardly critical age passed under his name. When dying of the plague, in 1384, he remembered that it was Bernard's day, and said to his friends, "the Lord is calling for me. Augustine and Bernard are knocking at the door."

Floris, his successor, had neither his learning nor his power as a preacher. But he surpassed Groote in tact, in mildness, and in many practical gifts. He carried out faithfully Groote's idea as to the character of the new Brotherhood, and the establishment of religious houses of the Augustinian Canons in connection with it. The first was opened at Windesheim, half way between Deventer and Zwolle, in 1387, and one of the little group of new canons was John Hamerken, from Kempen, a little town in the neighborhood of Köln. This was followed by others, wherever the Brotherhood was established, while Windesheim became so famous that it was accepted, not only in the Low Countries, but in the adjacent parts of Germany and France, as the chief monastery of the order, and had at one time forty-eight others affiliated with it.

Meanwhile the Brotherhood continued its career of multiplying good books and instructing the common people. Its members worked in the fields and the workshops. They held, especially on Sunday evenings, "collations" (French, *conferences*), in which the common people were taught in their own "Dietsch" language. They took great interest in the young scholars, who came up by hundreds to the towns to attend the public school, which had been recently established. They found proper lodging-places for them; they often fed them at their own tables; they paid the tuition fees of the poorer class. But it is a common mistake to suppose that they started many schools of their own, or regarded the education of the young an especial work of their Brotherhood. Still grosser is the mistake which represents them as especial promoters of "the new learning," afterward represented in the Low Countries by Rudolph Agricola and Desiderius Erasmus. Every page of their writings shows how indifferent they were to the matter which the Humanists of the Renaissance regarded as of primary importance.

It was their care for poor scholars that first brought the author of the *Imitation* under their influence. Thomas Hamerken was the brother of the John we have mentioned. His native place is the little town of Kempen, in Westphalia, then an appanage of

the Archbishop of Köln, and there he had first seen the light in the year 1380, or, as some say, in the year 1379. In 1395 he came to attend the school at Deventer, and by the advice of his brother, whom he had visited at Windesheim, he waited upon Master Floris. Floris kept him for a little while in the Brother-House, got him ready for the school, and supplied him with books which he judged the lad would need. He then found him free lodging with a respectable and "devout" matron, who was fond of showing kindness to such students as he. But the Brother-House was still open to his visits, and he received profound impressions from what he saw of the Brethren's lives and heard of their teaching. He found them men who lived in the world, but were not of it, overflowing with love to God and to men. He saw them diligent in business in their manufacture of books, and fervent in spirit in all that concerned their religious duties. The young man's heart was filled with a desire for a life which was presented to him in such an attractive form, and he was open to Master Floris's exhortation to join one of the religious houses which had been established in connection with the Brotherhood. He chose the monastery of Mount St. Agnes, where he became a novice in the year 1400, the year of Master Floris's death. In 1406 he took the vows of a Canon Regular. It was in 1414 that he gave the world the little book which has made his name so notable as the author of the *De Imitatione Christi*. The later life of Thomas à Kempis is singularly uneventful. He lived through a period of great confusion in Church and State, in many of whose changes he must have felt a lively interest. But you will search his works in vain for traces of that interest. He saw the beginning and the end of the Great Schism, the sessions of the three great reforming councils, the end of the Wyckliffite or Lollard movement, the rise and fall of the Hussites, the invention of printing, the fall of Constantinople, the rise and power of the Italian Renaissance. But all these events have not employed one line of his pen. None of them reached him personally, except when Gerson and d'Ailly defended the Brethren of the Common Life, in 1418, before the Council of Constance, against their Dominican assailant, and again, in 1429, when the loyalty of the Windesheim and Mount St. Agnes monks to the Papal authority forced them to leave their houses and take refuge in Friesland, in the time of the Utrecht schism. It is this event which breaks in upon the

pious monotony of his own life, and of his Chronicle of Mt. St. Agnes. All else is the story of inward struggle and the spiritual renovation of the soul, which make the burden of the *Imitation*, as of all his writings. That he became a priest in 1413, that he was chosen sub-prior in 1425 and again in 1448, that he lost his loved brother in 14—, and that he died in 1471, make up the scanty chronology of his life. It was a life strangely divested of all that is individual, peculiar, local and temporary—a life taken up exclusively with that essential struggle between essential light and essential darkness which has gone on in all ages. Is not this why every other man seems to recognize in him a brother in the experience of the suffering which falls to all, and of the victory which lies within the reach of all?

If the *Imitation* had been placed in the hands of a scholar who had well acquainted himself with the history and literature of the Christian Church, and who was familiar with those local atmospheres and temporary elements which discriminate the various portions of that literature, and he were given no other than the internal indications to lead him in determining its source, he would trace it to the Brotherhood founded by Gerard Groote. Its style of Latinity, and the attitude of its author toward "the world," (not contrasted, as in earlier ages, with the Church, but with what is opposite to Christian life and conduct,) would point him to the later middle ages as its proper date, as would the antithesis of its practical mysticism to the unprofitable scholasticism of the era of Buridanus. And when the period had been thus fixed, no other group of men would present so many claims to the book, as that which had been gathered by the influence of the scholarly preacher of Deventer. The spirit of the book is just that of the *moderna devotio*, of the great revival of a desire for practical holiness through constant self-denial and a firm direction of the will to the Supreme Goodness. It has the moderation of Groote's school. It neither exalts the external discipline of the Church and the ascetic severity of some types of monastic life, nor runs out into dangerous speculations on theological theories, of which much may be imagined but little can be known. Its author walks with firm steps, as did the whole school of Deventer, between the exaggerations of the sensuous on the one side, and those of the supersensuous on the other. He is

a mystic; but he has learnt his mysticism at the feet of a Dutchman, and in a society founded by a Dutchman.

And when we pass from these broad characteristics which are common to the school of Groot and the *Imitation*, to examine the external evidence that Thomas à Kempis is the author, we are perforce surprised that the fact should ever be questioned. Only a rejection of the canons which regulate the demands of external evidence, would leave room for such a doubt. We cannot prove that Thomas à Kempis wrote the *Imitation* as we would be required to prove that a man had been guilty of petty larceny before we could procure his committal for that offence. Historical evidences cannot be sworn and cross-examined. Those who are accustomed to only the evidence of the police-court, will always find room to cavil at it. But the evidence for the real authorship of the *Imitation* is much clearer than for nine out of ten of the facts which are accepted without question. And those who have gone over the whole field without motive to prejudice their judgment, will find so little room for doubt, that, to use Lord Bacon's saying, if they had a warrant for the arrest of the author of the *Imitation*, they would feel no hesitation in serving it upon Thomas à Kempis. Why then, it may be asked, have there been so many doubters? Because pride of country and pride of religious order has warped the judgment of hosts of French and Italian scholars, and because the English writers who have attempted to pronounce upon the matter have had some acquaintance with French controversialists and little with any other. The Englishman is yet to be produced who has read through Bishop Malou's statement of the external evidence and Herr Hirsche's equally strong statement of the internal evidence, and still doubts that Thomas à Kempis wrote the *Imitation*.

First of all, fifteen contemporaries of Thomas à Kempis have declared him to be the author of the book. Their testimonies were, some of them, but not all, written or published while Thomas was still living. Thus, Jan Busch of the Monastery of Windesheim finished a chronicle of that monastery in 1464, seven years before Thomas's death. Remember how close the relations were between the two monasteries: that of Mount St. Agnes rendered filial respect to Windesheim as its monastic head. He says that shortly before the death of Prior Jan van Hensden, there came to Windes-

heim to consult him, "two notable brethren from Mount St. Agnes, near Zwolle, of our order, of whom one was Brother Thomas à Kempis, a man of holy life, who composed several devout books, that is to say, *Qui sequitur me*, *De Imitatione Christi*, with others." These words stand in Busch's autograph copy of his chronicle, and are found in a copy made in 1477. Equally distinct is the testimony of Hermann Ryd, a Dutch monk, who wrote an account of the Canons Regular in 1454, seventeen years before Thomas's death; also the author of a German translation of the work, made in 1448, twenty-three years before his death; also Jean Mauburn (who passed his novitiate at Mount St. Agnes), in his *Rosetum*, which was published in 1491, but composed at a much earlier date. We will not delay the reader with other evidence of this kind. The first witness alone is sufficient to settle the question.

Secondly, the great majority of the MSS., including nearly all those of Thomas's own time, ascribe the work to him. One of these bears the date 1425, and was made at Utrecht, but contains only three books. A second bears the same date and contains all four, and came from a monastery near Zwolle. A third is dated 1441, and is in Thomas's own autograph. His name is not placed at the head of the work, but the *Imitation* itself is given as the first four of a collection of fourteen books, in which all the rest are unquestionably his. Others are dated 1441, 1442, 1445, 1447, 1451, 1463, 1467, 1471, 1471, 1474, 1477, 1487, 1488, besides a great number without date, but equally ancient (one being by his own hand), which ascribe the book to Thomas.

Thirdly, the ancient printed editions tell the same story. The first is that of Augsburg, in 1468, three years before his death. With this agree twenty-one other editions of the fifteenth century, while two only of that century bear the names of his Italian rival, and the editors of his French rival's works expressly exclude this work from among his, because not he, but Thomas à Kempis, was the author.

So much for the external evidence of the authorship. The internal evidence is equally conclusive. It is true, indeed, that the *Imitation* possesses a certain superiority to the rest of the works of Thomas à Kempis, as is shown by the hold it has taken upon the world's attention, while the others have been neglected in comparison. But it is not the only instance where, out of many writings, an author has given the world but one masterpiece. *Bunyan's*

Pilgrim's Progress is another instance, Boswell's *Life of Johnson* is yet another, and many more might be pointed out. "Every writer," says Lord Macauley, in defending the opinion that Sir Philip Francis wrote the letters of Junius, "must produce his best work; and the distance between his best work and his second best work may be very wide indeed. Nobody will say that the best letters of Junius are more decidedly superior to the acknowledged works of Francis than three or four of Corneille's tragedies to the rest; than three or four of Ben Johnson's comedies to the rest; than the *Pilgrim's Progress* to the other works of Bunyan; than *Don Quixote* to the other works of Cervantes."

It is true, again, that a microscopic search of Thomas's other writings has been rewarded in the discovery of a single sentence, containing an allegorical allusion so incongruous and feeble as to provoke a smile. But these other works are scattered over the whole period of Thomas's monastic life. Some, perhaps, of them were written while he was still a young and inexperienced writer. Others may have been composed when the decline of his powers had more than begun. The *Imitation* was composed in the early manhood of the inspired monk, under the fresh inspiration of the opening of his religious life, and when his mind was still full of the memories of his recent consecration to the priesthood,—which it was a point of the *moderna devotio* to regard with especial and enthusiastic awe. Half a century may have elapsed since the *Imitation* had been written, when the sentence in question was penned.

(1.) Internal evidence amounting to little less than demonstration shows that the *Imitation* was composed by a man of Teutonic and not of Latin stock. The style in which the book was composed has nothing Ciceronian in it. The only classic writer for whom Groote's friends cared much was Seneca, but it was from the Vulgate and from medieval models that they borrowed their style and their Latin vocabulary. Sebastian Castellio—the first Protestant champion of liberty of conscience, which he defended against Calvin and Beza,—united a love of mysticism with the refined literary taste of the Renaissance period. In order to make the *Imitation* popular with the fastidious scholars of his age, he rendered it into Ciceronian Latin (*De Christo Imitando*, Basle, 1563); and the comparison of a single page of his version with the original is a sufficient comment upon the notion that the Brethren of the

Common Life were Humanists. Now this bad Latin of the later middle ages, whatever its disadvantages, had the merit of having a local flavor. Its writers reproduced in Latin forms idioms and expressions which belonged to their native tongue. It is the jest of the authors of the *Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum*, that the book professing to be written by German monks contains not a single Latin idiom, and omits hardly one of the German language, as then spoken. The jest was merely exaggeration of what was everywhere common. All the authors of those centuries, who have not yet attuned their style to Cicero's pitch-pipe, betray their nationality. The author of the *Imitation* does so. In the very first chapter of the book, he speaks of knowing the Bible *exterius*, which exactly corresponds to the German *auswendig*, and has similar exact equivalents in the existing Flemish and Dutch languages. The word has been a stumbling block to nearly all the French and Italian translators. Again, in the third book, he has *post te gemere*, which make good sense in a literal German, Dutch, Flemish or English translation, but pure nonsense in French or Italian. Besides these and other general Teutonic idioms, the book contains a good number which are peculiar to Dutch and Flemish, thus locating its author in one of those two countries. M. de Malou occupies several pages with their enumeration, and with showing what fine success the Romance translators have had in wrestling with them. It is true that attempts have been made at a reprisal in this matter. Italian and French critics have sought for Italian and French idioms in its Latin, but their discoveries have been based on ignorance of Flemish idioms. In not a single case have they hit upon an expression which presents a difficulty to a Dutch or Flemish translator, but none to a Frenchman or an Italian.

This argument is curiously strengthened by an allusion to the priestly vestments, which is found in the fifth chapter of the fourth book :

Sacerdos sacris vestibus indutus Christi vices gerit,
 Ut Deum pro se et pro omni populo supplicatur et humilitur roget,
 Habet ante se et retro dominicæ crucis signum
 Ad memorandum jugiter Christi passionem.
 Ante se crucem in casula portat,
 Ut Christi vestigia diligenter inspiciat et sequi ferventer studeat ;
 Post se cruce signatus est,
 Ut adversa quælibet ab aliis illata clementer pro Deo toleret.

It was the Italians who first made their appeal to this passage, in the certainty that it would prove the Italian authorship of the book. But, fortunately, these matters of ecclesiastical archæology are closely studied in Roman Catholic countries, and experts pronounced that neither the French nor the Italian chasubles of that age had the cross both in front and behind, while in the Low Countries, as in Germany, this was customary. M. Jules Quicherat, of the Ecole des Chartes, in *Histoire des Costumes*, concedes the force of this argument against his countrymen.

(2.) Having thus traced the *Imitation*, first to the Teutonic people, next to the Low Dutch branch settled in the Low Countries, we find the scope of the inquiry much narrowed. To what particular group of Christian scholars or theologians in the Low Countries does it belong? It is claimed for only one,—for the *Devoti* of Gerard Groote, for the Brethren of the Common Life. And we find the author of the *Imitation* speaking of himself as one who had been intimate with the *Devoti*: “When I call to mind some devout persons (*Devoti*) drawing nigh to Thy sacrament, O Lord, with the deepest affection and devotion,” etc. And so in several similar passages. But, indeed, the whole substance of the book points to the same source as being that from which it came. Its doctrines are the common-places of every writer of the school,—of Gerard Groote, of Master Floris, of Gerlac Petersen, of Gerard Zerbolt, of Hendrik Mande, of Jan Brinckerink, as well as of Thomas à Kempis himself. Where the *Imitation* differs from these, it is in the greater unction, power and simplicity which characterize it.

(3.) There is equally little dispute among those who concede that the book belongs to the *moderna devotio*, as to which of the writers, influenced by that religious revival, has the true claim to be called its author. They all point to Thomas à Kempis. The closer the comparison of the *Imitation* with his acknowledged works, the stronger the evidence of his authorship. So marked is the resemblance, that some of those who would like to bring his claims into doubt have been driven to the hypothesis that his frequent employment with the *Imitation* as a copyist has produced a marked effect in his thought and his style, and that some of his works are intentional imitations of it. But his works are each too homogeneous to leave room for such an hypothesis. They are each of them independent wholes, whose structure and contents are

determined by the special purpose which led the author to undertake them. It is true that there are other differences than those of comparative literary merit between them and the *Imitation*. Such are the absence from the *Imitation* of expressions which Protestants would characterize as Mariolatry; but some of the other treatises are equally free from this. The same is true of a certain allegorical style of treating sacred things, which is found in some of the other treatises, but by no means in all. The absence of these from the *Imitation* is easily explained from the nature of the work. A book whose chief purpose was to depict the personal relation of the believer to Christ, had no place for either of these peculiarities.

One French scholar has undertaken to meet the à Kempists on their own ground, and to prove, from a detailed comparison of the *Imitation* with the other works, that à Kempis could not have written the former. Ph. J. Larroque attempted this in a dissertation which is found in the *Annales de Philosophie Chrétienne*, for 1861, and bears the title, "Preuves que Thomas à Kempis n'a pas composé l'*Imitation* de N. S., J.-C." We know it only from Herr Hirsche's detailed refutation of its positions, and from these we learn that it teems with venturesome and unsustained assertions. Thus, he says Thomas could not have written the *Imitation*, since it has no preface. In fact, the great majority of his works have none. So, again, it is objected by Larroque, that Thomas, in his acknowledged works, is always relating some anecdote, and that the *Imitation* contains but one. But four of the finest of his other works contain not one. Again, from the fact that the *Imitation* contains three genuine and four doubtful references to classic writers, he attempts to show that its author displays a classic scholarship, in which Thomas is wanting. But there is not one of the genuine quotations which Thomas was not likely to get at second-hand; and the acknowledged works contain plenty of passages out of which classical allusions could be extracted by a similar process. The last argument rests on the *απαξ λεγόμενα* of the *Imitation*, and those of the acknowledged works. The test of words and of expressions, which occur in the *Imitation* and not in the others, or in the foot-notes in the *Imitation*, is extensive enough, as Larroque gives it, to suggest grave doubts. But Hirsche's more exact investigation shows that the Frenchman has proceeded very care-

lessly in its preparation, and that in the great majority of cases, the expressions he alleges are confined to the one are common to both.

Of the marked resemblances of the "*Imitation*" to the acknowledged works of Thomas à Kempis, one is especially worthy of notice. It was already observed by his contemporary, Adrien le But, a Flemish monk, who noticed his death under the year 1481, and added that he had edified many by his published works, of which Adrien especially names the *Imitation* as written metrically (*metricè*). This is, of course, not to be construed as meaning that the book is to be ranked as poetry, but as pointing to the careful structure of its sentences, with a view to rhythm, and often to rhyme also. J. P. Silbert called attention to this more than half a century ago (*Op. cit.*, pp. 67-71), and employed it as an argument for the authorship by Thomas à Kempis; but it was Herr Hirsche's merit to have shown the full extent to which this peculiarity exists in the *Imitation*.

It is not claimed by the à Kempists that this metrical peculiarity of rhymes and rythmical prose is unique with Thomas à Kempis. There are several instances of its occurrence in writers older than than the *Imitation*. The Latin language, from the great similarity of its terminations, lends itself easily to rhyme; and as soon as the uses of rhymed hymns had accustomed men's ears to find pleasure in this peculiarity, it was frequently sought, even by prose writers. Many of the early chronicles republished by Pertz and his associates affect it. It is found in Gregory the Great, in the Victorines, in Bonaventura. But it does not abound in writers of the century to which all investigations have traced the *Imitation*. Jean Gerson, for instance, the great Chancellor of the University of Paris, for whom the *Imitation* has been claimed by many French critics, has not a trace of this practice. The only piece of rhymed prose in his voluminous works is a fragment of a few lines in extent, and is itself a Latin translation from a French original. But in each and every work of Thomas à Kempis the prose breaks frequently into rhyme and metrical flow, and the stylistic peculiarity of these passages is so markedly the same in all the works as to leave no doubt of the common authorship. Those subtle tests which Mr. Furnivall has employed to distinguish between Shakespeare's own work and his borrowings, if applied to Thomas à Kempis's Latin, would

suffice to show that he, and he alone, is the author of the *Imitation*. Not only the preferences in rhyme—the cadence of the lines, and the disposition of the accentuated syllables, prove the community in authorship.

As an instance of this peculiarity in the *Imitation*, take the closing words of the second chapter of the first book :

Hæc est altissima et utilissima lectio
 Sui ipsius vera cognitio et despectio.
 De se ipso nihil tenere,
 Et de aliis semper bene et alte sentire
 Magna sapientia est et perfectio.
 Si videres alium aperte peccare,
 Vel aliqua gravia perpetrare,
 Non deberes te tamen meliorem æstimare,
 Quia nescis quam diu possis in bono stare.
 Omnes fragile sumus
 Sed tu neminem fragiliorem te ipso tenebis.

This cannot have been an accidental construction of a prose passage, as any reader may convince himself by reading this passage aloud. We have taken it almost at random from among thousands. There is nothing just like it in the Latin literature of the Middle Ages. And when we find all its peculiarities reproduced in the works which all agree in ascribing to Thomas à Kempis, we find that the evidence of his contemporaries and of the manuscripts is more than confirmed by the structure of the book itself.

No dispute ever would have arisen, had not the pious monk of Mount St. Agnes sacrificed his own rights to the desire of obscurity. *Ama nescire* are the words of Bernard, which he urges on the attention of his readers. He, himself, "loved to be unknown." The autograph copy of the *Imitation* bears his name only as the maker of that MS. Had he not associated with the *Imitation* in that MS. several of his undisputed works, room would still be left for cavilling. What he would not do for himself, others may lawfully do, in asserting his claims to the authorship. If so humble a man could be moved to pride, he might be so by the list of notable critics, not only his countrymen, but French, English, German, who have joined in asserting against all cavilling one of the most certain facts in literary history,—that Thomas à Kempis wrote the *De Imitatione Christi*.

ROBERT ELLIS THOMPSON.

GEOLOGY AS RELATED TO AGRICULTURE.*

THE science of geology has very little *direct* bearing upon agriculture. It reaches, interests and profits farmers in a roundabout way through other sciences—through chemistry, through mineralogy, through entomology, botany—but especially through the mathematical sciences of geometry and physics.

Such a statement may seem strange to you. Some of you may think it impolitic. But when you call upon me to speak before you, my only business is to say what I think and feel—what the experience of a long life has taught me to know. Others may feel and think differently. Geologists are apt to magnify their office and claim for their science a rank in the busy world of the Commonwealth out of proportion to the extent of its special function.

It has been my lot to spend many years wandering about in country places, eating at different country tables, sleeping every night under a different hospitable roof, talking, discussing with, learning from all sorts of people, in the valleys, on the hills and in the woods; and the result of it has been that my usefulness as a geologist to the farmers of Pennsylvania has seemed to me rather of a negative than a positive sort; exercised, not by the direct propagation of discovered facts, so much as by a roundabout, indirect instruction and persuasion.

I discovered that very little of the actual geology which I attempted to teach was understood; and that that little was not immediately profitable, although true in fact and pleasant to listen to and very stimulating and suggestive. I became convinced, by a sort of heart-breaking, discouraging experience, that even intelligent people do not get very far down in a conversation with a geologist, even when he lays himself out to make his statements as plain as possible; even when he simplifies his communications by drawings on paper, or by moulding in dough what he is describing.

If I could properly present it, you would be astonished at the inability of multitudes to read a map, or to imagine a vertical section; let alone to look into the inside of a hill, or down beneath the soil of a valley. They are not taught this at school, and they cannot acquire the faculty or the habit afterwards.

* An address delivered at the annual meeting of the Pennsylvania Board of Agriculture, January 26, 1881.

It is an almost hopeless task for a geologist to explain the grounds of his opinions. What he has to rely upon is his record,—his character,—his reputation as a judicious, conscientious, intelligent, experienced and disinterested investigator and publisher of facts, and his past success in predicting the results of explorations or mining operations.

He stands in precisely the same case as a lawyer or a doctor. People come to an experienced and honest lawyer prepared to accept his opinions of legal questions and to follow his directions on the ground of their confidence in him, and not because they comprehend his reasonings. People consult a physician and implicitly obey his prescriptions, not because he explains the nature of disease to them, but because he is in good repute for curing disease, or preventing its reaching a head. Neither the doctor nor the lawyer can make his clients or his patients comprehend what he himself knows, or see a case in the light in which he himself sees it. It is just so with geologists.

What do the owners of land want ?

1. They want *security of property*. They want a sound title to their fields. They want to be defended from aggression, from nuisance and from trickery. Whenever they imagine themselves in danger from their neighbors or strangers, they fly for protection to the man who has spent his life in studying the laws of the Commonwealth ; and if they know him as an honest and competent man they follow his advice whether they can comprehend it or not.

2. They want *health* ; for without health lands are a burden. They want to be kept in a condition for work—the whole family—father, mother, boys, girls, hired hands, stock—the whole concern. At every ailment which threatens serious consequences they post to the doctor—the man who has spent his whole life in heading off disease, decay and death ; and if he be in public opinion a good and wise physician, they do what he bids, and refrain from what he forbids, without asking useless questions.

3. They want *knowledge*. The farmer wants to know a great many things which shall help him on in life one way or another ; things besides those which he has taught himself in the best of all ways,—by hard experience.

He wants a schoolmaster for his children, to drill them in read-

ing, writing and arithmetic—those three pairs of wings which clothe, protect and sustain in its flight the spirit of the modern man, like the three pairs of wings of the creatures in Ezekiel's vision.

The farmer also wants a clergyman for himself and his family, not merely to marry the young and bury the old, but to keep in remembrance the good thoughts and sound principles of past ages; to drill the children in virtuous ideas and to comfort and encourage the father and mother as occasion comes.

The farmer also wants a newspaper editor, to furnish him with another kind of useful knowledge—of what is going on at Harrisburg and Washington; legislation which may affect him seriously; verdicts at his county-court; prices at the great market centres; railway schedules of freight and time-tables; notices of county and State fairs; advertisements of the sale of stock, farm tools, etc.

He wants also agricultural magazines and reports, which bring him into concourse with a multitude of other thoughtful, shrewd and experienced farmers, and put at his command all kinds of hints and suggestions, some of which he can turn to good account in his field, or meadow, or barn, or dairy. Some he will think wrong or absurd; but he may on reflection or consultation find himself mistaken in that. There *must* be good wheat among the chaff. There will be *something* to learn, no matter how old and wise and experienced he may be. At all events, it will meet a want of his human nature to learn what is thinking, and saying, and experimenting among the world of farming to which he belongs, and from which he is so isolated.

4. After familiarizing himself with the surface of the earth out of which he gets his regular living the farmer wants to know what is underneath it.

The old Greeks divided the universe into Heaven, Earth and Hell; the home of the gods, the home of man, and the home of the departed shades.

We moderns divide our spherical terrestrial world into Weather, Crops and Rocks; and certainly, the farmer who is so absorbed in crops, and so interested in weather, should also be well informed about rocks.

Two years ago, I had the honor of addressing you on the subject of soils and subsoils, and how they were not portions of the original

six days' creation of all things, but subsequent, slow local manufactures—very much resembling certain kinds of human manufactures,—and varying like them as good, bad and indifferent articles, according to the raw materials out of which they are made.

I tried to explain that the upturned edges of the mother-rock underneath a man's farm are the raw materials out of which the covering subsoil is manufactured, in the lapse of ages, by a mouldering process partly mechanical and partly chemical, through the powerfully and perpetually but noiselessly and mysteriously active agencies of rain-water and the air and acids which it contains.

Then I tried to explain how out of this subsoil the upper or farm soil is in its turn manufactured, chiefly by the living powers of plants and worms and insects and small burrowing and prowling quadrupeds, and birds. These are, in fact, the little lawyers, doctors, school-masters and clergymen of the pasture land and cornfield, all the time employed in keeping things in good order for the farmer's benefit,—although they do things to annoy him, and he gets very impatient with them, and would sometimes when very much vexed like to see them one and all exterminated.

But God has made them so numerous, that most of them succeed in keeping out of reach of the farmer's foolish vengeance.

My chief object in that address was to use these facts to explain why the soil on one part of a man's farm was of a different quality from the soil on other parts of it—because the rocks underneath it and out of which the soil is made are different.

All farmers know the difference between limestone soil and clay soil or sandy soils; and very few farmers can have failed to notice that these differences of soils are somehow connected with the cropping out of limestone rocks here, and sandstone ledges there, or shale and slate in another place. It doesn't call for a geologist to point out *that*.

But very few farmers have reasoned the whole thing out far enough to put all the parts together, so as to get a true idea of the whole situation.

Intelligent farmers in Delaware and Chester counties, where, by the by, people read a great deal, and have local natural history societies and all that—intelligent farmers in that part of the State have long ago noticed the peculiar soil made by the serpentine rocks which run in narrow belts across the country—and the peculiar

wild flowers which follow the trap ledges, and are never seen growing in soils to the right and left of them.

But what is true in this instance is universally true, all over the State, respecting all the various rock formations, and the thousands and tens of thousands of layers which compose each of them. Each separate layer of rock makes a different kind of soil along its out-crop. But these out-crops are for the most part hidden beneath the subsoil. Farmers know very little or nothing about them. It is the business of the geologist to follow them from place to place where they accidentally show themselves; or where they have been exposed by railroad engineers, or by quarrymen, or where they have been passed through in water wells. All such exposures the geologist studies separately, and then compares them one with another, and so makes out the series of formations. And then he calculates at what angle they go down, and to what distances beneath the surface, and where they are likely to come up again to the surface, and in what directions their edges run across farms and townships and counties, and whether they grow thicker or thinner, and whether they keep their character, or turn (in so many miles) into another kind of rock, and whether their chemical constituents remain the same, and whether in their changes they become valuable as ores or building stones or marl manures; whether they are crossed by trap dykes or mineral veins, and especially whether they can be used as keys or indications of the neighborhood of coal-beds or iron ore deposits or useful limestones, marbles or clays.

This is the special and very difficult, troublesome, tedious, and often unsuccessful business of the geologist.

He does not carry on this business for farmers, or for any other class of citizens. He carries on this business for the one exclusive purpose of acquiring as complete a knowledge of the underground, for everybody, as possible—the hidden underground—the mysterious underground—the home of metals and mineral waters and petroleum and coal.

Some of his knowledge, so obtained, is guess-work; some of it is calculation; some of it he gets by actual sight, in mines and wells; but the greater part of it is real and certain truth—just as real and certain as the knowledge which the lumberman has about the clumps and belts of trees in the forest, or the knowledge which

the farmer has about the kinds and localities of soil in his part of the State.

It is silly in people to suppose that the geologist's knowledge of the hidden rocks is not as real and true and certain as the doctor's knowledge of what measles and scarlet fever and diphtheria are doing in the bodies of his patients. These diseases crop out to the surface in the form of symptoms, and experience teaches the physician to make correct calculations as to how a disease will develop itself, how long it will last, and what is the proper treatment. So, the constitutional functions and chronic ailments of the globe on which we live reveal themselves to the patient, thoughtful, observant geologist by out-crops, angles of dip and direction, chemical analyses, fossil shells and plants, the arrangement of springs, the growth of timber, the shape of the hills, and the varieties of soil.

But, granting that what the geologist knows about the underground is just as certain, of its kind, as what any other man knows about the things he studies and practices and lives in—the question for us to-night is—what use is this knowledge to the farmer?

I said, in my previous address, that the farmer must betake himself to the agricultural chemist for information about the qualities of his soils. And I trust that the Laboratory of the Geological Survey at Harrisburg will be occupied in coming years in analyzing, not only all the *soils* of the State, but also the *subsoils* out of which the soils originated, and from which they must regain their vitality when exhausted. And, more than that, in analyzing all the mother-rocks out of which the subsoils have been made.

But to-night I wish to direct your attention to the fact that the farmers of Pennsylvania look to the Geological Survey for benefits equally important, and very different from those which the chemical laboratory can confer upon them.

The chemist tells you what your soil is. The geologist alone can tell you *why* it is.

The chemist tells you that your soil wants more lime, or more potash, or more phosphorus. The geologist must find out *where* those ingredients are to be found.

Let me give you two examples of these different kinds of knowledge, both occurring during the progress of the survey in the western counties.

The first relates to a marl bed in Crawford County, supposed to be a manure of special value; but when it was analyzed by Mr. McCreath, (1) when burned in a close kiln at a white heat, (2) when freshly and thoroughly burned, (3) when burned in open air at a red heat, and (4) when in its raw state, it was found to possess only the ordinary qualities of a *quicklime manure*, because of the small quantities of phosphorus and potash present in it.

In many of the bogs of this district, an earthy variety of peat is now forming, and in some it is tolerably pure.

At the marl works above Harmonsburg, on the land of Mr. Almon Whiting, 2'-3' of earthy peat covers the marl, and is used in burning, or rather assisting to burn, the latter.

This has been formed from the roots and stems of several species of *Cyperus*, *Carex*, and others of the same family, which are still contributing to its growth, as can readily be seen where the formation is cut through.

A small stream of water oozes through the bog, however, and in seasons of floods it carries down so much sediment that the so-called "peat" is little better than a richly carbonaceous earth, which, when burned with the marl, contributes a large proportion of insoluble substance, of no benefit to the soil, and very little that is of any importance whatever.

Under the peat at Mr. Whiting's, comes a great bed of *fresh-water shell marl*, formed from the partial decay of fluviatile shells, principally univalves. The marl is mined to a depth of 6'-8', and Mr. Whiting bored down through the deposit to a depth of 22', and still did not pierce its bottom.

The peat bog in which this marl occurs has now an elevation of 25' above the present level of Conneaut Lake, as near as I could determine it by barometer, and there can be no doubt that this lake, now 1½ miles distant, once spread its waters over the marl beds, since there are about 60 acres of the marl on the land of Mr. Whiting, and a large amount on the land of Mr. Brown, adjoining, where, according to report, a bed of peat was found beneath the marl.

A collection of the more common shells found in the marl deposit was made and forwarded to Mr. George W. Tryon, Jr., of the Phil. Academy of Science, who kindly identified them and sent the subjoined statement:

The fluviatile fossil shells from the vicinity of Conneaut Lake

are all representatives of existing species, which ought to be found in the lake, and *are* found throughout the waters of the State. I do not find any of the extinct forms which are so abundant at White Pond, Warren Co., N. J., a locality which, so far, has furnished several species peculiar to it. The following are the names of the species:

<i>Planorbis bicarinatus</i> , Say.	<i>Physa heterostropha</i> , Say.
<i>Planorbis trivolvis</i> , Say.	<i>Linnaea humilis</i> , Say.
<i>Planorbis campanulatus</i> , Say.	<i>Americola limosa</i> , Say.
<i>Planorbis parvus</i> , Say.	<i>Sphærinum striatnum</i> , Lam.

The mode of accumulation of the marl beds is evident. There are found running through the marl, from the top as far down as it has been explored (and presumably to the bottom), the stems of the ordinary pond weed, or a species very closely allied to it. These water plants grew and flourished in the old lake-bottom, and on them countless millions of river molluscs fed and found a home, just as we now see them in the shallower parts of the lake where the water grass grows. Their cast-off shells, etc., accumulated and were ground together by the waves into a bed of marl.

As the water grass or pond weed will not grow in water of a greater depth than five or six feet—I have myself seen none growing in water deeper than four feet—and as the bed of marl is at least twenty-two feet thick,* the level of the lake water surface must have gradually risen during the formation of the marl, and at the same rate, so as to allow the grass always to be growing in a proper depth of water.

A specimen of the *raw marl*, obtained from Mr. Whiting and analyzed by Mr. McCreath, was composed as follows:

Lime,	49.129
Magnesia,	.839
Iron bi-sulphide,	.429
Oxide of iron,	.170
Alumina,	.020
Potash and soda,	.116
Sulphuric acid,	.222
Phosphoric acid,	.023
Carbonic acid,	39.356
Water,	2.190
Organic matter,	6.510
Silica,	1.052
Total,	100.056

*This is the greatest depth reached by exploration, measuring from the old bottom of the lake downwards. The marl may be much thicker therefore.

This marl is a good *lime manure*, and that is all; for the phosphoric acid and alkalies are in very small quantities.

The following four analyses were made by Mr. McCreath in the Laboratory of the Survey at Harrisburg, and were taken by me from a copy sent to Mr. Whiting:

- “ No. 1. Burned in a close kiln at a white heat.”
 “ No. 2. Same specimen when thoroughly and freshly burned.”
 “ No. 3. Burned in open air at a red heat.”
 “ No. 4. Raw marl.”

	No. 1.	2.	3.	4
Lime,	69.800	82.679	44.997	49.129
Magnesia,	1.405	1.943	1.163	0.839
Iron bi-sulphide, . . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	.071	0.429
Oxide of iron,	1.850	1.176	0.860	0.170
Alumina,	0.810	1.119	0.808	0.020
Potash and soda,	0.322	0.445	0.538	0.116
Sulphuric acid,	0.841	1.162	0.877	0.222
Phosphoric acid,	0.042	0.058	0.062	0.023
Carbonic acid,	13.590	. . . . .	33.890	39.356
Organic matter,	1.010	. . . . .	3.900	6.510
Silica,	7.940	10.978	11.541	1.052
Totals,	99.560	99.560	100.047	100.056

It will be perceived that Nos. 1, 2 and 3 contain much more silica than No. 4, which is doubtless to be accounted for by the fact that a very earthy variety of *peat* was used to a considerable extent in the calcination, and the effect of this is also to be seen in the specimen analyzed by Mr. Antisell.

The impure *peat* is burned with the marl when intended as a fertilizer, the supposition of Mr. Whiting being that it very much enriches the same; but the analyses given render that theory extremely doubtful, to say the least, since, by comparing the burned (Nos. 1, 2, 3) with the unburned marl (No. 4), it will be perceived that while the former have gained only slightly in the proportions of potash, soda and phosphoric acid, they have at the same time been loaded with over 10 per cent. of insoluble products, in the shape of silica and alumina, which can of course have no beneficial action on the soil, more than scattering over it so much sand.

The lime is valued for plastering purposes, and is hauled to a long distance into the surrounding country.” Report of progress in Crawford county, by Professor I. C. White, 1881.

The second instance is of an opposite character, where the survey does not correct a popular mistake, but gives valuable general information on a subject which one would suppose a whole neighborhood would get it for themselves.

Across Beaver and Butler Counties there runs a broad belt of country composed of what we geologists call the Lower Barren measures; that is, about 600' of rocks underneath the Pittsburgh coal bed, and above the Freeport upper coal bed. These measures are called Barren geologically, because they are barren of coal beds. But the soil which has been made of their out-crops is not at all barren, but quite fertile. The belt is barren for the miners, but fertile for the farmers.

There is a broad belt of country to the north (through Lawrence and North Butler), where coal beds are numerous, and where two great limestone beds are locked in with them, and lime kilns abound.

Now the farmers of the Barren belt have to a considerable extent exhausted their originally fertile soil. Although there are no great limestone rocks cropping out to attract their attention, which they would have burned into lime, no doubt, and used on their fields, yet the Barren Measures have a great deal of *disseminated lime*; the shales are *calcareous*; and that is what made their soil originally rich. But they have been using up the original element of lime in their soil ever since the settlement of the country, and the soil has grown poor. It needs now manuring with artificial lime. But the farmers say they have no limestones, and should be forced to haul their lime from great distances. They have not been accustomed to this, and don't believe in its economy.

When Professor White made the geological survey of that district he reported that the land "was literally famishing for lime;" that, although there were very few farms on which a sufficiency for liming the soil could not be obtained, scarcely a dozen farmers in the district made a regular and systematic use of it, although it would double their crops. A large proportion of the farmers actually did not know that lime would benefit their land; and none of them knew there was any limestone rock handy to their use. And, yet, there is one limestone bed which he found running through the Barren Measures throughout the entire district. He traced its out-crop from hill to hill, in all directions. And what is more su-

prising, he reports, "I have frequently seen the *crinoidal limestone* in immense piles along the fences, whither it had actually been hauled by the farmers themselves from off the surface of the very fields which wanted it so badly, they never suspecting that it was a limestone." You will find this curious statement on page 8 of his report of the Progress of the Geological Survey in Beaver and neighboring counties, 1878.

You see by this anecdote what a wide-spread benefit may be conferred on farmers by a geologist who is not making a private survey of a mineral property as an expert, but is making a general survey for the Commonwealth.

When we want to estimate the real value of a great work, we must not measure it with an inch rule, but with a yard stick. We must not examine it with a microscope, but with a telescope. Lord Dundreary's brother Sam sent him a specimen of the soil on his farm in California in a letter, that he might know what a magnificent country he had emigrated to. But Jehovah commanded Moses to go up to the top of Mount Pisgah, whence he could see the promised land—the whole of it: Gilead and Bashan and the land of Naphtali, Ephraim and Judah, the valley of the Jordan and the plain of Esdraelon, Mt. Carmel and the plain of the sea, the Dead Sea, the Arabah and Mt. Seir, the Desert of the South and the cedar-crowned summits of Lebanon and Hermon—the whole of it—from Dan to Beersheba.

All great undertakings should be regarded from a high standpoint and estimated by the sum total of its results.

It is in this spirit that I wish to discourse to-night upon the relation of wide and thorough knowledge of the geology of the country to the farming interest.

Farmers cannot confine their curiosity to their soil. They have other motives for acquiring sound geological knowledge respecting rocks. In some parts of the State they have coal under their fields, or the iron ore beds and limestones of the coal measures. In some other parts of the State they have no workable coal beds, and no beds of iron ore on which it would be safe to start a furnace, or even a mining operation.

Of course, it must be greatly to the advantage of every farmer to know—not to guess, but actually to know—whether coal or iron or oil or glass-sand or kaolin or marble underlies his soil or not.

If it does, he can burn and sell his coal, ship his iron ore, or lease at a royalty a portion of his land to operators. If it does not, then he will be safe against the perpetual temptations to waste his money in seeking for these minerals.

The mere fact that he will have a quiet mind about the situation will pay him for the little he contributes as a taxpayer to a general survey. I have met with some curious examples in the course of my geological life. Let me tell you one or two anecdotes to illustrate what I mean.

One day in the summer of 1839, I came to a glade in Somerset county, where a shaft had been sunk in the ground about fifty feet deep. In the piles of rock stuff around it, I saw such a quantity of fine gray iron ore as to convince me that the men who had dug the shaft had passed through a stratum of it at least two feet thick.

On inquiry of the neighbors afterwards, I learned that the shaft had been sunk at the persuasion and under the direction of an elderly person of the name of Moyer, who had come over from Germany and settled among them, claiming to possess a mysterious power to see underground, by means of a little looking-glass, with cabalistic characters on its back, which he consulted by laying it in the crown of his hat and concealing his face over it, and which he called an *erdspiegel*.

He had informed them that on a certain night, while seated in a tree, near a certain spring in the forest, he had seen a white deer, with golden horns, come down to drink at the spring. He had fired at it, but it had vanished, with a flash of lightning and a peal of thunder, and a great flame had spouted from the spring into the air. In great alarm he had descended from the tree and fled from the place; but not until he had scooped up a handful of the mud around the spring, which he took home and analyzed, and found that it was all pure silver.

I hunted up the old man afterwards, and he showed me his laboratory, which looked more like a junk shop in Water street than anything else; full of old iron scraps, broken pots, rusty basins, dirty bottles, a carpenter's work-bench, covered with rattle-traps of every sort, and in all stages of dilapidation. He told me strange stories of his underground adventures, and especially how he had once discovered a great treasure in a cave, but had been driven away from it by a horde of "little engineers" about a foot high, and was glad to escape with his life.

This man made his living by imposing upon the credulity of the inhabitants of that part of our State; and among other works upon which he set them, the shaft at "the spring of the milk-white doe with golden horns." At first I could not credit the respect in which they held him; but I got good evidence that it was both genuine and costly.

One of the men who helped to dig the hole, assured me, with every mark of sincerity, that he and his companions, while at their work at the bottom of the hole, had heard the little engineers underneath them, always picking and shovelling away with equal diligence, removing the silver mine downwards, out of reach.

When I asked him if they did not pass through a bed of iron ore, he replied that they went through one or two feet of very hard, heavy rock; they did not know what; but Moyer had told them it was nothing valuable; it was not silver ore. And at length he had advised them to abandon the mine, as the little engineers were too many for them.

The number of such Moyers is much greater than you think possible. They live and wander singly, unmarried, unrelated to the population, without known origin, coming from distant lands, and after a time vanishing again without leaving a trace behind. I have never practiced geology in any part of America without coming upon specimens of this curious class of impostors. The man I have just described, has been dead long since; but his fellow-craftsmen are as numerous as ever at the present moment. Every great mineral excitement brings them forward to reap a harvest of petty profits, while it produces new ones of the same sort. The gold excitement in California, the oil excitement in Venango and Butler Counties, the silver excitement in Colorado, have each and all bred them in unusual numbers.

There is a huge hole in the Pocono Mountain, opposite the Delaware Water Gap, made forty years ago, at the expense of several thousand dollars, at the instigation of such a character, who had inspired the farmers of that section of the State with faith in the existence of a large vein of silver ore, the outcrop of which, he assured them, he had followed across the Stroudsburg country all the way from where he had first found it, in the neighborhood of the Wind Gap.

Such faith is easily inspired in the minds of a farming population,

utterly ignorant of geology, and brought up on fireside recitals of Indian traditions of silver and lead mines. Books never reach this superstition; and if they did, would have no effect in suppressing it. Nothing can effectually root it out of the popular imagination but the personal plain talk of geologists, who, in familiar conversation with farmers, can recount their own experiences, adduce pertinent facts, and oppose to it those common-sense explanations, which the most illiterate may be forced by skillful adaptation to comprehend.

It would be a curious calculation how much personal influence a survey exerts in the way of a direct face to face communication of truth and dissipation of error.

Suppose 10 geologists at work in different parts of the State, for 150 days each year, for 10 years, each one of them encountering in earnest conversation only 10 farmers per day. That would make 150,000 farmers directly, personally, and in one of the most efficient of ways, receiving the most reliable kind of information respecting the underground framework of the State; each one moreover getting that special information which concerns himself most, and which he would be pretty sure to communicate to his next neighbors.

No *one* would get much; but what he *did* get would be precisely what ought to go to *him*, and, through him, to others living right where the information would be available.

To imagine these 150,000 farmers being made by such conversations *geologists*, would be the height of the preposterous; but the actual total amount of real geology taught to the citizens of the State in this way by a survey corps must be something enormously large.

Compared with this direct, personal, and as you may call it in one sense, accidental daily instruction for a term of years, the effects of the published series of reports almost sink into insignificance. Everybody knows that a hundred times as much condensed and accurately stated, explained and comprehended information can pass from one man's mind to another *in one hour's talk* than can be put into or got out of a whole geological report. And everybody knows that information *thus acquired*, in the excitement of an interesting conversation, on the very ground in question and in the very presence of the facts of nature, is absorbed and remem-

bered a hundred times better than by reading the same statements as published in a book, no matter how admirably it may be written, or how fully it may be illustrated.

For in such a conversation, question and answer is possible. Obscurity of statement is removed by various repetitions. Errors of comprehension are repaired by going over the facts again and again and putting them in different lights. The geologist gets to know exactly what it is that the farmer wants to know; and the farmer sticks to his difficulties until they are settled for him. Odd bits of past, forgotten experience are revived in his memory and made to bear on the discussion. The geologist finds out a great deal more about the locality than he could see by himself, and is enabled to add thus to his own store of observations missing links in the chain of phenomena.

It matters little whether this particular farmer learns that he has minerals under his own soil or not; he learns a great deal which he could have never learned in any other way; and when he and the geologist part company for the night, or perhaps forever until the day of judgment, they part as friends who had done each other all good and no harm, and with an increase of knowledge on both sides.

I know by many quaint experiences that no farmer ever forgets such a conversation, especially if it be carried on, as it usually is, while he is piloting the geologist about his property or the neighborhood. I have often met men ten and twenty years afterwards, whose names and faces I had entirely forgotten until they revived my recollections of such and such a walk or ride, and almost repeated word for word information that they valued which I had given them, or new ideas with which I had permanently inspired them.

And this is the experience of every man in my profession who has passed many years in field work.

Geologists who practice their profession as experts do not come so much in contact with the citizen farmers of the State; because they are employed by some mining company or capitalist to examine special spots and investigate the condition of single mines, usually those that are already opened. Their intercourse is naturally more with miners and mine superintendents than with farmers; and it is usually against their employers' interests to tell the

people of the neighborhood what they discover. Their knowledge is bought and sold and is the property of their clients, and the public who pays nothing for it has no right to it.

But it is very different with geologists who are employed by the Legislature and paid out of the people's taxes. These men are freed from all private interests, and are ordered by law to get their knowledge everywhere and to give it freely to everybody.

But the special peculiarity in their case is that they are obliged to examine neighborhoods where there are no mines or quarries or oil wells just as thoroughly as neighborhoods which are full of them. They come into contact, therefore, more with farmers than with any other class of the community; and it is only in regard to this class of *public geologists* that I have said what I have said tonight about the benefits of geology to the farming interest.

In my day—and it has been a pretty long one—I have been a *geological expert* employed by individuals and by corporations; and I have also twice been a geologist under the orders of the Commonwealth—once in my early life, and now more recently. I speak therefore of the different effects upon the community in the two cases out of my own experience; and I may perhaps be permitted to say here to-night without offence to any one, that, although there is a good deal more money to be made in private professional geology, and although State geology is very poorly paid—in fact, is a very good science to starve by—yet there is a very peculiar pleasure in it. And this pleasure flows from two well defined sources:—First, the public geologist goes everywhere, sees everything, and has a chance of making himself a thorough and complete man of science—at least in geology. And, secondly, he sees all sorts of people, intelligent people, fairly unselfish people, kind people, fair-minded and inquisitive people, and people who know lots of things about the earth—mostly farmers—and mostly by their firesides;—and it is perfectly delightful to give all these people real information; a kind of knowledge which they can't possibly get for themselves, but which they are charmed to get; and best of all, to give it to them without asking a fee; to be all the time distributing it by day and by night for love and not for money; not only in the way of duty to the State but of friendliness towards them. No one who has not practiced it until it has grown into a settled habit can imagine how agreeable this sort of intercourse with one's fellow citizens is.

Perhaps I cannot better illustrate this than by an anecdote of my early life.

We were in camp in Somerset county. It was nearing the end of the season, and we still had the Ligonier Valley before us. So the camp was ordered to move by the mountain road over Laurel Hill to a central spot some miles north of the village. It would take all day for the camp hands to make the change. After breakfast Mr. Hodge went off in one direction, Mr. Ward in another, Mr. Lehman the artist in another, and I in a fourth—each of us to pick up some last observations in his own line of research. My horse was needed for the wagon, so I started up the mountain on foot to see what a certain farmer had made out of a bed of iron ore which he had promised me to open, so that I could measure it. To my chagrin he excused himself on the plea that his neighbors had persuaded him not to do it. For, said they, that man is only employed by the State to find out how much our land is worth; so, if you show him a good bed of iron ore on your farm, he will tell the people at Harrisburg, and your taxes will be raised.

There was nothing to be done about it. Our men were many miles off with their tools in the wagon, or I should have made the opening myself. But I could only try to disabuse the old fellow of his ignorant fears, and explain for the thousandth time what a *geological survey* meant, and get another promise from him without much hope of its being better kept. Late in the afternoon I reached the main road by which the camping party was to pass and got astride of a fence to rest myself and watch for their appearance. The calculation had been that they should pass that spot about 4 o'clock, and the absence of the well known wheel tracks showed me that I had arrived in time.

While I sat there, fixing up my notes of the geology and sketches of the topography which I had seen in my tramp, a farmer came across the field and entered into conversation; asked what I was doing; where I was going, etc. When I explained my business his face brightened and assumed a very earnest look.

He said he had a farm down there, in a little valley close by, and he wished that I would go with him and show him where to open a coal bed.

I replied that I was tired and expected my companions every minute, and that we had a long way yet to go before reaching the proposed camping ground.

He begged me to go with him, for he had been searching for coal on his land a long time; I could tell him exactly where to dig and save him a great deal of time and money and worry of mind.

When I was young I had great sympathy for people, and could not resist a request which had any sort of trouble to back it up. So I tore out a sheet of my note book, wrote a line to the wagon party, pinned it on the end of a fence post, and followed my guide over the rising ground to where I could look down into the little valley and see his whole farm.

He was surprised when I came to a halt; and he urged that his house was just down there at the foot of the hill.

I told him that there was no use in going down; I could tell him what he wanted to know without stirring from the spot.

"Do you see that line of springs along that hill-side?—*There* is your coal bed. I am afraid it won't pay you to open it. But that is the only bed you have on your farm above water-level."

It was piteous to see how his countenance fell.

"Yes," he said, slowly, "I know there is coal there. I have tried it in several places; but it is only a foot thick."

"So I supposed; but I am sorry to tell you that it is the only coal you have in your hills."

"I have dug all over them," said he,—"*all over them, everywhere,* and I never found anything except a few streaks of a black slaty stuff. But I thought you could tell me the right spot where I could find a good bed. I don't want a very large bed; but I have to haul my coal from some distance, and I ought to have it on my own place. It would be a great convenience and saving too."

"Be content," said I. "You have only that one little bed above ground. But if you could afford to sink a shaft in the valley there about 200 feet deep you would strike a good large bed, and might find it five or six feet thick, for it is often that. And about 200 feet below it there is *another* bed which is generally larger, but not such good coal, and has a great bed of fire-clay under it. And you would pass through a limestone bed, and probably a thin bed of iron ore. Now, I must get back to the road or the wagon will have gone past and I shall have to walk ten miles further before reaching the new camp, with the risk of not finding it in the dark."

We shook hands and I wished him good-by. But he followed me, and asked :

"How do you know all that? Don't you think it possible that I may have a coal-bed somewhere where I can get at it easy?"

As we strode across the fields, I tried to explain the situation—how the lower coal-beds out-cropped on the two mountain sides of the valley, and lay deep and horizontal beneath his property. I pointed to the mountains and asked him if his farm was not just about half way between them. Yes, it was. "Well, then, you see, you go to your neighbors' farms, on both sides of yours, to mine the beds where they are coming up from under your farm to ride on the mountain sides?" Yes, he understood that. But were there no coal-beds higher than those? "No, not for six or seven hundred feet above the top one. Then comes the great Pittsburgh bed."

"What! the bed at Ligonier?"

"Yes, precisely that one."

"Why isn't it in my hills?"

"Why, look," said I, turning him round. "How high do you suppose your hills to be?" He couldn't tell; he never measured. He didn't know exactly how to measure them.

"Well," said I, "without precisely measuring them, I should say that they were something like three hundred feet high. Look at that tree; it is about forty feet high; put seven or eight trees like it on top of it, and they would about reach up to that hill top. Or, take the ridge pole of your house; you know how high it is above the ground?" "Yes." "Well, see how many such houses, piled on top of each other, would reach the level of the hill top."

All this he understood; but still he couldn't imagine what the height of the hill was worth unless we knew how deep beneath the valley the uppermost of the lower coal beds lay.

"Look here," said I—getting very anxious about the wagon—"you evidently have not the Pittsburgh coal bed in your hill tops, for it always makes a big mark on the surface,—a broad smooth terrace, or bench. You can see it miles away. Now look at those hills of yours. There isn't such a bench on them anywhere.

"Then, again, there is a great mass of sandstone, the top of which is about one hundred and fifty feet beneath the Pittsburgh bed; and, that always also make a great mark. Have you any sand-rocks in those woods over there?" "Oh, yes," he replied, "plenty of them."

“Well, you see that the hill rises about fifty feet higher than where the rocks lie; and, of course, the Pittsburgh coal bed shoots over your hill tops about one hundred feet in the air; up there where that hawk is sailing around.

“Now, if your hills are only, say, three hundred feet high, and the Pittsburgh coal bed is one hundred feet over them—or used to be before it was washed or weathered away—and if the distance from the Pittsburgh coal bed down to the first of the lower coals is at least six hundred feet—why, it follows as a matter of course—don’t it?—that you must have the top bed about two hundred feet below your meadow there, and the others are underneath *it* again.”

By this time, I had reached the fence and sprung over to examine my paper. It was there untouched. But, alas! the wheel tracks told plainly enough that they had gone by and never seen it.

The farmer was sorry, and offered to entertain me for the night; but when I refused, he grasped my hand and said: “I am much obliged. I have been digging for coal for more than seventeen years, and now I see why I have not found any. I will never dig again. I thank you very much.”

When I had gone some distance, looking back I saw him standing where I had left him, gazing after me. His kind, intelligent, grateful expression of countenance I carried a long time in my memory; and to this day I cannot help feeling a glow at heart at the reflection of how I was able by a few straightforward statements and simple explanations to relieve the remaining years of an honest man’s life of what had been a burden and distress—a hope always deferred and never fulfilled—for more than seventeen years.

The anecdote which I have ventured to relate to you, gentlemen, in some detail is a typical one. It represents what sort of intercourse is carried on during six or seven months of every year between the geologist of a survey and farmers in all parts of the State. I leave it to your imagination and judgment to form a proper estimate of its value.

It represents what the science of geology is all the time doing for the farming interest, aside from the chemical analysis of soils, which I have said is the business of the chemist.

About this analysis of soils, indeed, there is much which falls to

the province of the geologist, seeing that a mere list of chemical ingredients and their quantities does not furnish all the knowledge wanted. Whether those ingredients be in a shape to be used by plants as food; the coarseness and fineness of soils; the looseness and tightness of their texture; their dryness and wetness; their ability to retain or to filter off the salts in rain-water, to fix the ammonia of the air, or to allow its evaporation; their solubility and insolubility of their grains;—all require study; and the knowledge thus obtained must come to use in the long run.

But I have avoided treating of this subject because I have earnestly wished to leave in your recollection of this meeting just one picture—the picture of a geologist and a farmer, walking and talking together;—not about the gossip of the neighborhood;—not about the health of their families;—not about the follies and sins of the age;—not about the chances of the candidates for the United States Senate;—but about those *underground facts* which interest both of them equally but in such very different ways—the *geologist*, because the knowledge so gained goes into his great stock of ideas, to make him see sharper and reason better,—the *farmer*, because the knowledge so gained either starts him off in a successful exploration of minerals which he owns, or quiets his mind under the assurance that his money and time need no longer be spent in searching for what does not exist, at least within his reach.

J. P. LESLEY.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

The Vision of Nimrod. By Charles de Kay. 12m. Pp. 261. New York: D. Appleton & Co.

History of the Conquest of Spain by the Arab-Moors. By Henry Coppée. 2 v.ols. 12mo. Cloth. Pp. 455 and 496. Boston: Little, Brown & Co. [J. B. Lippincott & Co.

The Lost Casket. Translated from "La Main Coupée" of F. de Boisgobey.* By S. Lee. 16mo. Cloth. Pp. 541. Price, \$1.00. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. [Porter & Coates.

The Caliph Haroun Alraschid and Saracen Civilization. By E. H. Palmer. Cloth. 16mo. Pp. 228. Price, \$1.00. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, [Porter & Coates.

Natural Theology. By John Bascom. Cloth. 12mo. Pp. 306. Price, \$1.50. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. [Porter & Coates.

Adam Smith. By J. A. Farrer. Cloth. 12mo. Pp. 201. Price, \$1.25. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. [Porter & Coates.

The Actor and his Art. By C. Coquelin. Translated from the French. By Abby Langdon Alger. Cloth. 16mo. Pp. 63. Price, 50 cents. Boston: Roberts Brothers. [Porter & Coates.

THE
PENN MONTHLY.

MARCH, 1881.

THE MONTH.

THE progress of the bill for the Protection of Life and Property in Ireland has taken up week after week of the British House of Commons, to the great disgust of the English people generally. From the English point of view, which is shared by many of our American newspapers, the obstruction offered by the Irish members is nothing but a wanton and useless abuse of the rights secured to minorities by the old rules of the House of Commons, and a needless insult to statesmen who have cared more honestly for Ireland than any of their predecessors. We do not see how Englishmen can take any other view of the proceedings of Messrs. Parnell, Biggar and other associates of the Land League. Nor do we fail to see that the Irish people do not and cannot look at the matter in this light, and that the conduct of their representatives, instead of diminishing their popularity, will simply add to it. It must be remembered, in the first place, that the Irish people want no representatives in the British Parliament. They want to see their representatives meeting in their own Parliament at Dublin. They hate the law which forbids that and which commands their presence at Westminster, and forbids any legislation for Ireland except in London, as a badge of their national subjugation. If Messrs. Parnell and Biggar could but wreck the whole machine

of imperial legislation, they would do just what their constituents want of them. As they cannot do that, they will best comply with their tacit instructions by making themselves as ugly and as hateful as possible, and by making every Englishman wish the Act of Union were repealed, so that the Irish members might no longer sit in Parliament.

IRELAND is in the position of a nation independent in aspirations and in feelings, with a minority representation in the Parliament of a country which thoroughly dislikes her, and which she as thoroughly dislikes. She has never consented to be England's yoke-fellow, as Scotland and Wales have consented. She never will consent. Her own views of her public policy are in fundamental antagonism to those of England. Her views of foreign policy are equally antagonistic. On all large questions, her people, with the exception of a minority small in numbers but powerful in wealth and intelligence, vote against the wishes and the preferences of the English nation. She does not and cannot acquiesce in any legislation adopted by the British Government on Irish questions. She is fully justified in her refusal by the attitude of the English mind towards such legislation. Anything done for Ireland is always a "concession," not an admission of her rights. Catholic Emancipation was "conceded;" the abolition of the Irish Establishment was "conceded;" the Irish Land Law of 1870 was a "concession." This is English phraseology, and it confesses the unpalatable truth that Ireland is a hostile power, whose good will is to be purchased by "concessions,"—not really an integral part of the Empire. And then the English grow angry that the Irish are not grateful for "concessions." The only "concession" which one nation should thank another for, is the full withdrawal of interference, and permission to manage their own affairs in their own way. And that is where all these concessions must end.

THE policy pursued by Mr. Parnell and his friends was not unprovoked. These gentlemen have never had their rights on the floor of the House. Mr. Parnell's appearances there are not those of an agitator. He is a singularly calm and unexcitable speaker, with but little of the Irish temperament. Yet, in the times before he adopted the obstruction policy, he was never heard without inter-

ruption, both noisy and prolonged. He has had to stand for fifteen minutes after his "Mr. Speaker," while the young bloods of the Tory and Liberal benches filled the House with a Babel of noise. Sometimes his repetition of those words was followed by a repetition of the din. The hearing was of the same sort. Everything was done to break him down, and to prevent his getting a chance to state his case. The reporters and the newspapers took the hint. They condensed his speeches into one line for each quarter of an hour he occupied. The Home Rule case was ostentatiously excluded from their reports of Parliament. It was Mr. Biggar who discovered a way of retaliation for this treatment, and repeatedly moved to adjourn the debate, forcing his enemies, time after time, to leave their comfortable seats and tramp out into the lobbies. Mr. Parnell made a careful study of the rules of the House before taking up this policy. He found that each party had had recourse to this weapon to prevent obnoxious legislation. The Whigs wasted three months in 1843 in opposing Sir Robert Peel's Coercion Bill. Mr. Parnell took it up to hinder the course of general legislation, and thus force some attention to Ireland's needs. He was met by the charge that he was not fighting according to the rules. It was said, "nobody ever used obstruction to stop the general course of legislation. It is merely employed to prevent the passage of some definite measure." The Speaker, himself, endorsed this doctrine, when the restrictive rules proposed by Sir Stafford Northcote were under consideration. He did not believe that the House could put down obstruction to a single measure, except by wearing out the obstructionists. Mr. Parnell and his friends took the Speaker at his word. He used obstruction against a single offensive measure. The Coercion Bill puts every Irishman's person and liberty at the disposal of a Ministry which sent Michael Davitt back to prison for being politically troublesome. If ever a legislator were justified in fighting a bill with all weapons, surely it is this. It suspends the British Constitution in Ireland, not because Ireland is in a state of revolt, but because the people have united in passive resistance to an unjust land system. Its apologists say: "Surely, it is time to do something vigorous, when the Land League shows itself stronger than the Government." They are but repeating Jezebel's cry: "Dost thou now govern the kingdom of Israel?" Parnell is the Elijah who stands in the way, because,

like the old prophet, he stands, to the people's thinking, for justice and protection to Naboth in his vineyard.

In this particular case, it is to be remembered that the Land Leaguers are using obstruction in self-defence. The men who sent Michael Davitt to jail are asking for authority to send Charles Parnell after him. They ask immunity for so doing. They ask that their act be, for years to come, without legal redress. And while they specify a date in 1883 at which the prison doors will open upon prisoners for whose detention they can show no just cause, they give no pledges that they will not at the next session of Parliament repeal that date and leave the term of imprisonment indefinite. It is true that they and their apologists appeal to the good intentions and general benevolence of Mr. Foster as a guarantee against the abuse of this power. But Irishmen interpret their intentions by the light of Michael Davitt's arrest, by the refusal to grant any immunity to the representatives of the Irish people, and by the extension of the bill to all "offences" committed since last September. There is not a single prominent Land Leaguer who does not expect to be arrested and imprisoned for years under this *ex post facto* law, and there is not one in whose case the expectation is not well founded. The trouble taken about the investment of their funds in Paris shows the sincerity of their expectation. How men should fight against such a law under such circumstances, we learn from the diatribes against the bad manners of the Land Leaguers in the columns of American newspapers, such as *The Advertiser* of Boston, *The Times* and *The Tribune* of New York, and *The Commercial* of Cincinnati. How Americans can join in applauding *ex post facto* laws, after the American nation had affixed its perpetual stigma to such laws in the Constitutional prohibition against them, we have learned from those papers. The time will come when they will wish it forgotten that they joined in the British applause as the doors of an English prison closed once more upon Michael Davitt.

THE actual situation of the Irish people under the existing land system, is coming into clearer light as the debate goes on. The best and the worst landlords are equally condemned by the revolt of the people against them. The best landlords of the English type are men like Mr. Bence Jones, who went over to Ireland with

money and English experience, and expected to create an English estate on Irish soil. They expect Irishmen to become Englishmen in compliance with their own tastes. They treat them as they would English peasants. They look for the deference which exists in England between the lower and the upper classes. And they are sorely disappointed when they find they reap only dislike, which some offensive act of theirs deepens into hate. They are, as the *Spectator* says, very square pegs trying to fill very ragged holes, in an unimaginative, English way, which keeps them from real sympathy with the Celtic people. They carry into their relations with their tenants a meddlesomeness to which English peasants submit, but which gives mortal offence in Ireland. For the Irishman is in such matters as sensitive as an English gentleman, and has nothing of the cringing spirit, although for policy he will seem to yield. Mr. Jones's recent book is meant as an indictment of the people and their character. It is, in truth, a full explanation of the reasons for his being "Boycotted" by his neighbors. Another well-meaning English landlord is described by a *Times* correspondent, who was sent over to see what was the matter on his estate. He had built the people nice houses, and did not charge them excessive rents, and yet they were in a thoroughly irritated state. It appeared that he thrust himself into their houses to lecture them on any want of tidiness, to brush down cobwebs and the like. He watched then with a spy-glass in the mornings; and if any one went to his work later than the others, he sent him a night-cap as a present. And they were ungrateful.

Most valuable is the little book recently made up of letters written for the *Telegraph* by Mr. Charles Russell, an Ulster lawyer whose practice lies in England, and is chiefly in land cases. The estates he describes are those in Kerry, whose management has been portrayed by the agent, Mr. Trench, in his *Realities of Irish Life*. Mr. Russell gives the other side of the picture, and convicts Mr. Trench of systematic and interested misrepresentation of facts. He declares the management to be most tyrannical and unjust, and the condition of the people wretched in the extreme. One point is worth mentioning. Under the law, no tenant can be evicted for being behind with but one year's rent. So Mr. Trench and his predecessors as agents adopted the practice of making every tenant

confess themselves already owing for a year's rent, even although this was not the case, so that they could be evicted on a single failure; no one receiving a receipt for the rent already paid, but only for that of the year previous. An Irish rector, who has recently come to Kerry, and has rented a small piece of land through the Trenches, objected to the false statement in his receipt, but was told blandly, "It is the custom of the office."

Besides these evasions of the law, infamous provisions in the laws themselves have been brought to light. Mr. Parnell, at the recent meeting at Clara, advised the tenants of the grazing farms to begin at once their transformation into arable land, which Ireland so much needs, according to the report of the Royal Commission. He afterwards wrote to them not to do so, as they would make themselves liable to seven years' penal service by putting a plow into any pasture they had rented as such! The British Ministry, while denying that they meant to arrest any one for advising the refusal of rent, have taken under advisement the question whether the advice to plow up pasture has not laid Mr. Parnell open to a criminal prosecution!

WHAT kind of a land law for Ireland Mr. Gladstone means to bring in, no one seems to know. We doubt if the Ministry know themselves. There are two minds among them on the subject, the Whigs differing very widely from such men as Mr. Bright. But the obstinate and vigorous resistance of the Irish people, under Mr. Parnell's leadership, has rendered certain a measure much more thorough than could have been thought possible even ten years ago. The Royal Commission on the subject, although made up of landlords, has reported for fixity of tenure and fair rent; and in this most of the Irish members outside of the Land League acquiesce, while they also ask free sale of the tenant's interest whenever he chooses to leave the land.

Mr. Charles Russell, in the work quoted above, proposes to change all Irish tenures into copyhold tenures, and to give at the same time a right to purchase. This corresponds to the change actually effected by Sir John Davies, the Attorney-General in the reign of James I. He found the Irish in a chronic state of discontent over rack-rents, and by a stroke of his pen, which availed in those arbitrary days, he made the tenures copyhold, that being

the usual tenure of English land in those days. A copyhold tenure can never be altered by the landlord, and the tenant cannot be evicted so long as he complies with the terms. But the disturbances of the civil wars upset this arrangement, which this Protestant lawyer would now have restored.

BISMARCK seems to have gone over to the *Kathedersocialisten*,—the school of economists which believes that the turn of the tides could be altered by enacting new laws on that subject. He proposes to enact a system of universal compulsory insurance of workmen, the masters paying all the cost for those who are in receipt of less wages than a given amount, and a part of it for those who get more. By this he is to abolish the wretchedness and misery of this class of society, and wean it from its Socialist teachers. But the new arrangements come into action for the workingman's benefit only when he is sick or injured, and for his family's benefit after his death. What about those who are hard at work, and yet miserable because of the scantiness of their wages? What of those whom bad times have thrown out of employment? The plan does nothing for such people at such times, except to help keep wages down by putting an extra burden on the employer, and to help to cause cessation of employment by putting him to a disadvantage in competing with foreign producers. Until Bismarck can legislate to prevent employers from taking the cost of insurance out of the wages in an indirect way, he cannot better the laboring man's condition by such plans.

WHAT will Europe do for Greece? "As little as possible," says France. "Nothing for nothing," says Austria, with Germany and Italy acting as her chorus. "Give her hearty sympathy," says Russia. "I can do no more while this Irish trouble lasts," says England. So Greece means to see what she can do for herself. She is calling out the reserves, "just to take possession of the territory Turkey is going to cede." And she is buying up arms and ammunition wherever she can get her hands on them. Turkey believes that a war is imminent, and has called out her reserves, besides anticipating the land tax for years to come. No one can foretell the result, but the sympathies of mankind are with the plucky little nation which asks nothing save territory and towns filled with her own race.

SPAIN has had a quiet and peaceful shift of power, which prevented a possible revolution. The Progressive party were about to appeal to arms, when the King dismissed his old Ministry and took a new one from the recalcitrant leaders. This is a change for the better, for Spain was sinking back into the old state of Ultramontane tyranny. Liberty of creed and of the press were practically suppressed by stringent regulations, rigidly interpreted.

THE Boers of the Transvaal are making a much better resistance than had been expected. Without artillery, with no especial military discipline, they have beaten regular English troops, supported by artillery, in three engagements. And the details of the engagements show that they owe their success to their skill as marksmen, their careful selection of the scenes of conflict, and their steadiness of movement under fire. On the other hand, they have opened negotiations for peace, which it is to be hoped will succeed. They will not make peace on condition of going back under English rule. A few months of that have been enough for them. Between the roguery of English land-grabbers and the insolence of English officials, they have been in doubt whether there were any possessions or rights secured to them. A display advertisement of "Land for Sale in the New British Colony of the Transvaal," which appears in provincial English newspapers, helps to explain both the seizure of the Republic and its revolt.

THE last days of a British Ministry are a scene of a general scramble for titles, decorations and such sinecure offices as are available; and these are bestowed with great freedom as rewards for political services. Something like this has been the conclusion of Mr. Hayes's Administration. Nominations have been poured in upon the Senate, and wherever a commission has expired, some friend of the President has been awarded it. This evident purpose not to leave anything of this sort for Mr. Garfield to do, has made a bad impression, which has been deepened by the character of some of the nominations. That of Mr. Stanley Matthews for the Supreme Court is distinctly the worst nomination for that place which has been made in our times. Mr. Matthews has neither the public record nor the mental and moral character which fit a man to receive such a nomination. He is an able lawyer, and there is noth-

ing decidedly wicked in any of his doings known to the public. But his tampering with the witness who proposed to "expose" Mr. Sherman's doings in Louisiana, and his own relations to the great railroad corporations, together with the absence of anything judicial in his mental constitution, should have forbidden the President to propose him for such a place. Nor has the President done better in proposing Mr. Sheppard for District Attorney of Southern New York. Mr. Woodford, the present incumbent, has been a most efficient officer, and has no fault except his affiliation with Mr. Conkling. Mr. Sheppard is son-in-law to Mr. Vanderbilt, against whose railroads several suits are pending in that very office.

MR. HAYES'S last weeks are somewhat lightened up by his proposal to do full justice to the Poncas. His Commission, which went West to consult the remnant of the tribe in the Indian Territory, found that the charges of the Boston philanthropists were fully sustained by the facts; and Mr. Hayes, with a frankness which did him credit, recommended to Congress to give each of them the choice between that Territory and Dakotah. To this proposal Mr. Schurz has offered constant resistance; and it is said to be owing to his influence that only the minority report of the Senate's Committee on Indian Affairs is in accordance with the President's recommendations. Mr. Schurz is not going to retire from the office he now fills with the regrets of *all* good men.

THIS Congress has had less time to waste, and has wasted more, than any of its predecessors within the memory of man. Excepting the bills granting money for education, it has set its hand in earnest to none of the great questions which urgently demand action. Tariff Revision, the Sugar Duties, the Regulation of Interstate Commerce, the Indian Problems, Post-Office Savings Banks, International Copyright, Civil Service Reform,—have all been ingloriously neglected, and we have had nothing but Appropriation Bills—one of them, that for Rivers and Harbors, being no better than a game of grab,—and a Funding Bill. This latter was among the last achievements of Mr. Fernando Wood, who, while it was before the Senate, *abiiit ad plures*. It retains all the objectionable features we spoke of last month, and has laid so many burdens upon the national banks that many of them hastened to reduce or

withdraw their circulation during the days of grace left them before the bill could become a law. The purpose to exact the hardest terms of the banks underlay the bill, and was so executed as to exact unfair terms, which they could not refuse while retaining their present relations to the Treasury. Its effect may be to destroy the National Banking System, to force us back on State banks, with no circulation and no trustworthy guarantee of the honest and wise management of their business, while the Treasury is left us as the solitary source of paper money. Such a result would be most calamitous, as it would leave us without those local centres of issue which, as Mr. Carey showed, are of vital importance in the creation of local centres of industrial circulation. Instead of destroying these, Congress should seek to make them more locally efficient, by requiring them to keep their money at home for local use, rather than send it to New York for deposit.

THE Free Trade section of the Democratic party in Congress have organized a sort of league for the promotion of that cause, and cemented their alliance in the true Anglo-Saxon manner by a dinner. Some of the ablest of them have been left at home from the next Congress by their constituents because of their Free Trade principles. Mr. Frank Hurd of Ohio, for instance, is second to no man in their company in ability, and nearly equals Mr. Morrison of Illinois in consistency as a Free Trader; but the House is to know him no more after the fourth of this month. Yet these signs of the times do not deter the rest, and they are going to do their best to commit their party to this issue in every coming campaign. The league includes some able political managers, but we doubt their ability to bring the party to face this issue. The Democracy burnt themselves too badly by their "T. f. R. o." in the last struggle, not to dread the fire on this subject. They know that two of the three Northern States they carried in November,—New Jersey and California—would be lost to them hopelessly, if it were understood that Democracy and Free Trade were co-extensive terms.

It is not the immediate influence of such a movement inside the party that Protectionists have to fear. It is its power as a part of a general educational movement, led off by the "Society for Political Education," that should attract the attention of the Protectionists. The Free Traders have on their side a very large number of the

educated and educating classes of the country. They mean to make a move all along the line during this and the coming years. To fight them with their own weapons, is just what the Protectionists are not prepared to do. They have been, ever since Matthew Carey began the defence of their cause, singularly indifferent to the claims of their literary champions. They have hardly a book, hardly a pamphlet, in the market, in defence of their position. Let any one visit, at any date, the book stores of Philadelphia, and he will find on the counter which contains the new books from three to five publications in advocacy of Free Trade, but rarely one in defence of our national economy. There is not in the United States at this moment a chair of Political Economy endowed by its manufacturers; and in colleges crowded by their sons, are taught doctrines which represent the fathers of these sons as selfish monopolists,—almost as thieves. It is time, if this is to be a fair fight, that the Protectionists of the United States should bestir themselves to meet argument by argument and intellect with intellect.

THE Cabinet-makers were busy during the past month in Mr. Garfield's behalf, but they have agreed on nothing except that Mr. Blaine is to be Secretary of State, and Mr. James of New York Postmaster-General. Whether the Treasury is to go to Judge Folger of New York, or to Senator Allison; whether Governor Foster is to have a place; whether Mr. Barker or Mr. MacVeagh is to represent Pennsylvania, are unsolved mysteries. Mr. Garfield has held his tongue with characteristic patience, but has made the mistake of holding himself open all the time to political visits. Had he made the announcement that he would receive them on two days of each week, as General Hancock did when candidate, he would have done his duty, both to himself and to the country.

The Stalwart wing of the party seem intent upon making up for their earlier neglect of Mr. Garfield by the multitude and pertinacity of their calls. The General never was so interesting to them as now,—certainly not so in those earlier days of the campaign, when they hardly cared to know where Mentor was or what road led to it. It is whispered among themselves that Mr. Garfield is keeping just seven Cabinet offices for them.

THE International Exhibition for which New York is preparing, does not give promise of a brilliant success. The people of that city are in an exceedingly critical mood as regards the movements of those who have the matter in hand. There is no trace anywhere of the popular enthusiasm which made the Centennial Exhibition such a success in Philadelphia. The funny papers caricature the whole affair after a fashion which would have raised a storm if it had been tried in this city in 1875. And the capitalists are backward in sending in subscriptions to a degree which is surprising in a community which so well understands the value of good advertising. We trust that Philadelphia will treat the matter in a serious and hopeful spirit, although that was not the treatment we received from the people and the newspapers of New York throughout the incipient stages of our undertaking. It was only when the success of the Exhibition was undeniable that they changed their tone and began to claim a part of the credit, Heaven knows on what grounds. New York reaped from the Exhibition a benefit far beyond her expenditure in money, sympathy or printer's ink. The whole country may derive an equal benefit from that which New York hopes to see opened two years hence. The display of the progress made by our industries in seven years, under the impulse they received from their comparison with those of other nations in 1876, will be of great value to both them and the people at large. Let us hope that the coming Exhibition will be a great success, and see to it that we cast not so much as a straw in the way of those who have undertaken its management.

One class of wealthy New Yorkers we can believe to have no very lively interest in its success. We mean those who believe that their business interests would be promoted by free trade. The Exhibition of 1876 was to bring in a deluge of popular enthusiasm for that policy by the chance it would afford for a comparison of foreign prices with our own. Our British friends went so far as to arrange their bulky and unsalable catalogue with an especial view to this. Never was there a more thorough disappointment of hope. The exhibit of our own manufactures and machinery astonished the country by its extent and variety, and awakened just the feelings which make good Americans sound Protectionists. In Mr. Howell's phrase, "one could hear the American eagle crowing on visiting Machinery Hall." Mr. Hayes said he could not see how

any American could come away from the Centennial a Free Trader. For this reason every Protectionist should rejoice to see a successful Exhibition held in New York. That is the only centre of free trade feeling, where much missionary work needs to be done. There is little hope of the conversion of the importing class, largely unnaturalized foreigners, without capital of their own and merely acting as commission agents for countries to which they mean to return with their gains—as do our Chinese laborers, whom they much resemble. But the growing majority of New Yorkers, as the census shows, are American-born and capable of American sympathies. It is for their benefit that we should be glad of a great success in 1883.

THE Senatorial contest in Pennsylvania was not ended until the 22d of last month, although ballots were had on six days of every week up to that time. It was long before the friends of Mr. Oliver made the discovery that the Independents were neither to be bullied nor wearied into giving up their position, and that they themselves neither could nor dare effect a bargain with the Democrats. When they got so far as this, Mr. Oliver's name was withdrawn, and Mr. Grow was sent for to arrange for a compromise candidate. That was the second blunder of the Machine. They assumed that the old game of personal politics was still going forward, and that Mr. Grow could deliver the Independent votes as easily as Mr. Cameron could those of his followers. They were undeceived when they found the Independents refusing, to a man, to vote for the candidate Mr. Grow had agreed to. The new candidate, Gen. Beaver of Bellefonte, is a man who has many claims to public regard, but since the Chicago Convention he has been known as one of Mr. Cameron's followers; and his nomination for Senator, under these circumstances, confirmed this suspicion of his standing. The Independents substituted the name of Congressman Bayne for that of Mr. Grow, and went on voting as before. The city elections held throughout the State on the 15th of February were expected to strengthen the hands of the Machine. The ticket in Pittsburg had been arranged expressly for this purpose. That in Philadelphia was in full harmony with the honest Thirty who voted at Harrisburg for Oliver and for Beaver. In both cities the Machine had a defeat which it will not soon forget. It was felt at Harrisburg

that the time for a compromise had come. After wasting some days in voting for Mr. Beaver in the vain hope that the Independents would break for him, Mr. Mitchell of Tioga was offered, accepted and elected, in accordance with Mr. Cameron's despairing telegram, "Unite on any good man you can get."

Mr. Mitchell is a member of the present National House of Representatives, and had declined an election to the next. He has served in the army, at the bar, and in the State Legislature. He showed his political independence last year by supporting Mr. Blaine's candidacy for the Presidency; and in his letter to his constituents refusing a re-nomination, he wrote: "I have learned that the public service is a science, which, to be acquired, must be long and laboriously studied; and an art which, to be skilfully applied, must be long practiced." Of the ideal Congressman, he says: "He should possess intellectual force, great capacity and love for work, good habits, strict integrity, manly independence of opinion and courage of action, intimate knowledge of the common people and their wants, and a hearty devotion to their service." This sort of talk from a *retiring* Congressman shows a level head and a heart in the right place. If this be Mr. Mitchell's idea of his duties, he is just the man whom we want for Senator.

THE victory is with the Independents,—all the more so, as they have shown most clearly that they had no merely factional or personal purpose to serve. They have exhibited splendid discipline and high principle throughout the struggle, winning praise at last from those who, at the beginning, had nothing but abuse to shower upon them. And they have opened a new era in the politics of the Commonwealth, by fighting their fight purely for the principles at stake, and not in behalf of any candidate. The nomination of Mr. Mitchell was the surrender of their antagonists. They had asked for just such a candidate from the start. While voting for Mr. Grow, they offered half-a-dozen just like Mr. Mitchell, with the offer to unite on any one of them. They have got a Blaine man, an enemy of the great corporations, a representative of the oil interest in their struggle with those corporations, and a cordial supporter of Mr. Reagan's bill for the Regulation of Inter-State Commerce. Mr. Mitchell is no prodigy as a speaker or a political manager. But he loves work, and does his duty. He is a scholar,

and is growing intellectually and every way. And, although so long in office, he has been too poor to take his family to Washington. We believe the choice is much better than might have been expected after so long a struggle.

THE elections in Philadelphia were a surprise, even to the friends of the Reform movement. It was very generally believed that Mr. Stokley would be re-elected by a good majority, although his Democratic antagonist had the endorsement of the Citizens' Committee. The result showed that Mr. Stokley lost his chance when he refused to give the pledges asked by the Citizens' Committee, as Mr. King was elected by a small majority. Mr. Hunter, of course, swept the field, while Mr. West, the Republican candidate for City Solicitor, was re-elected to an office for which he has no fitness, by the usual party majority. A very large proportion of the candidates for Councils, who had the endorsement of the Citizens' Committee, were elected, and the whole tone of public opinion was improved by these solid victories of the city's better self. Indeed, Philadelphia may be said, along with Pittsburg, to have taken a new departure. These are the only cities in which the problem of breaking down party lines to secure good government has been practically solved. Even Boston failed in the effort to do so last December, and New York in November let the opportunity of doing so pass and put up a party candidate against Mr. Kelley's nominee.

DR. WILLIAM PEPPER'S installation as Provost of the University of Pennsylvania took place on Washington's Birthday in the Academy of Music, and in the presence of a large and deeply interested audience, who were more than repaid for their attendance by the quality of the addresses to which they listened. Governor Hoyt, as representing the Board of Trustees, presented the keys to the new Provost. Dr. Krauth welcomed him in behalf of the Faculties, praising the selection made on this, among other grounds—that a Philadelphian had been chosen in a city which is apt to undervalue its own men of ability, and to learn of their eminence only by report from abroad. There is a good deal of truth in this thrust at a local weakness, but we prefer that weakness to the spirit of mutual admiration and local puffery which is said to prevail in some other American cities not now to be mentioned.

Dr. Pepper's inaugural address was most excellent in tone, style and manner, and held the attention of the audience from the first word to the last, although his voice was hardly equal to the capacity of the largest audience room in the country. As it proceeded to sketch the new relation of the Provost to the Trustees and the Faculties, the ideal of the Provost's work, and the progress expected in the development of the University, confidence in the new Provostship rose with every paragraph. Some who doubted the wisdom of selecting a Provost who still retains a large medical practice, felt their doubts dissolving as he spoke, not less from the hopeful confidence of the address, than from its personal modesty.

DURING the address, Dr. Pepper announced that Mr. Joseph Wharton had announced his purpose to give \$100,000 for the endowment of a School of Finance. Mr. Wharton formed this purpose some two years ago, but spent the interval in elaborating the plan, which he laid before the Trustees last summer. Some details of it led to discussion and delay, but an understanding was reached just on the eve of Dr. Pepper's installation. Mr. Wharton starts from the recognized fact that in the existing status of business arrangement, and the great subdivision of labor in large establishments, a young man entering business receives no instruction of a general kind, such as was formerly possible in the small establishments which then were the rule. This evil he would correct by theoretical and illustrated instruction in the various branches of business arrangement, both the more familiar and the more recondite. With this he would associate the elements of a liberal education in science, mathematics and the modern languages, and a detailed instruction in mercantile law, mercantile ethics and the principles of public economy. The plan is expected to go into operation next September.

THE deaths of Mr. Fernando Wood and of Senator Matt. Carpenter remove two familiar figures from our politics. The former, by all his antecedents, should have been a model American statesman. Of Philadelphia birth and Quaker parentage, a business man before entering the field of politics, he might have been expected to carry to his new profession the sobriety and the regard for public interest which are supposed to characterize native American states-

men of such ancestry, in contrast to the naturalized Mulhools, upon whom we are accustomed to lay the blame of our misgovernment. We hardly think Mr. Wood's admirers—and we know that he has such—would make this claim for him. The eulogies which followed his death spoke chiefly of his staunch party loyalty and his excellent manners. He believed in the Democratic party and held all its beliefs, from Negro Slavery to Free Trade.

Mr. Carpenter also was not the model statesman of American ideals. He was as stalwart in his Republicanism as the other in his Democracy. He had something of his master's, Rufus Choate's, manner and power as a forensic speaker. And he had a personal generosity, which was wanting in Mr. Wood. But he was not a man who represented the better self of the country, nor one whose influence its best friends would wish to see perpetuated.

Both were "successful men," of the sort held up to the admiration of young Americans by newspapers, and even by teachers. But in the highest sense of the word—that of being a great influence for every good, a breath from the fan of the righteous King upon His threshing-floor,—neither was successful. How small they both look by the side of a man who shared the same month as his death-time, and who left in his Chelsea home hardly money enough to pay his household expenses for the next six weeks.

Of Mr. Carlyle we have spoken elsewhere.

NOMINATIONS FOR PUBLIC OFFICE. *

THE problem of government is to administer public affairs for the common weal. The special additional function of republican government is to give the people themselves the power of administration. A wide-spread opinion prevails, that by reason of some degeneracy in our people or their officers, the popular rights in this respect have of late been abridged, and measures more or less judicious are proposed to "reform" things into their proper channels. The merest glance at our history, however, shows that this notion of our lapse is a superstition rather than a fact. The experiment of a popular government in a great nation, though a century old, is still a new one, and its difficulties have been enor-

* Read before the Philadelphia Social Science Association, February 10, 1880.

mously magnified by the disproportionately rapid growth of our population.

Looking back into the heroic age of our nation, we expect to find, and therefore can easily delude ourselves into perceiving, a golden period of honesty and public virtue ; which, if it had ever really existed, would leave without a natural parentage the subsequent times with which we are well acquainted. If, however, we reflect that the men of the Revolution were educated under a monarchical form of government, the question is at once presented, whether a mere paper constitution or other written fiat could suddenly change the character of men and institutions formed during centuries of growth. Science and history both give a negative reply. Revolutions of opinion are ever slow and gradual, and this truth is illustrated by our own country as strongly as by any other. Indeed, the Declaration of Independence, which evoked such general enthusiasm, and was taken by the people of the great civilized States of Europe as the concrete expression of American political thought, was looked upon in the United States, until quite lately, as without practical meaning in its most important clauses.

We may fairly infer, therefore, that the doctrine of self-government, when first enunciated, was of limited scope, meaning, not so much the right of every citizen to be influential in the government, as the right of the Colonies of Great Britain to be governed at home rather than abroad, and this view is confirmed by certain aristocratic distinctions between citizens which the law long preserved, and some of which are still subsisting. Indeed, the influence of wealth and standing was everywhere disproportionately great, and the masses of citizens obediently voted for those who looked upon themselves as natural leaders. That the tendency of this feeling was to procure a high class of public officers is undeniable, since it created an aristocracy in which conspicuous merit brought fame and promotion. But as the people were being educated to self-government, they presently failed to perceive why office-holders should be permanently employed at good salaries, while other citizens remained subject to the many vicissitudes of life. As early as 1820, Congress limited the holding of certain classes of office to four years, and as to those not so limited popular sentiment began to demand periodical changes. In 1825, President Adams complained of the importunities to dismiss the

Custom House officials, and soon the feeling grew more and more violent, not only with reference to the National Government, but in all the States, until the election of Jackson definitely introduced the principle that an office in the United States had lost its old British character of an estate. In the period from the inauguration of Washington to that of Jackson, the whole number of officials removed from their offices by the various Presidents had been but seventy-four in all, while Jackson in the first year of his administration removed nine hundred and ninety.

Unfortunately, the principle of rotation in office, as an important element in free government, was but dimly perceived by Jackson. It was confounded with the semi-piratical maxim laid down by Marcy of New York: "To the victors belong the spoils of the enemy," and though in various ways the true doctrine was extended from time to time, yet we are still groping our way out of the Jacksonian system without much steadiness or method. The consequence of this has been that the doctrine of "rotation" has been totally lost sight of, and any party that is repeatedly victorious retains its adherents in office indefinitely, until we have reached the point that the Secretary of the Interior, during the last campaign, gravely called on the people to elect Mr. Garfield, because his success would prevent a change of office-holders.

That this so-called civil service reform is a prominent feature in Great Britain, ought not to recommend it to us, who see in the institutions of that great country a reverence for class superiority which is loathsome to us. The least we should do before adopting it, is to inquire, not whether we can administer the Government a little more cheaply, but whether its tendency be not to diminish the interest of the people in our Government and thus directly injure free institutions.

I have treated this subject so much at length; because offices are the practical rewards of workers in politics, and any scheme of reform which leaves them out of account must be inefficient. While, however, we frequently hear the aristocratic and cowardly theory that security to the office-holders is necessary to prevent their banding together to protect their interests at the expense of the welfare of the people and the Government, no one seems to think of the good old Democratic doctrine, that the people themselves should be instructed in the functions of government, and that to

give every one an opportunity, re-election or reappointment to an office after the expiration of its fixed term, instead of being assured, should be prohibited. Much is said of the efficiency of trained officials, but little of their arrogance and corruption, of their blighting influence on our politics and their insolent conspiracies to control the Government. Nor does experience confirm the gloomy views of many, as to the loss inflicted on the country by change of officials. The most responsible and difficult offices,—in fact, the only ones that should be thought of in connection with a life tenure,—the judicial,—are frequently filled by new men, and no great harm has been observed to result, while statutes have been necessary to abolish courts, simply to get rid of old judges who had become intolerable.

- But even admitting that the experience and training of old officials are valuable, this consideration of mere economy ought not to decide the question. Nobody doubts that a competent President elected for life, would, after an incumbency of eight or ten years, possess an amount of knowledge and experience absolutely unobtainable in the short term of four years, and which might be of great service to the country. And yet we have never elected a President for more than two terms, and high authorities claim this as a feature of our unwritten constitution. Why is this so, if not because of the sentiment that power, instead of being perpetuated, concentrated and highly educated, should be limited, diffused and popular,—in short, broken into as many, as small and as brittle fragments as possible?

And if this principle be correct, it inevitably follows that the union of several offices in one person is pernicious. To a certain extent, the law recognizes this fact by enacting that certain offices shall be incompatible; but experience proves that this does not go far enough. In our American cities it is not a novelty to find that the same man fills several great public trusts. Often the apology is put forth that such men have exceptional abilities, or that the trusts are merely honorary; but we need not go far to find that honorary trusts may become the principal sources of political power.

The duration and character of offices being properly regulated by law, the question arises—Who are to choose the officers?

In a very vague and large way we are accustomed to say that

the officers are chosen by the people at stated elections, and the multifarious repetition of the words has led to a sort of belief in the reality of the thing. But, in point of fact, the people do not now choose their officers, nor has there ever been a time when they did. An election is not a choice from among the people, but ordinarily only a choice between *two* of the whole body of citizens, when probably hundreds or thousands are equally fit or capable. Before the people, therefore, are called upon to choose between the *two*, somebody has the function of choosing between the thousands of eligible citizens; and this power of so choosing from among the whole mass is the affirmative and substantive power of choice which is the true essence of a democracy. What we call an election is obviously an alternative ratification; that is, we, the people, decide that A is to be preferred to B, or *vice versa*; but the real power of electing or selecting is in him who limits the people to the *two*.

But even this does not fully express the powerlessness of the people. It is true that two persons are presented; but the privilege of choice between them is practically taken away by the fact that they ordinarily represent opposite opinions on great public questions. The patriotic citizen who feels that the interests of the country demand that a certain line of policy be pursued, is thus forced to vote for the person who is set up to represent that policy, and his disinterested public virtue is made the instrument to compel blind submission to the dictates of the power that nominates.

Sometimes, in a fit of resentment, we vote for the other man; but this, so far from being a real remedy, only aggravates the evil. Besides imperiling the policy we believe right, and thus shaking our steadfastness in public duty, it elects a person who has been nominated by influences just as objectionable as the man we turn from. It does worse harm yet, by enabling the managers of the opposing parties to come to an understanding by which both sets gain when either wins. In this way arise those double rings which furnish such unexpected and surprising election results as we sometimes see.

The difficulties, therefore, are such that they cannot be solved without giving the people a larger share of power in the selection of nominees.

Are the people sufficiently capable of self-government to exercise this highest function of discrimination? Pessimists answer,—

No ; and have placed their views on the statute books by increasing the number of officers appointed by judges and other high officials. And some applaud the change, and boast of the good results, without noting the half-confession of the inability of the people for self-government.

But if it be true that the people are unable to protect themselves against bad nominations, because of their intrinsic inability to govern, the logical result must be to deprive them at last of all power, and to install as our rulers those specially qualified persons who have lately come to be known as "bosses," and in earlier days as "Triumvirates," "Kitchen Cabinets," and "Albany Regencies." And many well-meaning persons have incautiously and unwittingly come to this conclusion.

Unfortunately, the grave questions involved are systematically belittled and obscured by the issue of "economy," and we have municipal statesmen haggling over odd pennies and at the same time permitting the people to be enslaved without an earnest effort to prevent the wrong.

But even this pitiful "economy" is impracticable without a reform of the nominating system. It is notorious that millions of the taxes paid by the people of this city are disbursed by a few men and their dependent appointees ; and it is equally notorious that persons not in office receive shares of the emoluments of certain office-holders, as a reward for having furnished them with the offices ; in short, that for years offices have been sold in this city for money.

Not that a great community like this need fear ruin by a little temporary wastefulness or corruption in the management of its affairs ; but that this system has created the most enormous temptations to seize and hold the power of the people in a few hands, and has at the same time furnished the means for perpetuating it there to the utter disfranchisement of the whole body of voters.

That the misgovernment is not more atrocious, is not due to the system, whose capabilities for evil are indefinite, but rather to the desire of our masters to lull us to repose while they shear us of the strength of our free institutions. What we need is not the reduction of the tax rate by one or two cents. We want a government "of the people, by the people," even if this should in-

crease the tax rate. The free institutions that are worth dying for are also worth paying for.

That large class of persons who oppose all innovations as new-fangled ideas, cannot perceive why we need a change, since our fathers managed to get along in the old-fashioned way; and when complaint is made that the present system of nominating candidates for office has outlived its usefulness, and that a change is necessary, we are scolded as being ourselves the authors of the mischief; and wise editors, sitting in their well-furnished chambers, write leaders informing the people that the remedy is simple and in their own hands,—all they have to do is to go to the polls, and everything will be satisfactory. To ascertain the exact value of such advice, we must glance for a moment at the actual condition of things. A compact body of office-holders, many thousands in number, are organized with military thoroughness, under trained chiefs. They are persons whose livelihood depends upon strict adherence to discipline. Ordinarily, they are not clever mechanics, industrious laborers, thorough clerks, or competent merchants, but persons of mediocre abilities in their several branches, who, unable to endure the vigorous competition of private employment, prefer the uncriticising public as their employer. Their motives for holding on are therefore doubled; they not only dread the loss of present employment, but they fear their tried inability to retain private positions. The leisure incident to public employment serves to educate them in what may be called “tactics,” and the result is, that in any political movement they have the same superiority over the public as the public in everything else have over them. This band of “regulars” confronts the mass of “militia;” and of course training and organization win. But we must add still another factor of success,—unscrupulousness. In this arm of the service every man with scruples is a laggard, and falls by the wayside. He that can vote repeaters, make false certificates, and see that no man with honesty and independence shall be placed where he can control a nomination, is the fittest, and survives.

These facts, ugly as the mention of them sounds, are not only undeniable, but the parties concerned take pains to impress them on every political worker.

Against such influences, what can the honest and unorganized public do? If they select delegates not desired by the politicians,

certificates are given to those not elected ; or, if that is imprudent, the certificates are thrown out by the convention to which they are directed. The best proof of this fact is that for years the list of nominees for offices in this city has been publicly known days, weeks, and sometimes months, before the delegates to choose them were named.

Nor is the reason difficult to ascertain. All the risks and punishments fall upon him who is honest at a delegate election ; all the rewards and honor to him who obtains success at all hazards.

To overcome the inevitable result, we have only the appeal to the honor of the dishonorable and to the honesty of the dishonest.

Something more potent is required. If the fear of punishment for honesty operates to make men dishonest, or to keep them so, why should not the fear of punishment for dishonesty tend to make men honest ?

The first remedy for the present evils of the nominating system is to throw around it the protection of law, and denounce infamy and punishment against him who violates its purity at any stage.

Against this remedy it has been objected that laws punishing frauds at elections have not sufficed to keep elections pure. But such an objection really avoids the question. No law can, in any ordinary number of years, totally extirpate the crime it punishes. The workings of law are slow, but they are sure. Every student of history can readily remember instances of gradual changes in the common views of the morality of certain acts superinduced by legislation. A familiar example is the case of lottery policies, the dealing in which, a few generations ago, was open, and deemed respectable ; whereas, to-day it is furtive, and deemed criminal. And that this is due to legislation, is seen from the fact that in certain States of this Union, where the laws do not forbid the practice, the best citizens aid in it without thought of wrong, and without incurring reproach. So it will be with election frauds. A people so patriotic as ours will inevitably arrive at a stage of opinion when the falsification of the public vote will be as infamous as theft. That we have not yet reached that point, is due simply to the fact that we have not had the time. But, notwithstanding our imperfect consciousness of moral evil in election frauds, no sensible man will declare that they are looked upon with the same feelings as nominating frauds. Having a prison taint about them, only the

desperate and worthless undertake them ; whereas, the latter, being associated with honors and emoluments, are not totally unknown to pious church members and respectable citizens.

If the law classed the latter frauds with the former, they would, in time, become equally disreputable, and fall into the hands of a few instead of many.

Nor need we despair of reducing their frequency by proper additional legislation.

Very young persons can remember when Boards of Return Judges "counted in" candidates whom the people had "counted out." The law vested the right to count in the courts, and fraud thereupon took refuge in the divisions; and knowing its seat and nature, it can be pursued and overcome.

But the remedy is not by making offices perpetual. That principle has produced the evils we labor under. A man who succeeds himself need not fear the investigation of his successor. An incumbent who protects fraud, at once enlists the whole organization of violators of the law in his behalf; and he is again and again re-elected to do his work. In this way the unpleasant result follows, that when a man is denied a re-election, we at once suppose him to have been too honest to please the powers.

Assuming, then, that it would be beneficial to protect nominations by law, how should it be done?

Several States have attempted it, and there are laws on the subject applicable to a few counties in our own Commonwealth.

These laws in general provide for registration of party voters, for swearing in the officers, and for securing fairness in the returns; violations thereof being punishable by fine and imprisonment.

So far as they go, good results doubtless follow; but it is useless to deny that they do not go far enough.

The evil to be remedied is the thoroughness of the office-holders' organization, as against the totally disorganized condition of the people.

If we reflect that the State is the master corporation, it ought not to be impossible so to avail ourselves of its omnipotence as to render the counter-organization not only harmless, but ridiculous. And in achieving this end it may be wise to learn from the "bosses" the methods whereby they have elevated the "machine" into a ruling power.

Nominations in this city are made by a few persons, who consult with each other and parcel out the offices amongst themselves and their creatures. The evil in this is, that the motives governing the consultation are impure, being a desire for personal gain, and the number of persons consulting is too small, being only four or five out of tens of thousands.

If we can, by any means, increase the number called in to consult, every citizen will finally be educated to claim his influence as an inalienable right. It is manifestly impossible for great communities to meet in mass for this purpose; but our admirable system of election divisions is ready at hand as a basis for true reform. Each one of these divisions contains about two hundred voters, of whom, on the average, a little more than one-half are Republicans, and a little less than one-half Democrats. These are manageable numbers. They are small enough to authorize the belief that consultation among them is not only practicable, but easy, when we consider that they are each other's immediate neighbors.

If the Republicans in each election division could be got together, so as to discuss the nominations intelligently, and the Democrats could be made to do the same, the mystery would be solved,

One method of accomplishing this end would seem to be the abolition of primary elections, and the election of nominating delegates for each of two parties at the regular elections. There is no reason why our voting tickets should not be lengthened by the addition of the names of such delegates, as officers, to be voted for like the others, and to hold their offices for one, or even two years. These delegates should be sworn, their meetings should be public, and be held in their own divisions; neglect and corruption should be indictable; and with the full gaze of their constituencies upon them, and the sense of responsibility, thus engendered, heightened by the grave sanctions of law, it would be contrary to human experience if their functions were not performed better and better from time to time. Then one check on inefficiency and dishonesty, which has never yet been attempted in this connection, could be tried. Instead of having few delegates, there should be many. Each party should elect *ten* nominating delegates in a division, instead of one. The mode of election might be made exceedingly simple. Under the head of "nominating delegates," there should be put on each voter's ticket twenty names, ten of which should

be marked in a brace, Republican, and the other ten, Democratic, or whatever the party names might at any time happen to be. Each voter should vote for only ten, which, except in a few instances, so unimportant as to be inappreciable, would result in the choice of ten of each party in each division. The ten representatives of each party in each division should meet the ten representatives of the same party from every other division in the same ward at times stated by law, and should at such ward conventions nominate candidates for ward officers to be voted for at the next election, and they should likewise elect, from among their own number, a certain number of delegates to act as delegates to a city and county nominating convention, whose duty should be to present the party's nominations for city and county officers. This city or county convention could elect delegates to State and national conventions, and thus the people could always be sure that the nominating system would be in the hands of their representatives.

Of course, the life of such a system would be in the division organization. So long as it could be kept pure and honest, everything would work well. To keep up the interest of the public in the matter, it would be advisable to procure joint meetings of the Republican and Democratic delegates in each division, at stated periods, not only for the purposes of organization and mere consultation, but also for certain limited police and legislative purposes.

Who could so well advise the Mayor of the remissness of the police officers in a locality, or the Board of Health of a failure to clean the streets, or the Highway Department of neglected thoroughfares and culverts, as such a local Senate, evenly divided as regards parties? Who, again, would be such a Board of Revision to determine whether an assessor has made a favorably low assessment of real estate, or has placed mythical voters on a list, or left lawful ones off, as these inspectors of the vicinage? Doubtless, many other important services could be rendered by such a body, but the greatest of all would be the political education thereby afforded to great masses of our people, and the steady interest awakened in public affairs. With one-tenth of the whole voting population continually engaged in supervisory, unsalaried public duty, corruption in office would become more dangerous and more impracticable year by year, and this advantage could be doubled by denying to these delegates the right to become their own im-

mediate successors, thus drafting into this civil militia another tenth of the whole voting population.

Thus far it has been supposed that the honor and the responsibility of the position would ensure the service of a sufficient number of citizens; but there is no sound reason, moral, legal or practical, why the failure of a citizen to attend to this duty should not be punished by a reasonable fine for every delinquency, just as the failure to do jury duty is punished. Nothing in the nature of the office would require a citizen to lose any part of his working-day, and it is not at all probable that the office now so sought for would become onerous or odious to good citizens.

But this system, like all things, must have a beginning. Who shall designate the twenty citizens put on the ticket for nominating delegates at each election? Shall we have a convention for that purpose? Certainly not. The nominating delegates of each party in each division shall nominate their own successors, themselves being ineligible. To make a clique by this means is impossible, on account of the vastness of the numbers; the whole number of nominating delegates in Philadelphia, during any two years, being more than 30,000 persons of the two parties, and rendering the idea of a combination for evil purposes utterly absurd and impracticable. In short, the incomparable superiority of the power of the people, when organized, over the power of a selfish clique, is here shown by the magnificent figures.

But suppose that the sitting delegates should nominate as candidates for the succession, one or more improper persons. The people would still have in their own hands all the remedies they now possess, with a hundred times the opportunity to apply them. It being fixed by law that the nominations are to be announced a reasonable time before the election, the citizens of the division who believe that a mistake has been made, consult together, and put up such other names as they may desire; and if they can induce enough of their neighbors to vote for the outside nominees, they may at least be sure of having the votes counted and their candidates elected, which now is impracticable.

But there is still one thing to do, and that is to start the work. How are the first set of delegates to be appointed?

This is a serious difficulty, only because the ordinary channels of expressing popular opinion are clogged by corruptionists. Two

courses are open. One is to make a tremendous effort at organization in each division, and by the personal presence of the voters overawe the primary election officers into certifying the truth,—a way obnoxious to the objection that it will inevitably result in bloodshed if the people wish to maintain their rights, because no defiance of them is punishable by law. The other course is to impose upon the judges of our courts the disagreeable but patriotic duty of naming the first set of delegates, and thus laying broad and deep the foundations of freer and better government.

The system once established, the division delegates of each party would name the necessary election officers, the judge being elected by *both* parties from among the majority voters in the division. To avoid frauds, the ballots should be printed in one way for each party, and a distributor of tickets should be placed at the polls for each, and the expenses thereof should be borne by the public.

Something may be said about the expensiveness of such a system; but a little thought will dispose of this.

One of the most objectionable features of party domination is the assessment of candidates for office, to pay campaign expenses. These are divided, in law and in fact, into two kinds, legitimate and illegitimate. Illegitimate are not to be considered here; but it is important to reflect that the payment of the legitimate entails the most serious evils on the people. How can we expect persons to lay out money for procuring offices, if the emoluments of these offices do not pay for the services to be obtained, plus the money so advanced to obtain them, with interest, plus insurance for the risk of losing the money so advanced? Nor is this the worst evil. Every officeholder, actual or expectant, is in favor of a scale of compensation totally out of proportion to the labor and talents required, and is an enemy of any change. It is safe to say that for every dollar expended in legitimate election expenses by candidates, more than a hundred dollars are taken out of the public treasury as a pretended means of paying the officials for their expenditures in obtaining office. Worse yet, poor men are rendered ineligible because they cannot pay their assessments; or if a good Samaritan steps forward and advances the money, he gets a mortgage on the office to be obtained, and gets his money back with usurious interest by taking a portion of the emoluments of an office to which he has not been elected.

Then, again, the system of lawful campaign expenses renders necessary the registration and assessment of candidates, and makes impossible of application the principle so loudly proclaimed in words, that the office should seek the man. The only remedy is the abolition of all legal election expenses, and their assumption by the community. In themselves they are trifling, and, as a measure of economy, we could well afford to pay them twice over, by simply deducting from all salaries the amounts of political assessments. A potent source of the corruption of the press would cease with the disintegration of great campaign funds, and the community could easily spare the noisy processions and meetings.

The people being organized on a sound basis, voluntary movements of citizens for good government would become valuable and powerful. A body like the Committee of One Hundred, with branches in every ward, would be a critical agent of the highest usefulness. If evil nominations were made by either party, they could warn the districts concerned by facts, not partisan denunciations, and the time would soon come when a man unable to clear his character from such charges could never reach public office.

To resume, then:

The public have never had a right of selection.

The so-called elections are merely ratifications.

The problem now is to assure the right of selection to the people.

The obstacle in the way is the potent organization of the office-holders.

The methods of removing it, are (1) fixity of tenure for office-holders for a limited but reasonably long time, and impossibility of immediate re-election.

2. Regulating nominations by law.

3. Abolishing private delegate elections, and voting for delegates at general elections.

4. Many delegates instead of few.

If, instead of the method proposed, it should be deemed better on the whole to have the nominating delegates themselves nominated by mass meetings of each party in each division, there is no doubt that this course would be practicable, though more liable to the danger of turbulence and fraud than the plan here suggested. It is admitted, however, that these dangers would be comparatively

small, in view of the large proportion of persons to be named, if the limitation be adopted of forbidding nominating delegates from being their own successors. Such mass meetings of a party, however, ought to be held in a summer month, at an hour in the early evening fixed by law, and at a place in each division previously announced in a satisfactory way. They ought all to be held at the same time, in order to prevent, as far as possible, the danger of interference by politicians of one place or party with the deliberations of the citizens of another place or party.

One other thought, and I am done. The evils under which we labor have given rise to various plans of reform in the government of cities, one of which is at present before the Legislature of this Commonwealth for consideration. Like the New York plan, which is followed, it proposes a real-property qualification for members of one branch of the municipal Legislature. Without adverting to the anomaly of introducing this feature into the government of cities, when it is not proposed for the incomparably weightier interests of the State and National Governments, I desire to call attention to the fallacy lurking behind it. It assumes that tax-payers are either more capable or more honest than other citizens. This principle is radically opposed, not only to our governmental theory, but also to common experience. Imperial Britain is steadily cheapening the suffrage, and good government, it is claimed, is thereby promoted; but if we look nearer home for conspicuous examples of tyranny and misrule, we must pass by political corporations and examine the great railroad companies. In them property is the exclusive qualification of the right of suffrage, and every motive for the intelligent exercise of the right exists. The result is, that officers on moderate salaries grow to be millionaires, directors reelect themselves, and though the owners may suffer want by lack of dividends, they have not the power to change the rulers or to abridge their emoluments. Besides, a real-property qualification is easily eluded. A man may pay taxes on enormous masses of real property, of which he is merely the nominal owner. While the true owner, called the mortgagee, is ineligible, the sham owner possesses the required qualification. Nay, further; the direct tendency of such a law would be to sell the government to the rich. Penniless politicians could readily obtain houses from persons of

great wealth in consideration of diverting legislation from its proper channel into such directions as might satisfy private greed.

Such expedients are worse than useless.

The hope of man lies not in appeals to the bad passions of avarice and lust of power ; but in the virtue, the intelligence, and the patriotism of the masses. Building upon this sure foundation, our country has been able to give, on the whole, the greatest blessings to the greatest number ; and now that we discover evils in our system, it is our duty conscientiously to study their causes and ascertain the best ways to remove them, instead of making reactionary experiments, whose only result can be to delay the progress and impede the happiness of mankind.

MAYER SULZBERGER.

THE ENGLISH PANIC IN REGARD TO IRELAND.

I KNOW that you will be glad to avail yourself of any means placed at your disposal to help to dispel the cloud of mischievous fabrications which is spread over the world just now with regard to Ireland.

I have been in Dublin for some weeks ; present at the State trials for several days, mixing with Protestants and Catholics, with Irish and Scotch and English ; and were it not for the unjust, cruel and criminal consequences which flow from them, it would be positively ludicrous to contemplate the state of feeling in England in the light of fact in Ireland.

You would imagine, from the panic in England, that there was the greatest confusion, excitement and alarm wherever you went in Ireland. You land at the North-Wall from an English steamer, or at Kingstown from Hollyhead ; but instead of being saluted by the " boys," with shillelaghs over your head, or being " Boycotted," you have a difficulty in getting out of the hands of civil and polite poor fellows, anxious to know if you " want a cyar, yer honor." The usual work goes on as if there were no Land Question disturbing the composure of the Lords and Commons of England. You make your way into the city. Sackville Street, Dawe Street, Grafton Street, are as usual ; men and women perambulating the pavements as if nothing was astray ; and if you get into conversation with them, they smile at the fiction of the " reign of terror " which

the newspapers and the House of Commons have got up. Even in the Four Courts, from the opening until the day on which Mr. A. M. Sullivan was to speak, there was plenty of room and to spare, in a place which, for its limits and awkwardness, was woefully suggestive of what I hope is at an end—packed juries. It is true, there was a crush that day, and thereafter, when the question came to be, "What will the jury do?" But even then there really was no excitement. The friends of the gentlemen on trial were, of course, anxious about the issue, and eager to learn the result, when it was near at hand. But all over the town the feeling was that of amusement at the panic in landlord circles, and the great to-do in the landlord House of Commons.

The whole of this affair has been gotten up and multiplied and exaggerated by the landlord class and their willing friends and flunkeys on the press and in the Government; for crime there is not and has not been above the average of Ireland, and not up to the average of England. But the Land League was getting too powerful. Landlordism in Ireland looked as if it were about to be done for, as has been done for it in all the other civilized countries in Europe; and so a desperate struggle must be made by the landlords, the money lords and the military members in the House of Commons.

How was this to be done? Get every scrap of alleged crime reported, exaggerated and multiplied, and credited as "agrarian." For this purpose the tools were ready. First, there were the literary police, who are eager for promotion. They could prove their title by being active in getting up reports of "Boycotting," window-breaking, threatening letters, etc. The use made of the reports of the League meetings is an excellent illustration of this. Even where the reports of those meetings were written out in full, they were only reported in the pro-English papers in such a way as to give the strongest passages without the general scope and sense; and in this way the speakers who were engaged in the benevolent work of saving poor tenants from oppression and poverty and death, were made to appear as if they justified the short-sighted allegation of Judge Fitzgerald, that they were merely aiming at "the impoverishment of landlords," and that by violent means. It is worth while taking special note of the doings of one of these literary preservers of the peace,—Jerry Stringer. In his beat was

one Nally, vulgarly called "Scrab." Nally was fond of making speeches, and he attended the Land League meetings as often as he could. If possible, he got hold of Stringer and gave him a dram, to make sure of his speech being reported; and he saw Stringer after all was done, and over another dram they managed to make up a good, full report. This went on for a good while, Nally indulging in strong language, a prominent element being references to his own "pills," which were the best cure for the landlords. This man was no agent, no director, not even a member, of the Land League; and he never was in the list of speakers appointed to any meeting. He got up either before the proceedings began or after they were over, and in this way he made those irregular speeches for which the Land League was held responsible, and for which its leading men were actually tried, along with him in the Court of Queen's Bench. The worst parts of these unauthorized speeches were reported to the papers beforehand; but never, until the trial, had the public an opportunity of knowing that they were not the authorized teachings of the Land League. Be it noted that all this came out in the trial, on the testimony of Stringer, the Government witness and reporter.

As has been said, the other speakers were reported in such a manner as to serve the same purpose. The stronger, less guarded and more sensational portions were sent off to the Dublin pro-landlord papers, and thence they reached the offices of the Press Association and Central News, to be reproduced in the leading newspapers of England, Scotland and America. And even when the qualifying portions of those speeches were produced in court and read there, they were not reproduced in the English papers; so that even when there was so good an opportunity of doing justice to the Irish, and of affording the English people a fair chance of understanding this matter, it was not availed of by the caterers of news for Great Britain. To illustrate the possibilities in this way of working, let me give a pointed example:

It is in the office of the *Irish Times*, a pro-landlord paper, that the dispatches of Irish news for the Central News are prepared. Of the character of that workshop, I leave the public to judge from one fact. There can be no doubt that the trial in Dublin excited great interest out of Dublin, and the *Irish Times* was careful to give very full reports of the speeches of the Attorney-General and

Mr. Heron for the prosecution, as also of the Judge's charge, which was equally strong for the prosecution ; yet, when the greatest and best speech of the whole trial was made,—that of Mr. A. M. Sullivan,—the *Irish Times* did not give one word of it,—did not even mention that he had made a speech at all ! There was no difference of opinion as to the character of that speech. I heard Counsellor O'Brien say, when it was finished, " That is the best speech I ever heard, or ever expect to hear."

And this magnificent speech was not reported because there was a private quarrel between Mr. Sullivan and the conductors of that paper. They had libelled him, and he got damages of them ; and they did not scruple to defraud those who depended upon them for a true report of the proceedings, and to prejudice the public against the Irish in order to gratify personal, private spite.

I repeat, these are the hands which prepare one great stream of Irish news for the British public.

There are other papers in Dublin which are even more hostile to the Irish people than the *Irish Times*. The *Evening Mail* and the *Daily Express* are the other pro-landlord papers ; and from their offices are sent other streams of Irish news to supply the Press Association and several individual papers, and however much worse their contributions may be than those of the *Irish Times*, they cannot be better in their feelings towards the Irish.

It is no wonder, then, that there should be a very bad and very unfair impression made on the English mind with regard to Ireland. But this is not all.

Be it noted that never was there a movement in Ireland which appeared so likely to bring landlordism to its knees as this of the Irish National Land League. In the first place, it was an open, above-board, Constitutional movement, intended to prepare the people of Ireland, by means of intelligence and co-operation, to bring about the establishment of a peasant proprietary. It was not a secret society, which could be put down as such. It could not be met publicly. No landlord or agent could face a public meeting and discuss the misdeeds of his class, in the hope of refuting the agents of the Land League ; and, to all appearance, no existing law could be applied to put it down.

What, then, was to be done ? Have recourse to invention ; and so the papers which had always maligned the people had only to

lay on the lies a little more deeply. Increase crime, on paper ; multiply crime ; magnify crime, and create a panic in England which will afford the landlords, in and out of Parliament, a pretext to persecute Gladstone and Forster into taking steps which will put down this formidable movement. Landlords have the law, the press, the magistrates and the police, as well as the Government, on their side ; and the houses of Parliament are houses of landlords, to all practical intent.

The newspapers, with the police and the magistrates (who are mostly landlords,) at their backs, created the panic ; and when the bold attitude of the Irish popular members rendered it politic that the Government should produce statistics, the same hands which supplied the fictitious crimes to the papers could supply the same over again to the Castle in Dublin ; and this is exactly what has been done, and that with dishonesty stamped on the face of the returns ; first, by the triviality of the offences entered as crimes calling for the suspension of the Constitution ; second, by the multiplication of cases into two, three and four crimes ; and, third, by returning as agrarian crimes offences which have nothing to do with the relation between landlords and tenants. And all this will become patent to the public by and by ; but not until the mischief of passing a Coercion Bill has been done.

I know it is difficult for people out of Ireland to believe the story which I now tell, so I put the same thing in another shape. I have been to Leinster, and I find no disturbance there ; every place quiet, and people going about their business as quietly and unconcernedly as in any part of Scotland. I go to Connaught, and I find no disturbance there ; and when I go to Munster I am told, "No, there is no disturbance here ; it is all in the North,"—where, according to the Government returns, the minimum of crime exists !

But there is a great temptation in the circumstances to the landlords and their agents and tools to enter into the conspiracy, for it is here the conspiracy is really at work. The landlords have long enjoyed their unjust possessions and powers, and it would not be in human nature to surrender so much without a desperate struggle. The most obvious scheme for them to adopt is that which we find in operation.

And if an outsider goes by probabilities, he can arrive at a con-

clusion for himself. Irish landlords have to accept Lord Clarendon's description of some of them, and allocate the term "felonious" as best they can. If there is a sufficient number of such among them to justify the passing of the Land Act of 1870, there are enough of them to perpetrate the crime of getting up fraudulent returns for the purpose of saving themselves from abolition. The black indictment brought against them in 1870 stands to this day, and, although it was got up for a specific purpose at that time, it is quite adequate to the purpose of accounting for the present conspiracy and fraud on their part. The men who have been rack-renting, evicting, expatriating and crushing the poor tenants of Ireland for so long, are not likely to scruple at trifles when it becomes a question of the maintenance of their own existence as a class; and clearly they have not shrunk from the foul deeds. And the day is not far distant when the English public will see through the whole thing, and, I hope, begin to exercise the power of returning, not landlords, but real commoners, to what is called the "House of Commons." And it is to this work the Irish have now to address themselves. They are checked in their operations in Ireland. Well, let the leaders issue strict orders to the people in Ireland to be more guarded than ever, and hold on for a time, while the war is carried into England. Let a regular campaign be commenced in that country, for the purpose of opening the eyes of the masses to their interest in this land question; and it will be no difficult matter to show the English artisans and clerks, and manufacturers even, that it is only on the basis of free land and a numerous, contented and prosperous rural population in possession of the land, that the trade of England can ever rise to its wonted prosperity. As certain as American beef, mutton, cheese and wool have interfered with the profits of farmers, and reduced the rents which the land yields, so will American manufactures undermine British trade and manufactures; and, having lost so much American trade, and been beaten in other markets by America, British manufacturers must co-operate with the Land League, and demand for England what has already been demanded for Ireland—the abolition of "landlordism."

And this leads me to mention here distinctly, that in abolishing landlordism, no one proposes confiscation, communism or robbery. No friend of the tenants proposes anything else than that the land-

lords should have a fair price for their lands ; and I have no doubt that if the demands of the Irish people had been listened to, as they ought to have been a few years ago, a much smaller concession would have done than total abolition of landlordism. A partial abolition of landlordism would do for a little at any rate. Abolishing those who are willing to accept fair compensation, and those who could be pressed into bankruptcy, would throw a large extent of land on the hands of the " Land Commissioners," or whatever other body of men might be entrusted with the business of selling out the land among the peasantry. Supposing that only one-fifth of all the land in Ireland were thrown thus into the market during the next ten years, and that arrangements were made with a Land Bank, surveyors and all the rest, for settling the people, it would be found that an immense relief had been afforded to those who still remained in the ranks of the tenantry. At present, the fact is that, although there are so many poor districts in Ireland overcrowded, there are large tracts of the best land in Ireland lying merely under grass in the hands of a few men. Five millions of acres thrown open for occupation by peasant proprietors would, on an average, absorb, say, a million of people ; but say that it was only half that number, see what a revolution would be commenced, and where there are good landlords, there would, for a while, be room for them also.

That these remarks are made with every allowance will be seen, when I state that Ireland, at present, only supports one human being for every three acres of land, while Belgium supports three for every acre. In other words, the land laid out in peasant properties supports nine times as many people as that owned by landlords and occupied by tenants.

So that the proposal to establish a majority of the people of Ireland on peasant properties need not be regarded with such alarm—if the alarmists would only look at it honestly. If there is any good in owning large estates, there would be plenty of room in Ireland for them—for a long time to come. So that the landlords have been as foolish as they have been unscrupulous in using such methods as they have adopted against the Land League. If they had called an honest council, drawn up plans, and come to a conference with the Land League, I see that the whole thing could have been arranged so as, at any rate, to avoid the falsehood, the

fraud and the violence which the landlords have resorted to in the contest—means which, in proportion as they retard a reasonable process of sentiment, precipitate a violent struggle and more signal destruction of landlordism than that which is contemplated by the popular agitators in Ireland. Never was it more worthy of acceptance than in this case, that “honesty is the best policy.”

JOHN MURDOCH.

THOMAS CARLYLE.

WHEN one has passed away who was born before Europe knew the name of Napoleon, and who was pushing his own way in the world before the termination of “Boney’s Wars,” it is not possible to feel shocked at his death. And yet Mr. Carlyle’s death leaves us all with a sense of loss and of vacancy. For nearly sixty years, he had filled a definite place in the world, and had been a real influence upon the thought of his contemporaries. As has been truthfully said, there has been no such masterful name in English literature since the time of Dr. Johnson, and Johnson dominated a much more circumscribed and manageable world than did this stern but humorous Scotchman, who judged men so harshly, and yet won their love by their discovery of depths of humanity in him,—resembling Johnson in both the roughness of the exterior and the tenderness of what lay beneath it. In one other respect the two men were alike,—they both lived through neglect and scorn, to taste the sweetness of a popularity which invested them with a kind of dictatorship. And both labored for the same end in all their works,—not as mere book-makers, but as the bearers of a message to their own generation, which they must not fail to speak.

Thomas Carlyle was born in 1795, at Ecclefechan, a town in the Scottish lowlands, not far from the western end of the English border, and too remote from the provincial centres of enlightenment to have lost the Old World tone of Scottish and Presbyterian earnestness. Both his father,—James Carlyle, a working stone mason,—and his mother, seem to have been possessed of valuable force of mind and character. Of his father, who died in 1832, he has written a sketch, which is soon to appear in print.

The son used to say of him : " I think of all the men I have ever known, my father was quite the remarkablest. A farmer sort of person, using vigilant thrift and careful husbandry ; abiding by veracity and faith ; and with an extraordinary insight into the very heart of things and men. I can remember from my childhood that I was surprised at his using many words of which I did not know the meaning ; and even as I grew to manhood, I was not a little puzzled by them, and supposed they must be of his own coinage. But later, in my black-letter reading, I discovered that every one of them was of the sound Saxon stock, which had lain buried, yet fruitful withal, and most significant in the quick memory of the humble sort of folk.

" He was an elder of the Kirk ; and it was very pleasant to see him in his daily and weekly relations with the minister of the parish. They had been friends from their youth, and had grown up together in the service of their common Master. . . . It was pleasant indeed to see my father and his minister together, and hear their grave, serious talk. You would be satisfied that, whoever was out of his duty, they were in theirs."*

This serious and intense atmosphere of his early home, and the idiosyncrasies of this antiquely worded and altogether devout father, was the most notable element in the boy's training. We know that his mother, also, was a person of remarkable intelligence, full of sympathy for earnest and devout persons, and moved with doubts as to the accuracy of the historical caricatures then current as portraits of Oliver Cromwell, which she managed to impart to her son. There was another son in the household who rose to eminence. John A. Carlyle studied and practiced medicine, but is better known to the world as one of the first English Dantists, through his edition of the *Inferno*, with notes and a prose translation (1848).

Of Carlyle's boyhood, but little is told us. He attended the

* We use here and elsewhere the recollection of Carlyle's conversation by Rev. W. H. Milburn, the blind preacher, as these are recorded in an article called " Carlyle's Table-Talk," in *Harpers' Magazine* for 1863. The whole is worth reading, and is evidently accurate, as well as authentic, though, at times, Mr. Milburn seems rather to give us his own phraseology than that of his hero. We have also used, besides minor sources too numerous for mention, the " Life and Anecdotes " prefixed to John Camden Hotten's unauthorized edition of the Edinburgh address as Lord Rector, " On the Choice of Books."

parish school of Ecclefechan, and then the more ambitious school at Annan, the nearest provincial town, kept by a Mr. Adam Hope, where, in 1809, he made the acquaintance of Edward Irving, his first and warmest friendship, which was to end only with Irving's death. "The first time I saw Irving," he wrote in *Fraser's* in 1835, "was six-and-twenty years ago, in his native town, Annan. He was fresh from Edinburgh, with college prizes, high character and promise; he had come to see our schoolmaster, who had also been his. We heard of famed professors, of high matters,—classical, mathematical,—a whole wonderland of knowledge. Nothing but joy, health, hopefulness without end, looked out from the blooming young man." Mr. Hope finished the work begun by the minister of Ecclefechan,—who had taught Carlyle the rudiments of Latin,—thus preparing him for the university. In those days,—and we believe still in our times,—the Scotch universities demanded little of their matriculates as regards Greek culture; and the youth who could pass in a knowledge of Latin was regarded as amply prepared for a university career. Carlyle entered at Edinburgh in 1809, when Irving had completed his course of study and taken a place as teacher near Dumfries. It was the science of mathematics, as taught by Professor Leslie, that took the firmest hold of Carlyle's attention, and for years after his graduation it seemed not unlikely that this would be the field which would witness his chief intellectual achievements. He retained a lively recollection of his student years. "It is now," he told the students of the University in 1866, "fifty-six years gone last November, since I first entered your city, a boy of not quite fourteen, to attend the classes here and gain knowledge of all kinds,—I could little guess what,—my poor mind full of wonder and awe-struck expectations." Of the worth of university education, he derived from his own experience a very high estimate. He made the best of his opportunities there, living quite up to the advice he gave its students in 1866: "That above all things the interest of your whole life depends on your being *diligent* now, while it is called to-day, in the place where you have come to get education! Diligent! That includes all the virtues a student can have; I mean it to include all those qualities of conduct that lead us to the acquirement of real instruction in such a place. . . . The habits of study acquired at universities are of the highest importance in after-life. . . . Uni-

versities have, and will continue to have, an indispensable value in society,—I think a very high, and it might almost be the highest value. . . . What the University can mainly do for you,—what I have found it do for me,—is, that it taught me to read in various languages, in various sciences, so that I could go into the books which treated of these things, and gradually penetrate into any department I wanted to make myself master of, as I found it suit me.” University education in Scotland is, for the majority of those who receive, it a matter of great privations and hardships. It is the children of the less wealthy, of even the poorer classes, who throng the national universities, while the wealthier go to Oxford or Cambridge. Carlyle was probably no exception to this rule. His father, it seems, had nothing to leave him when he died, and would have little more to give him while he lived. To “cultivate the Muses on a little oatmeal,” was the fate of students as well as of young *Edinburgh Reviewers* in that land and time.

Most important to Carlyle's after-life was the fact that his friend Edward Irving had, after graduation, accepted a position as school-teacher in the town of Haddington, a sleepy, ill-built, but rather picturesque village, six miles to the east of Edinburgh. Here Irving stayed for but one year, before accepting the more important post as schoolmaster in Kirkaldy, Adam Smith's native place. Of the trustees of the Haddington school, one was Dr. John Welsh, who, like a good many of that name, claimed a rather doubtful descent from the reformer, John Knox, through his daughter, the wife of Rev. John Welsh.* Dr. Welsh had an only child, a daughter, born in 1801, and therefore at this time in her ninth year. She had overheard her father expressing his regret that he had no son upon whom to bestow a liberal education; and having learned that Latin was the corner-stone, she determined that she would surprise him by mas-

*The same descent has been claimed for our eminent townsman, Hon. John Welsh. John Knox's son-in-law had seven daughters, but no sons. This was part of the point of the famous story of Mrs. Welsh's interview with King James, when she went to plead for some indulgence to her exiled husband, then at the point of death. “Hae ye ony children, mistress?” the king asked. “Aye, seven, your Majestic.” “Are ony o' them bairns?” “No, your Majesty, they are all lassies.” “The Lord be thankit; for gin there had been a bairn amang them, I wad no ha' bruiet [enjoyed] the realm in peace. But will ye bring your gudeman to a compliance, gin I let him come hame?” “I wad rather kep [catch] his head there,” holding up her apron. Bearing the name of Welsh is at least no indication of descent from John Knox's intrepid daughter.

tering it herself. Having got an old Latin grammar, she committed its declensions and conjugations to memory, and one evening hid herself under his table and poured out the flood of her Latinity upon her astonished and delighted father. Mr. Irving was called in to conduct the further progress of her studies, giving her lessons in the mornings before school hours in metaphysics, logic and physical science, as well as in Latin, and exerting all his wonderful magnetic power upon his task of teaching a little girl who had won his fraternal regard. He was never tired of praising her to his friend, Thomas Carlyle, so that the curiosity and interest of the latter were excited, and one Saturday the two walked over to Had-dington to spend the Sabbath with Dr. Welsh. If Irving was her teacher, Carlyle became her master in romantic lore, pouring out the treasures gathered in his youth in Dumfriesshire, or during his multifarious reading. The acquaintance lasted and ripened, and Carlyle, when she grew to womanhood, became her accepted suitor. In *Sartor Resartus* he depicts love as overcoming the natural shyness of his German Diogenes, so that "he sat not silent, but struck adroitly into the stream of conversation." This, like much else in that book, seems to be autobiographic,—the picture of his own backward and reserved nature blossoming in the sunshine of Jennie Welsh's society.

In Kirkaldy, as Edward Irving's associate and successor, Carlyle for a time taught school, the hours of duty being intercalated with long walks through the neighborhood. "Together we walked and wrought and thought,—together we strove, by virtue of birch and book, to initiate the urchins into what is called the Rudiments of Learning; until, at length, the hand of the Lord was laid on him," and sent him to preach. Irving's fine, frank, truth-loving nature, had much that was congenial to Carlyle. "His was the purest, brotherliest, bravest human soul I ever came in contact with. I call him, on the whole, the best man I have ever (after trial enough,) found in this world, or now hope to find." They were a grand pair; but, unless tradition belies them, they were unmerciful teachers, with too much faith in the virtue of birch, and "skelping" the bairns beyond all measure. The Kirkaldy butcher, thinking it would be as well to put the boys out of their pain, stepped up to the school door one morning with his cleaver on his shoulder, and queried: "Will ye be wantin' a han' the day, Mr. Irving?"

The years which followed Carlyle's graduation from the University, were years of great mental agitation, which Edward Irving's society and friendship were unable to allay. Like Irving, Carlyle had been designed by his parents for the ministry. But when he came face to face with the question of entering that profession, he was met by doubts of the most agonizing sort. Had he been able to say definitely that he did not believe the doctrines of the Kirk, that, however painful to his father and his other friends, would have been a satisfactory conclusion, so far as it went. Carlyle was incapable of professing a belief he did not hold. But as it was, he was tossed between distracting influences. On the one side, were early training and home influences of a distinctly Christian sort, and the strong, clear evidence of his father's character. On the other, were nearly all the influences he had absorbed since he had come up to the University. His picture of the university career of his Diogenes helps one to understand his own at Edinburgh. After complaining of the general sleepiness and laziness of the place, he proceeds:—"Besides all this, we boasted ourselves a Rational University,—in the highest degree hostile to Mysticism; thus was the young vacant mind furnished with much talk about Progress of the Species, Dark Ages, Prejudice, and the like; so that all were quickly enough blown out into a state of windy argumentativeness, whereby the better sort had soon to end in sick, impotent Scepticism; the worsor sort explode in finished self-conceit, and to all spiritual intents become dead. But this, too, is portion of mankind's lot. If our era is the Era of Unbelief, why murmur under it? Is there not a better time coming—nay, come? As in long-drawn Systole, and long-drawn Diastole, must the period of Faith alternate with the period of Denial." His lot was cast in the period of denial, the fag-end of the eighteenth century, with faith in victorious analyses of all things in heaven and earth still flourishing. And more than Irving, he fell under the fascination of the *Zeitgeist*. When Irving was gone to serve as Dr. Chalmers's assistant in St. John's, at Glasgow, "I tarried the while yonder at Kirkaldy, endeavoring still to initiate the urchins into the Rudiments, until the voice said to me, 'Arise now and settle the problem of thy life.' I had been destined by my father and my father's minister to be myself a minister of the Kirk of Scotland. But now that I had gained the years of man's estate, I was not sure that I believed

the doctrines of my father's Kirk, and it was needful that I should now settle it. And so I entered into my chamber and shut the door. And around about me came trooping a throng of phantasms dire, from the depths of nethermost perdition. Doubt, Fear, Unbelief, Mockery and Scoffing were these; and I wrestled with them in travail and agony of spirit. Thus it was for weeks. Whether I ate, I know not; whether I drank, I know not; whether I slept, I know not. I only know that when I came forth again to 'revisit the pale glimpses of the moon,' it was with the direful persuasion that I was the miserable owner of a diabolical apparatus called a stomach. I had grown up the healthy and hardy son of a hardy and healthy Scotch dalesman; and he was the descendant of a long line of such,—men that had tilled their paternal acres, and gained their three score and ten,—or even, mayhap, by reason of strength, their four score years,—and had gone down to their graves, never a man of them the wiser for the possession of this infernal apparatus. I have never been free from that knowledge from that hour to this; and I suppose that I never shall be until I am laid away in my grave."

Carlyle carried worse than physical disease out of this painful struggle. The mere negative result he reached, that he did not accept the doctrines of the Kirk and could not be her minister, was the first stage in a descending series whose last was the utter scepticism described in the chapter of *Sartor Resartus*, in which he discourses of "The Everlasting No." "Doubt darkened into unbelief; shade after shade goes grimly over your soul, till you have the fixed, starless, Tartarean black." "For a pure, moral nature, loss of Religious belief was the loss of everything." But there was one depth to which he never sank. He did not rejoice in unbelief as an emancipation; he mourned it as a bereavement. His soul rose up in protest against it as a slavery. And while we cannot assign times and seasons for the transition, we know that he literally worked his way out of this moral desolation. He did the duty that lay next his hand, and learned that that was the way to a light he had not got. The one commandment he never lost hold of was, "Work thou in well-doing;" and it proved, as it always does, the clue out of the dark labyrinth into the sunshine. From the first moment when Carlyle began to speak to his countrymen upon the deeper experiences of life, he was a religious teacher,

speaking truth which others might judge meagre and unsatisfactory, but which was his, earned by the sweat of his face and of his soul.

It was in 1819 that this struggle of weeks took place, which ended in Carlyle's turning his back upon the plans which had been formed for him by the friends of his youth, but not in the forfeiture of their regard and confidence, or that of Dr. Welsh and his daughter. From a letter of Irving's we get a glimpse of him in that year, after the conflict was over, and he had come up from Kirkaldy to seek literary employment, but had met with disappointment. "Carlyle," he writes, "goes away to-morrow. It is very odd, indeed, that he should be sent for want of employment to the country. Of course, like every man of talent, he has gathered around his Patmos many a splendid purpose to be fulfilled and much improvement to be wrought out. 'I have,' he says, 'the ends of my thoughts to bring together, which no one can do in this thoughtless scene. I have my views of life to re-form, and the whole plan of my life to new-model; and I have my health to recover. And then once more I shall venture my bark upon the waters of this wide realm; and if she cannot weather it, I shall steer West, and try the waters of another world.' So he reasons and resolves, but surely a worthier destiny awaits him than voluntary exile." So narrow was his escape from the fate of being an American!

In a few years he worked his way into literary employment. In 1820-3 we find him contributing to the biographical part of the *Edinburgh Encyclopaedia*, which Sir David Brewster was editing; in 1821 he is writing for the *New Edinburgh Review*; in 1822 he is making a translation of Legendre's *Geometry*, and writing for it the "Essay on Proportion," which Prof. Morgan so much admired, as the most lucid statement of the subject ever made. In 1823 he begins his *Life of Schiller* in the *London Magazine*, and becomes tutor to Mr. Charles Buller, a young man of great promise, whose death in 1848 caused a wide-spread sorrow, to which Carlyle gave his own utterance in the *Examiner* of that year. In 1824 he finishes his translation of Goethe's *Wilhelm Meister*, which was published without the translator's name, and which De Quincey criticised unmercifully in the very magazine which was printing the last instalment of the *Life of Schiller*. To the last Carlyle retained his high estimate of the book, and commended it in 1866 to the Edinburgh students in his rectorial oration.

• By this time he had made something of a name for himself, especially as a master of German literature, which was beginning to attract attention in England. His prospects seemed brighter. In 1826 his long courtship ended with his marriage to Miss Welsh, and he went to live at Comley Bank, in his native shire. The next year he settled at Craigenputtoch, a small property he had bought with his wife's money, and which he continued to occupy until 1834. He was singularly happy in his marital relations, for a more suitable or a more devoted wife than Mrs. Carlyle never lived. "For forty years she was the true and ever-loving helpmate of her husband, and by act and word unweariedly forwarded him, as none else could, in all of what he did or attempted. She had a soft invincibility, a clearness of discernment, and a noble loyalty of heart, which are rare." Gossip is more than usually free with the wives of eminent men, and has converted others besides Xanthippe, Frau Dürer and Frau Luther into shrews of its own imagining. But even gossip has not a word to say in disparagement of Mrs. Carlyle.

Of their eight years' home at Craigenputtoch, we know most from a letter of his own to Goethe, of the year 1827. It is a plain two-storied building, rather solitary in its situation, "amid desolate, heathery hills," but none the less agreeable to his humor on that account. He was rather shunned than sought by his neighbors, who thought him "crackit." Robert Burns's farm lay in the same parish of Dunscore. To Goethe he writes:

"You inquire with such warm interest respecting our present abode and occupations, that I feel bound to say a few words about both while there is still room left. Dumfries is a pleasant town, containing about fifteen thousand inhabitants, and may be considered the centre of the trade and judicial system of a district which possesses some importance in the sphere of Scottish industry. Our residence is not in the town itself, but fifteen miles to the northwest, among the granite hills and the black morasses which stretch westward through Galloway, almost to the Irish Sea. In this wilderness of heath and rock, our estate stands forth, a green oasis, a tract of ploughed, partly inclosed and planted, ground, where corn ripens and trees afford a shade, although surrounded by sea-mews and rough-wooled sheep. Here, with no small effort, have we built and furnished a neat, substantial dwelling; here, in the absence of professorial or other office, we live to cultivate literature, according to our strength, and in our own peculiar way. We wish a joy-

ful growth to the roses and flowers of our garden; we hope for health and peaceful thoughts to further our aims. The roses, indeed, are still in part to be planted, but they blossom already in anticipation. Two ponies, which carry us everywhere, and the mountain air, are the best medicine for weak nerves. This daily exercise—to which I am much devoted—is my only recreation; for this nook of ours is the loneliest in Britain,—six miles removed from any one likely to visit me.

“Here Rousseau would have been as happy as on his island of St. Pierre. My town friends, indeed, ascribe my sojourn here to a similar disposition, and forebode me no good result. But I came hither solely with the design to simplify my way of life and to secure the independence through which I could be enabled to remain true to myself. This bit of earth is our own; here we can live, write and think as best pleases ourselves, even though Zoilus himself were to be crowned the monarch of literature. Nor is the solitude of such great importance; for a stage-coach takes us speedily to Edinburgh, which we look upon as our British Weimar. And have I not, too, at this moment, piled upon the table of my little library a whole cart-load of French, German, American and English journals and periodicals;—whatever may be their worth? Of antiquarian studies, too, there is no lack. From some of our heights, I can descry, about a day's journey to the west, the hill where Agricola and his Romans left a camp behind them. At the foot of it I was born, and there both father and mother still live to love me. And so one must let time work.”

Here Emerson visited him in 1833, to feast his eyes with the sight of the author of *Sartor Resartus*, and his ears with the sound of the “Seer's” voice. We shall quote but a few sentences from the account of the visit, in *English Traits*, as the book is so accessible to every reader. “He was tall and gaunt, with a cliff-like brow, self-possessed, and holding his extraordinary powers of conversation in easy command; clinging to his northern accent with evident relish; full of lively anecdote and with a streaming humor, which floated everything he looked upon. His talk playfully exalted the familiar objects, put the companion at once into an acquaintance with his Lars and Lemures. Few were the objects and lonely the man,—not a person to speak to within sixteen miles, except the minister of Dunscore, so that books inevitably made his topics. . . . He saw how every event affects all the future. ‘Christ died on the tree; that built Dunscore Kirk yonder; that brought you and me together. Time has only a relative existence.’ He was already turning his eyes to London with a schol-

ar's appreciation. 'London is the heart of the world,' he said; 'wonderful, if only from the mass of human beings.' He liked the huge machine. It turned out good men."

The years at Craigenputtoch, 1827-1834, were among the most fruitful of his life. He had already emerged from the domain of mere doubt and negation, and began to feel the solid rock beneath his feet again. And therefore he felt free to speak to his fellow-men on the deepest matters, having somewhat of his own to say with a certainty as great as a human soul is capable of. The period opens with the publication of his *Specimens of German Romance* (1827), soon to be followed by that great series of critical and philosophical essays in which he first spoke his mind to his own generation. The series began with that on *Richter* in 1827, reaching its culmination in that called *Characteristics*, in 1831, and, strictly speaking, closed in 1833, when he removed to London. All the great essays are the products of the Craigenputtoch period, those which follow that being, with the exception of that on Dr. Francia, merely chips from his workshop, struck off in the preparation of his three great histories. It is through these essays that Carlyle is more widely known than even through his books. It is little to say that there is nothing quite equal to them in power in any other literature. His hero, Goethe, never did such work as was here devoted to his glorification. Sainte-Beuve and Matthew Arnold have surpassed him in the delicate discrimination of critical skill; but none have equalled his gift at getting hold of the very heart of his subject, and making his readers feel what is essential and what is secondary in the work in hand. He lifted English criticism to a higher level by casting behind his back the antiquated, mechanical modes of judgment which then were assumed as final, even by the better class of writers.

Parallel with the essays ran the preparation of the greatest work of his life. It was in 1831 that he finished *Sartor Resartus*, a book which had occupied him for five years, or parts of years. "Read biographies, but, above all, autobiographies," was his own advice. No books can surpass in interest those which truthfully lay bare the inmost experiences of a human spirit, and tell the tale of its defeats and its victories. And it is the autobiographic character of *Sartor Resartus* which gives it a supreme place in the list of Carlyle's works. He here presents to the world his credentials

as a seer and a prophet, by relating the story of his own inmost life, under the form of a fiction. Herr Diogenes Teufelsdröck of Weissnichtwo is the thin disguise of Thomas Carlyle of Kirkaldy and Craigenputtoch. It is the story of his childhood's innocence,—of his infection with the *Zeitgeist*,—his struggles amid the blackness of the pit, and his emergence therefrom into a clearer light through the honest toil of duty. The mere externals of his life,—what people call biography,—the book does not give us. It is a grotesque mockery to those who seek such in it. But the substantial and most real experiences are there told in strange forms of speech, as though they were meant to be unintelligible to all those except the elect, who would divine their meaning from parallel experiences. The form of the book is to most readers anything but attractive. The extracts from a supposed German *Treatise on Clothes*, the chapters on the biography of the author, extracted from a chaotic collection of papers sent the translator in a number of paper bags, the frequent explosions of apostrophe in dithyrambic prose, must have sounded to readers of that age like the work of a man escaped from Bedlam. These offences have not ceased, even yet.

The book anticipates all that Carlyle had to say in after years to his contemporaries. By this we do not mean that he never in any matters changed his views of things as the years went on. He himself did not put forward any such claim to a lifeless consistency. In preparing the revised edition of his works, he found that he had changed in more respects than one; but he found nothing to call for alterations in the substance of what he had written, because he had always been true to himself, and each of his books had been the faithful and sufficient record of his best thought at the time of writing. But in *Sartor Resartus* is contained the pith and substance of his articulate evangel, from which he was never to depart. He speaks as a man who has discovered that life is unspeakably real, with the hell of moral failure and ruin gaping at every man's feet, and the heaven of moral victory accessible above his head, and the path of duty, of honest work, leading to the latter. To him the background of the infinite to all human life is the most constant and undeniable of realities,—a reality from whose sight men can escape only by yielding to the vulpine instincts which fix their eyes on the carrion of existence. Of that infinite background his

speech is vague, but not with the vagueness which comes with imperfect and insincere thought,—rather with the vagueness of a man who cannot find words for what he has seen and felt, and is impatient with those who think their phrases and their articles are large enough to embrace it, but who are in reality using these phrases and articles to save themselves the bother,—perhaps the fright,—of thinking about it. It is this sense of the infinite, as surrounding and pervading life, which is, in his view, the highest and deepest thing in any true man. It is his religion; and his creed is but the imperfect attempt to devise a formula large enough to correspond to the fact. Carlyle had small skill in the construction of such formulas. He was content to do without them,—to sketch broadly what he could not depict adequately. With the theology of that age and of our own age, he had but scant sympathy, as being a worship of formulas out of which the life had departed. He looked for a new age, in which more adequate shape would be given to thought, which is the garment of religious feeling. He was not alarmed at what seemed signs of religious decay. And it was to the creed of his childhood that he looked for such reconstruction as would be sure to come. “Socinian preachers,” he says in *Past and Present*, “quit their pulpits in Yankee-land, saying, ‘Friends, this is all gone to colored cobweb, we regret to say!’—and retire into the fields to cultivate onion-beds and live frugally on vegetables. It is very notable. Old godlike Calvinism declares that its old body is now fallen to tatters, and done; and its mournful ghost, disembodied, seeking new embodiment, pipes again in the winds;—a ghost and spirit as yet, but heralding new spirit-worlds.” In all his discontent with the Kirk, all his quarrels with her forms of speech, he still retained much of her temper and a certain loyalty to her traditions.

How such a book as *Sartor Resartus* was judged by the prim generation on which it fell, we need hardly ask. When it was finished, Carlyle started for London with it, stopping by the way at Ecclefechan to visit his father. “I remember the last time I ever saw my father. I was on my journey from Craigenputtoch to this modern Babylon with a manuscript in my hand, of which you may have heard—*Sartor Resartus* by name. I was bound hither to see if there were any chance to have it translated into print, and stopped to pay my father a visit of a few days. The other members of the family were engaged with their usual occupations, and we had

the most of the time to ourselves. He was rather under the weather, as they say, but full of vivacity. I laid me down upon the floor, and he was stretched upon the sofa, and I plied him with all manner of questions concerning the people he had known and the affairs in which he had been an actor; and it was wonderful to note how his eye seemed to be gifted with the power of a second sight; how he looked into the very marrow of things; and how he set the truth forth in quaint, queer sentences, such as I never heard from another man's lips. I came upon my fool's errand hither and saw him no more; for I had not been in town many days when the heavy tidings came that my father was dead. Ah, sir, he was a man, into the four corners of whose house there had shined, through the years of his pilgrimage, the light of the glory of God."

Carlyle had no success with the publishers, a thing at which even British Philistinism now wonders. "It is not a little astonishing," says *The Times*, "that this book, every page of which is stamped with genius of the highest order, failed at first to find admirers or appreciators. The publishers would have nothing to do with it. One declared that the author lacked tact, which was probably true. Another pronounced the humor too Teutonic and heavy—a piece of criticism not without point. Even John Stuart Mill, who afterward delighted in the book, admitted that when he saw it in manuscript, he thought little of it. The general impression seemed to be that much genius and German had made the author mad." After a time, he abandoned his quest. He writes in 1832, "I have given up the notion of hawking my little manuscript book about any further. For a long time it has lain quiet in a drawer, awaiting a better day." At last it found a channel of access to the public through *Fraser's Magazine*, appearing in instalments in 1833 and 1834, to the great disgust of the subscribers to that periodical. Some of them wrote to protest against "that crazy stuff about clothes," the only two who expressed any pleasure being "a Mr. Emerson of America, and a Catholic priest at Cork." It was during this publication of the book that Mr. Emerson crossed the ocean and visited Craigenputtoch. In 1836 the book was printed as a book in Boston, with a preface from Emerson's pen, commending it as a "criticism upon the spirit of the age—we had almost said of the hour—in which we live; exhibiting in the most just and novel light the present aspect of Relig-

ion, Politics, Literature, Art and Social Life." The reception of the volume, with the accompanying check from the American publishers, gave Carlyle a surprise and a gratification which he never forgot. It was the beginning, not only of his life-long friendship for Emerson, but of a genuine liking for our country, although he was always ready to treat us to polysyllabic abuse. To Mr. Smalley, in 1866, he said, "They think—some of you think,—I am no friend to America. But I love America,—not everybody's America, but the true America; the country which has given birth to Emerson, and to Emerson's friends; the country of honest toilers and brave thinkers. Never shall I forget," he went on, with kindling eye and a deeper tone, "that the first money that ever came to me for a printed book was from America. When your people reprinted *Sartor Resartus* out of *Fraser*, they sent me a good sum for it. They need not have sent it. I had no claim on it or on them. But they sent it, and I do and did thank them for that. By and by they reprinted my *French Revolution*. Do you know, I had not a penny for that book from the English public, till a good while after American friends remitted to me a pretty sum for it. Twice over, twice my first money came to me from your country. And do they think I forget it, and am not grateful for it, and don't love the country which showed its love for me."* Mr. Carlyle's income from his books was always insignificant, in comparison with their great merits and their extensive sale; but such recognition as thus came from America was doubly welcome in that, his day of small things. In 1839, in his *Petition on the Copyright Bill*, he says, "that this, his labor,"—of writing books,—"has found hitherto small recompense or none; that he is by no means sure of its ever find-

* New York *Tribune* of February 23, 1881. The Boston editor of *Past and Present* has a prefatory note from Mr. Emerson, dated "Concord, Mass., May 1, 1843," calling attention to the fact that this was an author's edition, printed from a private copy, partly in manuscript. Two rival editions, however, appeared. The Philadelphia edition of the *Critical and Miscellaneous Essays*, published by Carey & Hart, has a prefatory note from Mr. Emerson, dated "Concord, June, 1845," expressing "Mr. Carlyle's concurrence in this new edition of his essays, and his satisfaction in the author's share of pecuniary benefits which your justice and liberality have secured to him in anticipation of sale." All the authors, in their series of the *Modern British Essayists*, were given what they agreed to take as an adequate compensation for the copyright, although some of them had the meanness to speak of these as pirated editions of their essays.

ing recompense ; but thinks that, if so, it will be at a distant time, when he, the laborer, will probably be no longer in need of money." At no time did his income rise above a thousand pounds, and it was long before it reached half that sum.

In 1834 he removed to Chelsea—the year in which Coleridge and Irving died, the former in July, the latter in December. His new home was chiefly valuable as bringing him new friendships and giving him larger access to books. He was a thorough *helluo librorum*, devouring them at the rate of half a dozen a day, and going beyond that number more often than falling short of it. His own estimate was that he had read about one hundred thousand, since his passion for them was awakened in his tenth year. His idea of heaven, he sometimes said in a laughing mood, would be to be turned into an inexhaustible library of new and good books, where he could browse to all eternity. In London he had access to the vast treasures of the British Museum, and no visitor to its wealth surpassed or even equalled him in familiarity with its contents. Novels he did not read ordinarily, and he despised the fashionable novel as the meanest of all pretences at being a book. But when he did stray into the field, as on one notable occasion, he took a surfeit. Dickens's novels he enjoyed hugely, and a set of them bound in red occupied a prominent place in his study, and, like nearly all his books, bore marks of frequent use.

His new residence was at No. 5 Great Cheyne Row, Chelsea. It is, of course, an impertinence to assume that the intelligent reader needs to be told anything about London. American follow English writers in the assumption that their readers have the map of the city by heart. Yet we venture to remark that Chelsea is one of the western districts of London, made up largely of the homes of the working classes, and therefore Liberal in its political sympathies, as seen by its choice of members of Parliament,—Chelsea and two adjacent parishes constituting the borough of Chelsea. His house was a solid, well-built residence, of the usual London shape, with basement kitchen and area, three stories and an attic, three windows in each story, and with a small garden in the rear. "The street," says Mr. Smalley, "was and still is a very modest street. There is a chandler's shop on the corner, and a laundry next door but one to Mr. Carlyle's." With his immediate neighbors, Carlyle had little to do. He was affected only by the

Cochin China rooster kept by one of them, which, as its owner pleaded, crowed but once a day. "Aye, man; but the brute keeps me waiting for that accursed screech," was the indignant philosopher's answer. So little was he known to Chelsea, that it was of no use to ask in the shops about his residence. "Don't know him, sir; never heard of him, in fact," was the most likely answer.

He had made the acquaintance of Leigh Hunt and of John Stuart Mill before he removed to Chelsea. We find him inviting Hunt to take tea at his temporary London lodgings in 1832, when up in "Babylon" on that *Sartor Resartus* business; and then late in the same year he is writing to him from Craigenputtoch, "Come hither and see us, when you want to rusticate a month. Is that forever impossible?" In Chelsea he found Hunt living in the next street, and from 1834 to 1840, when Hunt removed to Kensington, their intercourse was close and constant; and even after that date Carlyle showed him, upon fitting occasions, no small kindness. When Hunt's friends applied to the Government for a pension to relieve the wants of his declining years, Carlyle seconded the request in certain *Memoranda*, still extant, speaking of him as "a man of the most indisputedly superior worth; a Man of Genius in a very strict sense of the word, and in all the senses it bears or implies; of brilliant, varied gifts; of graceful fertility; of clearness, lovingness, truthfulness; of child-like open character; also of most pure and even exemplary private deportment; a man who can be other than loved only by those who have not seen him, or seen him through a distance, through a false medium." We quote this because of the very different estimate of Hunt which has been current in some quarters—some abusing him for his *Recollections of Lord Byron*, and others declaring him—against Dickens's protest—the original of Harold Skimpole in *Bleak House*. As he was the son of a Philadelphian, Leigh Hunt's good name should be dear to all Philadelphians.

Never were two men more unlike than these. If Carlyle, in Mr. Lowell's phrase, "gives nature and God his own fits of the blues," Hunt saw life through the rosier of mediums. He was an optimist by constitution and by belief, and many a friendly tussle they had over their differences of estimate. One such Mr. R. H. Horne describes in his *New Spirit of the Age*, which ended only when the company broke up, after keen enjoyment of the long and brilliant discus-

sion. When they reached the open air, it was brilliant starlight. "There," shouted Hunt, "look up there; look at that glorious harmony, that sings with infinite voices an eternal song of hope in the soul of man!" They thought Carlyle was beaten at last, and waited for his answer. It was in a few, low-toned words, in a broad Scotch accent: "Eh! man, it's a sad sight!" Hunt sat down on a door-step. The rest laughed at his discomfiture; but then looked very thoughtful, and, after bidding each other good night, went homeward at a slow and serious pace.

As John Stuart Mill saw *Sartor Resartus* in manuscript, he must have come to know Carlyle during that same visit to London. He was to be much more intimately connected with the history of Carlyle's next book. *The French Revolution* was already on the stocks in 1835, for he pleaded its preparation as a reason for declining an invitation to visit America in that year. Three of his essays grew out of his preliminary studies for it, but the first manuscript of the work itself came to grief after being loaned to Mr. Mill for his perusal. Mill himself was contemplating a similar work, and wished to see whether it was worth his while to attempt it. Either he, or, as some say, Mrs. Taylor, to whom he had lent it, inadvertently left it in the hall, where the cook found it in her hunt for waste paper for culinary purposes. Carlyle's manuscript never was a respectable looking performance, we are told, "some letters sloping one way and some another, some halt, maimed or crippled, and many being unequal in height, form, and everything else. Eccentric and spiteful little flourishes darted about the page, meant for the dots of distant *z's* and the crossings of equally distant *t's*, and occasionally serving the maladroit purpose of cancelling the word they were meant to complete." * So the cook concluded from the look of it, being used, perhaps, to honest copy-book pot-hooks and

* His handwriting was not the only means by which he tormented the printers. His alterations in the proofs were innumerable, so that "he became a positive terror in the composing room. One day his publisher's foreman in London said to him, 'Why, sir, you are really very hard on us with your corrections! They take so much time, you see!' Carlyle urged, in reply, that a printer ought to be accustomed to such annoyances, and that in Scotland there was no fuss made over them. 'Ah, well, sir,' responded the foreman; 'we have a man here from Edinburgh. He took up a bit of your copy the other day, and dropped it as though he had burnt his fingers. "Mercy on us," he cried, "have you that man to print for? Lord knows when we shall be done with all his corrections."' Carlyle used to tell this story, and laugh heartily at it."

hangers, that the thing was rubbish, and used it accordingly. Some of it went to line cake-tins, and the rest to keep up the heat of the oven while the cakes were baking. When Mr. Mill learned of her performance, he was overwhelmed with the most poignant distress. He drove to Chelsea in Mrs. Taylor's carriage, and, leaving her sitting in it, rushed into the house where Carlyle and his wife were at dinner. He sat down and buried his face in his hands, but could not speak a word to explain himself. Mrs. Carlyle thought she had detected the cause of the trouble, and rushed out to Mrs. Taylor. "My dear," she said, "I hope you have not left your husband!" When at last Mrs. Taylor broke the sad news to them, Carlyle bore it with true heroism, concealing the depth of his own feeling that he might comfort his friend. It was Mrs. Carlyle who was disposed to take vengeance on the sinner. Mill suggested that Carlyle might be able to rewrite the work from the memoranda used in its preparation. "Mr. Carlyle," said his wife, "never takes notes, but gets all his materials ready, works till he has everything in his head, and then winds it off like silk from a reel." "Such a thing never happened before," said Mr. Mill. "Yes, it did, though," replied Carlyle; "Sir Isaac had his little dog Diamond." "True; but Newton went mad over it." "Well, well; we shall hardly be so bad as that." But for a time he was staggered by the blow,—was like a man beside himself. For many a weary day he sat toiling at the task of recalling what he had written, while his natural hypochondria dimmed the light of his very existence. It was watching a mason at work on the wall of a new house, and thinking of the great uses that the work might serve, that gave his thoughts a new direction, and helped the clouds to break. "So I arose and washed my face, and felt that my head was anointed, and gave myself to relaxation,—to what they call light literature. I read nothing but novels for weeks. I was surrounded by heaps of rubbish and chaff. I read all the novels of that person who was once a captain in the Royal Navy [Maryatt], and an extraordinary ornament he must have been to it; the man that wrote stories about dogs that had their tails cut off, and people in search of their fathers; and it seemed to me that of all the extraordinary dunces that had figured upon the planet, he must certainly bear off the palm from every one save the readers of his books. And thus refreshed, I took heart of grace again, applied me

to my work, and in course of time *The French Revolution* got finished; as all things must, sooner or later." To get it read and paid for, was a more difficult undertaking. Publisher after publisher in London refused it, and, as we have seen, America sent the first *honorarium* in acknowledgment of the delight and instruction derived from this wonderful piece of historic painting. The method of writing a history which he adopted in this work and used in his later books, was decidedly new. In his view, history is a work of art, of an essentially dramatic sort. The historian must put himself in the place of those whose acts he is describing, and see life and the universe for the time with their eyes. History, therefore, just in so far as it is true to its subject, is a work of imaginative art, comparable to a great drama. In weaker hands than his the method is liable to abuse, through the substitution of imagination for research. In his case, the patience of the work was as thorough as the result was brilliant.

In the year 1837, and onward until 1840, Carlyle appeared before the Londoners, or such of them as were moved to hear him, as a platform lecturer. His first series was on "German Literature;" the second on the "History of Literature;" the third on "Revolutions of Modern Europe;" and the last on "Heroes and Hero-Worship." As the last alone has been given to the wider public by the help of printer's ink, it is the only one of the series whose quality is known to us, the business of reporting such lectures in the newspapers being as yet a thing unattempted. His lectures, it is recorded for us, were well attended, people coming to see the greatness and originality of the man, in spite of defects of manner and lack of all the grace expected of those who took this way of reaching the public. *Heroes and Hero-Worship* was given to the public, "with corrections and emendations," and became his most popular book, so that Carlyle is known to multitudes of people only through this medium; and some have been misled by the very title into supposing that he recognized no higher worship,—was, in fact, a sort of Comtist. Somewhat earlier, in January of 1840, in fact, appeared his *Chartism*, not in any way a notable book among his others, except as being the first in which he addressed himself to the "Condition of the English Question," and as being the first in which he carefully guarded his statements as to the relations of might and right, to avoid the appearance of

making the former fundamental to the latter. In 1841 he edited Emerson's *Essays* with a curious preface. In 1842 we find him visiting the battle-field of Naseby, in company with Dr. Arnold of Rugby, a few months before the great teacher's death, an indication of his employment with *Cromwell*.

In 1843 came *Past and Present*, perhaps the most eloquent, and certainly the most serious, of all his works. Here is his message to his own generation, spoken out fully and directly, his protests against its faith in mechanical contrivances, its *laissez faire* policies, its worship of Mammon and of respectability. More than any other book of his, we believe, this one took hold of the younger generation, and moulded their thinking. Readers of *Tom Brown at Oxford* will remember the passage which tells of Hardy giving it to Tom Brown to read, and with what results. We are persuaded that no other book could be omitted from the series of his works with so much loss to his reputation and his influence. It was this one that reached the best minds of the class who, in their opening and unossified stages of mental growth, were brought face to face with the problems of 1848. The work excited the interest of Joseph Mazzini, who published in the same year a review of Carlyle's works. No other man in Europe was so well entitled to pronounce a judgment upon Carlyle's whole achievements as a political thinker, and to protest stoutly against the mischievous tendency of much of his teaching, especially in laudation of what we now call "strong government." Carlyle had but little respect for Mazzini's doctrines,—although they have approved themselves by his own tests, having done ten times as much as those of any other political writer to change the course of European history;—but he had a high respect for the man, and in the agitation in the summer of the year 1844, over the opening of Mazzini's letters by the English Home Secretary, he took up the cudgels stoutly. "He, if ever I have seen such," he wrote to *The Times*, "is a man of genius and virtue, a man of sterling veracity, humanity and openness of mind; one of those rare men, numerable, unfortunately, but as units in this world, who are worthy to be called martyr-souls; who, in silence, piously, in their daily life, understand and practice what is meant by that. . . . Whether the extraneous Austrian Emperor and miserable old chimera of a Pope shall maintain themselves in Italy, or be obliged to decamp from Italy, is not a

question in the least vital to Englishmen. But it is a question vital to us that sealed letters in an English post-office be, as we all fancied they were, respected as things sacred; that opening of men's letters, a practice near of kin to picking men's pockets, and to other viler and far fataler forms of scoundrelism, be not resorted to in England, except in cases of the last extremity. When some new gunpowder plot may be in the wind, some double-dyed high treason, or imminent national wreck, not avoidable otherwise, then let us open letters,—not till then."

This same year,—1844,—was memorable to Carlyle for the loss of his dear friend John Sterling, who, while firmly dissenting from Carlyle in many high matters, had been, for some eight or, it may be, ten years past, living on the influence and inspiration of the Chelsea Seer's thought. In 1848 Archdeacon Hare, a friend of Sterling's youth,—and his friend till death, indeed, in spite of growing divergence of views in great matters,—published two volumes of *Essays and Tales, by John Sterling, Collected and Edited, with a Memoir of his Life*, the latter written too much from Hare's own point of view to please Carlyle; who, in 1851, followed it up with *The Life of John Sterling*, the least pleasant, but by no means the least curious, of all his writings.

In 1845 appeared *The Letters and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell, with Elucidations*. This book disputes with the *French Revolution* the claim to the first place in the number of his historical works. In one sense, it far surpasses it. No one has had his views of the actors in the French Revolution changed materially by Carlyle's dramatic studies of that strange period. He has not succeeded even in raising Mirabeau to the honors of hero-worship. But the popular estimate of the Lord Protector, Carlyle completely overthrew. Following up his mother's suggestions, he discovered the genuine Cromwell behind the masks which had misrepresented his features to posterity. Applying his usual dramatic method to history, he put himself into the place of the Puritans and their great leader, saw the universe with their eyes, and translated the result into speech, which, if peculiar, was not unintelligible to modern readers. The result was a complete revolution in the public mind. No writer of any weight has ventured, since Carlyle's work appeared, to write of the great captain as Robert Southey did just two years earlier, or even as John Forster did in 1834. Nor have

the Puritans since been traduced in the traditional, unintelligent way which was then customary among all who disliked their theological reviews. The review of *Cromwell's Letters and Speeches*, in *Blackwood*, marked the surrender which had been secured through the genius and energy of a single student of a great period. Not that Carlyle's estimate of Cromwell is in all respects a final one. Mr. Prendergast has dealt it some severe blows in his *Cromwellian Settlement of Ireland*, showing that Mr. Carlyle certainly did not understand the situation of things in that country, but had been deceived by mere simulacra or images which did not reflect the truth. And Liberal historians of English politics have been able to deduct from Cromwell's praises as a practical politician, by showing that his policy took no root in England, that it constituted nothing but an unhappy *interregnum* in the national development, and retarded rather than advanced many of the great movements the Protector himself had at heart.

In 1846, Carlyle had a visit from Margaret Fuller, of which an account, in a letter to Emerson, will be found in her *Memoirs*. In 1845-50, he produced nothing except some half-dozen papers on current topics, in *The Examiner* and *The Spectator*,—four of them on the Irish question,—and a paper on the "Nigger Question," in *Fraser*. None of these except the last have been admitted into his works, so that the half decade, so far as his writing goes, is a blank for most of his readers. In 1850 came the *Latter-Day Pamphlets*,—a series which certainly did not occupy the previous years in its preparation,—and in the following year *The Life of Sterling*. No other of his books display so strongly as do these his antagonism to the mind of his own time. But the *Pamphlets* contain, also, much of his most valuable teaching, especially on the great virtue of truthfulness. Especially lamentable to all discriminating friends of Carlyle are his utterances, here and in the paper in *Fraser* of the previous year, on that "sum of all the villainies,"—human slavery. Foreshadowed as these utterances had been by certain sayings in *Past and Present*, it was yet most disappointing to the friends of human liberty to find him beginning an active propaganda in defence of slavery. Fortunately, this part of the book had less influence than his nobler teachings. The class of minds attracted toward Carlyle were not likely to absorb this poison, while those it might have harmed could neither understand nor relish his books.

In 1851 he began to prepare for what he then contemplated as the *opus majus* of his life,—the biography of Frederick the Great. It was not until 1858 that the first portion of it appeared, and 1865 that it was finished. In the meantime, he published nothing except three insignificant essays. It is sometimes said that he visited Germany at this era, and made elaborate studies of the battle-fields he proposed to describe, as well as prolonged researches into public archives and great libraries. Another story is that he did start for Germany, but after spending one night in a Continental bed, under the feather-sack which makes its chief covering, fled back to London.* If he never was in Germany, then it was needless that he should have gone, for nothing could have added to the accuracy and the vividness of his pictures of Frederick's wars. The book is lit up by a constant series of lightning flashes, which enable the human eye to pierce distances and circumambient darkness to realize the heroic valor of Prussia's King and people, as no other method could. Outside Germany—perhaps we may say, outside Prussian Germany—the book has not been a success. It stands distinctly below *Cromwell* and the *French Revolution* as a work of art, in spite of the Titanic labor expended on it, while the haste with which the closing years of Frederick's reign and life are passed over suggests what Carlyle himself disclosed in a letter to Emerson. He had found that his choice of Frederick was a mistake. The more he studied him, the less heroic he found him. And towards the end the work became a burden instead of a joy. The choice Carlyle ought to have made was Martin Luther. We believe it would have been made but for his dislike of having to dwell on theological questions, which the more part of his readers regarded as still vital, but which had for him little more than an antiquarian interest. With the grand outline study of Luther in *Heroes and*

*Most valuable, if it were authentic, would be the information on this head furnished in a communication to the *Milwaukee Sentinel* by a Wisconsin man. By him Carlyle is reported as saying that he had never been in Germany, being too poor for the luxury of travel, but owed his intimate knowledge of Germany to his brother, Dr. John Carlyle, the Dantist, to whose notes of the Fatherland the world is indebted in good part for *Sartor Resartus*. But this reporter of Carlyle's conversation describes the interview as taking place at *Craigenputtoch*, the conversation as covering the merits of George Eliot's novels and Millais's paintings. As Carlyle paid but two flying visits to Craigenputtoch after he left in 1834, there is a difficulty here which suggests a doubt whether the alleged interview ever took place.

Hero-Worship before us, we can imagine the splendid portrait he would have drawn, and how he would have revelled in describing the anarchic peasants and Anabaptists, and their Drogheda-like suppression with Luther's full approval.

Just as *Frederick* was finished, came the one appearance of its author upon a strictly public stage. Fourteen years before this the University of Glasgow had offered him its rectorship, and seven or eight years before a similar tender had come from Aberdeen; but both were declined. In 1865 his own university elected him rector, Mr. Disraeli being the rival candidate, and Mr. Gladstone his predecessor in office. Although Carlyle's health was none of the best,—injured, in fact, by his strenuous efforts to get a half-hero written out and done for,—he accepted, and in the spring of 1866 delivered the rectorial address in Music Hall of that city. We have an account of the scene from the pen of Alexander Smith: "To all appearances, time and labor had dealt tenderly with him. His face had not yet lost the country bronze. His long residence in London had not touched his Annandale look; nor had it,—as we soon learned,—touched his Annandale accent. His countenance was striking, homely, sincere, truthful—the countenance of a man upon whom 'the burden of the unintelligible world' had weighed more heavily than most. His hair was yet almost dark; his moustache and short beard were iron-gray. His eyes were wide, melancholy, sorrowful, and seemed as if they had been at times away of the sun. Altogether, in his aspect there was something aboriginal, as of a piece of unhewn granite which had never been polished to any approved pattern,—where natural and original vitality had never been tampered with." By his side sat on that platform his old friend, Sir David Brewster, for whom he had written, perhaps, the first words of his he ever saw in print,—the sixteen articles for the *Edinburgh Encyclopedia* in 1820-23,—and who had written for him the preface to his translation of Legendre. The first degree conferred was upon his and Irving's old friend, Thomas Erskine of Linlathen,—a layman, but hardly second to any clerical theologian in his influence upon the theological thought of two continents.* Carlyle stopped at his home during his trip to the

*Professor F. D. Maurice traced to Erskine and Irving the theological germs of the English Broad Church Theology. See Maurice's prefaces to his *Prophets and Kings of the Old Testament* (1852) and his *Doctrine of Sacrifice* (1854). President Por-

North. The address was not read but spoken, and all but unpremeditated; the overflow of his thoughts a little more stately and formal than the flow of speech in his daily conversation, with gleams of humor glinting out here and there as if by accident. As it stands printed in the final edition of his *Essays*, there is no need to quote it here.

It was while Carlyle was still lingering in Scotland, that he got the sad news of Mrs. Carlyle's death, on the 21st of April. Her health had been feeble for some time previous to this, and she seems to have died of heart disease, after a shock caused by her pet dog being run over as she was driving in Hyde Park. Mr. Carlyle hastened at once to London, whence he and his brother John and some friends accompanied the body northward to Haddington. She lies beside her father, Dr. Welsh. Carlyle felt her loss as only so profound a nature could feel it. As he said to his friends, "the light of his life had gone out." "A most sorry dog-kennel it [*i. e.*, existence in this world,] oftenest of all seems to me; and wise words, if one even had them, to be only thrown away upon it. *Basta! Basta!* I, for the most part, say of it, and look with longings toward the still country, where at last we and our loved ones shall be together again. Amen, Amen." "It is the saddest feature of old age," he wrote, just a year after the death of his wife, to Mr. Erskine, "that the old man has to see himself daily growing more lonely; reduced to commune with inarticulate eternities and the loved ones, now unresponsive, who have preceded him thither. Well, well; there is blessedness in this, too, if we take it well. There is grandeur in it, if also an extent of sombre sadness which is new to one; nor is hope quite wanting, nor the clear conviction that those whom we must screen from sore pain and misery are now safe and at rest. It lifts one to real kingship withal, real for the first time in this scene of things. Courage, my friend; let us endure patiently, let us act piously, to the end."

This year, 1866, is also memorable for Carlyle's share in the defence of Gov. Eyre, against those who impeached his conduct in Jamaica, a defence which reminds us of the equally wrong director of Yale College, wrote to Erskine in 1866: "I wish to say to you that your little work on the *Internal Evidences for the Truth of Revealed Religion* (1820) has been in America a work highly esteemed and of potent theological influence. My father, who has been pastor of one flock for nearly sixty years, once said to me that that book had done more than any single book of his time to give character to the new phase of theology in New England."

tion of his sympathies during our own civil war a few years earlier. To many Americans Mr. Carlyle's "American Iliad in a Nutshell,"—*Ilias (Americana) in Nuce*,—first published in *Macmillan* of August, 1863, is, and will remain, the most prominent fact in his history. No six printed lines ever made a man so many enemies, or so deservedly. It reached us in the heat of the war, when Gettysburg and Vicksburg were already accomplished facts. But nothing more had been ascertained, except the incapacity of such generals as we had in the East to make effective use of the resources at their command. There was just room for the taunt at our failures with which the scorpion ended as with a venomous sting. That Mr. Carlyle should have so little eye for the heroic self-sacrifices of the war; that he should ignore the struggle for national unity and existence, and see nothing in it but a struggle over "Quashee," was painful to all his friends on our side of the Atlantic. It was one of the saddest warpings of his powerful mind, that in his reaction from the doctrine of Whiggery which reigned supreme in England when he began to exercise his function as public teacher, he became the advocate of every kind of despotism that could call itself "strong government." There was one exception to this. Nothing could induce him to invest with the nimbus of heroic worth his old acquaintance, Napoleon III. In his days of obscurity, Carlyle looked upon him as an opera singer in search of an engagement; in his prosperity, as one who had got what he was in search of in a theatre sufficiently vast, but one destined to give way in a crash of ruin, and to hurl him and all his associates to perdition. In the Second Empire he never believed; and when France was in the convulsions of her great struggle with Germany, he threw himself decidedly on Bismarck's side, and gave moral support to the demand for the retrocession of Elsass and Lothringen. That the people of these provinces should have anything to say in the matter, never seems to have entered his head. He had never accepted his friend Mazzini's doctrine of nationalities.

Equally pronounced was his attitude towards the struggle between Turkey and the Christian peoples of the Balkan peninsula. He wrote of that irrepressible conflict:—

"It seems to me that something very different from war on his behalf, is what the Turk now pressingly needs from England and from all the world—namely, to be peremptorily informed that we

can stand no more of his attempt to govern in Europe, and that he must *quam primum* turn his face to the eastward, forever quit this side of the Hellespont, and give up his arrogant ideas of governing anybody but himself.

“Such immediate and summary expulsion of the Turk from Europe may appear to many a too drastic remedy; but to my mind it is the only one of any real validity under the circumstances. Improved management of these unhappy countries might begin on the morrow after this long-continued curse was withdrawn, and the ground left free for wise and honest human effort. The peaceful Mongol inhabitants would, of course, be left in peace, and treated with perfect equity, and even friendly consideration; but the governing Turk, with all his Pashas and Bashi-Bazouks, should at once be ordered to disappear from Europe, and never to return.

“This result is in the long run inevitable, and it were better to set about it now, than to temporize and haggle in the vain hope of doing it cheaper some other time.”

Worse even than democracy, he hated a despot too weak to put an end to the anarchy he provokes. He had, therefore, no sympathy with “the man Dizzy, as they call him,” and his philo-Turk policies of one kind and another. But this did not necessitate an unqualified admiration for Mr. Gladstone. He thought the Liberal premier “looked exclusively at the side issues of great questions, recognizing bearings and appearances, but not the essential facts. He thought him worse than a politician, as he always acted the politician with the wisdom of a statesman.” The critics of Mr. Gladstone’s Irish policy will be confirmed by this opinion; but to Carlyle that policy must have seemed defective, chiefly through its want of vigor and of severity. To the Irish, Carlyle was systematically and heartily unjust. He admitted the great wrongs the English had done the sister island, but he had no idea of abandoning the conquest or of governing the country in accordance with any ideas acceptable to that people. The agrarian murders roused him to paroxysms of wrath. He is reputed as saying, “The Irish may have their grievances, but before I would listen to one word from them, I would, with sword and gun, cut and hew at them, until I had taught them to respect human life and give up murder.” The business of getting at the real criminals being, it seems, a secondary matter. When told that the Irish could not and would not be reconciled to English domination, he retorted, “Then what would you propose? There is no remedy.” “Yes, there is; you

English can leave us and go home." "We'll cut your throats first!" Yet he wrote to one correspondent, "You mistake me much if you consider me blind to the beautiful natural faculties and capabilities of the Irish character, or other than a loving friend of Ireland (from a very old date), though I may have my own notions as to what would be real friendship to Ireland, and what would be only sham friendship." A friendship that had in it so much hacking, hewing and cutting of throats, might well recall to the Irish people the refrain of a song of their own :

" Perhaps it was right to dissemble your love ;
But why did you kick me down stairs ? "

His latest utterances on public questions are to be found in his "Shooting Niagara, and What After?" an acrid comment on "the man Dizzy's" Reform Bill of 1867, with its manhood suffrage and what not. That, with the exception of his "Letter to the *Times* on the French-German War, 1870-71," was his only published work until 1875, when he surprised and delighted the readers of *Fraser* with his *Kings of Norway* and his *Portraits of John Knox*. They were, in Lander's phrase, the "last fruit off an old tree," and the flavor was found as good as ever. As regards the Knox article, we think he was on a false scent; but the paper has its value as repeating once more his estimate of that genuine and heroic Scotchman, upon whom he had already dwelt lovingly in his *Hero-Worship* and his Edinburgh address. His recast of the story of Snorri Sturluson's *Heimskringla*, based on David Laing's excellent translation, is, to our thinking, one of the most readable of his books. It has not the imaginative power of his earlier writings, but it is also free from the explosive and dithyrambic element, which offends some readers; and the tone of the book is not only cheerful, but even Christian-like. The worship of force, the fierce contempt for all opinions not shared by the author, the gloomy views of mankind and its prospects, are all as good as absent. "At evening time it shall be light," the old Hebrew prophet wrote.

Thus far we have considered Carlyle chiefly as what he called himself,—"a writer of books." But his activity and influence were by no means limited to that channel. The man was a power among the best minds of his time and country, through the personal contact of his friendship. The small house in Chelsea was a place of pilgrimage to thousands who had learned to value him for

his sterling qualities. Of Emerson, Margaret Fuller, Mazzini, Leigh Hunt, Mill, Sterling and Buller, we have spoken already. But Kingsley, Dickens, Ruskin, Froude, Browning, Allingham, Tyndall, Dante Rosseti, Tennyson, Lecky, and a great number of other genuine souls, felt the charm of his society. To Ruskin, Mr. Smalley says, he was more manageable than to any one else. "Everybody knows that at times Carlyle became vehement, and the conversation, if he were contradicted or argued against, was likely to be stormy. When Mrs. Carlyle was alive, she used to break in upon these scenes, with the Parliamentary cry, 'Divide! divide!'—the signal for the end of a debate. I have seen Mr. Ruskin, in similar circumstances, walk up to Carlyle and put his arm about his neck, and hush him tenderly to silence and calm."

How great was his indirect influence through these men and others, it is impossible to estimate. You may find the echo of his voice in Mr. Browning's poetry, in Mr. Ruskin's art criticisms, in Mr. Tyndall's eloquent expositions of science, in Mr. Froude's and Mr. Freeman's histories, in George Eliot's novels, in a thousand newspaper articles and Parliamentary speeches. He is pervasive and inevitable. He has effected his lodgment in the English and, in a less degree, in the American mind. He has been the herald of a new age of literary art,—an age which is emancipated from the empty notionalism and wooden mechanism of that in which he began to speak to his countrymen. The very primers,—nay, the very sermons,—of our time, begin to show that their authors have been to school at Craignputtoch and Chelsea.

Another influence, and one not less noticeable, is that which he exerted through his letters. He was an unwearied writer of epistles to whomsoever chose to beseech his counsel in any situation of life that seemed to demand it. The poorest and humblest might seek him in this way, and his time was theirs until he had poured out his soul to them. The number of such letters we already have is great, and the death of their author will probably bring others still to light.

For months past the world knew that he was dying. His niece, Miss Aitken, watched by his side, filling the place left vacant by his wife's death, and guarding him from all thoughtless intrusion. He passed away peacefully, out of a world which, in spite of great errors of his judgment, was the better for his having lived in it.

And then he was carried northward to Ecclefechan. The snow lay on the ground; mist filled the air. The little cortege wound its way from the railroad station to the village graveyard, where, under the shadow of the Seceder Church, of which his father had been an elder, they laid him beside his father, his mother and his brother John. Four of the name, headed by a brother James, were the chief mourners. He was not buried by his wife, at Haddington, where he went so often to see the grave, kissing the grass that covered her; nor in Westminster Abbey, where Dean Stanley desired to lay him, but of which he had said: "There must be a general jail-delivery of scoundrels now lying there before any honest man's bones can rest within its walls." Not there, but at Ecclefechan, with his Seceder fathers, whose pith and temper had passed into his own character, to blossom into strange but not unnatural shapes, to the astonishment of his century.

ROBERT ELLIS THOMPSON.

NEW BOOKS.

APPLE BLOSSOMS. Verses of two children: Elaine Goodale and Dora Read Goodale. With two portraits. Pp. 255. G. P. Putnam's Sons.

ALL ROUND THE YEAR. Verses from Sky Farm (with which are included the thirty poems, issued in illustrated form, in the volume entitled "In Berkshire with the Wild Flowers"). By Elaine Goodale and Dora Read Goodale. Illustrated. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

Up in Western Massachusetts there is a mountain farm dear to the Muses, and on its sunniest hillside a new Helicon has been opened. Here were born two young girls,—one in 1863 and the other in 1866,—who, from their infancy have been gifted with the divine afflatus of genuine song. Here, as always, *poeta nascitur et fit*. To in-born and hereditary capacity was associated the training of two good and wise mothers—Mother Nature, and the wise house-mother, who writes in 1878 the preface to their first published volume. *Apple Blossoms* includes their best work from the ninth year of each of our young singers, and in 1878 one was fifteen and the other twelve years old.

The work of the youthful "prodigies," as they are called, is generally such as to deserve attention only because it is the work of very young writers, and gives promise, more often fulfilled than disappointed, of still better things to come. The most austere

critic cannot say this of the poems published by these Goodale sisters. If they should never write another line, what they have given us in these two volumes will live by inherent vitality. This is true even of their *Apple Blossoms*, which show such a genuine and intimate knowledge of Nature, such a writing "at first hand" of her most gracious phases, as proves that these singers are not, in Goethe's fine distinction, mere mountain "echoes," but genuine mountain "voices," to awaken echoes in other hearts. Take, for instance, the first and last verses of Elaine Goodale's "Trailing Arbutus,"—one of her earliest poems, as we infer from its position in the book :

Deep in the lonely forest,
 High on the mountain side ;
 Long is the dreary winter,
 Short is the summer-tide ;
 Just in the breath between them,
 Pregnant with sun and showers,
 Starts from the earth primeval
 Fairest of Northern flowers.

* * * * *

Close to the damp earth clinging,
 Tender and pink and shy ;
 Lifting her waxen blossoms
 Up to the changeful sky :—
 Welcome, our spring-tide darling,
 Fresh in thy virgin hue ;
 Long as the oaks stand round thee,
 Yearly thy charms renew.

And for fairness, let us quote the first verses of her sister's poem "May" :

Wafted through the silent woodland
 Comes a breath of better days,
 And the distant hills are shrouded
 In a dreamy, purple haze ;
 Oh, what joy to see the flowers,
 Hidden 'neath the snow so long,
 And to hear the silence broken
 By a sudden burst of song !

Now the tender, sweet arbutus
 Trails her blossom-clustered vines ;
 And the many-fingered cinquefoil
 In the shady hollow twines ;
 Here, behind this crumbled tree-trunk
 With the cooling showers wet,
 Fresh and upright, blooms the sunny
 Golden-yellow violet.

Their later volume shows a decided advance upon even this good work. The themes are still the same. The dear face of Mother Nature, as seen in the Berkshire Hills, occupies most of their verse. It is evident that here lies the chief motive of their poetry. Next

to this come the gracious ties of home life and the lofty inspirations of religious thought. We know of no American poet that can walk *pari passu* with them in this, their chosen field, except Mr. Lowell, whose *Pictures from Appledore* mark the highest point reached by any American in this *genre*. In this second volume the touch is more certain and confident, and the effect more distinct, while the thought has grown with the power to express it. The elder sister especially—whom we take to be the more poetical nature of the two, although this is only relative truth—has passed from the mere contemplation of individual and isolated aspects of Nature to the vision of the whole, which finds utterance in her opening poems—in such expressions as these:—

“Love’s tides that beat the strong self-centred earth!”
 “We give ourselves to Nature’s arms once more,
 And yield to her control our unfulfilled desire.”

We find it hard to select from a volume so rich in poetic power any passage which will give a just idea of Elaine Goodale’s capacity. But these lines from her “Thanksgiving Hymn” may serve the purpose:—

We know the harmony is deep and vast;
 We know the petty discord may not last;
 We lay our sins and sorrows at His feet;
 In thanks to Him we make our lives complete.
 Thanks for the power that triumphs over ills;
 Thanks for the love that strengthens and fulfils;
 In heartfelt thanks our half-formed longings run,
 And all Life’s eddying currents flow as one.

The younger sister shows equal growth of a lesser gift; her five talents have gained other five, and indicate that in her case also there has been no forcing process, but a natural, if notably early, growth of poetic power. We quote from her poem on “Decoration Day”:—

From South to North the winter scars
 Are healed by Spring, most passionate;
 Even so our country, racked by wars
 And fiercer feuds of party hate,

 Stirred anew to nobler living
 By the Spring’s abundant giving,
 Drops once more the bitter strife,—
 For which is better—Death or Life?

 O sweet the eager life of May!
 So cool, so fresh, that we forget
 The lichened headstones, turning gray,—
 The wounds that are not closed as yet!

 For Northern angers break and burn,
 And Northern hearts with passion yearn,
 And Southern blood hath Southern heats
 That are not laid by violets.

But still to-day let love abide
 While yet the land is filled with Spring;
 Forget the blows on either side,
 And hide the graves with blossoming!

Let each with equal reverence go
 To barren graves of friend or foe,
 For somewhere one is pierced with pain
 And stones there be where men are lain.

The Arabs, it is said, join in general and public congratulations when a new poet is discovered in any of their tribe. Shall not our land rejoice when there is evidence of a renewed succession of inspired singers, when the Lowells, Longfellows, Whittiers and Holmeses of an older generation than our own shall have been laid to rest?

HERPESUS AND OTHER POEMS. By Charles De Kay. Pp. 276. New York: Charles Scribner & Co.

THE VISION OF NIMROD. By Charles De Kay. Pp. 261. Same publishers.

Mr. De Kay is known to our readers already, as some of the poems in his "Hesperus" first appeared in the pages of the PENN MONTHLY. He has taken a recognized rank among our poets of the younger generation, as one of the most unique in both his matter and his manner. His range of theme is of the widest. The volume opens with studies of Nature, under the title "Poems out of Town," which show our poet a most passionate, as well as an observant, student of Nature's love. The one called "Autumn Views," we quote for the shortness, and because it shows Mr. De Kay's manner:—

Under the red trees out in the wood,
 Yellow are leaves, and brown;
 Under the evergreens, steadfast of mood,
 Ranks of the ruddy are strown.
 So, in this white mist, rayed with the gold,
 Rugs lie unrolled
 More gorgeous than aught in the town.

Under the gray sky, out by the creek,
 Yellow are graves, and brown;
 Glassed in a high tide's silvery streak,
 Tall reeds ruddy have grown.
 So, by the waters, gray, gold and green
 Pictures are seen
 More glorious than any in town.

The second group is called "Poems in Town," and here we think Mr. De Kay, though often happy, less at home by temper and preference. Of all these pieces, we like best the last and the shortest:—

I paced a mighty town from end to end,
 And who d'ye think I found was happy there?
 Of joyous sign street after street was bare,
 Until I came o'er a dry fount to bend,
 Where two lean curs, racing in endless fun,
 Paid a glad homage to the insulted sun.

Of his "Poems of Other Lands," we like best those which approach the ballad form, such as "The Four Korans." Of the remaining poems, we must enter our protest against "Goethe to the Germans, 1810," which we hope does not represent our author's own views. Whether it does or does not, it embodies what we regard as ignoble sentiment in verse too good for it.

Mr. De Kay's later work is an Eastern story, with another intercalated story, which fills the bulk of the book. The theme of the first, if we mistake not, is derived from that strange tragedy—the history of Babism in Persia. The Bab, or Mirza Ali Mohammed, was a champion of women's rights against the oppression and degradation of the sex which Islam sanctions, and even demands. Gourred-oul-Ayn, the "Delight of the Eyes," was a pure, beautiful woman, who fled from her home to become an apostle of the new faith. The two were put to death for their heresies. Mr. De Kay takes the poetic liberty of carrying them to the Birz-Nimroud, outside Persia, as fugitives, and there old Nimrod awakens from his grave to tell them his own story, the part played in his life by a prophet, Abram, and a vestal, Esther, in whom the Bab and his companion recognize kindred spirits. The story is finely told, and the moral purpose of the narrative—the protest against the Moslem estimate of woman—is well sustained.

UNBEATEN TRACKS IN JAPAN. An account of Travels on Horseback in the Interior, including Visits to the Aborigines of Yezo and the Shrines of Nikkô and Isé, by Isabella L. Bird; Author of *A Lady's Life in the Rocky Mountains*; *Six Months in the Sandwich Islands*, etc., etc., in two volumes, with Map and Illustrations. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1881. 8vo., vol. 1, pp. 407; vol. 2, pp. 392.

Miss Bird's book is too long and not broad enough; it is too much taken up with a repetition of details of personal discomfort, due to her own foolhardiness, and there is not enough generalization to impress the reader. Still, it has the great merit of being in the main a book written on the spot, and of giving a view of Japan and Japanese life from the point of one who has lived in the country and with the people. The illustrations do as much as the text to show how largely the best old elements of Japanese civilization were represented at the Centennial, while the narrative goes far to make the success of Western innovations very doubtful. It is

hardly fair to look in such a book for much accurate information, but there are some curious points, too often overlooked in more pretentious books—as, for example, the origin of the name of the game of Go-bang (vol. 2, p. 33); the custom of putting on every house a tally with the names, number and sex of the inmates, a habit which would delight General Walker and his census deputies. The naming of streets after trees, animals, trades, foods, games, etc., was a clear invasion of Penn's limited discovery of the same happy thought. The fashion of cremation is so general, and the process so simple, that it costs only five or ten dollars—a rate that would certainly ruin our fashionable cemeteries. We meet our old visitor, Mr. Arinori Mori, in a pleasant way, and in him Miss Bird recognizes the man who has done much to secure schools, colleges, universities, newspapers, a national debt, and all the other elements of the progress that is hardly yet ten years old in Japan.

Miss Bird is hardly a fair witness or impartial chronicler of the curious condition of the Japanese on the points of religion which she speaks of so often. She has proper orthodox admiration of the missionaries, for by their help largely she was successful in her solitary journey, and yet her report of the result of the result of their labors is not very encouraging. Out of a population of thirty-four millions, only a handful,—a very few thousand, indeed,—have become doubtful Christians of the Protestant type, while the devoted labors of the Roman Catholics count twenty thousand converts. The nice points of distinction between the faith and tradition of the Japanese in different parts of the Empire, are described, while the absolute morality of the people, their cardinal virtues of filial duty, honesty and industry, are evidently a puzzle to Miss Bird's Scotch orthodoxy. Her visits to the pagan temples and her conversation with the priests of different cults must have been somewhat difficult of accomplishment and barren of result, in view of her very slight knowledge of the country and of her persistent dependence on a single servant; but by the help of her countrymen, the English Minister and his Secretaries, and the American missionaries, she has gathered together a great deal of information on subjects of great interest,—religion, finance, education, art,—much of it rather more curious than well authenticated,—yet still giving her book an interest exceeding many of the recent volumes on Japan. After all, however, the main impression left by such a traveller is of wonder that she should go through so much for such small result in personal experiences, and of surprise that she had not spent some little time in preparing for her journey, by mastering the language, instead of largely wasting it in reproducing letters that repeat the same extremely ingenuous account of her discomforts to the exclusion of more lively topics,

PICTURES FROM THE LIFE. II. PAUL GERHARDT. An historical life picture. Translated from the German of Dr. A. Wildenhahn, by Rev. G. A. Wenzel, A. M. Edited by J. K. Shryock, A. M. Pp. 553, with portrait. Philadelphia: J. Fred. Smith.

PICTURES FROM THE LIFE. III. HANS SACHS. A family tradition, retold by Dr. August Wildenhahn, Translated from the German by Harriet Reynolds Krauth. Pp. 321, ix. Same publisher.

Dr. Wildenhahn's studies of German Church History, in the form of stories based on biographic fact, have been among the most popular of works of this class in Germany. Dr. W. has not Miss Manning's graceful and idyllic touch, nor has he the magic of Meinhold's weird but realistic narrative. Yet he can tell a story so as to enlist the reader's sympathy, and at the same time enable him to appreciate the ecclesiastical situation and its tendencies. He is a man, not of genius, but of a fair and admirable talent of imagination and narration, quite the equal of that shown by the authoress of the *Schoenberg-Cotta Family*.

The first of the two works before us is a picture of the great and good poet, who takes rank as the greatest of the sacred poets of Germany in the seventeenth century. His hymns are masterpieces of genuine feeling, poetically expressed. He is the singer, not of the congregation's united worship, as Luther and his contemporaries were, but of the joys and sorrows of the individual soul. Behind the song is a life of patient and faithful loyalty to what the author regarded as the truth of God. Gerhardt was a Lutheran theologian in a country where rulers belonged to the Reformed creed, at a time when the lesson of toleration between various schools of Protestants had not been learned. For his faithfulness, he suffered exile and loss, along with others of his own faith, in one of the very few instances in which persons of the Reformed confession were guilty of intolerance toward Lutherans. To Dr. Wildenhahn, Gerhardt is great as a confessor of the one sound type of Protestant doctrines. To Mr. Wenzel he is glorious as the champion of liberty of conscience and freedom of speech. To ourselves he is honorable as a man who stood by the truth as he understood it, under circumstances of trial and suffering. It is an easy mistake, but one which we are learning to escape, to think that whoever suffers for his own view of the truth, is a champion of liberty of conscience. It is not so, and we see no reason to regard Paul Gerhardt and the Lutheran confessors of his time as such men. Luther and the most part of the Lutheran theologians opposed the infliction of death upon heretics. But Luther advised the rulers of this very country in which Paul Gerhardt suffered, to expel from house and home the Zwinglians, who would not accept his own

view of the sacraments. And Paul Gerhardt, with his associates, would have subscribed to that advice as just and wise.

The second story is not so tragic in its details, but of more interest from its surroundings. Hans Sachs lived in a city which was the Florence of Germany, the home of literature and the arts, as well as of a vigorous commercial life. He was the friend and contemporary of Dürer, Pirckheimer and others, who made the city famous throughout Germany. His own poetry was more voluminous than meritorious, but now and then, as in his "Wittenberg Nightingale," he struck a cord which still vibrates. Dr. Wildenhahn puts his story into the shape of a narrative by a journeyman shoemaker, who comes to live with Sachs, and falls in love with his daughter, becomes a master-singer, and his employer's son-in-law. The subject is treated in such a way as to depict not only Sachs and his devout household, but Nuremberg in the bloom of its activity, the institution of the *Meister-Sänger*, and the character of their poetry. Dr. Wildenhahn has drawn upon Sachs's own works in the poetical quotations, and these Miss Krauth has rendered with strict fidelity to the literary character of the original. She has not tried to convert the good shoemaker into a Schiller or a Platen, but has made the English poetry just as good as the original. This has misled some of her reviewers into complaining that the poetry is inferior to the prose! It could not be otherwise, without departing from the character of the original. The translation seems to us most excellent and idiomatic, far superior in this respect to Mr. Wenzel's. We observe what is, perhaps, a printer's blunder, that the name of the great theologian and preacher, who was not the least of the glories of Nuremberg, is spelled Andrias (instead of Andreas) Osiander. We may add that Von Hagen has treated the same theme in one of his artistic studies in the form of stories.

THE EDEN TABLEAU, or Bible Object Teaching. By Charles Beecher. Pp. 136. Boston: Lee & Shepard.

Charles Beecher is in some respects the most eccentric of all Lyman Beecher's remarkable family. Had he lived at the opening of the Christian era, he would have been the founder of a Gnostic sect. Had he lived in the Middle Ages, he would have been burned alive for originating some *bizarre* heresy. His lot having fallen in this nineteenth century, he is let alone; but good people shake their heads at the mention of his queer books.

He has a cosmogony and theology of his own, in which Lucifer, as with some of the Gnostics, plays a very prominent part. His last book is a study of the symbols of the old story of Adam and Eve in Eden. He takes that story as a sort of parable, and runs a parallelism between it and the symbols of the Mosaic ritual, as established in

the wilderness, and those of the Book of Revelation. In his main conception of the old narrative, he has the agreement of a great number of commentators, from Johann Gottfried Herder to George Dana Boardman. It is in its treatment in detail, that he is original.

LIFE. ITS TRUE GENESIS. By R. W. Wright. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. Philadelphia: Porter & Coates. Pp. 298.

THE CREATION AND THE EARLY DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIETY. By James H. Chapin, Ph.D., Professor of Geology and Mineralogy in St. Lawrence University. Same Publishers and Booksellers. Pp. 276.

These two books are closely related by their subjects, though differing widely in method. Mr. Wright's discussion of the genesis of life is the more original and the more controversial of the two. It seems to have been suggested by that phenomenon of the vegetable world which we might call unexpected growth. A fire or a tornado destroys a great extent of forest. At once there spring up other varieties of trees than those which have been destroyed. In case of destruction by fire, the first thing to appear is fire-weed. A new house is built, and at once the plantain or dock-weed begins to spring up in its vicinity. A piece of prairie is turned into pasture, and white clover supersedes the native grasses. The common explanation is that the seeds of these plants were lying dormant in the ground, and have begun to germinate. Mr. Wright insists on the difficulty of this hypothesis. If any one should sow the seed of the fire-weed through the forest, he would find it grow up at once, without waiting for a fire to clear the space first. So with plantain seeds. Besides, he urges the impossibility of seeds maintaining their vitality through such ages of time, and casts doubt on the wonderful stories which are thought to confirm this. In his view, the vital germs of these and other species of vegetable life (and, we presume, of animal life also, although on this point he is not so explicit,) exist in the earth already, awaiting only the fit environment for their development. These germs are not seeds, but the primary creation described by the word ZRA, in Genesis i., 11, for a part of which verse he adopts the translation given in the Greek Septuagint: "whose germinal principle of life, each in itself after its kind, is upon the earth," instead of that made by the English translators: "whose seed is in itself upon the earth."

Mr. Wright's views on this point bring him in collision with a great number of modern men of science, including not only Tyn-dall, Huxley and Bastian on the one side, but Mivart, Beale and Joseph Cooke upon the other. We regard as the chief merit of

his work, not the elaborate defence of a specious and fanciful hypothesis, but his vigorous defence of the doctrine of vitalism against its assailants. It is true that the defence of vitalism,—the assertion that life is something different from a highly specialized form of the purely mechanical forces,—is not essential to the maintenance of spiritual truth against the materialists and naturalists. Lotze, although a firm opponent of those theories, was the first modern antivitalist. But the difference of life from the other forces is a truth which is rarely likely to be assailed, except in the interest of attempts to reduce the universe to a material unity of force and matter, which is nothing but a *hirngespinnst* of modern science.

Mr. Wright's Biblical and philological knowledge is not of the soundest. He gives some very fanciful reasons for preferring the Greek to the English version of the Hebrew words, one being that the seventy translators of Ptolemy had better MSS. before them. As he accepts the ordinary Hebrew of this verse as authentic, this reasoning is of no use to him. The Septuagint version is a very uneven piece of work. Some of the seventy knew both Greek and Hebrew well; some of them had but an imperfect knowledge of Hebrew, and have managed to make palpable nonsense out of the original. Again, on page 24, Mr. Wright gives us a piece of translation which indicates either a scanty knowledge of Latin, or a disposition to loose and unscholarly modes of expression.

Mr. Chapin's book is a series of lectures on the opening chapters of the book of Genesis, with reference to the discoveries and theories of modern science. His first aim seems to have been to put his hearers in possession of all the points needed for an independent judgment; his second, to show that a fair interpretation of the old Hebrew record shows it to be in general harmony, so far as it goes, with what we know from other sources, of the origin of the earth, of organic life, of man, and of society. His style is clear and precise, if here and there more diffuse than vigorous. The tone is never that of a special pleader. His strong point in defence of his own case is that, even if the scientific men are right in all their assumptions, they have not answered, and cannot answer, the questions which every healthy mind regards as of the first importance, and to which religion does offer an answer.

We have been much interested by the closing chapters of the book, and especially by the last of all. In this he discourses of the aboriginal inhabitants of America,—the predecessors of the Indians, as well as of the white race. He believes that the mound builders of our own country were the ancestors of the Aztecs of Mexico, where they reached a higher grade of civilization than before their emigration southward; that they fled before the Indians many centuries ago, the mounds having been abandoned for over half a millenium; and that they were an inoffensive, unwarlike

people, with no marked vices or virtues. He regards the pueblo-dwellers and rock-dwellers of Arizona as a remnant of this ancient population, isolated from the rest of mankind and reduced in numbers and in civilization by the encroachments of the desert upon their formerly fertile country.

HISTORY OF THE CONQUEST OF SPAIN BY THE ARAB-MOORS, with a Sketch of the Civilization which they achieved, and imparted to Europe. By Henry Coppée. 2 vols. 8vo. Boston: Little, Brown & Co. 1881. Pp. 455 and 496.

Professor Coppée has given us a history of a people and a period too little known to the general public, and he has drawn freely from sources not easily accessible even to a diligent student. He has nursed the project ever since he saw the evidences of Spanish greatness in Mexico, while he was serving there in the army, from 1846 to 1848, and it took shape under the inspiration of a visit to Spain in 1870. He has taken up the story where Washington Irving left it off; and while he modestly disowns any rivalry with Irving's splendid but fanciful pictures, he finds abundant field for his own somewhat ornate style in his full account of the romantic and picturesque legends, poetry and traditions of the subject. The authorities on the subject are fully given, but the text is made a fluent and continuous narrative in popular form of a history, practically new as a whole, in an English dress. The story of the rise of Mohammedanism, of its successful invasion of Spain; of the Goths, who held sway in the Peninsula when the Arab-Moors conquered it; of the varying fortunes of the two races in their struggle for mastery; of the overthrow of the Moslems and the victory achieved by Charles Martel, and the great glories of Charlemagne, paving the way, although at a long distance of time, and through a succession of varied events, and ending finally in the establishment of the kingdom of Ferdinand,—all this constitutes the substantially historical part of the work, bringing it down to 1492, the year marked by the discovery of America, and thus fitly separating the events of the Old World from the New, and closing a chapter that well deserves the studious reading of all seekers after knowledge.

The last half of the second volume, the 9th and 10th books, the concluding chapters, gives, in a very brief summary, a sketch of Arabian civilization in Spain, of the social life and system of government of the Moorish conquerors, and of that inviting subject, their intellectual development, their language, poetry, metaphysics, history, knowledge of the exact sciences of geography, chemistry and medicine; their inventions and discoveries, their architecture, their art and their literature. This is but too compact and concise, forming in this regard a somewhat sharp contrast to the almost wearisome fullness of detail of the earlier historical chapters. Pro-

fessor Coppée writes with the hearty sympathy of a traveller in Spain, and he traces much of the existing evil of that rich country to the distant centuries, with their lessons of misgovernment and intolerance. He sees in the resources of its untouched mineral treasures, in the industry of its hardy population, and in the progress of men and ideas within the last few years, the prospect of a restoration which will recall the wonders achieved by those Moslem Arabs, whose story of conquest and defeat he has told with all the eloquence of historical research and much wealth of diction. His *Conquest of Spain* is likely to take its place among the works that will grow in popularity as time passes, and with each recurring call for a new edition there will no doubt be found opportunity to recast some of its subdivisions, so as to give less space to the dry details of chronological events of no lasting interest, and more to the wonderful development of that mysterious rise and fall of the intellectual side of the Mohammedan character, which seems to have left no trace in those who maintain its sway in the Eastern world.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

The Vision of Nimrod. By Charles de Kay. Cloth. 12mo. Pp. 261. Price \$1.50. New York: D. Appleton & Co. [J. B. Lippincott & Co.

Chautauqua Language Series—First German Book, by James H. Worman, A. M. Board. 12mo. Pp. 63. Price 35 cents. New York: A. S. Barnes & Co.

Bulletin de L'Academie Royale des Sciences, &c. No. 12. Bruxelles: F. Hayez. Annuaire de L'Academie Royale de Sciences, des Lettres et des Beaux Arts de Belgique. 1881. Bruxelles: F. Hayez.

Gleanings from the Fields of Art. By Ednah D. Cheney. Cloth. 12mo. Pp. 345. Price \$2.50. Boston: Lee & Shepard. [Porter & Coates.

Lenox Dare. By Virginia F. Townsend. Cloth. 12mo. Pp. 451. Price \$1.50. Boston: Lee & Shepard. [Porter & Coates.

Lost in a Great City. By Amanda M. Douglas. Cloth. 12mo. Pp. 468. Price \$1.50. Boston: Lee & Shepard. [Porter & Coates.

Parlor Varieties, Plays, Pantomines and Charades. By Emma E. Brewster. 16mo. Boards. Pp. 261. Price 50 cents. Boston: Lee & Shepard. [Porter & Coates.

Poems of Many Years and Many Places. By William Gibson. Cloth. 8mo. Price \$1.50. Boston: Lee & Shepard. [Porter & Coates.

Hans Sachs. A family tradition, retold by Dr. August Wildenhahn. Translated from the German, by Harriet Reynolds Krauth. 12mo. Pp. 321. Price \$1.50. J. Fred. Smith.

Paul Gerhardt. A Historical Life Picture. From the German of Dr. A. Wildenhahn. By Rev. G. A. Wenzel, A. M. Cloth. 12mo. Pp. 553. J. Fred. Smith.

Quiet Hours. A Collection of Poems. Cloth. 16mo. Pp. 223. Price, \$1.00. Boston: Roberts & Brothers. [Porter & Coates.

Sanskrit and its Kindred Literatures. Studies in Comparative Mythology. By Laura Elizabeth Poor. Cloth. 12mo. Pp. 468. Price, \$2.00. Boston: Roberts & Brothers. [Porter & Coates.

American Sanitary Engineering. By Edward S. Philbrick. Cloth. 8vo. Pp. 129. New York: *The Sanitary Engineer*.

Hesperus and other Poems. By Charles de Kay. Cloth. 12mo. Pp. 276. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

James Smithson and his Bequest. By William J. Rhees. Cloth. 8vo. Pp. 159. Washington: Smithsonian Institute.

THE
PENN MONTHLY.

APRIL, 1881.

CIVIL SERVICE REFORM — A CHAPTER IN THE
HISTORY OF THE "SPOILS SYSTEM."*

EXPLANATORY.

THE request of the President for a report as to what has been "the tendency" and what will be "the probable effects of the permanent enforcement" in the Post-Office, Custom-House, and other Federal offices at the city of New York, "of rules requiring open competitive examinations for appointments and promotions," and calling for both "the facts and the considerations bearing upon these subjects," is obviously very comprehensive.

The President speaks of the Civil Service Rules and the competitive examinations which they require, as "tests of merit."

Taken together, they may be said, I think, to have introduced a new system for entering the public service and for promotion therein—a system which, ignoring mere political influence and partisan services, requires every applicant to prove himself, in free public examinations, to be most worthy and capable, as compared with other applicants, of doing the public work before he can be appointed; or, if in the service, before he can be promoted. For these reasons, I may conveniently refer to the new system as the *Merit System*.

* From the report prepared and submitted to the President of the United States, at his request.

The old system, which had prevailed for a long time in those offices, might be most appropriately designated as the partisan system; for under it, partisan zeal and work, the payment of partisan assessments, and the exertion of official influence for partisan purposes, have, as a rule, been essential conditions for securing appointments or promotion. But the voice of general condemnation—which has also found expression in party platforms—has made this New York system familiar to the whole country under the name of *The Spoils System*.

It is impossible to comply with the request of the President without comparing these two systems. The most material “facts and considerations” are the practical effects of each of these systems, as compared with the other, upon Federal administration at the city of New York. These considerations are material not only as they affect administration within the Federal offices, but as they bear upon parties, political morality and national affairs. To rightly judge which system will be the best for the future, we must understand the past as well as the present. We need also to know whether the two systems can stand together.

The whole subject can be most conveniently presented in these subdivisions:

I. The Spoils System in New York previous to the administration of President Grant—a historical view.

II. The attempt of President Grant to reform the Spoils System at New York.

III. The enforcement of the Merit System at New York, by President Hayes, and the results.

IV. The probable effects of the Merit System at New York, if permanently enforced.

CHAPTER I.

THE SPOILS SYSTEM IN NEW YORK PREVIOUS TO THE ADMINISTRATION OF PRESIDENT GRANT—A HISTORICAL VIEW.

Mere historical disquisition would be out of place here. But a statesman cannot deal wisely with the Spoils System in New York without knowing something of that part of its history which best discloses its character and its vast capacity of reproduction. If the old system of administration is in essential particulars sound, and the acknowledged abuses are but excrescences that may be removed by superficial or temporary remedies, then no new system, but only a practical reform of the old, is needed.

But if the old system is essentially pernicious and wrong, if through a long series of years it has worked only evil continually—then a true statesman will spare no effort to supersede that system by the introduction of some other—if there be another—which promises better results. Let us, then, glance at the origin and history of that peculiar New York system now known as the *Spoils System*.

Such men as Clinton, Hamilton, Jay, Livingston and the two Morrisses, in the Continental Congress from New York; Hamilton at the head of the Treasury and Jay at the head of the Supreme Court under the administration of Washington; four out of the first eight Vice-Presidents from the same State—these are facts which show that New York in earlier days was fruitful of statesmen, and that she was able to put them in high places. In those times the population of the State was less than that of Virginia, Pennsylvania, or Massachusetts, and the city of New York was hardly one-third as populous as Philadelphia. In wealth, in population and in prosperity, New York has since become, by a long advance, the Empire State. The average intelligence and capacity of her people are hardly anywhere exceeded and are rarely equalled. Yet, at no later period has she had a representation at once so distinguished and so numerous in the higher official life of the nation; a fact perhaps without example in any other State. It may be our inquiries will afford some explanation of this anomaly.

Unfortunately for the politics of New York, one of the first of her great politicians was the most adroit and unscrupulous political manipulator this country has produced.

Aaron Burr was our first partisan despot. He yet stands unrivalled—the original—the arch-intriguer of our politics. Under his advice, and in the State of New York, the first steps were taken for the degradation of Federal patronage and authority for personal, partisan and local purposes. He devised and made the *Machine*, and laid deep the foundations of the *Spoils System*. The language in which history presents the facts has not ceased to be applicable to Burr's successors or to Burr's system as it still survives.

“ Among the maxims of Colonel Burr for the guidance of politicians, one of the most prominent was that the people at elections were to be *managed by the same rules of discipline as the soldiers of an army*; that *a few leaders were to think for the masses*, and that the latter were to *obey implicitly their leaders*, and to move only at the word of command. He had, therefore, great confidence in the *machinery* of party, and that system of regular nominations in American politics of which he may, perhaps, be considered one of the founders. . . . In no part of the United States have party rules been more constantly and rigidly enforced than among the Democrats of the State of New York.”*

In Parton's *Life of Jackson*,† the *Burrian Code*, as Mr. Parton calls it, thus early introduced into New York politics, is declared by him to contain, among others, these fundamental maxims :

“ 1. Politics is a game, the prizes of which are offices and contracts.

“ 5. Fidelity to party is the sole virtue of the politician. He only is a politician who would vote unhesitatingly for the Devil, if the Devil were *regularly* nominated. One sin only is unpardonable—*bolting*.

“ 6. No man must be allowed to suffer on account of his fidelity to his party—no matter how odious to the people he may make himself.

“ 13. When there is a *conflict between the party in the whole Union and the party in the State*, or between the party in the State and the party in the country, a man must adhere to the behests of the majority of his own local organization. *That is to say, a pri-*

* *Statesman's Manual*, vol. iii., p. 1139.

† Vol. iii., pp. 122, 123.

vate must obey the orders of his own immediate captain, though that captain may be in mutiny against his colonel.

" 14. Editors are to be unscrupulously used; but never implicitly trusted.

" 19. The end and aim of the professional politician is *to keep great men down and put little men up*. Little men, owing all to the wire-puller, will be governed by him. Great men, having ideas and convictions, are perilous, even as tools."

In the light of recent facts, parts of these maxims seem prophetic. Burr rose upon the secret strength of his system before the people understood it. He fell as soon as they comprehended the desperate and lawless purposes of its author. But the system survived. It has impaired the higher influences in politics and official life in New York down to this day.

Martin Van Buren, probably without knowing the true character of Burr, early became his admirer and follower. "He learned his tactics from Aaron Burr."* He was so adroit in applying them to his own use that, as early as 1808, he got the office of Surrogate of Columbia County, as the price of his support of Tompkins for Governor. This, perhaps, is the earliest instance in our politics of an office—especially a judicial office—being pledged and delivered for political support.

"Thus early, in New York, was the execrable system in vogue of distributing offices among victorious partisans, as soldiers divide the spoils of conquest."†

"Every man holding office was forced to take part in the strife during the struggle between Van Buren and Clinton. The Bench was dragged into the defiling pool of politics. Judges became as reckless politicians as the most active machine men."‡

The "Burrian Code" was speedily extended to municipal offices in the city of New York, and it hardly need be said that it has never lost its supremacy in the metropolis. Barnard, Cardozo, Tweed, McCunn, Kelly and Custom House politics are the political offspring of Burr and his system. Before 1820, Burr's system had

* Parton's *Life of Jackson*, vol. iii., p. 121.

† Parton's *Life of Jackson*, vol. iii., p. 125.

‡ *New York Commercial Advertiser* on New York Political History, October 26, 1880.

so intrenched itself in the Federal offices at that city, that Governor Clinton, in his annual message for that year, declared that he felt compelled "to complain of an organized and disciplined corps of Federal officers interfering in State elections, and of alarming attempts upon the purity and independence of the local governments."* Nowhere else in the Union were there at that time grounds for such complaints.

It is worthy of notice that it was also in 1820 that the Constitutional term of subordinates in the Executive Department was first invaded by reducing the term of collectors, postmasters, naval officers, etc., to the period of four years. At that time, it was only in New York that there was a system which demanded patronage, political assessment and partisan subservience, and hence short terms of office and easy and frequent removals, as the very ailment of its life.

Only two years later (in 1822,) we find Mr. Van Buren at Washington, urging the appointment of a new postmaster at Albany for mere partisan reasons. So far as I am aware, this is the first example of a great party leader degrading himself in that way. So despotic had the new system become, that in 1824, "on the last day of the session, a few hours—perhaps I may say a few minutes—before the time fixed for the adjournment, a resolution was proposed and, *instantly*, passed," says the historian, for the removal of De Witt Clinton from the office of canal commissioner, for the merest partisan reasons. He was then serving gratuitously in aid of the Erie Canal, for the conception and construction of which the State of New York had been indebted to his genius. It may be noted, in passing, that Alfred Conkling, the father of the present Senator Conkling, drew the resolutions expressive of popular disapproval of that partisan outrage, thus helping to render irresistible that higher and indignant public opinion which within two years made De Witt Clinton Governor of the State. The demand for spoils, to which Clinton was sacrificed, was thus—long before it had appeared in national politics—about as mercilessly enforced through all the grades of State and municipal offices in New York, excepting to some extent the judiciary, as it has since been in the Custom-House.

The people cannot readily learn the secrets of such a system ;

* Jenkins's *History of Parties in New York*, p. 227.

and, before they understood it, it had secured elements of strength and reproduction which yet survive in New York.

The Tammany Society—Tammany Hall—originally a social and patriotic organization, founded in 1789, in the first month of the administration of Washington, and incorporated in 1805, had early in the political career of Van Buren degenerated into a mere political machine. In 1822 it began active interference with politics. In 1827 it dominated the primary elections. Its anniversary had even become a city holiday. It was the *first*, and, so far as I know, it is to this day the only instance of a State allowing the corporate franchises and privileges it has conferred, and property acquired through such franchises, to be used for the coercion of elections and the domination of a secret partisan clique.

A late writer declares that it "was not merely the spoils system, in the sense which Civil Service reformers speak of that system—as if only applicable to appointments, removals, promotions and political assessments—which was earliest devised and put in practice in New York, but the whole of Burr's method of oligarchic tyranny, by which a few partisan leaders domineered, as they now domineer in New York politics, deciding who shall be nominated, and where conventions shall be held; what they shall do, and what orders shall be given to the delegates; leaving the people only to obey and to vote. The *Albany Regency*, the Council of Appointment and Tammany Hall, each embodied that theory as absolutely as does the partisan machine of the present day."

Mr. Hammond* says that, under the old regency or machine system, "all questions relative to the selection of candidates for elective offices, either by the people or the Legislature, *were settled in caucus*, and every member of the party was in honor bound to support the decision of the assemblies." This was the Albany Regency, as led by Van Buren, by the result of whose "deliberations the Democratic party was governed," says Mr. Hammond. Such has always been the theory and practice of Tammany Hall, which has superseded the Regency.

This was the system in force in New York in 1835, of which the historian says "it was regarded as the most reliable and effective political organization ever devised." To the causes which were so soon

* *Political History of New York*, vol. ii., p. 429.

to bring about the crushing defeat of its supporters, in 1840, they seem to have been blind. The system had already produced bitter fruit—ominous enough of the future.

The intrigue and vindictiveness of partisan politics in New York had thus early become notorious, “and in the county of Mr. Van Buren’s residence were carried to the greatest extremities.”* Mr. Hammond declares† that the political system of the State “had nourished faction, and frequently produced a state of feeling in the public mind which threatened the dissolution of the bands which unite together a civilized and Christian community. . . . *Party spirit had raged in this more than in any other State of the Union.*”

A system so original, attended with consequences so pernicious in New York, could not long escape national attention. Mr. Gale, of the *National Intelligencer*—a most competent judge—declared‡ in 1822, that there was “something *peculiar* in the political distinctions in New York.” When brooding over his policy in case he reached the Presidential chair, General Jackson said to a New Yorker, “I am no politician; but if I were a politician, I would be a New York politician.” After studying this period, Mr. Parton says,* “The politics of the State of New York are supposed to be beyond the comprehension of a finite being. From the early days of its adhesion to the Union, its politics have been involved, embittered, and, I may add, ignoble to an unexampled degree.”

It required more than human virtue to confine such a system to the politics of a State. General Jackson became a politician—a New York politician—under the tutelage of Mr. Van Buren, who was Burr’s successor as the head of the New York Spoils System.

“The election of Jackson was notoriously the work of Martin Van Buren, inspired by Aaron Burr, and with his inauguration was introduced a sordidly selfish political system, entirely at variance with the broad views of Washington and Hamilton.”§

Mr. Jenkins, in his history, just quoted, says that Van Buren was condemned, even in New York, “for introducing the New York system at Washington.”

* *Statesman’s Manual*, vol. ii., p. 1440.

† *Political History of New York*, vol. ii., p. 78.

‡ Mr. Hammond, vol. ii., p. 87.

|| *Life of Jackson*, vol. iii., p. 27.

§ *Atlantic Monthly*, April, 1880.

General Jackson brought to Washington the arbitrary, audacious and relentless spirit which was but too willing to adopt—perhaps he was favored by New York politicians because he was expected to be willing to act upon—the New York system, with which Mr. Van Buren was anxious to supply him.

Mr. Van Buren, when Senator in 1821, had, in his limited sphere, put Burr's system into practice at Washington, but it was not made supreme in national affairs until he became General Jackson's Secretary of State in 1829. It was perfected in its methods under him as Vice-President and President from 1832 to 1840. To his great humiliation, he found that the system had no more capacity to keep him or his party in power than it had to crush DeWitt Clinton.

This is not the place for a description of the demoralizing and revolutionary policy of General Jackson's Administration in the matter of appointments and removals. That disgraceful chapter is a part of the familiar history of the country. The facts material here are that this proscriptive, corrupt New York spoils system, coming into power at Washington at the close of an Administration which during four years had removed only two officers, and these for good reasons, in a few weeks caused many times more removals than had taken place from the foundation of the Government, and worked a disastrous revolution in the administrative affairs of the nation, which has degraded official life at home and scandalized republican institutions throughout the world.

The full responsibility of New York, however, is not disclosed without the further fact that her system has never found a public and official justification except at the hands of one of her own politicians. It was Senator Marcy, of New York, who could in 1833 proclaim, without a blush, on the floor of the national Senate, the infamous doctrine of the pirate and the robber, "that to the victor belong the spoils."

Such was the contribution which New York made to national politics in the only instance in which one of her politicians has been put by the popular voice at the head of national affairs. Mr. Fillmore was only an accidental and *ex-officio* President. When next the voice of New York was potential in the national councils, it was in a great crisis, in behalf of great principles and of higher sentiments, of which Mr. Seward was the fit representative. For the time, these sentiments and the great statesman in whom they were

impersonated were more potent than the machine and the spoils system. But neither the machine nor the system was destroyed. Both were held in reserve. And here I must be allowed to state my conviction that at no period has that system been representative of the morality or intelligence of the people of New York. They have sought and deserved better methods in their politics. They were subjected to a demoralizing system before they comprehended its spirit or its consequences. The vast Federal patronage, the ample funds collected through assessments from Federal officers, and the powerful official support from Washington—with which the condition in no other State has been comparable—have thus far enabled the local partisan leaders to withstand, though with increasing difficulty, the assaults of the higher public opinion of New York.

We can now, with a better understanding, trace the effects of the spoils system in the Federal offices at New York City.

It hardly need be said that with the coming in of Jackson's Administration every corrupt and oppressive tendency of that system was aggravated, not less at New York than at Washington.

Under the administration of Mr. Adams, Jonathan Thompson had been the worthy and efficient collector at New York. To continue him in office was a public duty. But it was a subservient henchman of Mr. Van Buren and a partisan drill-major over subordinates, and not a good collector, which Jackson and Van Buren and all the chieftains and place-hunters of politics most wanted. Why had the law of 1820 been enacted if nothing beyond a good collector was desired? There were then about two hundred officials at the Custom House. It is safe to say that five thousand politicians were, at New York or Washington, intriguing and hustling for their places. Scores were pushing for the collectorship. Among them was a reckless, bankrupt, scheming politician and speculator, by the name of Samuel Swartwout, and next to him a congenial spirit by the name of Jesse Hoyt. Swartwout made siege at Washington and Hoyt at New York.

From thence Swartwout wrote to Hoyt, a few days after the inauguration, in words that mark the new era: "Whether or not I shall get anything in the general scramble for plunder, remains to be proved. I think I shall, if it be only the Bergen light-house. I would recommend you to push like a devil if you expect anything." Swartwout did push so hard, and the crowd of his henchman clamored so loud, that he got the collectorship.

The trained and worthy officers needed by every interest of commerce were summarily dismissed, save a few essential to instruct the new-comers. Henchmen, personal favorites of every grade, political wire-pullers and partisan manipulators of every hue of character—a motley and scandalous herd—ignorant and generally bankrupt alike in character and fortune, rushed into the Custom-House and took the salaries. They converted that office into a hospital of business incompetency, and a headquarters of partisan intrigue and official corruption. It was much the same at the Post-Office and Naval-Office. A venal partisan by the name of Wm. M. Price became district attorney. Official business was neglected. Merchants were delayed. Official salaries were increased. Political assessments were quadrupled. Bribes and extortions were made conditions of doing the public business. The Burrian Code was enforced. The Custom-House, aided by the Post-Office, rivalled the despotism of Tammany Hall and the Albany Regency. The district attorney's office was made an extortion office and its head soon became a defaulter for a vast sum. There was a new power in politics—the power of prostitution and pillage. Removal followed any demerit to assessments and any neglect of dirty partisan work.

The idea of examining a politician strong in his ward or jealous for the party, to see if he was qualified for Custom-House duty, was thought ridiculous and Utopian. Officers only qualified to sort horse-blankets and read guide-boards, fixed the duty on carpets and silks, and acted as experts in the Post-Office. Experts in stout and whiskey, classified wines, chemicals and drugs. Electioneers, only competent for spades and grindstones, were made appraisers of diamonds, paintings and statuary. There was vast loss of revenue and general confusion. Nor was this the worst. There were frauds, false accounts, speculation and pillage, the like of which had been unknown in the country before. The minor officials in the Custom-House, whom their country permitted to be treated as outlaws from justice, by leaving them without protection against partisan exactions from their salaries, naturally retaliated by peculating, by taking bribes, and by neglect of duty. And how can it be proved that the right of a partisan assessment collector to thus extort a tenth of his salary from a poor clerk is much clearer than the right of the clerk to reimburse himself from public money in his hands, or from the time and care pledged to the public service?

The collector, who was allowed to use public authority and patronage for partisan and personal ends, could see little reason why the public funds might not as properly be used for the same purpose. And what, in principle and morality, is the difference between using the public money for party purposes, and using the public authority of appointment and removal for the same purpose? To appoint dishonest henchmen or incompetent supernumeraries, whereby the public lose tens of thousands of dollars, is only plausibly better than stealing as much from the treasury. It is only stealing by indirection, aided by fraud.

Swartwout and his subordinates, and the district attorney, did both. At the end of the first four years, Swartwout had \$210,000 of public money not appearing anywhere in his accounts. But, being a good New York spoils-system, Jacksonian, Van Buren politician, he was appointed for a second four years. A Congressional committee was soon after thought necessary. This is not the place for setting forth the details of pillage, official politics and corruption which their report in a small degree disclosed. Swartwout went to Europe "for his health"—a public defaulter in the amount of \$1,225,705.69. The committee was told by his subordinates that "we clerks of the Custom-House consider ourselves *as in the service of the collector and not in the service of the United States,*" and the assistant cashier refused to open his lips—"in conformity with the *Custom-House practice*"—views of the matter, I may add, which prevailed for a whole generation. Some New York Custom-House officials, it may be feared, even yet hold these views. I believe Price was a defaulter for only about \$80,000.

As only the collector and not the system was to be changed, Hoyt naturally became the successor of Swartwout. A lawyer from Van Buren's office, Hoyt was in character and experience as utterly disqualified for collector as his sick friend who had gone to Europe. But he was a bankrupt, an adroit politician, and a loud proclaimer of the doctrine that "every rascal who helped to keep Adams in and Jackson out deserved to be hanged." His administration, in all essential features, was a repetition of that of Swartwout—equally disgraceful to the country, equally disastrous to business, equally profitable to the politicians. The bad odor of it, in Hoyt's third year, brought another stately committee from Washington "to inquire and report upon all cases of bribery, abstraction

of goods from the public stores, misapplication of public property, fraud, partiality, misconduct or irregularity in the Custom-House service or among the public officers engaged therein."

The facts disclosed I can but glance at. Large sums went into the hands of officials as their gains from false appraisals. Frauds in the amount of \$35,000 were found in stationery accounts alone. A cheat of \$30,000 appeared in store-rent charges. The whole defalcation was fully \$300,000, besides great gains for his partisan hirelings made in various ways. The other main conclusions of the committee are covered by these sentences: "The inspectors when absent from duty were generally engaged in electioneering and in procuring the *naturalization of foreigners*. . . A Custom-House tax was regularly levied and paid in advance of election . . . and a refusal to pay it was *invariably followed by removal from office*. . . . A system of favoritism was uniformly extended to the most violent political partisans . . . and finally there were evidences of official delinquency, if not of downright corruption, which have seldom, if ever, occurred in any civilized country on the face of the earth."

If the political demoralization and the public disgrace of such facts do not exclude all considerations of economy, I may add, that whereas, under the non-partisan system of President Adams and Collector Thompson, the cost of collecting the revenue had been only one and one-half per cent. it had risen to two and one-half per cent. under Jackson, Van Buren, and Swartwout, and to five and one-quarter per cent. under the improved spoils system of their lieutenant, Hoyt.

It would involve needless detail to show how nearly the same were the results in the application of the Burrian Code to the Post-Office and other Federal offices at the city of New York. These first twelve years of the trial of the spoils system make its practical effects in a Federal office plain enough, surely. A few paragraphs will suffice to present as clearly its broader theories and methods as they were developed in those years. This, then, may be accepted as the

REVISED BURRIAN CODE.

1. Politics is at once a game, a business and a series of campaigns; to be so conducted as to pay the leaders, the workers and the fighters.

2. The honors, the offices, the public employments, the political assessments, the profitable contracts—these are the spoils—the means of payment.

3. Personal merit is not to be wholly ignored nor public opinion needlessly affronted; but the wishes of the leaders must be accepted as the law of the party, and zeal and work for the party are qualifications for public service paramount to personal merit. The proper politics of a door-tender, a cart-man, a store-keeper, an office boy and a wash-woman are essential to their selection.

4. The leaders must govern secretly and absolutely, upon military principles like the Albany Regency, and according to the original Burrian Code. To refuse obedience to them or bolt, however bad a nomination, is treason to the party, which must be punished.

5. Patriotism, disinterested public opinion, and devotion to great principles as a duty, are suspicious and unreliable elements in politics—if ever they exist, and they are generally a cover for a deceiver or a *doctrinaire*. They are very dangerous to good party management and to favorite leaders. Selfishness and discipline are the forces of politics. Absolute obedience and the despotic rule of the majority, are the strength and salvation of a party.

6. The Regency at the State Capital and Tammany Hall at the metropolis for State affairs, and the Custom-House and Post-Office, such as they were made under Swartwout and Hoyt (minus the personal dishonesty of those men), exactly answer the needs of a great party. They are entrenched camps against the opposite party, asylums and armories for the party in power, and inexhaustible sources of revenue and profit for its leaders and its treasury. But this was not enough.

7. The leaders must hold the gates of the primaries,—that is, must fix the conditions on which any member of the party can get into the circle of influence or vote for party delegates, municipal, State or national. The primaries must not be open to all those who support the principles of the party (as in other States), but only be open to those who pledge themselves to obey the leaders, to support every nomination, good and bad, and to follow all instructions of the majority. *Those thus pledged are the party* and the only ones entitled to share the profits and the offices.

such can be relied on to obey the leaders. None outside are entitled to respect.*

8. The public money must not be embezzled. It cannot properly even be used for party purposes; but the power of appointment, employment, removal and dismissal may be; and so may the power to fix salaries, to make promotions, to award contracts, to give permits for public work, to grant exemptions from ordinances, and to bestow official favors of all sorts. These are a part of the spoils of victory. So also is the power to exact payments as a condition of party nominations, and above all, and more profitable than all, the vast power of levying exactions upon every person in the public service, on pain of ejection. This power may be annually made to fill the party treasury. All these powers are a part of official and partisan patronage, with which law and morality may not interfere.

9. With such authority and income, a party may go a great way in defiance of public opinion. It has honors for the aspiring, authority for the ambitious, profits for the mercenary, money to pay its expenses, dismissal and exclusion from the muster roll of party membership for those who dare say what they think or expose what they know to be wrong.

10. Clerks and small officers, though bound to work for the Government, are also bound not only to work for the party but to pay to it the partisan taxes it chooses to impose. They are not allowed to serve the people equally and justly at all times, irrespective of political opinions, but on pain of removal must, as far as the criminal law will permit, make every official act bribe or coerce a vote and bring dollars to the patronage-mongers or the party that gave them their places.

11. All attempts, therefore, to compel the use of official authority only for public purposes; all attempts to put persons into the service merely because they are the most worthy; all attempts to put them in without the consent of the party managers or the members of Congress; all attempts to impartially test their fitness

* It would take too much space to illustrate historically the New York theory of managing primaries and admitting members to parties. There is nothing more unique or degrading in our politics than this primary system. Tammany Hall originated and has always enforced this theory, without the profits and power of which it could not survive a year.

by examinations, are utterly Utopian and *doctrinaire*—gross invasions of the discretion of officials and of the rights of parties.

Swartwout and Hoyt, in faithfully applying this "Revised Burrian Code," added to it that taint of personal corruption to which it powerfully tends. But it has been such a system which has made the long-continued supremacy of Tammany Hall possible. It has been on that theory that its managers have collected millions from assessments upon city clerks and laborers, and have made vast fortunes during a whole generation from awarding permits, franchises and fraudulent contracts. It has been due to that system that so many places have been made sinecures in New York, that henchmen may be provided for, and that salaries have been made high in order that they may bear party assessments. The Custom-House clerks expressed the spirit of that system when they told the Congressional committee that they were the servants of the collector and not of the nation. Barnard affirmed this theory on his impeachment before the State Senate, when he said, "This is my court. I have won this office; this patronage is mine." And he and his fellow plunderers always acted upon it.

This revised Burrian spoils system and a generation of politicians demoralized by its corruption were inherited by the Republican party. That party has cut away some of its grosser parts, but it has not overthrown the system. New York politicians have steadily opposed every effort in that direction. Some of them have even lately attempted, but in vain, to reinstate its more tyrannical methods in national politics. The action of the Chicago Convention, for example, arrested the attempt to enforce despotic instructions from a majority of a State convention—an attempt in the very spirit of that system. The absolute control of all Federal patronage at New York, by the members of Congress from the State, it hardly need be said, is equally an essential part of the Burrian Code. Indeed, for State officials to refuse allegiance to the national administration of the party, because it would not surrender to the spoils system of the State, is in direct conformity with the thirteenth maxim of the original code, as sketched by Mr. Parton, years before the country had ever witnessed such a spectacle. To question that control, is to confront the system and arouse the hostility of its managers.

These manifestations make it plain enough that the problem

with which an Administration has to deal in connection with the politics of New York is not merely local but national.

Such is the issue which the present system of competitive examinations at New York really makes between the old New York spoils system and that merit system,—inaugurated and allowed to be superseded by President Grant,—which has been revived and put in force there by President Hayes.

But before we proceed to a comparison of the new system with the old, it will be useful to see what has been the effect of the old system since the days of Swartwout and Hoyt. If it has been proved capable of reform, it may perhaps be safe to preserve it.

It hardly need be pointed out to any one who will look into the primary methods, how natural, it was that, taken in connection with the other parts of the system, they should create a sort of party within a party,—a band of confederated politicians and managers who might represent the working force, without comprehending the better moral tone or the higher sentiments of the party. The Federal officials, in a city where two-thirds of the national revenue is collected, and three-fourths of the foreign and the largest domestic meats are handled, could readily be made to supply an adequate body of obedient party-workers for all occasions.

Political assessments levied upon the thousands of officials and employés were sure to fill the party treasury. This has been an indirect way of compelling the national treasury, and the Federal officials to do the work and supply the funds for carrying on the politics of a single State. It would be useless to compute the years of official time, and hundreds of thousands of dollars from official salaries, which have added mischievous intensity to the local politics of New York, and arrogant independence to their managers since the Administration of Jackson.

Had the successors of Swartwout and Hoyt been personally as corrupt as those officials, the wrath of the people would long since have overthrown the system. Without being personally corrupt, they have generally been the adroit manipulating partisans which the system both produces and requires. From Swartwout to the present collector, there was not one who was experienced in the business of his office, or one who was not selected for political reasons. The primary needs of the merchants, and the great interests of national commerce; have been constantly surrendered to the de-

mands of party. For whoever will candidly consider the duties of the collector, must admit that the less he is a politician, the more certain he is to be just and efficient in the Custom-House. He only needs honesty and administrative capacity. His duties have no more to do with party politics than have the duties of the Commodore at the Navy Yard, or the Colonel at the Harbor Forts. He has no more need, and morally no more right, than they to interfere with local politics. These facts have been utterly disregarded. Despotism removals and appointments for mere partisan reasons, and merciless and arbitrary assessments, at the will and for the use of party managers, have been continued. As a result, the true ideal of official duty and the wholesome sense of personal and official manhood have been impaired.

Let a few facts attest.

Mr. Schell was collector from 1858 to 1861 inclusive. He had no experience in Custom-House affairs, and no special qualifications; but he was an intense Democratic partisan from Tammany Hall. In four years he removed 389 out of the 690 officials under him. This was not even to gratify a party, but to reward and revenge a mere faction of a party; for Schell succeeded a Democrat.

Mr. Barney, a Republican lawyer, was collector for the three and a half years after Schell, and he removed 525 out of 702 officials in his office. He was, perhaps, as good a collector as the system would allow him to be—far better than the system itself. But he could not withstand the system, though he brought in a better class of men than he found.

Mr. Draper, a Republican partisan, without any special qualifications for the office, succeeded Barney in 1864, holding his office one year, within which he made 117 removals, being almost exactly one every third day, Sundays included.

Mr. Smythe, a schemer and a Republican partisan, took office in 1866 and remained for three years. His career of proscription and partisan revenge was analogous to that of Schell. For, yielding to the demands of a mere faction of the Republican party, he removed 830 out of 903 Custom House officials; being at the rate of three decapitations every four days of his term, including Sundays!

Mr. Grinnell succeeded Smythe in 1869, which gave the other Republican faction a chance to retaliate at the national expense,

510 Custom House officials out of 892 falling in a merciless proscription continued during the sixteen months he held office. This required an *official execution every day of his term, with thirty extras left for Sundays!* Mr. Grinnell had been a distinguished merchant. No proof of the pernicious spoils system can be more striking than the fact that such a man could disregard every business consideration, and the highest duty of official life, by thus doing the servile work of partisan proscription. But he was always an intense partisan, which, perhaps, made his appointment possible.

Mr. Murphy became Grinnell's successor in 1870. No collector was ever more destitute of fit qualifications for the office, but he was identified with a faction of Republicans which was in favor at Washington. He observed the Burrian Code not less of his own motion than at the demand of his faction, making 338 removals, or three every five days during the eighteen months that his scandalous administration was tolerated. Like those of a majority of his predecessors, the scandals of Murphy's term brought a committee of investigation from Washington.

Thus, in the period of five years, or 1565 secular days next preceding the appointment of Collector Arthur in 1871, there had been 1678 removals in the New York Custom House—*more than at the rate of one for every day. The aggregate was very nearly equal to a removal of every official twice in that time.* Every twenty-four hours, for five years together, a sentence, an execution, another partisan novice on the pay-rolls, for the good of the party at the Custom-House! Will posterity believe it? In the Post-Office, and other Federal offices, it had been much the same. I believe these removals are more numerous than all that were made among the officials serving in all the Departments at Washington within the same period!

It requires official experience, or a very vivid imagination, to grasp the consequences. To one not blinded by familiarity or party zeal, such facts would sound more like a travesty on the rights of commerce and the character of republican institutions, than real events among an intelligent people upholding government for their own benefit. A collector who would surrender to so proscriptive a system certainly would not much consider merit in his appointments, if he were allowed to do so. But he has no liberty of

choice. If there be not a corrupt bargain or pledge beforehand, there is a bustle and a wrangle over every appointment, if only of a drayman, a door-keeper, or a chimney-sweep. The leader of every district primary, the party managers in every city ward, the patronage-mongers in every county of the State, if not in every State of the Union, clamor and threaten for their share. Governors, judges, members of Congress, members of the Legislature, mayors, city commissioners, great politicians having henchmen and dependents, and even police captains, detectives and grog-shop keepers, supplicate or bully by letter, if not in person, for places of every grade. Appeals on the basis of sympathy, warnings from party organizations, promises of votes and threatenings of their loss, are also among the conflicting elements to be balanced and satisfied in deciding as to who shall be the victim of each of those daily removals, and who from among crowds of applicants thus backed and pushed for his place, shall be his successor. Each case causes a great battle.

General Garfield, speaking of the same system at Washington, stated in the *Atlantic Monthly* for July, 1877, that "*one-third* of the working hours of Senators and Representatives is hardly sufficient to meet the demands made upon them in reference to appointments to office." He further declared that this system "invades the independence of the Executive, and makes him less responsible for his appointments, and degrades the civil service itself." But there is no member of Congress who has been harassed by anything like the number of contests about removals which torment a collector or even a postmaster in New York, nor were the official abuses at Washington nearly as great as at the city of New York during the last decade.

It is too obvious for explanation that a tenure so servile and precarious, with a liability to arbitrary political assessments without a chance of redress, has been most unfavorable to high character and capacity reaching the public service as well as to manly effort and ambition for rising in that service. On the other hand, these causes have strongly tended to increase salaries, to screen inefficiency and neglect, to crowd the service with supernumeraries, idlers, and dullards. When General Garfield said in a speech in Congress a few years ago, "I believe that we can, at almost half the present cost, manage all these departments better than they are now man-

aged, if we adopt a judicious system of civil service;" and when Governor Cornell, speaking of city officers, stated, in his annual message of the present year, "It is my deliberate opinion that if one-third of the officials of New York and Brooklyn were mustered out and their duties properly distributed among the remainder, the public would be better served than at present,"—I must think they furnish the fittest illustrations of the inevitable effects of the old New York spoils system, whether tolerated in national or municipal affairs.

I need not inquire what use was made of the vast sums—probably from \$30,000 to \$60,000 annually—which was annually levied upon Federal money disbursed in salaries, wages, and payments under contracts at the city of New York. I need not compute how many henchman and favorites were paid by the Government to do little more than partisan work, which had far better been left undone. I need not delay over the humiliating facts disclosed by the various Congressional investigations of the collectorships of Smythe and Murphy. To quote the statement of one committee, that, under Smythe, there was \$5,000 "political" out of one corrupt contract, and \$10,000 "political" out of another, or those of another committee, that Murphy's idea of the Custom-House "was that it was a political machine, to be run in the interest of the party," and that he treated "official patronage in the Custom-House as so much merchandise, to be sold in the interest of his party," would only show that the old system had not lost its spirit or its power.

It would be more to the purpose to remember that such doings did not strengthen the Republican party or hold New York as a Republican State. It only widened the breach between what was most disinterested and patriotic and what was most venal and servile in its membership. It increased the facility of disgraceful bargains with Tammany Hall and all that was most corrupt in the Democratic party. In 1870, while Murphy was thus using patronage, the Democrats re-elected their Governor by a great majority.

But other consequences of this despotic and piratical use of official authority must not be overlooked. Subordinates, left unprotected against arbitrary exactions from their salaries—which they saw used by scheming politicians without audit or responsibility—naturally distrusted the justice and the honor of their superiors and of the Government itself.

They retaliated in neglect of duty, through which vast amounts of revenue were lost, and in extortions from merchants, through which Custom-House morals were debauched. Men who reached the Custom-House through intrigues, solicitations or coercions, which it would disgrace them to expose, brought to it a standard of duty as low as was their own estimate of a public service thus recruited. When once in that service, the feeling that no possible fidelity or efficiency could save them from the axe of the executioner—the belief that no merit of their own would give them promotion over a strongly backed but inferior partisan rival, equally tended to degrade themselves and the Government in their own estimation. The higher type of men, who under a merit system of office would be proud to enter the public service, turned in disgust from an office which took them from private employment only to make them henchmen of a faction and to leave them every moment exposed to a causeless expulsion which would imply a disgrace. No one could feel sure any morning that the inevitable victim of the day might not be himself. The system and the fate of his fellows told him that the most hopeful means of safety were to become an active worker, intriguer and servant of the great official or demagogue who gave him his place, and who would thus be made more interested to keep him in it. In this way, officials paid to serve the public alone were forced, in self-protection, not so much to become active politicians in aid of their party as to become the henchmen of patronage-mongers and partisan manipulators. This, I suppose, is what General Garfield meant when he said, the system “degrades the civil service itself.”

The community which saw the appointing power converted to the private use of politicians, and at the Custom-House not a body of experienced and impartial officers most interested in the public business, but a band of partisan soldiers with whom politics were made paramount, learned to despise official life, if not to distrust republican institutions.

While these statements but faintly present the general effects of the spoils system as late as 1870, it is yet true that there were many worthy persons and efficient administrators at all times in the Custom-House. In spite of the system, these officials were retained as a business necessity—some of them for many years. Even the worst despots need and retain some good officers. Even the worst sys-

tem fails to exclude all the best applicants for office. True, as it is, as a rule, that persons are pressed upon the public service with a vigor proportioned to their natural incapacity for private business, there are yet exceptional cases of the capable being secured through influence and favor.

It was in the presence of such effects from the spoils system in the state of its origin, and of consequences from it only less disastrous at Washington, that President Grant declared, in his annual message of December, 1870, that "the present system does not secure the best men, and often not even fit now, for the public places. The elevation and purification of the civil service of the Government will be hailed with approval by the whole people of the United States." This was the first step in the new policy of reform in the civil service. Under that policy Mr. Murphy soon gave place to Mr. Arthur; as Mr. Arthur, at a later period, gave place to the present collector.

CHAPTER II.

THE ATTEMPT OF PRESIDENT GRANT TO REFORM THE SPOILS SYSTEM AT NEW YORK.

So far as the Federal officers at the city of New York are concerned, I have sketched the abuses which forced President Grant to appeal to Congress, in 1870, for aid in reforming the Civil Service. That appeal secured the law of March 3d, 1871, under which he appointed a *Civil Service Commission*. The Civil Service Rules framed by that commission and approved by President Grant, and the open competitive examinations for which these rules provided, went into effect January 1st, 1872. It would be irrelevant to set forth their history and effects further than they bear upon questions covering the Federal offices at New York. A few words stating general results will suffice. The essential incompatibility of the new system with the old spoils system soon became manifest at Washington. Congressional and partisan patronage were being rapidly limited by the enforcement of the new system. Young men and women of merit, who were not servile partisans, were more and more winning their way to the public service, limited and defective as was the enforcement of the new methods. They did

not as readily as partisan henchmen come under discipline, or as promptly yield to extortionate demands for percentages upon salaries. The partisan managers had less money to spend and fewer servile workers to command. New York politicians were especially hostile to the new system. After two years of experience, Congress refused to vote the few thousands needed to carry on the work of reform—say \$25,000 a year. This Congressional suppression of a reform to which the dominant party was pledged was prudently made without a debate or a record of the votes. Not even an attempt was made to show that the experiment was not salutary in its influence.

President Grant repeatedly, in annual and special messages, urged appropriations for carrying forward the new system. He assured Congress over and over again in these messages, that its effects were beneficial to the public service, and that its suppression would be a public misfortune. He represented to Congress that the new system had at Washington “given persons of superior character and capacity to the service,” “had developed more energy in the discharge of duty, had diminished unreasonable solicitation and preference, and allowed the heads of departments more time for their duties and more liberty for dismissing unworthy officials.” In April, 1874, he sent to Congress a special message fully setting forth these salutary effects. In that special message he says the rules can “be so improved and enforced as to still more materially benefit the public service, and relieve the Executive, members of Congress, and the heads of departments, from influences prejudicial to good administration.” He concludes with again asking an appropriation of \$25,000, essential for their enforcement during the next year. In his very last message on the subject, he reiterates his conviction, by again repeating that the rules have tended “to the elevation of the service.” He also gives emphasis to the divergence between Congress and the Executive, by declaring that to himself and to those associated with him in enforcing the rules, their suppression by Congress “will be a source of *mortification*.”

This is no place to consider the primary causes or the responsibility for that suppression. But Congress at least is far more largely accountable than the Executive. So far as I know, its motives have never been laid before the people. We can now better understand the results at New York City.

The Civil Service Rules and competitive examinations under them went into effect there in 1872. It may be regarded as nearly impossible to enforce a new system completely at first, even under favoring circumstances, and absolutely so in the partisan atmosphere of that city. The party managers there were of course intensely hostile. The period of Collector Arthur's administration could at most be only one of gradual transition from a spoils system to a merit system. The men he must employ to carry the rules into effect were reared under the spoils system, if not fully in its spirit. They were naturally distrustful of new methods; and to support them might at once involve social ostracism among their fellows if not a loss of their places very soon. There is no need to give details. Between partisan officials, State and national, in hostile array—forced to pursue a course between colliding systems—the situation of Collector Arthur was most difficult. Though he brought to his office an unstained reputation and better administrative ability than most of his predecessors, he was a lawyer without the special experience needed for its duties.

Limited and imperfect as was the application of the rules and the enforcement of open competition, the natural effects of the new system in arresting partisan removals appear at once. Collector Arthur made only 144 removals in his official term of five years and four months, as against 1678 removals made in the five years immediately previous. The collector educated under the old system was not beyond its influence. He was, therefore, by no means wholly in the spirit of the new methods. I am not able to make any useful discrimination as to the extent to which the recognized improvements in Custom-House administration under Collector Arthur were due to the collector or the new system. It is enough that Collector Arthur himself and the other Federal officers have given decisive testimony to the good effect of that system. In an official report sent by President Grant to Congress, in April, 1874, he includes extracts from the reports of the Federal officers at New York. In those reports the Appraiser says, "efficiency in the Civil Service is greatly promoted by an examination of all applicants, and he points out how increased zeal and fidelity to the interests of the Government have been secured by a faithful adherence to the principles of the Civil Service rules." The Naval Officer states "that the Civil Service rules have been adhered to, and that

the examinations which have been had have resulted favorably." Collector Arthur says that "no one in any degree acquainted with the necessities of the customs service can doubt the propriety of some kind of examination for admission to it." The examinations which had before taken place "had become, in a great measure, formal and perfunctory." "There can be no doubt that the increased strictness required by the new system has in this respect been beneficial. *It has excluded many unfit persons, and deterred a much larger number from applying.*" So far as relates to promotions, the new system has secured that technical knowledge desirable, "and in this respect the result has been beneficial." Despite certain defects incident to a first trial, he says that as a whole the change in regard to promotions "has been of *inestimable* value." Speaking of promotions for merit, he says: "Every man has seen an inducement to a closer attention to his duties and a careful cultivation of the qualities referred to."

The circumstances seem to forbid that such estimates of the new system on the part of Collector Arthur should be too favorable; and when we consider how unwelcome they must have been to the hostile chieftains and the spoilsmen, who were a great power in the politics of New York, we must see that it required no ordinary courage and sense of duty to thus publicly declare them.

On the 31st of August, 1874, President Grant further expressed his view of the effects of the experiment at New York, by issuing the following order:

EXECUTIVE ORDER, NO. 4.

"It appearing to me, from their trial at Washington and at the city of New York, that the further extension of the Civil Service Rules will promote the efficiency of the public service, it is ordered that such rules be and they are hereby extended to the several Federal offices at the city and in the Custom-House district of Boston, and that the proper measures be taken for carrying this order into effect."

(Signed)

"U. S. GRANT."

The obstruction of Congress prevented the order being executed—and, as a consequence, Collector Simmons had his way in the Boston Custom-House.

If the facts were relevant, it would be easy to point out various improvements made by Collector Arthur, in themselves by no

means complete, yet significant and highly creditable in view of the arrogant and long-continued supremacy of that spoils system and its managers with which he had to contend. Removing only 114 of the old incompetents and favorites, he had to increase the officials in office from 923 to 1011, in order to get more good men for the public work. These new men so increased the efficiency of the service, however, that Collector Arthur found himself at length able to advise a twelve per cent. reduction of his force before the Jay Commission was appointed.

His views of official duty were obviously far above the theory of the Burrian Code. Indeed, in a letter to the Secretary of the Treasury, dated November 23, 1877, Collector Arthur declares that "permanence* in office, which, of course, prevents removals except for cause," and "promotions . . . based upon good conduct and efficiency," are "essential elements of correct Civil Service." He further asserts that "*Civil Service Reform* has been more faithfully observed and thoroughly carried out in the New York Custom-House" than "in any other branch of the Government," meaning, of course, under his administration.

There can be no question of motive or patriotic ambition. But how could any collector, with more than a thousand subordinates familiarized to the old system—a great portion of them henchmen of great officials, or favorites of Murphy or of those who made him collector—find out all that was done or neglected by such subordinates? At any rate, a writer who has carefully studied the situation, just before the Jay Commission was appointed in 1877, thus estimates it:†

"If we turn to Collector Arthur, we . . . find some improvement on the old order of things, but much which is a continuation of it. . . . Here we read the old story of political assessments; that one man for the last year paid sums amounting to \$100, \$200,

* I must think this theory of permanence in office goes quite beyond the views of those commonly called Civil Service Reformers. I understand them to hold that the term, in the various grades of office, should be one that will secure adequate experience in such offices without retaining officials when too old to be efficient. It may need to be quite different in different offices. It will of course exclude removals without good cause and all partisan proscription. As a nation, we shall need experience—after partisan and spoils system removals are at an end—before we can decide what length of official term is best, if there be no special cause for a removal. A right to remove for incapacity is essential.

† See *New Englander*, October, 1877, p. 794.

and \$300; that he contributed \$300 to the Connecticut political fund; that, under the present system, the officers who are appointed through political influence are expected to make their offices contribute to the support of the party, . . . and that most of the officials thus assessed accede to the demand; some of them *repairing their diminished salaries by exacting or accepting from the merchants unlawful gratuities*. Here we read of clerks receiving three or four hundred dollars besides their salaries; of weighers who are never seen on the docks, while their assistants come late, leave early, and read the papers; of men who are deficient in a proper attention to business as well as in business qualifications and character. . . .”

There were strong reasons for believing that the numbers on the official pay rolls at New York were excessive; that not a few officials were incompetent; that salaries and wages were too high; that the administrative organization there was complicated and inconvenient; that fraud and smuggling were considerable, and, especially, that it was almost impossible for the collector at that time to carry forward successfully the reforms which the service needed—so incompatible were they with the old methods and commitments of partisan politics.

A far more radical reform of the old system, or rather a new system, seemed to be needed. Officers actively engaged in party management and committed in a thousand ways to the politicians whom a more thorough reform would offend, however clear of personal corruption those officers were conceded to be, were not the most fit persons to carry forward such a work. That work is difficult enough when those who are to lead are affected by no pledges or theories which are repugnant to its spirit. Hence, the changes made in the Federal offices at New York in 1878.

The question presented was not personal, nor did it grow out of any caprice of an Administration. It was only the same old issue—pressed upon every Administration since that of Jackson,—whether the Federal offices at the city of New York are to be made rich in spoils for the benefit of the politicians of the State or are to be managed in the interest of commerce and of the nation—whether the greater power over them and over those who serve in them is the President, whom the whole people have elected, or the men who represent the spoils system of New York in Congress.

"The Custom-House should be a business office. . . . They have made it a centre of partisan, political management. For a long period of time it has been used to manage and control political affairs. Its management is not a matter of local interest merely, but is of great importance to the people of the whole country."* The people desire it to be administered solely with a view to the public interest. Such were the views of the President. He felt it to be a duty to meet the just wishes of the people. A more thorough and effective reform was therefore undertaken.

But before finally deciding that a new system was indispensable, the President, in 1877, appointed a commission of investigation, known as the *Jay Commission*,† which made thorough and interesting reports during that year, upon Custom-House administration at New York. These reports enabled the reform policy to be matured in the full light of the facts.

DORMAN B. EATON.

PUNCH AND THE PUPPETS.

PUNCH is a universality, and of remote and indisputable antiquity. He is found in so many countries, and at such distant periods of time, that it is impossible to say when or where he had his origin. He is as popular in Egypt, Syria and Turkey as ever he was in Naples, Rome or London. Under the name of *Karagusc*, or Black Snout, he has amused and edified the grave-bearded citizens of Cairo and Constantinople for many an age. Some living traces of him have been found in Nubia, and in other countries far above the cataracts of the Nile; while types or symbols of him have, according to some interpretations, been discovered among the hieroglyphics of the ancient Egyptians. He was popular in Algiers ages before the French went to conquer that country. The

* President Hayes's message of January 31, 1879. This document is the best statement of the reasons which made a further reform a duty of the President.

† This commission consisted of the Hon. John Jay, chairman; Mr. Lawrence Turnure, of New York, and Mr. J. H. Robinson, of the Treasury Department, Washington. They devoted much time and intelligence to the work, and exhibited courage and persistence in reaching the deeper causes of abuses. Far more independent of party bias and without commitments by patronage, these reports are much more incisive and useful than most of those made by Congressional committees. The commission rendered a great public service.

children of the wandering Arabs know him and cherish him. He is quite at home among the lively Persians, and, beyond the Red Sea, the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean, *Karaguse*, or Black Snout, is found slightly travestied in Hindostan, Siam and Pegu, Ava and Cochin China, China Proper, and Japan. The Tartars behind the great walls of China are not unacquainted with him, nor are the Kamtschatkans. Not many years since, he was discovered leading an uncomfortable life among some of the Afghan tribes, to whom, no doubt, he had been introduced by the Persians.

Some of the learned have thought that Punch and the whole family of *burattini*, or puppets, were originally introduced into Europe from the East at the time of the Crusades; but their hypothesis seems to be deficient in any really solid foundation on fact. Others, perplexed with the difficulty of his genealogy, have supposed that Punch must have had several fathers, or several distinct origins, at different times, and in different parts of the world; and as Punch is made up of the stuff which is found wherever man is, this seems to be a good theory. Yet, to treat of him only in his European existence, he is rather a mysterious character.

Capponi and other erudite Italian authors consider him as the lineal representative of the Atellan *farceurs*, who amused the people of Campania, and the citizens of Rome, as far back as the time of the Tarquins. These Atellan *farceurs* were Oscans, and took their name from the town of Atella, which stood where the village of Sant' Elpidio now stands, about two miles southeast of the modern town of Aversa, and only some seven miles from the city of Naples, the headquarters of *Policinella*,—*Anglicè*, Punch. The Italian antiquaries found a convincing resemblance between *Policinella's* master and a little figure in bronze, with a beak or chicken-nose to its face, which was discovered at Rome; and from this chicken-nose they derive Punch's Neapolitan name, *pullus*, signifying a chicken; *pullicinus*, a little chicken, etc. Another bronze figure, with the same nose or beak, was discovered about forty years since, among the bronzes dug up at Herculaneum; and in the ancient guard room at Pompeii (before parts of the stucco were broken and purloined by shameless travellers), there was a figure drawn upon the wall by some idle Roman soldier, which closely resembled the modern Neapolitan Punch, not only in features, but also in costume and gesture; and this rude, but no doubt faithful,

delineation had been buried for sixteen centuries under the scoriæ, pumice, ashes and cinders of Vesuvius, before it was restored to light.

The *Atellanæ Fabulæ*, or *Ludi Osci*, (the Atellan or Oscan farces,) were anterior to any Roman or Italian stage. They were played upon planks and trestles,—their theatre not being unlike that of the modern *ciarlatano*, or mountebank. The actors spoke their own Oscan dialect, even as *Policinella* always speaks the Neapolitan *patois*. One of their never-failing characters was *Macchus*,—a clown or buffoon,—who made merry with everybody and everything, and who, it is supposed, wore a mask exactly like that of the Neapolitan Punch of our day. But there were, indisputably, other and better family resemblances and points, in which the most ancient Oscan *Macchus* claims affinity with the true Punch of all ages and countries (excepting only the English Punch when engaged in his conjugal differences). The old Oscan had a natural elegance and an unfathomable store of good nature. He had no envy or malice; he loved those he made sport of; and in his most satirical allusions his object was to excite joyous and innocent laughter, and not to rouse feeling of hatred or contempt. Hence, in the most high and palmy state of Rome, he and his Oscan farces were admired by all classes of the community. Livy laid down the pen of history to listen to his drollery; Cicero paused to hear him as he went to or returned from the Forum; and critics of refined taste applauded his jests. Even Sylla, or Sulla, that mighty and terrible dictator, was said, at one time of his life, to have written Atellan farces for the Oscan Punch to play in. Throughout the period of the Empire, or, at least, from the time of the Emperor Augustus down to that of the last of the Cæsars, these *Ludi Osci* enjoyed an undisturbed popularity. Like other good things, they were eclipsed or trodden under foot in the anarchy and barbarism which followed. Some think that they were entirely destroyed, together with every memory of their having once existed; but this is at least problematical. We rather lean to the opinion of those who maintain that, like the Lama in Thibet, Punch, within Naples and its vicinity, was the great “undying one,” and look upon the story as told by Galiani, in his *Vocabulary of the Neapolitan Dialect*, as upon a mere revival. The story reads thus: “Once upon a time,—it was a very long time ago,—a company of strolling comedians chanced to ar-

rive at the town of Acerra, near Naples, in the vintage season, at which season, even more than at Carnival-time, the country people are allowed all the liberty and license of the ancient *Saturnalia*. They daub and stain themselves with the wine-lees, put wreaths or garlands on their heads, dress a young man as Bacchus, and an old one as Silenus, give full play to their lungs and tongues, and play nearly all the Pagan pranks that were performed by their ancestors or predecessors of the soil, at the same joyous season two thousand years ago. Whomsoever they see, they approach with songs and jests. Judge, therefore, how the vintagers gathered round the strolling players, with their jokes and vociferations. The universal rule is that everybody must either pay a fine or cap the jests. The comedians, being jest-makers by profession and poor by destiny, tried the latter course, but were beaten and silenced. One of the vintagers, named Puccio d'Aniello, remarkable for a very queer nose, and for an appearance altogether grotesque, was the most prominent and witty of all his band, and it was his torrents of drollery and fancy that drove the poor players out of the field. Reflecting on this occurrence professionally," so goes Galiani's story, "the comedians thought that a character like that of their antagonist, Puccio d'Aniello, might prove very attractive on the stage; and, going back to the vintager, they proposed an engagement to him, which he accepted. The engagement proved profitable to both parties; and wherever they acted, whether in the capital or in the provincial towns, Puccio d'Aniello drew crowded houses. After the death of Puccio, his place was filled by a competent and in every way worthy successor, who assumed his name, liquefied into *Policinella* (the strictly correct designation in the Neapolitan dialect), and also his manner and costume; and not having the same natural nose, he perpetuated that feature of the famous vintager by wearing a mask for the upper part of the face, upon which Puccio's nose was most truthfully represented. By degrees, personifications of the original Puccio d'Aniello were multiplied throughout the Kingdom; and the name and character of *Policinella* became immortal."

This is the whole of Galiani's story; and a very good story it is. But the intelligent reader will see, and bear in mind, that Acerra, the birth-place of Puccio, lies in the Oscan territory, and a very little distance from Atella, the native home of *Macchus* and the

Ludi Osci. He will also remember the antique bronze figures, with their typical noses, and the delineations on the wall of the guard-house at Pompeii, as well as the good etymology, which derives the name from the hooked nose or beak. Moreover, it remains to be mentioned that, although *Policinellas* were multiplied after the death of Puccio d'Aniello, and have been multiplied in all succeeding ages, there has never been more than one true and real *Policinella* living at one given time, while there has never been any time since the obscuration of Puccio, without its one real and super-excellent *Policinella*. The Neapolitans no more expect two at a time than they expect two suns or two moons. Their one Punch has his temple in Naples; the rest that flit about in the provinces are pseudo-Punches, with nothing of the character, save the mask and dress. We say little; we never try to broach a theory or to build up a system; but we think of that Lama in Thibet, who was born again young as soon as he died old, and of the perpetual rejuvenescence of Punch in this Oscan corner in Italy; and then—but a word to the wise is enough.

Many years since there were in Naples two *Policinellas*. The first was so admirable, so killingly droll, that it was thought impossible to supply his loss; but no sooner had he sickened and died than another *Policinella* sprang up, ready and perfect, and so like his predecessor that he might have passed for him, but for the misfortune and blemish of his having only one eye. The poor fellow could scarcely read, and yet his mind was a well-spring of wit and fun, and of the raciest and richest humor. Much of what he said on the stage was of his own invention, and was often delivered impromptu. He had always something to say on the event or predominant folly of the day, and most facetiously did he say it, in his broad, open-mouthed Neapolitan dialect, which is acknowledged to be the most happy of all vehicles for the conveyance of humor and of wit. One of the pieces in which he was very great was "*Le Novante-Nove Disgrazie di Policinella*" ("The Ninety-nine Misfortunes of Punch"). He was also very clever in "*L'Accademia dei Poeti*," where he revelled in sports and jests at the expense of the poets and sonneteers of the day, who, like the verse-makers of Horace's time, had an inveterate habit of stopping their acquaintances in the streets and public places, and there holding them fast while they recited, with loud voice and passionate gesticulations, their latest compositions.

All these farces were, from beginning to end, in the Neapolitan dialect, the drollest of the standing characters, next to Punch, being "*Il Biscegliese*" ("Man of Bisceglia") and "*Il Tartaglione*" ("The Stutterer"). The Biscegliese, who was a truly comic genius, and a native of Bisceglia, in the province of Apulia, where the modification of the national vernacular is exceedingly droll, represented a whole class, being that of the Apulian townfolks. The Stammerer or Stutterer was always dressed as a provincial lawyer or notary, and his fun consisted chiefly in the strange way in which he dislocated his words and sentences. As *Policinella* was always *Policinella*, so was the *Biscegliese* always the *Biscegliese*, and the *Tartaglione* the *Tartaglione*. They never played any other parts; but the pieces in which these standing characters were introduced varied in plot and incident; and while some of them were new, others boasted a very respectable antiquity. This truly national theatre (as the reader who has visited Naples will remember,) was near the famous San Carlo Opera House, on one side of the Largo del Castello (Castle Square). It was called San Carlino, or Little San Carlo; and little it really was, and far from being splendid in its accessories and appointments. The boxes were on a level with the street, but to get to the pit it was necessary to descend some thirty feet into the bowels of the earth, and to dive down a steep stairway, not unlike that by which Roderick Random and the faithful Strap dived for their dinner. The price of admission was very small,—about twenty-five cents for a seat in the boxes, and twelve cents for a seat in the pit. Everywhere there is a "fashionable world," and a set of superfine people who deprive themselves of much racy and innocent amusement from a notion that it is not genteel or "good form." Little San Carlo was rarely visited, except by the second and third-rate classes of citizens; for the native fashionables considered it as "low," and very few foreigners ever acquired a sufficient knowledge of the *patois* to enjoy and fully understand these rich Neapolitan farces and the perennial wit and humor of our friend Punch. But later on, this absurd prejudice appeared to decline, for a few young men, who had wit as well as high birth, seemed to appreciate the genius of that living *Policinella*, and made the little cellar almost fashionable. Many, indeed, often strolled away from the San Carlo Opera House, to enjoy a little homely nature and fun in San Carlino. As in every

other theatre in Naples, there is always present a commissary of police, to preserve order and decorum, and to check any too free use of the tongue on the stage. This representative of the law, and of majesty itself, wears a blue coat embroidered with silver, and is seated in a stage box, on a high-backed chair covered with crimson velvet, behind him being two large wax candles, lighted, and the royal arms painted upon an escutcheon. But not all this official splendor represses the hilarity, or stifles the roguish impromptus of Punch; and often the starch-visaged commissary, after some vain attempts to maintain his dignity, holds his sides and joins in the universal roars of laughter, and this, too, even when *Signor Policinella* has gone beyond bounds, and alludes to subjects which are strictly tabooed. What Forsyth says in his book on the "Arts and Letters of Italy," of the Molo, and the Marionettes, and out-door Punch, might be more correctly applied to San Carlino: "This is a theatre where any stranger may study for nothing the manners of the people. At the theatre of San Carlo, the mind, as well as the man seems parted off from its fellows in an elbow chair. There all is regulation and silence; no applause, no censure, no object worthy of attention, except the fashionables and the fiddle. There is the drama; but what is a drama in Naples without Punch? or what is Punch out of Naples? There, in his native tongue, and among his own countrymen, Punch is a person of real power; he dresses up and retails all the drolleries of the day; he is the channel, and sometimes the source, of the passing opinions; he can inflict ridicule; he could gain a mob or keep the whole kingdom in a good humor. Such was De Fiori, the Aristophanes of his nation, immortal in buffoonery."

And now, having said something of Mr. Punch, and his genealogy and antics, the reader's attention is invited to his fellow performers,—the puppets,—known in Italy as *burattini* or *fantoccini*, and in France as *marionettes*. The *burattini* are more frequently seen in Italy than the magic lantern and other kindred exhibitions. Public opinion decided that there was more life and variety in the puppet-show. Some of the *burattini* played comedy, some tragedy and Scripture pieces; which last bore a close family resemblance to the old "Mysteries and Moralities" of the English stage. The death of Judas Iscariot was a favorite subject; and particular attention was paid to the hanging scene and to the last scene of all,

where little devils with horns and tails come to clutch the traitor and apostate :

“ Piombi quell' alma e l'infernal riviera,
 E si fè gran tremuoto in quel momento.”
 “ Down went the sinner, loaded with his crime,—
 Down to deep hell; and earthquakes mark'd the time!”

Even with the small box-puppets or *burattini*, playing in the streets in daylight, great effects have been produced upon the Roman populace and the country-people of the neighborhood; and critics have been heard debating the subject of the piece and the dramatic abilities of the puppets, with all the gravity and acumen of Partridge in “Tom Jones,” who loved a puppet-show, “of all the pastimes upon earth.” Much ingenuity is displayed by the ventriloquist and puppet manipulator inside the curtains, who not only moves the various figures and speaks for his *dramatis personæ*, but in many cases invents and extemporizes the dialogues put into their mouths. But far grander than these perambulatory exhibitions, are the plays performed within doors, in *fantoccini* theatres, or in large rooms, converted, for the time being, into establishments of that sort, and which exist in all the great cities in Italy. In these puppet theatres there is a regular stage, with curtain, foot-lights and other accessories—we were going to say scenes; but as the three unities of action, time and place are strictly adhered to, there is only one scene used for one play; and as, by a slight stretch of the imagination, this one scene, indistinct by age and long use, might be taken just as well for a church as for a castle, or for a forest as for a cave, or for anything else the representation required, this one scene served for all kinds of pieces, from the death of Cain to the exploits of Rinaldo or the misadventures of *Policinella*. But here, as was the case of Partridge's friend, the figures are as big as life, or nearly so, and the entire show is given with great solemnity. Some of our orators might study with advantage the striking attitudes into which these figures are pulled and twitched by the invisible movers of the wires; for here there is more than one Pygmalion to give life, motion and speech to the puppets, and the machinery is far more complicated and perfect than in the street shows. There is a story told of the owner of a puppet theatre in Naples, a very ingenious man and one that had a very high notion of his profession,—that, when very hard pressed, he could not

deny that a representation by living actors and actresses had some advantages over a representation given by dolls. "But," he said, "there is one decided advantage which I, as *impresario*, have over my rivals; *they* are always tormented by the wants, the caprices and rebellions of their company; but my little men and women of wood, wire and rags, never give me any such trouble; *they* are often made to suffer martyrdom by the intolerable tyranny of their *prima donna*, or of their chief tyrant, the *primo ameroso*; with them, it is always happening that this lady has got a cold and won't sing, that this gentlemen is in love or intoxicated, and can't act; and then the deadly jealousy about the distribution of parts, all of which often mar the best pieces! But *I* know none of these troubles. My company has no caprices, no jealousies, no tyranny, no wants, no colds; they never quarrel with me or among themselves, and, above all, they never ask me for money; they are never missing at play or rehearsal; and when they are done playing—*Paffati* (whack)! I throw them into my boxes and lock them up. Ministers of State, who manage kingdoms, have been put to it how to manage a royal company of actors and actresses. A child might manage my *fantoccini*."

In the Elizabethan age, when so much was brought from Italy to England to grace its literature and improve its arts, the *fantoccini*, if not then introduced for the first time, appear to have become quite popular at the British capital. Bartholomew Fair, in London, was where they shone most. Their plays were then called "motions." In one of his plays, Ben Jonson makes the Bartholomew Fair puppet-showman say—"Oh! the motions that I, Lanthorn Leatherhead, have given light to in my time, since my master Pod died! Jerusalem was a stately thing, and so was Nineveh, and the city of Norwich. . . . But the Gunpowder Plot,—there was a get-penny!" The same great personage also says—"Your home-born subjects prove ever the best,—they are so easy and familiar; they put too much learning in their things now-a-days!" Yet it would seem that Eastern and Scriptural subjects formed by far the greater part of the stock of these puppet plays. In another place, Ben Jonson names one puppet play which enjoyed a long run, and which he calls, "A New Motion of the City of Nineveh, with Jonah and the Whale." These tiny puppets evidently aspired to no higher fame than such as could be gotten from children and the

poorer people. But the larger puppets, the *fantoccini*, that were life-size or nearly so, were destined to obtain the admiration of the grown-up fashionable world and of full-grown royalty itself. Some Italian speculators of this last kind found their way to England in the time of Charles II. In the summer of 1662, Samuel Pepys saw the puppet plays in Covent Garden; and in the autumn of that year they were exhibited before King Charles and the court in Whitehall Palace. It was nearly at the same time that women were first introduced upon the English stage to perform the female parts, which had hitherto been done by boys and young men, the latter having always been clean-shaved before they assumed the dress of Desdemona or Ophelia, or of such other parts as they might have to render. But their near approach to real life did not affect the popularity of the wooden actors. The Italian puppet-shows took amazingly, and continued for years to be frequented by the entire fashionable world. With many, these shows even rivalled the Italian opera of that day; and Signor Nicolini Grimaldi, the great Neapolitan singer and actor, was often deserted for his wooden countryman *Policinella* and the other puppets that played tragedy and comedy.

About this time, or early in the eighteenth century, the puppet-show manager was not an Italian, but an Englishman named Powell, who has been handed down to the admiration of posterity in the *Tatler* and *Spectator*, and whose fame has been preserved in other enduring records. Powell, it appears, exhibited alternately in Covent Garden, London, and at a theatre of his own in the gay city of Bath. Steele and Addison—for both these eminent writers had a hand in the papers about Powell in the *Tatler*—are supposed to have typified, by the character and doings of the puppet-showman and his rivals, a fierce literary controversy between Hoadley and Blackall, Bishop of Exeter; but, read in their obvious sense, their descriptions are very amusing. All the women, they say, are gadding after the puppet-show, and Mr. Powell, speaking for his Punch, is bespattering people of honor, and saying things which ought not to be said. "I am credibly informed," says Steele, "that he makes a profane, lewd jester, whom he calls Punch, speak to the dishonor of Isaac Bickerstaff with great familiarity. . . . I think I need not say much to convince all the world that this Mr. Powell, for that is his name, is a pragmatical and vain per-

son. . . . But I would have him to know that I can look beyond his wires, and know very well the whole trick of his art; and that it is only by these wires that the eye of the spectator is cheated and hindered from seeing that there is a thread in one of Punch's chops, which draws it up and lets it fall at the discretion of the said Powell, who stands behind and plays him, and makes him speak saucily of his betters." In another place the *Tatler* speaks out still more plainly. "Mr. Powell," says the fictitious Bickerstaff, "was so disingenuous as to make one of his puppets (*I wish I knew which one of them it was,*) declare, by way of prologue, that one Isaac Bickerstaff, a pretended esquire, had written a scurrilous piece to the dishonor of that rank of men. . . . I do, therefore, solemnly declare, notwithstanding that I am a great lover of art and ingenuity, that if I hear he opens any of his people's mouths against me, I shall not fail to write a critique upon his whole performance; for I must confess that I have naturally so strong a desire of praise, that I cannot bear reproach, though it come from a piece of timber. As for Punch, who takes all opportunity of bespattering me, I know very well his origin, and have been assured by the joiner who put him together that he was long in dispute with himself whether he should turn him into several pegs and utensils, or make him the man he is. The same person confessed to me that he had once actually laid aside his head for a nut-cracker. As for his scolding wife, (Judy,) however she may value herself at present, it is very well known that she is but a piece of crab-tree. This artificer further whispered in my ear, that all his courtiers and nobles were taken out of a quickset hedge not far from Islington; and that Dr. Faustus himself, who is now so great a conjurer, is supposed to have learned his whole art from an old woman in that neighborhood, whom he long served in the figure of a broomstick."

Powell, and his drama of "Dr. Faustus," which is said to have been performed to crowded houses throughout two seasons, to the utter neglect of good plays and living players, do not escape the keen picture-satire of Hogarth. In one of his plates a great crowd is seen rushing into a doorway, over which Punch or a harlequin is pointing to the inscription, "Dr. Faustus is here;" behind the crowd a woman is wheeling a barrow and crying for sale as waste paper the works of Shakspeare, Ben Jonson, Otway, Dryden, Congreve, etc., with which the wheelbarrow is filled. In this picture,

Powell and his puppets appear as rivals to that famous mountebank and sleight-of-hand man, Faux or Fawkes, who has taken his post on the opposite side of the street, and is also drawing a crowd to see his performance, but it would appear that these two great luminaries sometimes shone in conjunction, and that the conjurer and the puppet-showman were occasionally close allies. In an advertisement and puff, which has scarcely been surpassed, even in the puffing age in which we live, it is said, "Whereas, the town hath been lately alarmed that the famous Fawkes was *robbed and murdered* returning from performing at the *Duchess of Buckingham's house at Chelsea*; which report being raised and printed by a person to gain money to himself, and prejudice the above-mentioned Mr. Fawkes, whose unparalleled performance has gained him so much applause from the greatest of quality, and most curious observers, we think, both in justice to the injured gentleman, and for the satisfaction of his admirers, that we cannot please our readers better than to acquaint them he is alive, and will not only perform his usual surprising dexterity of hand, posture-master, and musical clock, but for the greater diversion of the quality and gentry, has agreed with the famous Powell of the Bath, for the season, who has the largest, richest, and most natural figures and machines in England, and whose former performances in Covent Garden were so engaging to the town as to gain the approbation of the best judges, to show his puppet plays along with him, beginning at the Christmas holidays next, at the Old Tennis Court, in James Street, near the Haymarket." At one time, in the days of good Queen Anne, Powell placed his show under the piazzas of Covent Garden. The ancient under-sexton of St. Paul's Parish Church, Covent Garden, complained to the *Spectator* that he found his congregation now take the warning of the church bell, (which he had daily rung for twenty years, for morning and evening prayer,) as a summons to Powell's puppet-show under the piazzas, instead of a summons to church. "I have," says the poor bellman, "placed my son at the piazzas to acquaint the ladies that the bell rings for church, and that it stands on the other side of the garden, but they only laugh at the child. I desire you would lay this letter before all the world, that I may not be made such a tool for the future, and that Punchinello may choose hours less canonical. As things are now, Mr. Powell has a full congregation, while we have a very thin house."

Powell was an innovator, for while his contemporary puppet-show managers performed the "Old Creation of the World," and "Noah's Flood," after the fashion of the ancient "Mysteries and Moralities," Powell, the *Spectator* tells us, introduced a pig to dance a minuet with Punch, and that "Whittington and his Cat," as given by Powell's puppets, rivalled the popularity of the opera of "Rinaldo and Armida," as played and sung by flesh and blood Italians in the Haymarket. Powell, who was a cripple, made hay while the sun shone, and grew rich by exhibiting his shows before the taste for them waned. His friend and sometime coadjutor also made a large fortune. After a reign longer than that of most sovereigns, Punch and the puppets were compelled to abdicate the realms of Covent Garden and Saint James's, and retreat to obscurer regions.

The grown-up people of quality had renounced their allegiance, and after this revolution the puppet-show, however big the figures might be, was deemed an amusement fit only for children and poor people. It, however, took a long time to put down the puppet-theatres altogether. In the early part of the present century, two of these remained; and now the only remnant of these glories is to be found in the Punch and Judy shows of the London streets, and the little puppets that dance there upon a board, or that exhibit their pleasant antics in the booth of some country fair.

Partridge's friend, the puppet-showman, who was for the grand and serious, boasted that he had thrown out Punch and his wife Joan, and all such idle trumpery, together with a "great deal of low stuff that did very well to make folks laugh, but was never calculated to improve the morals of young people, which, he said, certainly ought to be aimed at in every puppet-show."

"It would by no means degrade the ingenuity of your profession," answered Jones; "but I should have been glad to have seen my old acquaintance, Master Punch, for all that; and so far from improving, I think that by leaving out him and his merry wife Joan, you have spoiled your show." But Master Punch and Mrs. Joan, or Judy, could not be left out long; the sympathies of the world were with them, and so they were brought back, and made to survive all the fine lords, kings, kaisers, queens, empresses, heroes and patriarchs that ever figured in the puppet-show; and, indeed, the dancing dolls being so insignificant, Punch may now be considered not only as the only genuine representative which

remains of the old English stage, but also as the only living representative of the puppet world. On the continent of Europe the case is somewhat different,—notably in France and Italy, for there the *marionette* and *fantoccini* theatres still exist, and other dramas are played in the streets besides Punch and Judy; yet even there Punch indisputably takes the foremost rank. On our shores the itinerant street Punch is almost unknown, though in our large cities he performs occasionally indoors, for the amusement of the young at children's parties. Probably the best exhibitor of Punch and Judy we ever had in this country, was the late Robert Heller, the prestidigitateur, whose ventriloquial powers and manipulation of the puppets were as truly astonishing as his wit and fun were genuine.

W. DE BEAUVOIR FRYER.

THE FUTURE OF OUR PUBLIC SCHOOL SYSTEM.

THE years which follow an excited Presidential election are generally years of political apathy, but of the vigorous agitation of other social questions. The public have "had enough of politics," as we say. That special topic ceases to interest them. But they have not had enough of agitation. The appetite for that has been awakened in them, and they are prompt to take hold of other questions in just the spirit in which they settled that of the Presidency.

The political struggle which terminated in the election of Mr. Garfield was one of the most energetic in our history. It will take rank beside those of 1840 and 1860, in the degree of interest it excited, through the closeness of the division. And since it was decided, there has been such an agitation of questions which bear but indirectly upon politics, as this generation had not witnessed. Woman Suffrage, Prohibition, the Suppression of Monopolies, Civil Service Reform, Free Trade, and the whipping-post, have all had their turn of attention, and are still claiming yet further attention from the people. In quarters where it was not thought likely that new ideas would find an entrance, they are found to command a majority of the popular suffrage. North Carolina goes in for Prohibition; Wisconsin and Senator Conkling for Woman Suffrage. It is fairly open to doubt whether we would not lose more than

we should gain by abolishing our quadrennial excitement over the choice of a President. It manifestly serves the purpose of saving us from a general stagnation, and giving a side impulse to a great many popular discussions.

The present agitation as to the condition and prospects of our public schools, did not originate so recently as the Presidential election; but the fact that it has sustained itself through so many months, and that it is everywhere gaining strength, we believe to be due to those general influences which at this moment are fostering half a dozen other agitations besides.

Of the various classes of persons who are disaffected toward our school system, the most important is that which objects to any system of State instruction as necessarily secular, and therefore unable to develop the moral and intellectual nature of the children. This class embraces not only the bulk of our Roman Catholic citizens, but a great body of Christians of other names. The action taken by the last Episcopal General Convention, with regard to the erection of parochial schools, shows that this view of the public schools is gaining ground in one of the wealthiest and most influential of the Protestant Churches. And we have observed many similar indications in other directions.

In sharp opposition to this view of the matter, is that taken by the pure secularists, which equally constitutes a criticism of our present school system, as conducted in all but a few portions of the country. In their view, the matter of religious or spiritual training is one in which the State can take no part, and which must be left to church schools and the home circle, if it is to be done at all. At the same time, they regard the duty of public education as one which the State cannot omit or leave to the inefficient operation of voluntary agencies. In a country where every citizen has a voice in the government of the country, it is a matter of vital importance that no future citizen should be left without that measure of education which will make his suffrage fairly intelligent. It is one of the chief dangers of the present, that forty-five per cent. of the voters in sixteen States of the Union cannot read the printed ballots they have to deposit in the ballot-box, in the exercise of the the highest prerogative of popular sovereignty. It is not enough that the State should establish such schools; in these or some

equally good institutions of learning, the whole youthful population of the country should be in constant attendance, with penalties upon their parents and guardians for failure to attend.

We hardly need say that neither of these views represents the popular American estimate of the matter, as reflected in State laws and Constitutions, and in the popular votes which have been had on this issue. Both the advocates of church schools and the secularists are agreed in one position, while they differ in every other. They are agreed that the State is a purely secular institution, and that not without some inconsistency can other than a purely secular education be given in the State's schools. But this is not the view of the matter taken by the great majority of Americans. The existence of such a national festival as Thanksgiving Day, and of local fast-days, is enough to show the contrary. Nearly all the older American colonies were founded by men who had religious motives the uppermost in their political action; and in spite of great changes in the popular attitude towards religious issues since the sixteenth century, the feeling that the State is not a mere police organization, but is vested with a dignity and an authority of equal divinity in its own sphere with the church in its sphere, remains as a postulate of American thinking. Shakespeare expresses this truth in a passage in his *Troilus and Cressida*:—

"There is a mystery—with whom relation
Durst never meddle—in the soul of state
Which hath an operation more divine
Than breath or pen can give expression to."

John C. Calhoun says: "To man the Creator has assigned the social and political state as best adapted to develop the great capacities and faculties, intellectual and moral, with which He has endowed him." "To separate the State from God as its internal law-giver," says Mr. Brownson, "is to deprive the State of her sacredness, inviolability, and hold upon the conscience." * It is therefore not necessary that State education should be secular, and in most of our school systems it is not. The reading of the Bible in the schools is a usage which has excited no ordinary degree of feeling in its behalf. The only great series of riots ever witnessed in Philadelphia grew out of an attempt to exclude it in defiance of the

* We take these quotations from Mr. Mulford's *Nation*.

law. The spark which ignited the gunpowder was the act of a teacher in Kensington, who wrenched the Bible from the hands of the principal and threw it out of the school-house window. More recently, the Supreme Court of Ohio declared unconstitutional the act of the School Board of Cincinnati which excluded the Bible and all religious instruction from the school curriculum. It took the ground that such action was a denial of the Christian character of the State of Ohio, which is asserted in the State Constitution. A movement to secularize the instruction given in the schools of New Haven, although supported zealously by some of the members of the Faculty of Yale College, was defeated by the vote of the people, and of Roman Catholic voters, among others.

These are a few out of many facts and incidents in our history which show the constant tendency of American opinion in this matter. They express a deep conviction that an education which excludes religious, spiritual truth,—much more one which is based on a denial of the knowableness of all such truth,—is not one which will preserve the moral continuity of the American nation, or furnish citizens well equipped for the trials and the duties of the national life. And the fact that the State claims the time of the children in these schools for the best part of at least five days in every week, is reason enough for expecting that they will achieve something in the way of personal culture beyond “the three R’s.”

The real question of school management in this matter is how to make the form of religious and moral education a reality and not a pretence. For a pretence, and nothing more, it is in most cases. The mere habit of reading a few verses at the opening of the morning session will not give character to the instruction for the rest of the day. In most cases, we fear there is but little intention to keep the formation of moral character steadily in view. The teacher naturally inclines to regard the child as an intellect to be informed upon certain subjects, rather than as a will to be given a right direction. The whole tone of teaching is too generally of this one-sided character. There is no attempt to awaken in the child the love for “things excellent and of good report.” Even the study of history is made a matter of exercising the memory, rather than arousing admiration for true greatness, or awakening the moral sympathy. We have taken the pains to get at the experience, in this regard, of more than one graduate of our public

schools. They cannot recall anything in their books and lessons which obviously was calculated to make them honest men or good citizens, to inspire them with reverence for the good order of society, or with a high sense of their duty as citizens. Where they did receive such lessons,—which was seldom,—they owed them to the occasional digression of a more faithful teacher from the beaten track of the public curriculum.

Let us not be understood to say that the public school does nothing for the moral character of its pupils, and nothing to make them good and orderly citizens. The order which it introduces, the habit of submission to an authority, not rooted like that of the parent in instinctive affection, but resting on grounds of public utility, are a preparation for the duties of later life, and furnish a natural transition from the family to the State. But with these, it is impossible to remain contented. The best men associated with the working of the present system are not content with it. They desire a change in the direction of more ethical teaching, so that our young Crichtons shall be as sensitive in conscience as brilliant in intellect. It is true, that no subject is more difficult to teach than practical ethics. It is easy to teach it so as to weary by formality and spiritlessness. It is equally easy to disgust by Pecksniffianism and other forms of platitudinarianism. But most things worth the doing are easy to do badly, and very hard to do well, and this is one of them. For our part, we have most hope from well written text books on history, especially the history of the Jewish nation and of the American nation, and next to them from well written and honest biographies of good and great men. These books, in the hands of a well-trained teacher of fair ability, might be made to accomplish all that is desired in the awakening of the moral sense, the belief in the absolute righteousness of recompense, which, in the long run, governs the world, and the formation of a love for goodness and moral beauty.

Every teacher who is conscientious in his work, must feel not only his responsibility to God, but to the parents of his pupils. He must ask himself at times, "Were all that goes on here unveiled to their sight, and could they measure the worth of the work I am doing, would they be satisfied with it?" We are much mistaken if such teachers are not more dissatisfied with the moral and religious character of our school-teaching than with any other side

of it. They know that public opinion has pronounced repeatedly in favor of a kind of instruction for which the ordinary curriculum makes little or no room, and that the pretence of training the children in a sense of their responsibility to God is ill-borne out by the scanty reading of the Scriptures at the opening of the morning session, and by the chance remarks with which the routine of the teaching is now and then interrupted. Perhaps they console themselves with the feeling that Sunday-schools will make up for what is defective. But Sunday-schools reach a much smaller proportion of the children than day-schools do ; and it is a terrible mischief to a growing boy to accustom him to feel and think that such thoughts belong to Sundays and to such forms of soul-saving as his own sect adopt, and have nothing to do with his week-day pursuits and duties.

There is another side of school-life, which is perhaps hidden from the teacher himself, and whose existence is a most urgent reason for aggressive moral and religious teaching. There are few collections of growing boys which have not some moral leper among them, whose delight it is to infect the rest with his own impurity. Boys, whose home-life is unexceptionable in all of its influences, are constantly corrupted by such contaminative poison, which is apt to be powerful in direct proportion to the moral inertness of the teacher. Anthony Comstock has shown us that our country has a good number of unspeakable scoundrels, who make a living by furnishing to our school children things that burn into the child's soul as vitriol would burn its flesh. And there are good men,—men of the highest purity of life and purpose,—who will carry with them all their lives the moral scars inflicted by such contact with defilement, from which they in the end escaped while others were drawn down to their moral ruin.

The intellectual character of the teaching furnished by our public schools is a matter of vigorous and wholesome discussion, such as we have not had for many years. The peculiarity of the present agitation of the subject is that it is not a question of what our children shall learn, but of how it shall be taught them. Mr. Emerson, when consulted by his daughter as to the studies she should pursue, replied that it was not a question of what, but by whom, she should be taught. And it is generally recognized as a truth that

real, live teaching of the worst selected subject, will be more beneficial to the child's mind than dead-alive teaching of the best. We think, however, that this principle may be pushed to an excess. Our school curriculums are crowded with useless rubbish,—some of it of great antiquity, some of it recently invented. No real reform of the system will be possible until it is swept out to leave room for better things.

But this discovery that the manner of teaching is not less important than the matter, is not quite so novel as some people seem to suppose. It was a discovery first made by the teachers themselves. It was about twenty or thirty years ago that superintendents began a great reform, whose motto was "teach subjects, not books;" and while that reform is far from having reached all the school houses of the land, and needs all the reinforcement which outsiders can give it, it is altogether unjust to speak of those outsiders as if they were the originators of the new methods. There is not an idea about school teaching which has been paraded as original during the last two years, which is not familiar to the great gatherings of the teaching class, and which has not been put into practice by them in hundreds and thousands of our schools during the last twenty years. The gain of the last two years has been the awakening of what we may call the laity to the value of well established reform, and to the necessity of bringing up laggard teachers to take their part in it.

That there has been so much lagging, is due very largely to the laity themselves and to their representatives, known as the school boards. In teaching, as in every other branch of business, the experts are themselves the best managers and executive heads. But just as the hospital boards, made up of laymen, stand in the way of every reform desired by the medical profession, so the boards of control, boards of school directors and the like, stand in the way of a vigorous application and extension of the new ideas which always originate with those who understand the business. The best board of education for our Philadelphia schools would be the teachers of the grammar schools themselves, and they would soon sift out of their number the incompetents to make room for good men, besides putting a superintendent at the head of our whole school system, so as to secure its thorough and even efficiency. But this is not the American notion. Disregarding European experiences as of no

value, we saddle every educational institution, from a university down to a country school, with a body of laymen, who have no personal experience of the difficulties of teaching, and are often so devoid of that understanding as to give a hearing to the most impracticable ideas. It is not many years since the teachers of our grammar schools were put under orders to make a complete revolution in the character of their curriculum, and to begin, at the end of the then approaching vacation, instruction on a considerable number of subjects they had never studied! As though the Trustees of the University should issue orders that the Faculty of Law in September next should matriculate students in medicine!

Let it not be supposed that we deprecate a popular show of interest in our public schools. On the contrary, that is exactly what they need more than anything else, provided the interest be of that close and substantial kind which leads people to take a little trouble about them. Of that kind of interest, there is very little in Philadelphia. Of the interest that discusses them at long range in newspapers and elsewhere, we have plenty and to spare. Of the interest that gets up a popular excitement over some new piece of mechanism for the educational salvation of society, such as a compulsory educational bill, there is a similar abundance. But the number of the good people of Philadelphia who ever took the pains to learn exactly what the schools teach, or to cross their threshold on any errand but one of complaint, is not so great as to be overpowering. If it were, the periodical demand for a superintendent of schools would not be here and there a voice crying in the wilderness. It would be the overpowering outcry of the intelligence of Philadelphia for the abolition of our penny wisdom and pound foolishness in that matter.

There is an agitation going forward for the introduction of industrial training into our schools. So far as this is a demand that people be taught trades, and that the schools shall fill up the gap left by the abolition of the much-mourned, but little-regrettable system of apprenticeship, it is neither wise nor reasonable. The schools cannot be converted into workshops without destroying all their present functions and abandoning the main objects for which the State does or ought to undertake the education of her people. "Getting on in life" is

an end to which all wise teaching will contribute ; but it is not the chief end, either of man or of the school. And the teaching of a trade is a matter which must either be made the main thing or not be introduced at all. Indeed, the worst fault of the present curriculum is that it spends so much time in teaching the young the trade of an accountant. It is to the excessive instruction in commercial arithmetic, and in the solution of trade problems, that we owe the lamentable bent of the graduates towards clerkships and similar positions. One of the first reforms needed is the teaching of pure arithmetic, with no application to buying and selling, any more than to gauging or measuring lumber.

And to further counteract this counting-room tendency, there should be introduced some training of eye and hand in the actual production of something of use or beauty, or both. The best essay in this direction is that made by our distinguished townsman, Mr. Charles G. Leland, described by him in a paper which appeared in the PENN MONTHLY of last year. Taking advantage of the present popularity of decorative work for house-furnishing, and finding that a great number of the procedures connected with this could be practiced in the schools, he made, with great success, the experiment of introducing these in England. He has now returned to Philadelphia, after a long residence abroad, to repeat the experiment in our public schools. The Board of Education have given him every facility for the purpose, and he has both a "normal class" of teachers, and a class of scholars at work under his oversight, with gratifying results.

The advantage of this method is not that it teaches the boy a trade which he can live by, but that it gives him a taste for mechanical exercises of this sort, and an aptitude in them which may lead him to pursue some trade with great advantage. In the existing condition of our own industries, Mr. Leland's success cannot fail to prove of the greatest value to the whole community. A manufacturing city cannot afford to allow its young people to grow up in ignorance of the arts of design ; and these decorative processes, if combined with a thorough training in free-hand drawing from models, not from copies, would be just the discipline needed for the youth of the city.

Another advantage would be the superior attractiveness of the schools, especially to the poorer classes of children. In these

classes, skill with the fingers is more usually hereditary than skill with the brain. School-house means to them the place where they are asked to exercise only those powers which they use with most of difficulty and least of pleasure. It is therefore far more distasteful to them than to children who have inherited literary or intellectual tastes of any kind. As a consequence, this poorer class of children contains the largest number of absentees from our schools, as they have no liking for places of mere torture and restraint. But the chance of learning to use their fingers, or anything worth the doing, would be an immediate attraction. For this reason, the free *kindergartens* find no difficulty in securing their regular attendance when they are young enough for that kind of school. At the close of one of these *kindergartens*, three or four boys made application this very winter to be taught to do something. It was explained that there was nothing there to teach boys of their age except sewing. But even this proved attractive, and a male sewing class was organized on the spot.

The question of compulsory education is much mooted in this State and city, and the proposal receives a very general support from those who approach the subject theoretically. But, as a rule, the teachers do not favor it. There is good reason for this. The problem of the maintenance of order in public schools is always a difficult one. The two props of the teacher's authority are parental influence and the fear of expulsion, which is always disgraceful. But compulsory education would bring into our school-rooms a large number of boys whose parents would rather applaud their disorder than punish it. At the same time, it would abolish, for all sorts of students, the punishment of expulsion, by making attendance on the public schools a duty to which parents and children were driven, rather than a privilege to be prized. Of course, the worst cases might be sent to the House of Refuge. But it is not the worst cases that furnish the teachers with the most perplexing and difficult problems.

For these reasons, practical educators prefer to approach the problem in a different way. They believe that an active and general movement of public opinion would bring to bear upon the parents the motives needed to secure the attendance of their children. They reason in this way: "The State educates her children,

because she has no right to demand submission to her laws while leaving her people in such ignorance that they cannot appreciate the justice and wisdom of the laws. She labors by education to bring the reason and will into conformity with the law, and thus to diminish the necessity for all constraint. But on this very principle the law for compulsory education is condemned as unjust, unless it has been adopted as a last resort, after a failure to move the parents by any milder agency. And until society makes a real effort in that direction, it has no moral right to enact compulsory education."

Next to this social influence, they depend upon such changes within the schools themselves as will make them more attractive to all classes of students. Every improvement in the method of education will do this. Every live and earnest teacher will go far toward the solution of the problem for his own field of labor. Some years ago much curiosity was excited as to the methods by which one grammar school principal of this city managed to secure so large and constant an attendance from the boys of his first division. It appeared, on inquiry, that he came to the school every morning half an hour or an hour before the time fixed for its opening, and spent that interval in opening to them his stores of information on all the subjects in which his boys felt an interest. As a consequence, "the boys could not be kept at home." He "compelled them to come in" by the most sensible sort of compulsory education.

ROBERT ELLIS THOMPSON.

ASPECTS OF MORTALITY STATISTICS.

MORTALITY statistics merit more careful consideration than they now receive; indeed, they are eminently deserving of thorough study. From them, the philosophical physician, the sanitarian and the statesman should be able to gather information and suggestions of great value to humanity. Intelligent analyses of them should cast much light on the nature of the various grave diseases and the way to set about preventing, or at least mitigating, their ravages, and the direction in which efforts to improve the vital stamina of the people may be advantageously aimed. In fact, statistical medicine is the foundation of sanitary science; the acquirement of

a knowledge of it is, perhaps, the first step towards the institution of effective measures for the conservation of health and life.

Now, it is hardly necessary to say that until the belief that mortality is not entirely beyond human control had been accepted by many, there could be little or nothing gained practically by collecting mortality statistics; for it would be vain to attempt to influence, to any degree, the inevitable. If this belief were not well-founded, sanitary science were of no account. Fortunately, there are few, or none of average intelligence, who do not accept it as a truth. They must be very blind to the light of the age who view the weekly, monthly, or yearly record of the mortality of a community in no other aspect than as a text for moral reflections, such as those made in one of the numbers of Addison's *Spectator*. Life is conditioned; it cannot exist save when the proper conditions are present. Without food, death would overtake one in a few days; and light and other things are almost or quite as indispensable. And faults in the conditions of life will induce faults in it. Sickness never arises without a cause; nor does death ever occur at a set time. Health can be courted and won; and the day of dissolution postponed up to a certain period. Everyone has, in a measure, "commandment on the pulse of life." Man can certainly be influenced by care to at least the same degree as any other animal species; and whether the care is good or bad, may be largely inferred from the mortality statistics of a people.

The defectiveness of mortality statistics in general is an obvious feature of them. In Philadelphia, and also in several other cities of the United States, the record of deaths is very complete in most respects; and through the proper administration of a registration law, requiring certificates from physicians and undertakers, and permits from those in charge of burial places, it would be possible to make it very complete almost everywhere. But in this country, it is, for the most part, in the larger cities only that any systematic effort is made to obtain a full return of them. Then, there is not the uniformity in the nomenclature of diseases, and also in other items of the data given, which is desirable.

The attempt made every tenth or census year by the United States Census Bureau to obtain a complete and uniform return of the deaths throughout the country, is in only a few respects of much consequence, as will appear from succeeding remarks. The

return made in 1870 was by far the most perfect up to that date ; but it is to be hoped that the one undertaken last year will turn out to be an improvement on it. In it are given, probably, all the important details of each death : the cause of it, the State in which it occurred, the month of its occurrence, and the sex, age, race, nationality and occupation of the person. The chief importance of it lies in the details which it gives. Being incomplete as to numbers, it is of limited value as a guide in the formation of a life-table. In some remarks on it, the Superintendent of the Census, Gen. Walker, says, " At no one of the three censuses taken under the act of May 23, 1850, has the aggregate number of deaths returned by the assistant marshals risen above two-thirds of the number of deaths probably occurring during the year of enumeration." Such an acknowledgment does not speak well for the efficiency of the Census Bureau since its establishment. However, it occurred to Gen. Walker, who, by the way, has charge of the census of 1880, that he should present a complete mortuary record, so far as number was concerned, to the end that a life-table for the American people might be constructed. Accordingly he procured the services of an employé of the Treasury Department, Mr. Elliott, a man of considerable skill in mathematics, and instructed him to transform the incomplete record into a complete one. It need scarcely be said that this was a difficult task, a task the accomplishment of which should render a man conspicuous among mortals. Well, how did the mathematician proceed ? He took up the Report of the English Register-General, and, noting the death-rate in England and Wales, at once concluded that it should be about the same in the United States ; so, by an addition of forty-one per cent. to the number returned, he had "the full number of deaths which must have taken place," or a death-rate of one to about every forty-six of the population. Having performed this great feat, he then went to work and constructed a life-table, based, of course, on the deaths "which must have taken place." No thinking man needs to be told, surely, that such an adjustment of the returns of deaths is palpably absurd and foolish. There is no reason to hold that the death-rate should be the same in the United States as in England ; on the contrary, there are many weighty reasons why it should be different ; the difference which there is between the climatic conditions of the two countries is sufficient in itself to markedly influ-

ence it. Whatever the true death-rate may be, it is desirable to know it, and it is the duty of the Census Bureau to determine it. Through competent enumerators, it is certainly possible for this to be done with reasonable accuracy.

It is not as easy, by a great deal, as some apparently suppose, to fully fathom the significance of mortality statistics. Even among people who are presumably scientific, very vague ideas as to their meaning prevail. On turning over the leaves of journals devoted to medical and sanitary matters, it will be found that the aggregate weekly, monthly or yearly death-rate, or number of deaths to every thousand of the population of one city, or State, is gravely compared with that of another, and inferences are drawn therefrom as to the healthfulness of either place. In even *The Bulletin* of the National Board of Health, both these things are done. Now, making such comparisons and drawing such inferences are simply among the vainest of vain sciolistic practices; for the real import of mortality statistics and their relations to the sanitary condition of a place, can be discovered only, if at all, through study of them in detail, and of the population whence they have been drawn. This is very emphatically true of the statistics of American communities, particularly of cities of recent growth.

A very poor index, indeed, of the sanitary state of a community, is the aggregate death-rate. Without a knowledge of the prevailing diseases, the birth-rate, the age at death, the number of persons alive of different ages and the immediate causes of the mortality, a knowledge of the whole number of deaths is of little worth. On each of these points I will make a few remarks.

It is a common error to suppose that the diseases which prevail at any place, during a given time, are definitely indicated by the statistics of mortality. It is only of diseases which necessarily prove fatal that their degree of prevalence is indicated by the deaths. For there is not a constant proportion of fatal cases among those affected with diseases from which recovery is possible. Some outbreaks of every one of the zymotic diseases,—among which are measles, scarlet fever, small-pox and typhoid fever,—are very much more fatal than others; and infectious diseases, such as intermittent and remittent fevers, which are mild in some sections of the country, are very destructive in others. Mumps and several other contagious diseases may prevail extensively without causing any

deaths whatever. Nor does the mortality from a disease which necessarily proves fatal indicate correctly its degree of prevalence equally well, either in the same place at different periods, or in different places, because it may not be of equal duration at all times, in every place and in every case. These statements are, in themselves, sufficient to show that, however correct the statistics of mortality may be, they cannot give any more than a vague clue to the state of health of a community. Statistics of sickness would be vastly different in significance; but these are not now procurable, even in the instance of an outbreak of an alarming disease, such as small-pox, or yellow fever. It is the hope of sanitarians, however, that this will not always be the case.

The birth-rate bears important relations to the death-rate, for the mortality in early life is far heavier than later. Thus, during the year 1878, twenty-two and a half per cent. of the deaths in the city of Philadelphia were of persons under one year, or about four to every thousand of the estimated population, or one to about every five of the births reported. The Health Officer of the city, in his report for that year, remarks, "The general sanitary condition of the city during the past year has been remarkably good, the number of deaths being fifteen thousand, seven hundred and forty-three, —a decrease from the previous year of two hundred and sixty-one, or 1.62 per cent. Estimating our population at the middle of the year to be 876,118, we have the gratifying result of 17.97 deaths per thousand living persons, or one death to every 55.65 of the population, a ratio not reached in our city for many years." This statement will not bear scrutiny; and, by the way, it may be taken as a fair example of the skill manifested in handling mortality statistics. Of persons over one year of age, the mortality was really greater in 1878 than in 1877. The deaths of persons under one year in 1877 amounted to 24.50 per cent. of the whole, or 2.06 per cent. more than in 1878,—a difference due to a falling off in the number of deaths from cholera infantum. But was the lesser number of deaths of infants in 1878 than 1877 due to a lower death-rate among them? Only in a measure so, probably. There were fewer infants in 1878 than in 1877; in the former year the births (reported) amounted to 1 to every 48, and in the latter to 1 to every 46.5 of the (estimated) population. By making the proportion of births in 1878 equal to what it was in 1877, and allowing a mortality of

one-fifth the number, the aggregate death-rate would be increased nearly one per cent. It is evident, then, that it is necessary to know what the birth-rate is, before the significance of the death-rate can be understood.

In places very recently settled, and where the immigration is heavy, the birth-rate is always very low. This fact should be kept in mind in reading the statements of the mortality of our Western cities.

In this connection I may say that the actual birth-rate of no place in the United States is known. The efforts made by health authorities to collect birth statistics are very unsuccessful. I think it would be worth while to resort to some method by which the returns might be made reasonably complete in at least our larger cities. In Philadelphia, all persons practicing midwifery are enjoined under penalty to report all births at which they have been in attendance; but many of them fail to do this; and there are many cases at which no professional attendant is present. A house to house visitation once or oftener every year, would doubtless secure a very complete return. It is more than probable, however, that few of those in authority appreciate the matter very thoroughly. In the latest printed report of the Board of Health of the city of Philadelphia at hand (that for 1876), after some remarks on the low birth-rate (returned,) in prominent cities of this country in comparison with what it is in European cities, it is said and repeated, "This difference is not real, but results from the want in this country of a carefully matured and efficiently applied system of collecting these statistics." This doctrine is precisely similar to that given out by the Census Bureau in regard to deaths, and if it were true, there would be no need for "a carefully matured and efficiently applied system of collecting these statistics," while there is one in European cities; but it is not true. There is not a particle of reason to believe that the birth-rate, any more than the death-rate, is the same in all of our prominent cities, or that it is the same in them as it is in London, or any other city of Europe. It is more than probable that the birth-rate in even our oldest cities is considerably below what it is in most of those in Europe. In the volume devoted to vital statistics of the Report of the Census of 1870, the Superintendent has this to say on the subject: "Luxury, fashion and the vice of 'boarding' combine to limit the

increase of families to a degree that in some sections even threatens the perpetuation of the native stock. This tendency is not one that requires to be brought out by statistical comparisons; it is patent, palpable, and needs no proof." According to the census of 1870, the births in the entire United States amounted to 1 to every 35 of the population. But it must be remembered that the births given in the census returns are only those of persons that were alive at the end of the year—a fact overlooked by many writers. By adding the deaths returned of persons under one year to the number of persons surviving it, the births amount to 1 to about every 32 of the population. It would be unwise, however, to place unlimited confidence in the returns of the census of 1870, as to the number of persons of different ages; for, according to them, there were in that year over 43,000 less children of one than of three years of age, and over 13,000 more of four than of one! Mr. Elliott was called on to "adjust" these monstrously absurd figures, and did so; but obviously his unscientific efforts might as well have been spared. As a result of his ciphering, he gave the births as 1 to about every 28 of the population.

A knowledge of the age at which the deaths occurred is very necessary in order to appreciate mortality statistics. If there is a heavy mortality among persons who, from their age, ought to be vigorous and useful, it matters little what the death-rate as a whole may be,—it is unsatisfactory. Turning again to the congratulatory remarks of the Health Officer of Philadelphia, quoted above, I would say, by way of illustration, that although the death-rate was lower in 1878 than in 1877, there were more deaths of persons neither very young nor very old, in the former than in the latter year. The deaths of persons from 15 to 60 years of age in 1877, were 37.67 per cent. of the whole, while in 1878 they were 37.75 per cent. of the whole. The deaths of persons over 15 years of age were 54.61 per cent. of the whole in 1877, while they were 56.23 per cent. of the whole in 1878. These figures certainly do not show that the sanitary state of the city was "remarkably good" in 1878, as compared with what it was in 1877, so far as persons over 15 years of age were concerned.

In different places, the mortality at different periods of life is apt to be very different; certainly it is more so than it is from year to

year in the same place ; hence, in making comparisons between the mortality of different places, the percentage of deaths at different ages should be carefully considered.

I have said that it matters little what the death-rate as a whole may be, it is unsatisfactory, if there is a heavy mortality among persons, who, from their age, ought to be vigorous and useful. No argument is necessary to establish this as a truth. Assuredly, the value of persons of different ages as members of a community is very different. Just what it may be, is a problem on which I cannot now dwell ; but it is one which might well claim the attention of political economists. Deplorable, however, as a high death-rate among persons of any age below the limit of human longevity may be, it is worst of all when among persons in the period of active adult life.

Important as a knowledge of the percentage of deaths at different ages is in forming an opinion as to the sanitary state of a community, of still greater importance is a knowledge of the proportion of deaths to the number living at each period of life. This information is but little sought after, seemingly, by sanitarians ; no note whatever of it is taken by the health authorities of Philadelphia. Yet on learning, for instance, that 9.66 per cent. of the deaths in that city during 1878 were of persons between 30 and 40 years of age, I can form no opinion as to whether the death-rate at that period was high, or low, being ignorant of the population of that age. As pointed out above, the number of births must be known before one can discover what the rate of mortality is among children under one year of age ; and it is quite as essential to know what the number of persons living, of any age, is before the rate of mortality among them can be discovered.

If it be impossible to give a correct opinion as to the sanitary state of a community from an examination of the mortality statistics of it, without knowing the exact number of persons living of different ages, of what consequence can the opinion be which is given without a knowledge of even the number of persons living, regardless of age ? Yet it is a fact that the actual population is rarely known by the health authorities. It is commonly only estimated ; and it is usually estimated far too high, the result being that the death-rate is, seemingly, far lower than it really is. Thus, although the population of Philadelphia is undoubtedly increasing

fast, the estimate of it in 1878 used by the Health Officer in reckoning the death-rate was nearly 30,000 higher than what it was found by actual count to be in 1880.

In connection with the number of deaths and the proportion of them among persons of different ages, it is essential to know the immediate causes of them, if one would get any definite insight into the sanitary state of a community. Naturally, all should die of old age, unless cut off by violence; but this cannot be even hoped for. However, multitudes are destroyed by diseases which admit of prevention. Indeed, nearly all diseases are to some extent preventable. The various acute diseases, or those of an epidemic or endemic character, such as scarlet fever, diphtheria, and typhoid fever, are not unfrequently distinctively classed as preventable; but this is wrong. At any rate, it is certain that epidemic and endemic diseases are parasitic pestilences, so to speak, which should have no existence. The degree of prevalence of these, and especially of scarlet fever, diphtheria, and typhoid fever, is now taken by many to be a fair index of local sanitary conditions. Applying this test, it is found that, contrary to the statement of the Health Officer of Philadelphia, given above, that city was in a less healthful condition in 1878 than in 1877. In the former year there were 1426 deaths from the three diseases, and in the latter 1367. I do not believe, however, that the degree of prevalence of the three diseases in question, or of any other pestilential disease, can be justly regarded as anything more than a vague test of local sanitary conditions, for the sufficient reason that they are not purely infectious in origin, or, in other words, because they may spread through emanations from those sick of them,—through contagion. Of course, any contagious disease, when once started, may spread and prove fatal in places unexceptionally hygienic.

It is in place here to observe that the fact that there may be a great deficiency, or excess, of deaths from pestilential diseases during some years, is one which is apt to be overlooked in comparing mortality statistics. Thus, in 1879, there were a large number of deaths from yellow fever in Memphis; yet, although it never prevailed to any extent in this place before, except in the previous year, and may never again, these deaths are included in the national census statistics of 1880. This will, of course, render the death-rate of that city, and the State in which it is located, abnor-

mally high. Evidently the figures of mortality of a place for one year may give a very false idea of its healthfulness.

A number of other points besides those already noticed must be considered, before one can draw inferences from the mortality statistics as to the healthfulness of a place. Of some of these I will say a few words.

The extent of territory occupied by a given population has important bearings on health and the rate of mortality. Many circumstances attendant on crowding are productive of sickness and death. Hence, a city of small area in proportion to its population is very sure to have a high death-rate. A rural population experiences, as a rule, much less difficulty than an urban one in making the environment of each of its members hygienic, and in shunning depravities which are fruitful of death.

The pursuits of a people have considerable to do with their death-rate. A great manufacturing city like Philadelphia could hardly be expected to exhibit as favorable a death-rate as a more purely commercial one, similar in climate and otherwise; for large workshops and factories tend to sap the strength and abridge the existence of their toiling occupants. Unlike some other cities, however, in which manufacturing is carried on extensively, Philadelphia has, in its home-accommodations, a powerful counteractive of sickness and mortality. Where nearly every family has an entire house, the prospect of health and long life is much better than where several live in one; for close-living breeds disease, and favors the spread of contagion.

I have already dwelt on the subject of the importance of knowing the state of a population as regards age in studying mortality statistics. Now, whether or not this be ascertained periodically, by official systematic inquiry, the various complex causes which are at work to produce a difference in the number of persons of similar age in different places, merit careful attention. Immigration is one the factors of disturbance at play in upsetting the natural age-relations of the populations of most of the cities and States of the Union. It is possible to point out communities in which there are scarcely any very young, or very old people, and very few unsound. Such communities are of recent origin and are made up of immigrants. Toward most of our large cities, but toward some more than others, there is a heavy current of young, healthy peo-

ple coming constantly from the country and from foreign countries. This being the case, of course, it would be absurd to expect the birth-rate, or the number of persons of different ages, or the death-rate, to be anywhere near what it should naturally be. From some places, there are many constantly emigrating, and this tends to render the death-rate in them high, because, as the sickly are generally left at home, it increases the proportion of them. But perhaps in none of our large cities do the emigrants amount to more than a small per centage of the immigrants. It is well to bear in mind, however, that those emigrating from a city, or anywhere else, cannot be replaced by an equal number of immigrants without changing the health-status of the population; for both are not likely to be equally sound.

The racial complexion of a community is an item which should not be left out of account in considering mortality statistics. The presence of a variable proportion of a comparatively ignorant, thriftless people,—the negroes,—in different cities and sections of the Union, exercises doubtless a very perceptible influence on death-rates. The opinion is expressed in *The Bulletin* of the National Board of Health, that the deaths among them average about 30 to the 1000, while those of the Caucasians average about 20 to the 1000.

The prevailing mode of life of a people, a matter which is largely dependent on their wealth, has more than a little to do with the rate of mortality. Poverty unquestionably exercises an unfavorable influence; but the influence of great wealth is probably quite as unfavorable. Bacon remarks, in his *History of Life and Death*, "No doubt there are times in every country wherein men are longer or shorter lived: longer for the most part when the times are barbarous and men fare less deliciously and are more given to bodily exercises; shorter when the times are more civil and men abandon themselves to luxury and ease." In many of our young cities, the fact that the people are not only prospering, but laboring to increase their prosperity, is one which assuredly has something to do with the lowness of their death-rates.

It should be borne in mind, in considering the death-rate of an old, opulent city, that numerous diseased persons come to it for the sake of being within reach of good medical talent, and that considerable numbers of decrepit or lazy poor people drift to it in the hope of obtaining a livelihood from the charitable, or, if necessary, of being received into almshouses and hospitals.

The intelligence of a community should, and probably does, exercise a perceptible influence on the rate of mortality. An ignorant population is pretty certain to have a high death-rate. There are so many subtle causes of debility and disease, that, to live to any degree hygienically, one must be constantly on guard. The ignorance of parents as to how to rear their children so that they shall grow up healthy and strong, is the cause of thousands of needless deaths in every one of our large cities every year.

A difference in the character of the medical attention obtainable, doubtless influences to some extent the rate of mortality of different communities.

In a philosophical study of mortality statistics, the effects of religion should be duly considered, for it to a great degree shapes the morals and mode of life of the majority of people. It is capable of demonstration that among the adherents of Roman Catholicism the birth-rate is always high; and consequently a very low death-rate among them ought not to be expected. And, although it is more than probable that religion stands at times in the way of the institution of proper sanitary measures, yet it can hardly be doubted that, as a whole, it is more sanative than otherwise. In the presence of the obvious causes of disease, a sincere religious faith serves to fortify one against them.

From what precedes, it would seem to be clear that mortality statistics are not easily understood; that, on the contrary, their true meaning cannot be discovered, save through critical examination of them in detail, if at all. It is also clear that they do not reflect the local sanitary condition of the place from which they are drawn, and that it is simply absurd to compare aggregate death-rates of different places. I have not treated of all the aspects of the subject, or of any of them adequately; but I have said enough, probably, to at any rate show that, whether or not it is eminently deserving of thorough study, it at least merits more careful consideration than it now receives.

THOS. S. SOZINSKEY, M. D., Ph.D.

ON FRESCO-PAINTING.

THE decorations in color, on the walls and ceilings of the houses and public buildings of our country, are customarily termed frescoes; but this use of the term is unmistakably erroneous. The painting, as done here, is applied to a thoroughly dried surface, and executed without difficulty. The word *fresco* is merely an Italian term equivalent to our word *fresh*; and it seems to have been applied because the colors, in this mode of painting, were laid on damp, *fresh* plaster.

Painting in oil was not, as far as we at present know, executed until about the thirteenth century; and therefore all the pictures painted before that time were in fresco, distemper, enamel or encaustic. Many ancient paintings in Egypt, in Pompeii, in Herculaneum, and other places, executed centuries since, and only brought to light in modern times, are in fresco, and exhibit colors of extraordinary brightness. During the dark period which intervened between the time when art flourished in Greece and Rome and the revival of the fine arts in Italy in the fourteenth century, fresco-painting shared the lot to which all the other branches of art were doomed, and was forgotten; but Raffaele, Michael Angelo, and other great painters, not only revived the art, but brought it to a pitch of perfection which excelled anything previously, or indeed subsequently, achieved. It was a kind of painting so congenial to the vast mind of Michael Angelo, that he deemed it the only one worthy of a great artist, painting in oil being, to use his words, "only fit for women and children."

This opinion as to the pre-eminence of fresco over oil-painting, arose in great measure from the difficulties which surrounded the former, and which could only be surmounted by a man of great talent. It is the peculiar and distinguishing feature of this kind of painting, that the colors must be laid on while the plaster is wet or at least damp, in order that they may dry with the plaster, and in doing so combine firmly with it; and as the plaster dries in the course of a few hours, the production of a large picture becomes a sort of patch-work, each day's painting being distinct and detached from the rest, and executed on a portion of the plaster which has been laid on the same day. The difficulties, then, which result have thus been alluded to by a writer on the subject:

“ There is no beginning in this by drawing on the whole of the parts at one time, and correcting them at leisure, as is the custom of oil-painters, who may therefore proceed to work without a sketch. Here, all that is begun in the morning must be completed by the evening, and almost without cessation of labor, while the plaster is wet ; and not only completed in form, but a difficult task,—nay, almost impossible without a well prepared sketch,—must be performed, viz. : the part done in this short time must have so perfect an accordance with what follows or has preceded the work, that when the whole is finished it may appear as if it had been executed at once or in the usual mode, with sufficient time to harmonize the various forms and tones of color. Instead of proceeding by slow degrees to illuminate the objects and increase the vividness of the colors, in a manner somewhat similar to the progress of nature in the rising day, till at last it shines with all its intended effect,—which is the course of painting in oil,—the artist must rush into broad daylight, at once give all the force in light and shade and color, which the nature of his subject requires ; and this without assistance, at least in the commencement, of contrast to regulate his eye.”

Fresco-paintings are usually executed on the walls or ceilings of buildings, such as churches, galleries, corridors, saloons, &c., and the routine of proceeding is somewhat as follows : The artist first prepares a sketch, embodying the subject which he wishes to represent. He next draws the outline of the design on a *cartoon*, or piece of paper, exactly the size of the intended fresco. The word *cartoon* is a modification of *cartone*, the Italian word for a large sheet of paper. While the sketch and the cartoon are in course of preparation, the wall on which the labors of the painter are to be directed is also being prepared. One indispensable requisite is that the wall should be free from damp ; for fresco-paintings, from the nature both of the color and the plaster on which they are laid, are very susceptible of injury from damp ; indeed, one reason assigned for the falling off in the practice of this art in England, is the dampness of its climate, an exemplification of which is given in the frescoes of Maclise, Ward, and others, in the Houses of Parliament, at Westminster.

When the fitness of the foundation is ascertained, a preparatory layer of plaster is laid on, which varies according to the material of which the wall is composed. Brick is deemed the best founda-

tion, because, from the smallness of the size of the bricks, the interstices between them are numerous, which greatly assists in retaining the plaster in adherence. If the wall consist of smooth stones, it is customary to chisel holes or grooves in it, or adopt other means whereby the plaster may be made to cling to the foundation upon which it is laid. Precautions of this kind are very necessary to prevent the cracking of the composition. This preparatory plaster consists sometimes of well-washed chalk made into a cement with pounded brick or river-sand; some painters have used pounded sea-sand and chalk or lime, while others have employed analogous materials, varied in minor details.

When the preparatory layer of plaster is dry, the second or finishing layer is applied, the surface of the first layer being slightly wetted to aid the adhesion of the two. The materials are nearly the same as for the first layer, but more carefully prepared; and the art of laying it on is one of great nicety, for it must be free from lumps, spread evenly and smoothly, and laid on in no great quantity, or over no greater an extent of surface, than the artist can color before the surface dries, which it does in from five to eight hours, according to the season. The plaster is laid on with a trowel, and is afterwards smoothed over with the same instrument, a piece of paper being laid between the trowel and the plaster.

When the plaster is sufficiently firm to bear the pressure of the finger, but still damp enough to allow the colors to incorporate with it, the artist commences his labors. He places his cartoon against the wall, and traces the outlines of the figures or other objects on the design, either by pricking with a pin through the paper at numerous points, or by passing a hard point over the lines of the cartoon. By either of these means a faint impression is made in the plaster, sufficient to guide him in the application of his colors.

The colors employed in fresco-painting are wholly of mineral origin, no animal or vegetable colors being admitted. Chalk and marble-powder for white; vermilion, burnt and unburnt ochres, burnt and raw sienna, Spanish red, &c., for red and brown; ultramarine and smalts for blue, are among the colors employed; while greens, yellows, blacks, &c., are produced from analogous earthy or crystalline bodies. The colors are ground very fine, and mixed with water, and arranged on a palette or in small vessels, as for

other kinds of painting. Prepared water-colors used on paper or ivory, and oil-colors used on prepared canvas, present nearly the same tint when dry as when wet; but in fresco and distemper painting this is not the case, since all the colors become much lighter when dry than when wet. To be certain, therefore, of the resultant hue, the painter usually has a piece of some absorbent earthy substance, such as brick or tile, at hand, on which he can try the tint yielded by any combination of his colors.

The artist proceeds to work out his design with the colors just alluded to, and on the foundation of damp plaster; but here the genius of the painter is called into action, and technical description fails to convey an adequate idea of his labors. The excellence and defects of fresco-painting have thus been stated by a writer familiar with the subject: As the artist is obliged, from the nature of this kind of painting, to proceed with rapidity in its execution, it necessarily has more spirit and vigor than paintings in oil, which may be repeated and re-touched as often as the artist fancies he can improve or heighten the effect; there is not time to meddle with and disturb the freshness of the color, or the fullness and freedom of the touch. But, on the other hand, there can be no minute detail of form, or extensive variety in the gradation of tint; the beauties of neatness and delicacy of finish make no part of the excellencies of this branch of art; it will not bear the close examination which well-finished pictures in oil do; and there is something dry and rough in its appearance when inspected from too short a distance. Though the colors have more freshness of hue than those used in oil-painting, yet, as their number is comparatively smaller, their united power of imitating nature is not so complete.

ARTHUR FARLEY.

BRIEF MENTION.

WITH this number of the MONTHLY and the next, we introduce some changes into its character, which, without abandoning any of the features which have made it acceptable to a large number of readers, will—as we hope—secure it a larger audience than it has had heretofore.

Instead of the usual review of the events of the month, we propose to substitute this department for the brief discussion of topics for which separate articles would be too long. These discussions will have less of a political character than "The Month" possessed, and, instead of being editorial utterances, will be signed with the initials of their authors. Throughout the magazine the principle of personal responsibility will be introduced, and each article will be signed, as is the custom with the best English periodicals of this class.

In addition to this, we propose the establishment of a department devoted to intelligence from the University of Pennsylvania, which will vary in extent from month to month. It will be conducted by a number of the younger members of the various faculties, who have offered to do us this service, and whose skill in such work in other fields promises to make this department interesting, even to those who have no special affiliation with the University, while the alumni of its various faculties may expect to find here the constant mention of whatever their *Alma Mater* is undertaking or accomplishing. Although the University of Pennsylvania is one of the largest in the country, and numbers its living graduates by tens of thousands, there has been, thus far, no publication through which her children could be sure of hearing of her fate and fortunes. It is with the cordial co-operation of her authorities in this era of her new energy, that we undertake the work of furnishing such a medium of communication for the future.

As regards the articles which will occupy the body of the MONTHLY, the same general character will be maintained. It will still be a magazine for general readers, with special claims upon the attention of those who are interested in the great questions of social science, art, education and kindred topics. Our affiliation with that class of Philadelphia societies which have these for their

fields of investigation, will be continued. But we shall endeavor to give our contents a greater variety in matter and a greater liveliness of treatment than has heretofore been the case, and we invite the discussion of all topics of living interest in these pages. In this work we have received kind assurance of assistance from several quarters, notably from members of the University faculties.

In the ten years of our history, we have received great encouragement from the good opinions of some of our highest authorities in literary matters. We may mention our three greatest American poets—Mr. Lowell, Mr. Longfellow and Mr. Whittier—among those who have spoken in the warmest terms of our efforts. We shall seek to continue to merit all such approval, to maintain a high literary standard, a serious social and moral purpose, and entire freedom from the trammels of connection with great publishing houses. The PENN MONTHLY has lived long enough to establish its special reputation. It has now but three seniors in the same field of literary labor.

We shall say but little at present of Mr. Joseph Wharton's munificent gift to the University of Pennsylvania, because we expect to publish a very full statement on the subject from a competent pen in the next number of the MONTHLY. The "Wharton School of Finance and Economy" is a new departure in collegiate education, and one which is believed to meet a necessary want in this, as in every other large business community. It is of good omen that a highly successful business man expresses in this emphatic shape his sense of the benefit which business men may derive from a liberal college education, combined with special training in subjects which respect their immediate future.

Mr. Thomas A. Scott has set a generous example to the people of Philadelphia by his gift of \$50,000 to endow one of the older chairs in the University, as well as by his large gifts to various charitable institutions of the city. That the chair of mathematics should have been selected, will give an additional pleasure to Prof. E. O. Kendall's many friends, among whom we include every one of the thousands whom he has led through the meandering and flowery paths of the most certain of sciences. Prof. Kendall has a firm hold on

the affections of his colleagues and his pupils, and all unite in the wish that he may long live to receive the income of this new endowment.

The final collapse of the bogus diploma business, and the full confession of his enormities which has been extracted from Dr. Buchanan, should be matter for rejoicing to all who have the good name of our city at heart. Dr. Buchanan puts the number of bogus diplomas at 20,000 in America and 40,000 in Europe; and it is to be hoped that the whole list of the recipients of medical diplomas, if it can be obtained, will be published, so as to put a period to the career of medical practitioners who are sailing under these false colors. It is the worst of the enormities of this business, that it has furnished a cloak for the villainy of designing men, who have undertaken, without training, the difficult and responsible duties of the physician, and that the lives of thousands of human beings have been exposed to incredible dangers, through their employment of Dr. Buchanan's quacks as their medical advisers. What can be done to correct this mischief, our city and State owe it to the world to have done at once. It was through their remissness that this infamous business was allowed to continue, long after its true character had been exposed sufficiently. And unless we do what is possible to expose these mock doctors, we will be guilty of the blood of every person whom we suffer to meet his or her death through employing one of Dr. Buchanan's diploma-ed quacks.

To the *Public Record* the community is indebted for the exposure of these practices. The managers of the paper have deserved the city's thanks in some official shape, and we hope that Councils will find time to convey these to them.

When the city of Leyden, after the great siege in which its people displayed such heroism, was given its choice between an exemption from taxes for several years and the privilege of establishing a university, it decided to accept the latter. When the city of Philadelphia comes to the celebration of its second centennial, is it going to select some cheap and inexpensive way of commemorating the event, such as a second funeral for William Penn, or is it ready to erect some monument of the event whose uses shall last through all the following centuries? We are rich enough to do

almost anything we may choose to do. Ten per cent. of the net profits of our manufactures for the centennial year 1882 would be a splendid contribution for such a purpose. But one appropriate proposal has been made thus far. It is to erect and endow a great public library for the free use of our citizens. This we second most heartily. Such an institution, if managed so as to avoid the rocks which similar institutions have struck, would be most beneficial, as helping to elevate the intellectual level of the whole city and put our future, in this direction, upon an assured footing.

But there are other things, not less necessary, which might be associated with the public library in our centennial gifts. One is a public Latin school, for the preparation of boys who are looking forward to a curriculum in college as a preparation for the learned professions. Many of these are very poor. They are a class as necessary to society as any other. The colleges give, in most cases, a free education to those who cannot afford to pay the fees. But the path to the college-door is crowded with obstacles which have been removed from the paths of all other students. The High School is of no use to them. But the case would be met if we had one such institution as the Boston Latin School, for which the people of that city have just provided a splendid home, in recognition of its services in training a majority of those of whom Boston is justly proud.

Nor are we so poor that we need stop at these two endowments. The financial status of the University,—our oldest educational institution, with the exception of the Penn Charter School,—is not creditable to the city. It ought to be, as regards its under-graduate departments, free to every boy in Philadelphia who can pass the examination for admission. As a matter of fact, it has but four endowed chairs,—one each in the Faculty of Arts, of Sciences, and of Medicine, and one in the new School of Finance. The oldest of these endowments dates but a few years back, and gives promise of a new era for the University.

Among the many forms of popular agitation which are at present claiming popular attention, none is more important than that for Civil Service Reform, discussed elsewhere in this number of the MONTHLY. It represents the conviction that the worst evils of our public life are remediable evils, and that a change in our political

methods would bring to bear the best motives in human nature to secure the best service for the government of city, State and country. But it is not solely nor even chiefly the improvement of the Government service that these reformers have in view. Some of them would even admit that that service is already too excellent, as regards the national officials, to furnish a good reason for agitation. It is the conversion of the present host of office-holders from an army of "political workers," organized under political "bosses" to prevent the free action of the public in the matter of nominations and elections, into so many American citizens, with no more motive for such interference with the popular will than any other citizens. It is, therefore, the abolition of the spoils system, established half a century ago by the Democratic party, that they wish to destroy, root and branch. There is a difference of opinion among the friends of this reform as to the best way of going about it. Some insist on a change in the tenure of office, making it *ad vitam aut culpam*. Others prefer a change in the system of appointments, similar to that effected in the British dominions in 1855, when competitive examinations were introduced. The latter opinion prevails in New York, where the movement first took an organized shape. The Boston organization has adopted a broader and more indefinite platform, leaving the merits of competitive examination more of an open question and emphasizing the ends to be reached rather than the means by which it is to be sought.

A Philadelphia society has just been organized for the same great object, and we hope that Mr. Eaton's article of this month will be the forerunner in these pages of more than one paper from the Philadelphia representatives of the movement. It is no secret that in this city and State the preponderance of opinion among our reformers is in favor of the principle of permanence in tenure, rather than that of competitive examinations. But there is a decided feeling in favor of unity of action, rather than divided counsels which may weaken the whole movement. R. E. T.

NEW BOOKS.

FIRM GROUND. Thoughts on Life and Faith. By George McKnight. Pp. 131. Published by the Author, Sterling, N. Y.

QUIET HOURS. A Collection of Poems. Second Series. Pp. 223. Boston: Roberts Brothers.

Mr. McKnight we regard as a genuine poet, as well as a clear

thinker on the greatest of themes. He lacks skill in the technique of verse-making, having more substance than finish in the sonnets which make his little book; but in these latter days we have so much of the polish of verse with small substance to polish, that one longs at times for poetry that has something in it, if it were but one of Rouse's Psalms. To show Mr. McKnight's powers and his limitations, we quote this on "The Soul's Measure":—

Dost thou of all attainments value those
 Most that enlarge thy soul? and wouldst be shown
 A sign whereby it may be clearly known
 How much, from year to year, thy spirit grows?
 By as much more as other's joys and woes,
 Through wider sympathy, are made thine own,
 By so much in soul-stature thou hast grown.
 The bounds of personality that close
 Around uncultured spirits narrowly,
 Have been so far extended, and contain
 So much the more of conscious life's domain;
 And so much has thy knowledge grown to be
 Like that of clearest souls, whose bounding walls
 Will cast no shadow where the soul-light falls.

Another we quote on the theme—"No Secondary Cause of Love:—"

No chance from selfish motives could compose
 The unselfish goodness we have known to be,
 That which in human hearts we sometimes see,
 In Nature's heart pure goodness doth disclose.
 Search ye its forming cause? Your science throws
 In vain its light upon this mystery.
 Thou cause beyond our knowledge! thanks to thee
 For all unselfish love life ever shows:—
 For every action of self-sacrifice,
 Country or race or kindred to defend;
 For every kindly thought of friend for friend
 That e'er was told by looks of meeting eyes,
 Whereby our doubting minds may clearly prove
 That in thy Being is a source of love.

We do not always agree with Mr. McKnight. As we understand him, he is a necessitarian, while a passionate believer in holiness as the end of life; and he does not see his way to accept any revelation as authoritative, while he believes in the closest communion between the Creator and His children. But we welcome in him a singer who has thoughts and sincerity.

The editor of *Quiet Hours*, of which we have seen only this second series, has made a very beautiful anthology of devotional and descriptive poetry. She (or he) is acquainted not only with the standard authors upon whom the compilers of such selections draw, but with some who are less accessible,—with Jones Very, T. H. Gill, William Blake, John Sterling, and many of the Germans. But we miss from her anthology our own "Carl Spencer,"

and Mrs. Hunt-Jackson, and the Englishman, Thomas T. Lynch, whose *Rivulet* surely deserves an American edition. The third English edition appeared in 1868, and there have been others since. An American editor should prefix some account of the famous (or infamous) "Rivulet Controversy," and append Lynch's controversial poems.

The author of the collection before us has made a collection which will offend none and please most. As the rubrics indicate, there is no definite theological purpose, and the selections indicate a preference for those poems which will not arouse dissent in any quarter. She shows a genuine appreciation of the best writings.

THE POWER OF MOVEMENT IN PLANTS. By Charles Darwin, assisted by Francis Darwin. With Illustrations. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1881. 8vo., pp. 592.

The charm of the Darwins has lasted through three generations, and now the fourth in descent from Dr. Erasmus Darwin is working with the greatest representative of the name in his long and important series of observations and in publishing the results. Even to the least competent judge of botanical science, and of the correlations between the physiology of plants and animals, this volume, like everything that comes from the Darwins, has a value quite irrespective of its exact work in science. A superficial reader can appreciate the nicety of observation, the ingenious devices for recording the long-continued series of measurements, and the exhaustive study of all literature that throws light on the subject. Even in the use of the material gathered by the enthusiastic German naturalists, who are more Darwinian than the Darwins themselves, it is characteristic that the Darwins coolly record the fact that much of what is written by these ultra-admiring Germans is useless because it is unintelligible. This can never be said of anything recorded by the Darwins, either as matter of observation or of inference, while much of the most important work done by them has the added charm of being tentative, and in the form of questions submitted to the judgment of those likeliest to test the results thus published in severest hostility. It is gratifying to find that Meehan, one of our own Philadelphia observers, is cited and relied on as a thoroughly competent authority, and that Asa Gray is the representative of American botany and natural history, and the safe guide for pointing out the best sources of recent observation in the wide field covered by public and private observers in the many-sided records of phenomena useful in Darwin's last volume. The curious and mystical question of sleep in plants is discussed with great fullness of learning and nicety of observation, and in such a way as to take away all excuse for poetizing in science or for scientific poetry. This part of the volume might well

be recast in such a shape as to give the gist of it freed from the somewhat trying scientific terminology that is used for the sake of the highest exactness; and even from the other pages of this learned work many statements might be drawn in such shape as to be a means of popular instruction. There can be no more characteristic proof of the pure love of science for its own sake on the part of the Darwins, than their devotion to the task in hand, their indifference to anything like popular applause, and their calm superiority to the enthusiasm of their professed admirers, when it is not based on careful observation. To any one who reads this last volume of the growing series of the Darwin works on their special subjects of study, it is plain that their investigations are entirely in the pursuit of scientific truth, and without any purpose of ascertaining how far results may be made to tally with conclusions absolutely defined in advance. It is very certain that a cursory reading of Darwin would effectually close the mouths of those who denounce this greatest of living naturalists, in absolute ignorance of his real achievements in the fields of science in which he has worked so sedulously, and would satisfy even the most orthodox that Darwin has no purpose other than the ascertainment of the ultimate truths of the phenomena which he undertakes to solve. He who does this can in no sense be sneered at or put down by mere denunciation; and the best way of reconciling science and theology is by making exponents in the one experts in the other of these two branches of learning,—for, far as they have been sundered apart and separated of late years, the divorce is caused by the doctors of divinity much more than by the students of science.

JOHN HUNTER AND HIS PUPILS. By S. D. Gross, M.D., LL.D., D.C.L., Oxon., LL.D.; Cantab.; Professor of Surgery in the Jefferson Medical College; President of the Philadelphia Academy of Surgery, etc. Philadelphia: Presley Blakiston, 1012 Walnut street, 1881. 8vo., pp. 106.

Professor Gross, the Nestor of surgery in this country, has here paid due and fitting tribute to the life, character and services of the founder of scientific surgery. As the first anniversary address before the Philadelphia Academy of Surgery, it was a very happy choice, both of speaker and subject, that thus connects the greatest of American surgeons, on whom the highest English honors have been conferred, with the long line of English surgeons. The profession in both countries look on Hunter as the practical founder of the Royal College of Surgeons, in whose care is the splendid museum begun by Hunter, and still bearing his name, but vastly increased by gifts and purchases, until it is now an unequalled and

ever-growing monument of the great surgeon whose name it bears. To Hunter's memory, too, there is paid the tribute of an address delivered on his birth-day; and since 1813 down to our own day, there has been no break in this succession of essays doing honor to the memory of Hunter, by contributing to the advancement of surgery and showing how it may best subserve the interests of humanity and science. It is not only that Hunter was a great surgeon and a many-sided man, interested in every form of medical science and in all out-lying branches of natural history, which he made tributary to his own studies; but it was his success as a teacher that entitles him to the eloquent tribute of Dr. Gross's splendid praise. Of most interest among all his long list of pupils subsequently deservedly famous, is Physick, a native of this city, a graduate of our own University, and for years one of the most shining lights as a teacher of medicine in the school which brought forth many of the leading American surgeons of our own day. Dr. William Shippen was a pupil of John Hunter's, and also contributed his share to the improvement of medical science by taking part in the establishment of the Medical Department of the University and by his own lectures on anatomy. Dr. Gross wisely completes his picture by sketching the incidents of Hunter's life and by contrasting his greatness in science with many of his faults in daily life and his shortcomings in his dealings with his colleagues in medicine and surgery. His love of nature, and his knowledge of animals, and his own large collection, first suggested the establishment of a zoölogical garden, and finally led to his assistance in founding a veterinary college, which was one of the first of the institutions thus extending to the brute creation the benefits of science. Dr. Gross points out the leading features of Hunter's wonderful career,—his first ten years of professional life devoted to the study of human anatomy,—his later busy career filled with researches in comparative anatomy, physiology and surgery, and the extensive classification and arrangement of his museum,—his vast labors as an original investigator,—his composition of numerous treatises and papers on an endless variety of subjects, covered by his wide range of observation and investigation. Only a man of such grasp of the subject as Dr. Gross has attained by his own life, spent in study and in practice, in learning and in teaching, could do full justice to Hunter's merit. This mention is honorable alike to the scientific zeal of the author and to his love of his profession and of instruction in it, for this it is that makes him anxious to attract attention to John Hunter and to induce the rising generation in medicine to follow the example of such a life. There can be no sharper spur to quicken the ambition of our growing army of doctors than Dr. Gross's noble tribute to John Hunter.

SCHILLER AND HIS TIMES. By Johannes Scherr. Translated from the German, by Elizabeth McClellan. With illustrations. Philadelphia: Ig. Kohler, 1880. 8vo., pp. 454.

GOETHE'S MOTHER. Correspondence of Catherine Elizabeth Goethe with Goethe, Lavater, Wieland and others. Translated from the German; with the addition of biographical sketches and notes. By Alfred S. Gibbs, with an introductory note by Clarence Cook. New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1880. 8vo. [ix, xxxi, pp. 265,] with Portraits of Goethe's Mother, Father and Sister, and Lavater.

The drift of studies is often shown by the translations from foreign languages, for no one undertakes such a task without the reasonable hope of finding sympathetic and appreciative readers. To such these books may be heartily commended. Scherr's Schiller has already been spoken of in the *PENN MONTHLY*, and the praise bestowed on the original of course extends to Miss McClellan's close, literal and faithful rendering into English. Her work has been done with great honesty and painstaking care, and therefore is entitled to hearty praise and grateful acknowledgment. In the conscientious fulness with which every phrase of the original is preserved in fluent English, in the careful study bestowed on the subject, and in the exactness with which it is set before the reader, Miss McClellan's work is in strong contrast to the easy translations of German novels and much other lighter literature that find a market with our publishers. Her task was no easy one, for Scherr's style is even more compact than that fulness which is so characteristic of German authors, and it is plain that for many readers it would have been a gain if the usual rule had been adopted by the translator, of leaving out every part of the original which seemed unlikely to suit the reader. For this fidelity to the author, Miss McClellan deserves the thanks of all who believe that honesty is as much required in literature as in any sort of art or handiwork. Dr. Gibbs's book has a complex interest and value. It is almost the only permanent record left to a large circle of friends, who looked forward to some literary work that should fitly mark their appreciation of his learning and study; and it is significant of the large extent to which American readers share the interest of the German literary world in all that relates to Goethe. Dr. Gibbs has selected from a large number of books in that fruitful harvest, the Goethe literature, all that could throw light on one of the sweetest and most attractive characters of all the large circle of women that surrounded Goethe from his early youth to his mature old age. Goethe's mother stands quite apart, and her title as Frau Aja, or Frau Rath, is of itself as distinct and as well recognized as that of any person of great historic reputation. Her son was very

like her in many particulars, and she in turn looked proudly on as his genius rapidly secured its recognition from far and near. The contrast between her own bright, gladsome qualities, reproduced in still larger and nobler proportions in her illustrious son, and the stiff, pedantic, formal manner of living and thinking of her husband, much more her senior in years than her son was her junior, is very happily brought out in the letters Dr. Gibbs has selected for translation and enriched by notes and elucidations of forgotten references. The prefatory memoir by Mr. Cook is a touching tribute of life-long friendship to a career too early and too hastily cut off to enable the world to gain the fruit that a ripened maturity would no doubt have marked in Dr. Gibbs' studies. There are many of his old friends and acquaintances here who will be very grateful for such a memorial.

THE ACTOR AND HIS ART. By C. Coquelin, of the *Comédie Française*. Translated from the French by Abby Langdon Alger. Boston: Roberts Brothers, 1881. 12mo. Pp. 63.

Miss Alger has made a very flowing, easy and graceful translation of Coquelin's clever essay. This is really a plea for the right of actors to the decoration of the Legion of Honor, and on this claim Coquelin has brought together much that is of interest in the wider and well recognized right of the dramatic artist to recognition of a substantial kind. Indeed, in this country and in England, actors have secured their place by asserting their right and maintaining it; but in France, in spite of the universal popularity and great merit of the theatre, there still remains a well-defined line of demarcation, less social, perhaps, than civil; and Coquelin expresses the strong desire of his brethren of the buskin to secure, by the virtues of the red ribbon, perfect equality. He makes out a claim to something much stronger than the little buttonhole decoration for which every Frenchman makes such vigorous efforts, and the charm of his address lies in his illustrations, from the traditions of the *Theatre Français* and other boards, of the acknowledgment of dramatic authors to the actors who made their plays successful. Something of the attraction of his narrative was due in the original to the fact that it was a spoken, not a written, piece,—it was in one of the numerous conferences or morning lectures, in which Paris is rivalling Berlin, and almost equalling Boston and other American lyceum centres. Much of what he says was no doubt largely helped out by his clever exemplification of the actor's art off the stage, and the verses, here translated by the Rev. C. T. Brooks with his usual closeness, must have gained great additional interest by Coquelin's recitation of them. There is a spice of the man's own caustic cleverness in his admission that there has been a gain

of recent years, "since Mother Church sometimes allows actors to enter her precincts, and consents to bury them,—perhaps with pleasure." There is a reasonable propriety in his suggestion that actors might advantageously be employed to recite odes and addresses at periodical festivals held to commemorate national anniversaries; and, indeed, we must all regret that our pulpit and legal and legislative orators have not adopted the good French custom of taking lessons from the best authorities,—the recognized masters on the French stage and at the *Conservatoire*. Coquelin points with pride to the merit of his own associates in keeping up the performances at the *Comédie Française* during the days of gloom and depression of the Siege of Paris, and to the successes achieved by Rachel in her recitation of the *Marseillaise*. With our more prosaic habit of looking on the theatre as a mere place of amusement, the interest of Coquelin's essay, for us, is limited to his clever analysis of the actor's art as in itself deserving respect for the possibilities which enable a really great actor to create situations and produce effects beyond those intended by the actual dramatic author. He points with pride to the acknowledgments of Mme. Sand, Victor Hugo, the elder Dumas, Alfred de Musset, and other lesser lights, for putting light and life into the types that became only real in the hands of such actors as Regnier, Samson, Got, Delaunay, and Coquelin himself. He asserts roundly that the theatre has a decided influence in improving mankind,—both by its lessons of virtue, its warnings against vice, and by making its audiences more sociable and more human. Of his stories of the stage, the training and experience of his own years of service, and of his predecessors and associates in the *Comédie*,—that home of traditions of two centuries of the best players in the world,—no mere abstract can give a fair notion, nor would it be fair to deprive the reader of the charm of enjoying them from his own pages.

SANSKRIT AND ITS KINDRED LITERATURES. Studies in Comparative Mythology. By Laura Elizabeth Poor. Pp. 468, 12mo. Boston: Roberts Bros.

This book meets a real need in our popular literature. There are multitudes who feel a certain interest in the great discoveries in Oriental literature which began with Sir William Jones, and are attracted to these old poets and thinkers as our far-out kinsmen of the Aryan race, but of whom we can hardly expect that they should attempt the learned discussions of the subject to be found in Wilson, Muir, Haug and Monier Williams. Max Müller is their favorite writer, but he does not cover the ground well, however valuable as regards details. For such readers, and for young students who are just awakening to an interest in the matter, Miss Poor's book seems to be well adapted. It is interesting in treatment,

well condensed and yet clear, with sufficient specimens of the literatures treated of. Perhaps it would have been still more complete and serviceable, if the seventh, eleventh and thirteenth chapters had been omitted. They strike us as excrescences upon the general plan, and they cover subjects which deserve fuller treatment, and on which good books are to be had in plenty.

Miss Poor has selected as the connecting link in the study of the great Aryan literatures, the common back-ground of mythology. She accepts the theories of the school of Kuhn, Coxe and Müller, which resolve these into a simulacrum of astronomic facts,—a theory which is substantially true and marks a great advance in the study of the subject, but which Coxe and some others have pushed to an absurdity. Those who have read with care Mr. William Morris's *Sigurd the Volsung*, will not have failed to observe how the solar myth is discovered as the basis of that splendid poem,—a recast of the *Nibelungenlied*, in conformity with the older but more fragmentary account given in the *Edda*. And the oldest versions of the great majority of our most popular tales and ballads have this same character. Even where the hero is an authentic and recent character, the solar myth of the older poetry is borrowed for his glorification, and his own deeds intercalated with acts which were in the first instance those of the *Dyaus-pitar*.

MARCO POLO. His Travels and Adventures. By George Makepeace Towle. Pp. 274. Illustrated. Boston: Lee & Shepard.

A boy's book of the right sort, drawn from actual human experience, yet fitted to exercise and discipline the imagination. Worth a thousand of the unwholesome fictions, with platitudinarian morals, which are dished up for young readers every month. We could have wished the author a simpler vocabulary, as his book might thus have reached a younger grade of readers than will now understand it.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

Motherhood. A Poem. Cloth. 12mo. Pp. 44. Price \$1.50. Boston: Lee & Shepard. [Claxton & Co.

History of the Christian Religion to the Year Two Hundred. By Charles B. Waite, A. M. Cloth. 8vo. Pp. 455. Chicago: C. V. Waite & Co.

Broken Thoughts and other Poems. By G. L. B. Cloth. 16mo. Pp. 126. Price \$1.25. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. [Porter & Coates.

Sir William Hamilton. By W. H. S. Monck, M. A. Cloth. 12mo. Pp. 192. Price \$1.25. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. [Porter & Coates.

The Science of Mind. By John Bascom. Cloth. 12mo. Pp. 462. Price \$2.00. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. [Porter and Coates.

THE
PENN MONTHLY.

MAY, 1881.

POLITICO-SOCIAL FUNCTIONS.*

IT is a sign of an approaching crisis in social opinion, when prevailing theories become widely at variance with prevailing practices. While a certain amount of general depravity may be conceded, even to a progressive and apparently prosperous people, it is quite too much to insist that, because they are almost universally running counter to the received philosophy, they must necessarily be pursuing a downward course. They may simply be following social instincts; and when social instincts are found to be powerfully opposed to social tenets, it is time, while deploring the former, to pause, also, and examine the latter.

In one view, all truth is relative. Doctrines that were true for one age cease to be true for a later one; principles which really worked the salvation of the last century cannot be utilized in the present one. The conservative tendencies of society, which perpetuate customs and ceremonies after their usefulness has ceased, preserve also the great social theories by which past ages have been redeemed, and they hand them down to later times, with which they no longer stand in legitimate relationship. Feeling is more powerful than intellect. Society is always moved by the great tide of sentiment long before the voice of reason declares the nature of this motive power. When the tide once fairly sets

* Read before the Anthropological Society of Washington, March 15, 1881.

in in one direction, the philosopher knows that there must be a force behind it; but ere he can investigate that force by the slow and cautious methods of science, and announce its true character, long steps will have been taken in the direction of the inevitable. This is a critical period. The interval between action and reason, —between new practice and new theory,—is one full of dangers to society. For all the forms of feeling, as well as the particular form called love, are equally blind; and blind sentiment sweeping through new tracks, and encountering old theories and old practices, must inevitably produce innumerable conflicts and perpetually jeopardize the great interests which are at stake.

The second half of the nineteenth century is precisely such a period as that described. Theory and practice are at war. The only social philosophy that exists is one that condemns the bulk of the social action taken. The libraries of the world are filled with arguments against the very course which events are blindly taking. The whole weight of the greatest social writers of the past is massed against the social movement of the age. The works of Adam Smith and Ricardo, of Pitt, Cobden and the two Mills, of Jean Baptiste Say and Michel Chevalier, and of the train of political economists who have followed these leaders, while they abound in discords and contain many conflicting views, are, in the main, hostile to all those schemes of regulation which characterize the action of modern States. The political science of these masters is all there is to be taught in the colleges and universities, and it continues to be so taught. The representatives of science have joined their forces with the ones already named, and, with the added power which science has justly come to wield, stand boldly in the track of current events. There is also an able corps of living writers who are earnestly protesting against the tendencies of the times. The commercial and financial journals are filled with hostile flings at "Government meddling," and "bureaucracy;" the organs of transportation, telegraph, and insurance companies are daily holding up the dangers of "State regulation." The Cobden Club and other "Free Trade" societies are scattering tracts with a liberal hand, in the hope of stemming the tide. Victor Boehmert warns, Augustus Mongredien shouts, and Herbert Spencer thunders. What is the result? Germany answers by purchasing private railroads and enacting a high protective tariff. France

answers by decreeing the construction of eleven thousand miles of Government railroad, and offering a bounty to French ship-owners. England answers by a compulsory education act, by Government purchase of the telegraph, and by a judicial decision laying claim to the telephone. America answers by an inter-State railroad bill, a national education bill, and a sweeping *plebiscite* in favor of protection to home manufactures. The whole world has caught the contagion, and all nations are adopting measures of positive legislation. A large amount of crude law-making is being dictated by this blind impulse. Vast internal improvements are undertaken by Government, and millions are appropriated for commercial and industrial schemes. The wildest financial measures are seriously advocated, and both at home and abroad the public credit of the world was at one time seriously imperilled by Socialistic theories of national financiering. Cernuschi said "Nomisma;" and a large but irresponsible party sprang up in every civilized country and demanded that the State should create and distribute an abundance of the circulating medium!

What conclusion is the thoughtful student of social events to deduce from all this? The prevailing school of political economists think the world is temporarily mad, but hope that it will soon return to itself. They declare the entire movement baseless, and believe that all efforts should be directed towards diffusing and reinforcing existing theories, and they insist that there are no grounds on which the events described can be logically defended. In this they are undoubtedly sincere. Reform with them means simply a halt and reversal of prevailing tendencies.

But there is another possible policy, practicable also for those who really desire reform. It is an adage that reforms never go backward. It is always well to inquire whether, underlying a great movement, however perverse it may appear, there may not be a basis of truth concealed by the errors that lie on the surface. In such cases true reform may not consist in open opposition. This may often be fruitful of harm, and usually is fruitless of good.

In the present state of society, the movement above sketched is irresistible. This is sufficiently proved by the powerlessness of the influences allied against it to check it. It behooves all true reformers, therefore, to cease factious opposition, and settle down to the soberer task of studying the causes of the phenomena observed. Society

needs less to be told that it is doing wrong than to be shown what it is really doing. If there must be a movement in a given direction, let its true nature be made known. The jars and evils are due, not to the advance itself, but to the clashing of interests which ignorance of their existence and of the whole field swept over renders inevitable. The true need is for enlightenment respecting the causes and consequences of action, by the aid of which alone these conflicts can be avoided and the movement intelligently guided.

In what consists this schism between theory and practice? It is after all a schism between two theories; for all action is based on theory, if it is nothing more than a blind intuition of selfish and momentary benefit. In the present case it is much more. Fundamentally formulated, it is the theory of natural, against that of artificial regulation. The belief in some form of regulation is one deeply implanted in the human mind. A supposed divine regulation of human affairs was the first form in which this belief manifested itself. Then, when government was exercised chiefly by one man or a few men, the belief in the power of these rulers to regulate society was long supreme. It is only since the civilizing agencies of printing and of science have been at work, that this illusion has been dispelled. But in its place the only alternative clearly perceived has been accepted, viz., the idea that nature and the laws of nature are alone competent to regulate the affairs of men. This theory was plausible. It was supported by the spontaneous growth of numerous great industries; it was strengthened by the failures of human regulation in the past, and by the continuance of such failures in the present. It was thought to be in full accord with all the teachings of science which had so greatly contributed to relieve the world of the yoke of despotic regulation. Science taught the uniformity of all of nature's processes. It taught that the universe was controlled by fixed and unchangeable laws which could not be violated with impunity. Progress in nature was due to the secular operation of these laws, which could neither be slackened nor accelerated. Political science followed strictly in the path of physical science. It declared that commerce and industry were controlled by uniform laws of nature which man must interfere with at his peril. The laws of trade must be allowed to take their course. The improvements necessary to further civili-

zation, to be real or substantial, must be spontaneous. Great systems of commercial intercourse, of productive industry, of transportation, intercommunication, finance, and education, would naturally work themselves out, provided the potential qualities necessary for them existed in society. Every attempt on the part of Government to interfere with these great processes of nature only recoiled upon the agent and imperilled the safety of the State. Government must protect,—it must not control; it may forbid,—it may not command.

Such was the theory which very naturally grew up at a time when it was greatly needed, and emancipated society to such an extent from monarchical and oligarchical rule, that nearly every one of the pretended monarchies of Europe is to-day a virtual democracy. And this is none other than the present prevailing theory of political economists; the one which is embodied in our masterpieces of literature and philosophy, is taught in our colleges, preached in our pulpits, echoed from our rostrums, served up daily by the press, and advocated by many of the most learned men of the time. And now, in these later days of republican institutions, which, as already remarked, it has done much to secure, it finds itself again confronted by an enemy which it cannot distinguish from the old one that it formerly encountered and drove back.

Just here is the great mistake. In so far as artificial regulation in itself is concerned, the modern theory is indeed identical with the original one; but here the parallelism ceases. Government under a real autocrat is the interference by one man with the affairs of millions. Government by popularly chosen representatives is the management by society of its own affairs. This may be true only in theory, but it approaches realization in proportion as representative government approaches perfection.

Now, precisely the conception which vaguely, but not the less obstinately, inspires all the apparently rash tendencies of our times, is that society ought to take its affairs into its own hands, check the abuses of unrestrained competition and combination, and consciously work out certain of the problems of civilization. Against the negative theory that nature must be left to bring about social progress in its own time and way, it holds that nature may be assisted by organized social action, very much as the *vis medicatrix nature* may be assisted by intelligently directed applications of

the healing art. Not, however, that individuals, legislators or Governments consciously reason out such a scheme. On the contrary, they scarcely know that they are carrying it out, and would in most cases deny it, if openly charged with it. In fact, nearly all classes,—even those who are wielding all their influence against it,—profess to admit the truth of the prevailing theory. They do not realize, and generally do not know, that they are antagonizing it. They wince under the charges of the theoretical school, and confess or make no response; yet they are not deterred from their work. There is no fixed set of doctrines laid down to govern this movement. Acts advancing it are not defended by argument. It is an impulse without a philosophy; an instinct rather than a conviction. Yet it is deep-seated and ineradicable, and its smouldering fires often burst into view in the form of prejudices and passions. There is a sentiment that something is wrong, and a feeling that something should be done. The opposite school does not share these feelings. It condemns every attempt to *do* anything. "*Laissez faire, laissez passer,*" said De Gournay; and with these words was christened the *laissez faire* school of political economists. These writers deride the mistakes of Governments in the past in trying to perform positive functions, and show that such attempts have usually resulted in failures, and often in mischief. All their utterances and teachings imply that it is folly to undertake the control of social events, and wisdom to leave them wholly to the untrammelled influence of what they call natural laws. As above remarked, almost everybody, if separately questioned, would admit this position, so completely has it become part of the education and thought of the present age; and yet, often without perceiving the inconsistency, many entertain a vague but powerful sentiment in favor of mending existing evils, of regulating social events, and of doing something very decisive in many ways.

It is this insidious manner in which these two incompatible theories co-exist, often in the same individual, and permeate society; that complicates the problem and creates the urgent need of a clear presentation of their respective claims and a thorough acquaintance with their nature and aims. If man was really, as is often claimed, a rational being, in the sense of always acting upon reasoned-out conclusions, there would be no difficulty. It would then resolve itself into a simple trial of strength between two well-

defined parties. But as it is, every house is, as it were, divided against itself. A political speaker may harangue an American audience on the dangers to be apprehended from the centralization of power, from Government interference in private enterprise, from an army of paid office-holders striving to do the business of the country, from attempts of the State to manage lines of transportation and inter-communication, from legislation granting subsidies to rich corporations or taking from the people the right to issue bills of exchange or solicit deposits; and all these sentiments will be applauded. Another speaker may address the same audience the next day, warning them of the dangers from grasping corporations, from industrial, commercial and financial monopolies, from fraudulent bankruptcies and dishonest failures; and he, too, will receive equally unqualified approbation. The workingman may be excited to the pitch of belligerency by telling him that the clothing he wears, the cutlery and tools he uses, and much of the food he eats, are far dearer than they would be but for a protective tariff which enables certain monopolists to put up the prices of the commodities they manufacture; but the same individual could have been wrought up to the same pitch by informing him that a given increase in the duty on certain articles of foreign importation would enhance his wages a given per cent., and that certain persons are trying to reduce these duties still lower, so as to compel him to compete with the pauper labor of Europe. Yet, while in the first of each of these hypothetical cases the appeal is such as would come from the school of *laissez faire* economists, in the second it is, in both cases, that which would come from the school of State regulation.

These examples, however, will help us to obtain a glimpse of the foundation upon which this latter school stands. Science and natural law to the contrary notwithstanding, it remains, and always has remained, a patent fact, that social events, left to themselves, are always attended with glaring evils. There is no necessary harmony between natural law and human advantage. The laws of trade inevitably result in enormous inequalities in the distribution of wealth. It may, with much truth, be argued that considerable inequality is the better social condition; but the degree and kind of inequality which is actually reached cannot be defended on this ground. The fact is too apparent that all this inequality is not due to the superior intelligence or industry of those who possess most,

which, thus limited, many might be disposed to declare just. It is obvious that mere accident of birth or position is sufficient to account for the great bulk of this inequality; that real intelligence, beyond the coarse cunning inspired by avarice, has little or nothing to do with it; that the primary producers,—that is, the discoverers and inventors of the laws and appliances by which the production of wealth is accelerated,—have generally enjoyed few or none of the advantages of their intellectual efforts, but that these are reaped by men of very moderate abilities beyond a certain business shrewdness and tact; that the immediate creators of wealth,—the bone and sinew of labor,—are, in nearly all cases, poor, while princely fortunes fall, for the most part, to the class who, far removed from all the objects of production or exchange, busy themselves solely with the medium of exchange or with mere transfers of entries representing the value of commodities produced and exchanged.

Again, natural laws do not prevent monopolies. The theory is that competition will keep down rates and prices; but the fact is that there is so much co-operation attending competition, when neither are under any control, that the former influence is exceedingly limited in its effects. These are chiefly seen in the swallowing up of small industries by larger ones. Competition results in great irregularity and an uncertain state of affairs. Rates and prices frequently fall below the cost of conducting business. This, while it might be continued under national control, where it has no other effect than to alter the distribution of the burden of supporting it, must be of short duration with private individuals or corporations, and soon be followed by failure, involving heavy losses not only to the parties immediately interested, but to the general stock of the world's capital. In short, the uncontrolled operation of natural laws in social affairs involves immense waste of created wealth. The ruinous lengths to which unlimited competition is capable of running, is a subject of common remark. Those who imagine that anything is thereby gained to the public, are greatly mistaken. Men are limited in their judgment, and fail to foresee remote consequences. Great experience has to be acquired, usually by repeated destructive failures, before the ability can be gained to conduct a business. Yet no one is so wild as to advocate the regulation of private affairs of this class. Altruistic sentiments form no part of the great movement under consideration. Both parties are

quite willing to let every one suffer for his own follies, however innocently he may have come by them. It is only where these numerous failures in private or corporate management strongly affect great public interests and jeopardize the public safety or comfort, that remonstrances are raised. When banks fail and thousands of innocent depositors or holders of their notes lose the proceeds of years of frugality and toil,—when competing lines of transportation and travel so reduce their rates as to run at a loss, and, as must happen, lose also their proper interest in the public, thereby endangering both property and life,—it is in such cases that the demand is made for State regulation.

It is not, however, always true that competition, even while it lasts, has the effect of lowering rates and prices. Bismark startled the *Reichstag* by the bold announcement that the reverse was the case, and he substantiated it by statistics of British railroads before and since their amalgamation. He might have supported it even better by facts nearer home. It arises from the law that competition makes the supply exceed the demand. True as this law is of productive industries, it is doubly true of distributive ones. It multiplies the number of shops far beyond the necessity, each of which must profit by exchange, and in order to do this all must sell dearer than would otherwise be necessary. The immense number of hotels, restaurants and eating-houses in every city, nearly doubles the necessary cost of living. The reduction brought about by competition is only relative and apparent. The fluctuations are between prices artificially strained to meet a super-abundant supply. France has recognized this truth, and, in the matter of railroads, has prohibited their construction for the mere purposes of competition, as is the constant tendency of the unregulated industry.

But while this waste and disorder through unrestrained competition constitute in reality the more serious question for the true economist, monopoly through unrestrained combination is the more vital one for the unphilosophical public. This last, however, is the natural successor of the first. Extreme competition and extreme co-operation are but the crest and trough of the great ocean swell of unregulated social events.

The world to-day is alarmed—whether justly or not, it matters not,—at the prospect of unlimited combination among the vast cor-

porations already in existence. These gigantic enterprises are regarded as threatening to crush out all competition and place every form of product at their mercy. That they have the power to do this, no one can doubt, and their only fear is social revolution. Under the laws they are omnipotent ; they dread only the "higher law," and anarchy, which sometimes becomes more tolerable than government by law. Moreover, these immense monopolies are the legitimate product of natural law. They represent the integrated organisms of social evolution.

The world is also alarmed at the encroachments of capital. The national debts of the world have increased during the last century, under the prevailing doctrines of political economy, about one thousand per cent. They now amount to \$28,337,200,000, or thirteen per cent. of the total wealth of the globe. The debts of dependent States and of cities and towns are on a similar scale. The local debts of the United States are estimated at \$1,100,000,000. To these must be added the debts of corporations and private individuals, wholly undeterminable, but almost as inconceivable in amount. "Half the labor of the world," says a leading financial journal, "is required to pay the interest on its debt." Yet capitalists are still reaching out and daily laying still larger portions of the earth's possessions under tribute to themselves. Such is the nature of things, that each increment to their wealth gives them a disproportionately enlarged power to add new increments ; and the finite mind is incapable of discerning any limit to this process. If we again turn to Nature, we find, as before, that this is according to her method. She never, so far as human observation goes, has been known to yield up the fruits of her progress, and natural progress always consists in just this process. There is only this difference,—man can repudiate, while world-systems are "bound fast in fate." And here, also, as before, it is not nature and law that are apprehended, but repudiation and the over-ruling of the lower physical forces by the higher psychic force. This is the only check to the unlimited absorption of the value of the world's products by the few who chance to stand in the centre of these attracting circles.

Lastly, it is not true that all attempts at Government regulation and State management have failed or wrought only mischief. State postal management is admitted by nearly everybody to have

proved a success. City corporations now universally undertake the work of extinguishing fires, as being too closely connected with the interests of all to be entrusted to private enterprise. There are still a few who condemn the public school system, such as it exists under State and municipal regulation, but it is generally conceded that the people are considerably better educated than they would have been had education been left entirely to private efforts. These exceptions, if such they may be called, together with some others, apply to the United States with a very weak Government, which is jealously watched by a suspicious democracy, ready to hurl its *personnel* from power for the slightest departure from their prescribed duties. But when we look to the Old World, we see that these so-called encroachments upon individual rights have progressed much further.

Our mother-country,—Great Britain,—is most like us in this respect, but it has carried the work of regulation and State management so far as to embrace the telegraph-system, along with the post-office; and recent reports show that, for the eleven years during which this has been the case, the results have been in the highest degree satisfactory. In this brief period the telegraph-system and operations of the United Kingdom have about quadrupled in all directions; the lines have been self-sustaining, and uniform rates, much lower than the former ones, adapted, like those of the post-office, to the common people, have been established.

Great Britain has not purchased any railroads, although it has long held this sword of Damocles over them in the form of a Parliamentary enactment (7 and 8 Vict. c. 85,) reserving the right to do so. It has, however, enacted an entire code of regulative railway laws, and for the past eight years there has existed a special judicial commission or railway court, which is an integral part of the Government. By these means rates are established and innumerable details are arranged by the State to insure just dealings between the railway companies and the public. These are fixed measures which the British public could not be induced to rescind, and which may therefore be regarded as successful.

If we go to the Continent, we find a still greater advance in this direction. The greater part of the railroads of Germany and Belgium are owned and worked by the State; in the former case

mostly by the separate States of the Empire. In France, while the most of them are still nominally in the hands of private companies, such is the degree of national supervision that all rates and even time-tables are fixed by the Government, and no new private lines are allowed to be constructed. Moreover, the charters of many of these lines are soon to expire, and by the terms of the concessions the State has the right of purchase. This it has announced its intention to do, so that before many years the entire network will be in the hands of the Government. Add to this that France has already planned and commenced the construction of 17,700 kilometres of new Government railroad, and has also purchased several of the former lines which it is itself successfully managing.

Prussian statistics show that freight is carried on an average fifteen per cent. cheaper on State than on private lines, and that passengers are carried ten per cent. cheaper, while no road is run at a loss and all are a source of revenue to the State. Italy, in the matter of railroads, is following the example of France in almost every particular, and other countries are moving in the same direction.

As regards the telegraph, many Continental countries have handed it over wholly or in part to the control of Government, and the tendency is steadily in this direction and nowhere in the opposite one.

Government savings-banks, in which the poor mechanic's earnings are rendered perfectly secure, are now almost universal in Europe, and these, as might be easily foreseen, have proved a complete success.

Everybody knows something of the system of public instruction in Germany. Nothing could induce the Fatherland to surrender it. Something closely approaching it exists in Austria and Hungary, as well as throughout Scandinavia, while France, Italy and Belgium are rapidly extending their educational systems. Even England has taken a long step in this direction, in which it persists, against the attacks of many eminent writers. In 1870 it created School Boards, which it empowered to require parents to send their children to school; and, in 1876, it made it obligatory on all parents to provide elementary education for their children. The result has been that in that time the number of schools, of pupils, and of teachers, has increased over 100 per cent.

Finally, the doctrine of protection to home industries must be admitted to be rapidly coming into favor across the water, whether in the form of increased duties on certain articles of importation, or of subventions to domestic shipping and other native enterprises. And here again, in England, the specious term "counter-vailing duties," is not mild enough to conceal a growing sentiment in favor of regulating British trade.

These several acts of human government are not inoperative; they are not failures; they are not admitted by the people of these countries to have been productive of an excess of evil.

But we may go much farther. Of what does government consist? It consists, when rightly understood, simply of a collection of just such cases in which matters of general public interest have been taken out of the hands of individuals and assumed by the central authority. As soon as one such industry becomes permanently established as a proper object of national administration, it drops out of the list of those which it is deemed necessary to defend against Government encroachment. Each one of the body of regulative agencies which constitute the present accepted sphere of normal governmental functions has passed through this stage before settling down into its present place. We see this clearly in the history of finance and the bitter opposition to national banking. We may see it still more plainly where no one ever thinks of looking,—in the progress of jurisprudence. It is, comparatively speaking, only recently that in Europe people were obliged to administer their own justice, both civil and criminal; and this is still the prevailing custom among many barbaric peoples and savage tribes.

Government has ever been constantly encroaching upon these supposed private rights, in the interest of the public good; and, though always opposed, it has always been slowly gaining ground. And, whether we like it or not, this process is destined to continue until, one after another, all the important public operations of society shall come more or less directly under the power of State regulation. Contrary to the general belief, this result is not often reached before the time is ripe for it. Such is the aversion to innovation, that the evils of private management usually become well-nigh intolerable before the State is able or willing to step in and relieve them. While, therefore, progress in the direction of

enlarging the sphere of Government operation should be very slow and cautious, such is the constitution of society and of the human mind, that there is less danger than is generally supposed that this will take place too rapidly.

The objectionableness of this movement is in great part attributable to the necessity of applying to it terms which, during the transition period above described, have come to receive a certain stigma or reproach. The administration of justice is now regarded as a highly proper function of Government,—one which society is in duty bound to perform. The carrying of the mails has already become a recognized Government duty. Only those who desire to profit by issuing private bank notes, now wish to return to that system of banking. The State management of railroads in Belgium has proved so satisfactory to the public that petitions are pouring in praying the Government to appropriate the remaining private lines, and there, at least, this, too, will probably soon pass to the side of legitimate national operations. As much may be said, in a large portion of Europe, of Government telegraphing, of national savings-banks, and of public education; and the world will probably wonder in the future that a patient public should so long have permitted the avarice of individuals, under the legitimate operation of natural laws, to play havoc with the public health in the adulteration of food, medicines and dyes, and in the improper construction of private and public buildings. The maxim, *caveat emptor*, of the common law, is simply a premium on dishonesty, and a proper understanding of its workings must reverse it and substitute *caveat vendor*, who is supposed to know the quality of his wares and deserves their confiscation for the offence of misrepresenting it.

The stigma which now attaches to the term "Government regulation," is, therefore, simply that which individuals, seeking to profit by the absence of it, have ingeniously fastened upon it. It applies only so long as there is hope of defeating State interference in the excesses of private competition and combination. As soon as this hope is definitely surrendered, these operations become legitimate Government functions, and Government is then abused, if at all, only for not performing them in a wholly infallible manner.

What term, then, shall be employed to express this conception free from reproach and with sufficient latitude to embrace both classes of cases, viz., those which are now recognized Government

functions and those which are still disputed and characterized as Government encroachments upon the domain of private enterprise? It is clear that there is no such term now in common use. The conception, though a simple one, requires not only a circumlocution, but an elaborate explanation, to make it intelligible to the popular mind. For the popular idea of Government is extremely crude. It is looked upon objectively,—as an outside power,—hostile rather than friendly to the interests of society; and it must be confessed that this manner of looking at Government goes far towards making it what men are willing to regard it, and towards giving to the holders of political power the impression that they are above, and independent of, society. But every theory of Government must regard it simply as the agency by which society transacts those affairs which are recognized to be of a public character. All the difficulties of which we have spoken, therefore, have arisen from the effort to determine the boundary line between affairs of an essentially public and those of a private nature.

Regarded as the agency of society, it is clear that the acts of Government, theoretically at least, are simply the acts of society through its chosen agents; and Mr. Herbert Spencer has ably shown that even the most despotic forms of Government really reflect the average will and character of the units composing such societies. Opposition to Government regulation is, therefore, in the nature of an attempt to frustrate the will of society as it is constituted to express it; but so long as such opposition is successful, this is itself the proof that the acts opposed do not properly represent the social will as thus constituted, since the only test of this will is the power to enforce it, no matter what the form of Government.

Thus viewed, the entire movement of which we have spoken becomes a social movement, and the conflict must be between individuals and society at large. The question in each case is, then, shall individuals continue to control this industry, or shall society henceforth control it? We have seen that the sphere of social control has been gradually expanding throughout the periods of civilization,—sometimes, perhaps, too rapidly, but usually too slowly; and now we find that for more than a century the English school of negative economists has devoted itself to the task of checking this advance. This *laissez faire* school has entrenched itself behind the fortifications of science, and while declaring with

truth that social phenomena are, like physical phenomena, uniform and governed by laws, they have accompanied this by the false declaration and *non sequitur* that neither physical nor social phenomena are capable of human control ; the fact being that all the practical benefits of science are the result of man's control of natural forces and phenomena which would otherwise have run to waste or operated as enemies to human progress. The opposing positive school of economists simply demands an opportunity to utilize the social forces for human advantage in precisely the same manner as the physical forces have been utilized. It is only through the artificial control of natural phenomena that science is made to minister to human needs ; and if social laws are really analogous to physical laws, there is no reason why social science may not receive practical applications such as have been given to physical science.

To distinguish this general movement in the direction of regulating social phenomena from all other facts in human history, and at the same time to avoid all objectionable terms and express the conception in its widest sense, it may be appropriately denominated *Sociocracy*. It is too late now to object to this new term on the ground of its hybrid Græco-Latin etymology, since the Greek language is known to be deficient in a proper root for its first component, and several kindred terms are already in common use by the best authorities. It means something quite distinct from Democracy, which points, as this term does not, decisively towards a definite form of organization. The term Socialism, too, which might seem akin to it, aside from its unpopularity, has by far too great definiteness, and looks too much to fundamental change in the existing status of political institutions. All of these forms of social organization stand opposed to other existing forms, while Sociocracy stands opposed only to the absence of a regulative system, and is the symbol of positive social action as against the negativism of the dominant *laissez faire* school of politico-economic *doctrinaires*. It recognizes all forms of government as legitimate, and, ignoring form, goes to the substance, and denotes that, in whatever manner organized, it is the duty of society to act consciously and intelligently, as becomes an enlightened age, in the direction of guarding its own interests and working out its own destiny.

LESTER F. WARD.

VOLTAIRE AT THE BAR OF HISTORY.

“ *Le Roi Voltaire.* ”—A. Houssaye.

WHEN occasion offers to speak of Voltaire, one naturally pauses to ask one's self whether he is most deserving of the enthusiasm or malediction of mankind.

Voltaire was, beyond all dispute, the spirit of his age, or, to speak more forcibly, the eighteenth century incarnate. At that memorable epoch of history, the splendors of the past seemed to vanish. French royalty, which had gained so much *éclat* under Henri IV. and Louis XIV., degenerated into Saturnalias of the *Parc-aux-Cerfs*,—worthy continuations of the Regent's orgies. The aristocracy, enfeebled by idleness, court-life and easement, lost at once both energy and influence. The Catholic Church, more degenerate still, contended in vain against the spirit of modern times which menaced her existence. All eyes were turned upon a single man who seemed the personification of that spirit which it appeared was destined to rule the world. Estranged from his country, looked upon with odium by the Parliament, with suspicion by royalty, with hatred by the clergy,—this man on the shores of Lake Lemman becomes in truth the arbitrator of the opinion of Europe. Louis XV. fears him; Madame de Pompadour negotiates with him; Frederick the Great lays at his feet the laurels of Kossbach; the imperious Catherine II. defers to him. In the last days of his life, Paris received him in triumph, with the expectation that he would make it his home. His name became a watchword. A spirit of pitiless criticism unknown to old Europe characterized him, which even the sixteenth century—the century of innovations,—would not have understood. The irony of Erasmus becomes mild when compared with that of Voltaire. *Candide* and the *Dictionnaire Philosophique* make the *Praise of Folly* appear but as the harmless fantasy of a humorist. Is not Voltaire—even to-day,—as much an object of our hatred or affection, as if he were one of our contemporaries? * Might we not say history has not begun

* To convince one's self of this, it is only necessary to bestow a glance upon his admirers and adversaries. Among the former, MM. Harel's *Eloge de Voltaire*, and Lanfrey's *L'Eglise et les Philosophes* should first be mentioned. Among the latter, le Comte de Maistre's *Soirées de St. Petersbourg*, and M. Nicolardot's *Ménage et Finances de Voltaire* take the first rank. M. Romain Cornut's *Discours sur Voltaire* is more moderate.

for him ; that he reigns still over kings and peoples alike, and that it is impossible to take an impartial view of either his life or his works?* Why not try, in spite of the difficulty, to speak of this great man with the calm impartiality due to genius? This may not be impossible, if we look beyond the vain quarrels of sects and schools, and bear constantly in mind the interests of justice and truth.

We cannot get a better understanding of Voltaire's character and works by separating him from the times in which he lived ; yet this is just what his adversaries, Catholic and Protestant, have done, though doubtless the latter have shown more calmness and knowledge in their judgment of him than the apologists of the Roman Church. However, Voltaire's attacks upon Christianity, and sincere indignation against a clergy in which were united intolerance and skepticism, led them to misunderstand all of generosity there was in his character and of greatness in his intellect. No serious mind of our day will attempt to justify Voltaire's implacable opposition to the Gospel any more than Gibbon's. But the picture of the society in which he lived, drawn by Bungener, a Protestant, and Nicolardot, a Catholic,—the very men who have most reproached Voltaire with hatred for the institutions of Christianity,—shows many extenuating circumstances in his favor. On reading *Julien, ou la Fin d'un Siècle*, and the introduction to *Ménage et Finances de Voltaire*, one will find MM. Bungener and Nicolardot very severe.†

Was it likely that such men as Fréron, Nonotte, Vetouillet, De Fontaine—the upholders of Christianity in France in the eighteenth century,—could impress a mind like Voltaire's with the sublime beauty of the Gospels? And those members of the clergy who showed more skill in their contest with him—Guenée and Borgier, for instance,—did not they identify the cause of Christianity with that of superstition and tyranny? If we examine the Catholic apologies written in the eighteenth century, do we not find that they are calculated to inspire in every thoughtful mind and every loyal heart an invincible antipathy for the Christianity which

* *La Vie de Voltaire*, by Condorcet, and his *Eloge*, by Frederick II., are funeral orations. The last work of the celebrated Dr. Strauss, dedicated to the biography of Voltaire, will attract attention.

† *Tableaux du XVIIIème Siècle*, par Bungener.

they purposed to defend? Was it possible that those men who interpreted in so narrow a spirit the fraternal morality of the Sermon on the Mount—who saw in religion only a system of police, a convenient resource for oppressing the weak,—could teach any one to love it? As for the Princes of the Roman Church, who were the official representatives of Christianity in France at this period, did they not declare that it must be considered as a means of government? Cardinal Bernis, who wrote, in his official capacity as priest, *La Religion Vengée*, acknowledged that he was the author of a number of Anacreontic verses which were the delight of the *ruelles*. Voltaire, his friend and correspondent, could call him, without scandal, “*Babet, la bouquetière*.” It was the Abbé de Châteauneuf, Voltaire’s godfather, who taught him to read in an obscene poem called *La Mosaïde*, and who introduced him to Ninon de l’Enclos and to the society of the Abbé de Chaulieu, where the Gospel was spoken of as one would speak of the mysteries of Mithra. Dubois was made successor to Fénelon in the archiepiscopal chair of Cambrai and Prince of the *Holy* Roman Church, for furthering the Regent’s passions; and he afterwards sold France for an English pension. How could Voltaire have much respect for institutions which were represented by such a man? Moreover, what effect did Christianity have upon the minds of those who made a pretence of defending it? Their thoroughly Epicurean lives were distinguished for cruelty. The torture of Calas, the condemnation of Firmin,—are not isolated cases. For a mere act of youthful folly, the Chevalier La Barre perished on the scaffold. In 1766, he was condemned to be burned alive for insulting a crucifix; but the Parliament of Paris, touched by his youth,—he was scarcely eighteen,—commuted his sentence to decapitation.

And it was by such atrocities that they sought to inspire respect for Christianity. Yet not one among all the cardinals, pontiffs and monks,—the so-called disciples of Christ,—among all the writers in the pay of the clergy, dared to raise his voice against injustice and persecution. Voltaire, by taking up the cause of Calas, Firmin and La Barre, proved himself more of a Christian than all the Gallic Church put together,—than that Church which had burned his *Dictionnaire Philosophique* in the flames intended for the poor young officer. His natural horror of servitude was greatly stimulated during

his stay in free England, where his brilliant and active mind witnessed very different spectacles.

Although the established Church was so degraded as only to merit contempt, there may have been some Christians in France exempt from the contagion of the eighteenth century. It has been said that Voltaire might have formed a fair idea of evangelical virtues from the Jansenists,—so resolute in their faith. But at this period Jansenism was not that of Saint Cyran, Arnauld and Pascal. Though much more sincere than their opponents,* the Jansenists had all the faults of sectarianism. The austerity which distinguished the founders of the sect, had degenerated into bitter intolerance; and they became noted for the narrowness of their intelligence and their antipathy to all kinds of progress. Persecuted by the Jesuits, they would have liked to console themselves by burning the philosophers. They counted many friends in Parliament and were always in favor of vigorous measures. It is to them that we must attribute the miracles of the Deacon Paris. During several years, young Jansenist fanatics, less or more clad, were in the habit of rolling on the tomb of the pious adept of the doctrines of Saint Cyran. Were these grotesque performances, which often terminated in a manner scarcely decent, of a nature to give the author of the *Dictionnaire Philosophique* great inclination for supernatural deeds?

Moreover, it must be admitted that the democratic character of the Gospel was really repugnant to Voltaire. He considered that Christianity had grown out of the revolt of the popular conscience against the Society of Rome, such as it was under the Cæsars. To defend and propagate it, men of obscure origin had contended against the most formidable of powers. The apostles of the new faith were, in the eyes of the author of the *Henriade*, twelve fanatics, and he believed they had gained dominion over the moral world by one of those accidents of which history is full. In this opinion, Voltaire differed but little from Plato. Like him, he did not want a philosophy understood by shoemakers. He also waxed indignant against "*un polisson, échappé de Genève,*" who had written "*un prétendu contrat social*" treating of the rights of "*la canaille.*" Le Seigneur de Féreney thought that "*les honnêtes gens*" could not have the same creed as peasants and porters. He thought

* Voltaire called them "foxes" and the Jansenists "wolves."

the influence of Christianity was well enough for them; as for himself, his aristocratic instincts, his ideas as a philosopher, and even his literary convictions, revolted against such a doctrine. By only one means could a repugnance so deep rooted have been conquered,—that was that Christianity should have appeared to him as the religion of “*gens comme il faut*,” by virtue of great deeds and influence upon higher classes and superior minds. His mind was easily impressed by all that attracted it—he would have been more disposed in favor of the teachings of Christ if he had been born a century earlier, in the time of such men as Pascal, Descartes, Turenne, Corneille, Racine and La Bruyère. *Le Siècle de Louis XIV.* shows the sincere admiration with which that society—at once intelligent, brilliant and cultivated,—inspired him. Although it listened with lively satisfaction to the Christian preachings of Bossuet, Bourdaloue and Fléchier, it knew how to protect the author of *Tartuffe* from the rage of the unmasked hypocrites, and delighted in the immortal *Provincial Letters* in which Pascal condemned the false Christianity of the successors of Loyola.

In their severity towards Voltaire, Protestant writers have not shown much gratitude. The Reformed Church is the only one of all the Christian communions which he has spoken of with favor. The *Henriade* is, throughout, a defence of the religious reformation which the sixteenth century signalized. The leaders of Protestantism—the Colignys, Dupléssis, Mornays, etc.,—are even painted in ideal colors in this poem. The author represents them as the types of tolerance and sincere convictions, while their adversaries personify fraud and superstition. The poet often lends to the Protestants of the sixteenth century sentiments of sympathy and forbearance very foreign to the terrible period in which they lived. Should not this lead the Protestants of our day to judge Voltaire with less austerity?

It must be acknowledged that, following the example of Crotus Rubianus, in his *Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum*, Voltaire made use of reckless irony in his religious polemics. But it is a very grave mistake to regard such tactics as an indication of a hopeless levity of mind. Even Spinoza, that grave, gloomy thinker, used the bitterest mockery against the Roman creed in his letters to Oldenberg. The celebrated Erasmus,—like Spinoza, born in sober Holland—Erasmus,

the adversary of Luther—Erasmus, who wished to die in the bosom of Catholicism,—is thought by many of our contemporaries to have overstepped the boundaries in his *Praise of Folly*. We may judge of this from a few incomplete extracts:—

“‘Alas!’ exclaimed Moria, ‘these follies almost make me blush. Every malady has its saint, and every saint his candle. This saint cures the toothache; that is efficacious in the diseases of children; another restores something that has been stolen from you; another saves you from shipwreck; a fifth takes care of your flocks, and there are some who are infallible for many things at once—especially the Virgin,—the mother of God,—to whom religion attributes hardly less power than to the son.’”*

“The human mind is so constituted that imposture has much more hold upon it than truth. If one saint becomes more famous than another,—a Saint Christopher, a Saint Barbara,—you will see that he or she will be adored with much more ardent devotion than Saint Peter or Saint Paul, or even Christ himself.”

Examples more illustrious than these may be cited. Fathers of the Church,—Latin as well as Greek—Tertullian, Minutius Felix and Hermias,—have confuted the doctrines and practices of Paganism by the aid of irony. Has not the Evangelist himself described the Pharisees with irony? “They swallow a camel, while they strain at a gnat. They wash their hands, but seek not to cleanse their consciences; they pay the tithe of Anis and Cummin, and care not for faith, nor love, nor justice.” Was not the name “fox,” which Jesus gave Herod, a sarcasm aimed at the treachery of the Tetrarch of Galilee?

The Catholic Church can no longer reproach Voltaire for the use of irony in grave topics. It is the only kind of polemic used by political writers of the day. It is enough to quote M. Louis Veuilot, chief editor of *L'Univers*, the author of *Libres Penseurs*, *Odeurs de Paris*, *Les Couleuvres*, etc., whose influence is so great over Rome and the clergy that they find it hard to resist his suggestions, and who has acquired a position in his church which no layman has ever held before.

It would have undoubtedly been much better had Voltaire restrained his satire, always so quick to overflow. But it must not be forgotten that his situation was very different from ours. It is

* Works of Erasmus, IV., 450.

difficult to picture to one's self in these days the obstacles which the priesthood opposed to progress, liberty and reason. The forces of such a hierarchy as the Church of Rome were tremendous. The clergy of France—*le premier ordre du royaume*,—had very considerable territorial riches to dispose of, and had for dependents, consequently, a large part of the agricultural population. All the high positions in ecclesiastical orders were reserved for the younger sons of the nobility. Although the power of royalty was much augmented since the accession of the Bourbons to the throne, the Government, even in the most trying circumstances, would not have dared to impose restrictions upon the clergy. Sovereigns could only obtain from them voluntary contributions by persecuting independent authors and redoubling their austerity towards Protestants. The cause, therefore, of the priests of France, was thoroughly identified with that of despotism and its abuses. They had sacrificed the principles taught by the Gospel to their worldly interests and ambitious passions. The French bishops,—barons of the Middle Ages,—were easily transformed, since the acquisition of absolute power, into allies of despotic royalty. Their rule became actually intolerable. It was impossible to undertake the slightest amelioration, even administrative, without overthrowing them.

In the war which Voltaire began with the Church of Rome, he brought to bear all the resources of his great mind. Where it was necessary to reply to him, the clerical party, despite the treasures which they held in their hands, only defended themselves by a few pamphlets of no weight, or a few dull theologians whom the author of *Candide* overwhelmed with relentless sarcasm. All France applauded this contest, which was to result in the triumph of tolerance. All who wished to take any part in the regeneration of their country, sought inspiration from Féreny. They listened to the poet of Henri IV. repeat the beautiful words celebrating the new spirit of Liberty :

“ Mon lac est le premier ; c'est sur des bords heureux
 Qu'habite des humains la déesse éternelle,
 L'âme des grands travaux, l'objet des nobles vœux,
 Que tout mortel embrasse, ou desire, ou rappelle
 Qui vit dans tous les cœurs et dont le nom sacré
 Dans la cour des tyrans est tout bas adoré
 La Liberté!”

It was a more specious reproach which the partisans of the Church of Rome directed against Voltaire. I refer to his want of patriotism. They maintain that he never, in any of the remarkable occurrences of his life, gave utterance to a national sentiment. He employed his inexhaustible irony in covering with ridicule the interesting young heroine who saved France from the English yoke, when she was cowardly abandoned by her natural defenders. When his country surrendered at Rossbach,—one of the greatest humiliations she ever endured,—Voltaire jested with the conqueror over her disgraceful defeat. He applauded the partition of Poland, the old ally of France, and encouraged Catherine II. to show no pity for the vanquished.*

This line of action is too conformable to party traditions in France to prove that Voltaire was a worse patriot than many of his countrymen. On the banks of the Seine they think more of the triumph of theories than the welfare of their country. The party which has reproached Voltaire most bitterly for lack of patriotism, should be less exacting than any other on that subject. What! the supporters of the league,—“*la sainte ligue, dont les fautes se perdent dans la gloire,*”†—who gave France over to the Spaniards,—do they dare to accuse Voltaire for having sacrificed the cause of his country to the success of his ideas? Who, then, at the end of the eighteenth century, enlisted under the foreign flag for the purpose of invading their native soil, along with the Austrians and Prussians? Was not Condé's army the Catholic army *par excellence*? Was not the Emigration throughout one huge conspiracy against the independence of France, a conspiracy paid for by the gold of her most implacable foes? At Quibéron, were not the English vessels at the service of the Catholic troops?‡ Was not Vendée, governed by the priests,§ the blind instrument of British passions and interests?

In 1814 and in 1815, the sons of the crusaders applauded the entry of the foreign armies into humiliated France, whilst the children of Voltaire gallantly laid down their lives at Montmirail, Aras-sur-Aube, at Brienne, Ligny and Waterloo, in defence of the flag of

* Vide Romain Cornut's *Voltaire et la Pologne*.

† Le Père Lacordaire.

‡ Thiers's *Histoire de la Revolution*.

§ We find curious details of the extraordinary influence of the priests in Vendée in Michelet's *Les Femmes de la Revolution*.

their country.* The men of the past, who mourned over the triumphs of France, would have done well to have refrained from casting upon Voltaire reproaches which they deserved a thousand times more than he. Voltaire has also found enemies among the prophets of the future, as the Socialists love to call themselves. Like M. L. Blanc, they say that he was essentially *bourgeois* and did not foresee the career of Socialism and the great good it was to accomplish in later days. This was also said of Calvin.† But we cannot help asking if social questions really exist, and if they are not rather questions of political economy? We cannot be surprised that Voltaire, the favorite of kings, was not, like other reformers, interested in the sufferings of the laboring class,—the sad side of social life. The horizon of the greatest mind is always limited by the situation in which it is placed. Neither Democrats nor Conservatives can escape this disadvantage, although the former hold a position in which there is more chance of finding particular lights on certain subjects.

The Gospel says, "Blessed are they that mourn." Adversity is, indeed, a school rich in precious teaching. All who endure it, forced by hardships and unkindness to rely constantly on themselves, learn to understand many things which ever remain unintelligible to the fortunate ones of the age. The life of suffering humanity is like a familiar but solemn drama,—from the depths of suffering, harbingers of new worlds arise. Human beings have been more often guided by martyrs than by doctors. Such is the destiny of the children of men, that all serious progress must be paid for by tears and bought by blood.‡ The life of Lucretia, tradition tells us, was necessary to deliver Rome from the Tarquins, and Virginia's, fair and gentle victim, to free her from the tyranny of the Decemvirs. The sufferings of many millions of martyrs were required to bring about the sublime idea of Christian fraternity. The initiators of humanity and the precursors of modern times have found in their very sufferings the sympathy which gave them an irresistible potency. Voltaire was undoubtedly

* A. de Vaulabelle. *Histoire des Deux Restaurations.*

† L. Blanc. *Histoire de la Revolution Française. Tome 1^{re}.*

‡ Ballanche has understood this great truth better than any of the thinkers of that time. See *Les Essais de Palingénésie Sociale, Orphée, La Vision d'Hebal*, etc.

a great mind. He has rendered immense services to the liberty of investigation and tolerance. However, he was not one of those providential men who find a revelation in the trials and struggles of each day.

Such was the man Voltaire. Let us endeavor to appreciate the philosopher. His detractors have tried to present him as a skeptic mad enough to destroy even the bases of philosophy. They incessantly put into his mouth the famous question of Pilate.

It is true that Voltaire had a very lively repugnance for metaphysics. One might write N. L. (*non liquet*), he once said, at the bottom of every philosophical problem, as the Roman magistrates did on the backs of the processes which they could not understand. The principles of Locke, which he imbibed in England, led him to mistrust the abstract demonstrations of Cartesianism. But his skepticism has been much exaggerated. He maintained the existence of God with more sincerity than many of the prelates of the eighteenth century. How often he turned against his own friends when they attempted to spread atheism, which he deemed incompatible with the needs of society. He has not only spoken of his faith in divinity a thousand times in his books, but his voluminous correspondence bears sufficient witness to the constant aversion he felt for absolute denial. His tendencies were rather conservative, both in philosophy and politics. He always spoke with respect of natural religion, although he was very severe and often unjust towards positive religion, and even towards Christianity. To his thinking, all forms of religion were, without exception, the work of imposture and folly. Volney has popularized this theory in *Les Ruines*.

Undoubtedly, the religious instincts of the masses have been too often abused by human policy for the furtherance of its projects. But in all great spiritual reformations, is there not some true enthusiasm and sincere devotion? Is it not in the nature of certain minds to devote themselves with indefatigable zeal to a cause which they think generous? Is there not, even in the most imperfect religions, a sentiment of the ideal,—an intuition of the infinite which transports

* The introduction to *Ménage et Finances*, by Nicolardot, cannot be too often consulted on this question and all pertaining to it.

the mind out of the ordinary conditions of life?*

The moral phenomenon is found everywhere in history. Sakiymuni,† whose memory is so dear to thousands of Asiatics, was deeply touched by the wretchedness of those who suffered, left his throne, and went into the desert to meditate how to devote his life to them.‡ Was this, therefore, a political calculation? Such calculations are only possible where religions have degenerated. The enthusiasm of their first disciples bears very little resemblance to the intrigues of the priesthood and such pious frauds as the apparition of the Virgin on Mount Salette,§ or the miracle of St. Januarius, with which they impose upon the credulity of the Neapolitan *popolani* every year.

The founders of Christianity have given more proof of self-abnegation and sincerity, than the preachers of any other new religion. I do not wish to consider this at present as a matter of faith, but purely as an historical question. When has such devotion, such righteousness, such modesty, such love for the poor and helpless, as the Son of Man's, been seen among men? His contempt for empty opinions, dislike for egotists, forbearance to sinners, profound antipathy to hypocrites and tyrants,—do they not present to us the ideal of the noblest character? Alexander, Cæsar, Napoleon, have indeed subordinated the interests of humanity to their glory; but Jesus acted as the humblest of men. He fled from the homage of the people; he shunned the crown which they prepared for him; he was not afraid to multiply his enemies by condemning the vices and hypocrisies of the nation. He had but one purpose,—to teach to all the precepts of the kingdom of God. No! He who delivered the Sermon on the Mount and the Sermon on the Lake, cannot be accused of imposture! Taught by his example, the Apostles owe their greatness to abnegation. Were these simple and illiterate men,—who understood their Master much better by heart than by intelligence,—were they clever politicians? Can any one doubt the good faith of those who braved kings, priests and proconsuls? Voltaire

* Brunel's, *Avant le Christianisme*.

† Better known as Buddha.

‡ Eugene Burnouf's *Introduction à l'Histoire du Bouddhisme indien*. Barthélemy Saint Hilaire's *Le Bouddha et sa Religion*.

§ The humbugs of this pretended miracle have been boldly divulged by some priests of the diocese of Grenòble, who suffered all sorts of persecution for their courage.

showed both a want of justice and penetration in his estimate of the *douze faquins*, prompted by the passions of a time of dissension, but which cannot be ratified in an age when impartiality is considered the first requisite of historical science. It was strange, indeed, that, at a period when so much thought was spent in ascertaining the real causes of the abdication of Charles V., or the true reason for the death of Mary Stuart, men who were the founders of modern society and inaugurated the rule of fraternity in the world, should have been viewed with so much prejudice. Voltaire was supremely unjust to the preachers of the Gospel; but it is wrong to conclude, as is so often done, that his historical works are a mere tissue of lies and calumnies.* *Les Annales de l'Empire*, the histories of Charles XII, and Peter the Great, his *Siècle de Louis XIV. et Louis XV.*, and *L'Histoire du Parlement de Paris*, manifest less strongly than *L'Essai sur les Mœurs et l'Esprit des Nations*, his anti-Christian views, but, from a literary point of view, are far from having the same value. *Peter the Great* is justly considered a masterpiece of clear and terse narration.

In *Le Siècle de Louis XIV.*, we find lofty appreciation and some happy innovations. The author does not only interest us in political events; he gives us also the history of ideas. In this work Voltaire appears conservative throughout. One is even surprised that he depicts with so much favor a prince who was the slave of all the dangerous illusions of absolute power; who made himself odious by his persecutions, and who, by his pretensions to a universal monarchy, brought France to the borders of an abyss from which nought but the military genius of Villars could have rescued her. *L'Essai sur les Mœurs et l'Esprit des Nations* has more importance than *Le Siècle de Louis XIV.*; it is, in truth, a philosophy of history,—a science which is much better understood now than at the time of the publication of *L'Essai*.

Even in the seventeenth century, attempts had been made to account for the march of mankind across the centuries. The celebrated work of Bossuet's—*Discours sur l'Histoire Universelle*,—was an attempt to solve the problem of the eighteenth century; and an effort not less remarkable was made by an eminent thinker—Vico,—in the *Scienza Nuova*.† But both these works have the same

* M. Geoffrey. *Revue des Deux Mondes*.

† Translated by Michelet, under the title *Principes de la Philosophie*.

fault. The history of mankind is concentrated in a small portion of human beings. To the Bishop of Meaux, who cannot lift his eyes from the Semitic race, the universe gravitates round the sacred hill on which Jerusalem is built. The great empires of the Old World—Egypt, Babylon, Nineveh, Persia, the kingdom of Alexander, Rome itself,—exist only to enlighten or to punish the people of Israel. To Vico, on the contrary, whose attention is absorbed by the greatness of an Aryan nation, the history of Rome is the type of the history and development of all mankind, and he concludes that all communities will go through the same phases and finally return to despotism. Voltaire does not adopt either Bossuet's or Vico's point of view. He arraigns the religions and the philosophies which have in turn disputed for the dominion of the world, before his tribunal. But, instead of seeking a Providential purpose in history, he simply devotes himself to recounting the errors and follies of men. He believes, however, in the decisive triumph of right. As for the past, it only excites his contempt. Does not Paul Louis Courier, one of his disciples, call history *a mass of extravagances and horrors*? Voltaire asks why mankind have striven through so very many centuries on the globe without emerging from barbarism and superstition. The spectacle of so many follies and crimes never seems to arouse in him any of those sentiments which we like to find in an historian, and so strongly manifested in every page of M. Augustin Thierry's admirable *Histoire de la Conquête de l'Angleterre par les Normands*. In the brilliant chapters of the *Essai sur les Mœurs*, irony predominates. One might think that the author of *Candide* wrote this book in order to exercise his causticity. Nevertheless, *L'Essai*, in spite of its faults, is an attempt worthy of the brilliant intellect which created it. It was a great deal to have renounced the united points of view of Bossuet and Vico, and to have embraced in one glance the histories of the East and West. Herder tried, in his *Ideas on the History of Humanity*, to realize the scheme suggested by Voltaire. The author of *L'Essai sur les Mœurs* erred for want of indulgence. He scarcely understood the opinions and customs of his century. Herder, with the indifference beseeeming a pantheistic philosopher, is disposed to absolve everything, and to say, as Hegel did afterwards:—" *Tout ce qui est réel, est rationnel.*"

The despotism of the Brahmans was as sacred in Herder's eyes as the liberal spirit of the apostolic preachers. The immobility of Egypt pleased him almost as much as the wonderful activity of Greece. As fatalism was the basis of his views, he could not have understood the law of progress like Turgot* and Condorcet,† whose ideas must have inspired many French authors, and have become the starting point of the works of MM. Guizot, Buchez, Cousin and Michelet. Guizot, in *L' Histoire de la Civilisation en Europe et en France*, and the course of M. Cousin's *Sur l' Histoire de la Philosophie*, have European fame. But one has, perhaps, some reason to say of these authors, as well as of Herder, that they yielded too much to the tendencies of exaggerated optimism.

The true philosophy of history should be inspired at once by the spirit of Herder and that of Voltaire. It is necessary that it should embrace different epochs and civilizations, and at the same time show no indulgence towards the enemies of reason. It should be free from optimistical theories, to which the German mind is too much addicted, and which, through Schelling and Hegel, have become popular in the German schools. Modern science will try every suggestion in an eager desire to ameliorate the sad condition of our race. This alone can preserve us from the fatal torpor which seems to be the evil of our times. We understand all doctrines, all religions, all politics, so well, and we seem to have decided upon an equal indifference for everything which does not directly touch our material interests. Hence, we are apt to regard even the transitory triumphs of brutal force as judgments of Providence, and circumstances produced by our own feebleness and cowardice as inevitable necessities. In this respect, men of the past century, notwithstanding their passions and their prejudices, were very superior to us. They let nothing hinder them when it was a question of fighting for the progress of humanity. After 1789, when all Europe rose against France,—which represented progress,—they resisted with indomitable energy; and when they had overthrown absolute power, they drove the armies of the coalition beyond the frontiers. Do the eclectic theories of our day inspire us with a like devotion? Have we a contempt for danger and a power of self-abnegation like this?

* Turgot's *Discours sur les Progrès de l'Esprit Humain*.

† Condorcet's *Esquisse des Progrès de l'Esprit Humain*.

We must read Voltaire's principal novels before we can form a just idea of his talent. Do not let the word "novel" mislead us, for in this case we are not speaking of sentimental inspirations. Voltaire had not an impressionable nature like Rousseau. Moreover, it is woman's influence which develops sensibility in an author. Now, Madame du Châtelet,* with whom Voltaire was on such intimate relations for so long, had a distinguished mind but a cold heart. Newton's physics and Clairant's algebra were the sovereign pleasures, at *Cirey*, of the "divine Emilie."† We need not, therefore, expect in Voltaire's novels anything but the ordinary tendencies of his intellect; irony and contempt for foolery running almost into cruelty. Rousseau, on the contrary, was always inspired by passion. This sensibility, often unhealthy, is a striking contrast to the perpetual derision of poor humanity, such as we find in *Candide*.

Voltaire's unparalleled causticity is better understood in his pamphlets, a style of literature in which he has found some happy imitators; but his enormous correspondence has remained until now a unique work. This correspondence has a two-fold interest, literary and historical. It was of the eighteenth century, what Madame de Sevigné's was of the seventeenth,‡—an animated picture of the greatest epoch of the human mind. So versatile was Voltaire's genius, that the letters he wrote to his friends are models of an inimitable style, of which he had the secret, and in which grace and irony are blended. It is enough to cite the letter which he wrote to Jean Jacques Rousseau on the excellence of savage life. It is impossible to criticise an absurd theory with more urbanity, more Atticism and Socratic irony, and in such few words. Unfortunately, Voltaire is not always faithful to the strict rules of taste. One does not like him to speak of the author of *Emile* as a "polisson" and "échappé de Genève." And he is certainly at fault in speaking of the gospel which essayed to make the principles of tolerance and charity triumph in the world, as "infame." But in the eighteenth century these eccentricities were not peculiar to Voltaire and the French. Goethe, who is not usually blamed for contempt

* Madame de Graffigny's *Vie Privée de Voltaire et de Madame du Châtelet*.

† She published *Institutions de Physiques*, with an *Analyse de la Philosophie de Leibnitz*, and her translation of Newton's *Principia* was edited by Clairant after her death, with an *Eloge de l'Auteur*, by Voltaire.

‡ Walkenaër's *Mémoires touchant la Vie et les Ecrits de Madame de Sevigné*.

of Christianity, has spoken of it with cold disdain a thousand times more insulting than the sarcasm of Voltaire. Has he not mentioned, in the same line, garlic, tobacco, and that cross which, under the Cæsars, became a standard of enfranchisement? In spite of his genius, Voltaire has yielded too much (—who does not succumb to the influence of his times?—) to the impulses of a period which tried to break violently with all the traditions of the past. Voltaire tried to impart his aversion for the past to his friends, whenever he spoke of religious questions. It was a fixed idea, and he obstinately recurred to it over and over again, putting at the service of this antipathy an influence truly stupendous.

Indeed, the crowned heads of Europe treated him as a power of the first order. His decisions were accepted as oracles at the courts of Berlin and St. Petersburg. He always took care, it is true, to separate the cause of kings from that of the clergy, which he represented continually as the implacable enemy of royalty, which tactics naturally contributed to turn the representatives of civil power against the Church.

The eighteenth century witnessed a curious event. The chief of the Holy Roman Empire, Joseph II., a prince unusually zealous for the independence of his crown, suppressed the religious orders and evinced great hostility to the pretensions of the Papacy, which, however, conquered, in the reign of Francis Joseph, all the ground lost under his illustrious ancestor. The ideas of the great Frederick and of the Czarina Catherine II.* are well known. In Portugal, Joseph I.† chased the Jesuits from his kingdom. His example was followed by Charles III. of Spain, Louis XV. of France, and by other Catholic princes. These events may be attributed in a great measure to the influence of Voltaire. The principles of Pascal triumphed everywhere, supported even by the very powers who had proscribed the *Provincial Letters* as a profane libel. An enlightened Pope, Clement XIV.,‡ sanctioned the work of the eighteenth century in abolishing the Society of Jesus, which

* But these two sovereigns, yielding to instincts which seldom deceive despots, avowed themselves the protectors of the Jesuits.

† M. Genez proves in his work on Pombal, that the Minister of Joseph struck the first blow.—See M. Michel Chevalier in the *Revue de Deux Mondes* of 1870.

‡ Le Pere Theiner's *Histoire de Clement XIV.*

was afterwards revived under Pius VII.,* and which ruled under Pius IX., docile instrument of the "Black Pope."†

The abolition of the Jesuits‡ was the grandest triumph which the new spirit of the times could have achieved. Nothing could give a better idea of its power. It forced absolutism to pull down the Bastiles in which human intelligence seemed forever imprisoned. The Society of Jesus had been a despotic institution ever since its foundation. The energetic and soldier-like character of Ignatius de Loyola had conceived the gigantic idea of stopping the vast intellectual movement of the eighteenth century. He was successful in making his design understood by a few men whose impetuosity was capable of anything,—Layne, Bobadilla, Salmeron, Rodriguez, Léfèvre§ and Francis Xavier. But not one of them was a Frenchman.||

Heinrich Heine,¶ divided between admiration for the grand projects of the early Jesuits and insurmountable antipathy to their opinions, has called them "black giants." But the Order degenerated with wonderful rapidity. Established after the victory of Protestantism, they were in a complete state of decadence in the time of Pascal. No other Order has had so rapid a decline. After the Spaniard, Juan de Borgia, its Generals were men of very mediocre abilities. As for the ordinary Jesuits, they made themselves very unpopular, even among other monks, by their tendency to encroach. The bitterness with which they persecuted the Protestants, and the part they took in the deplorable acts which dishonored the policy of Louis XIV., deserved the antipathy of every one in France who was actuated by a Christian spirit. At the time when Voltaire was the arbiter of public opinion, they had enrolled against them the Parliament,—which represented religious men,—the philosophers,—imbued with the new spirit,—and even the courts,—tired with their intrigues. Consequently, the Society succumbed, amidst universal applause.

* Gioberte's *Gesuita Moderna*.

† As the Romans call le Pere Becc of Belgium.

‡ P. Wolf's *Histoire des Jesuites*. Zurich ;

§ Or Fabre, Savoyard.

|| A Frenchman has never been General of the Order.

¶ H. Heine's *De l'Allemagne*.

The influence which Voltaire exerted over thought in Europe is plainly seen in Wieland's* works. The author of *Obéron* is frequently inspired by the ideas of the French poet. But this Voltaireanism has something forced and unnatural about it.

Before the German mind could completely understand Voltaire, it was necessary for a German author to become French in his ideas and habits, and more disposed than a genuine Teuton to assimilate with the genius of a nation so different in every point from Germany.

Such a man was Heinrich Heine, whose ancestors were Jews, and who could use both languages with equal facility. His book on *L'Allemagne depuis Luther jusqu'à Madame de Staël*, is more strongly imbued with Voltairean tendencies than any other book. It is curious to see a disciple of Hegel employing the vivacity of the author of *Zadig* and *Candide* in the boldest abstractions of German philosophy. In Heine's book, we find all the charm and well-sustained interest which seemed to be lost since the time of the author of *L'Essai sur les Mœurs*. But even in making use of the skeptical forms which Voltaire affected, Heine is, at the bottom, as dogmatic and concise as a genuine German. Time and reflection have robbed many of his assertions of their decided character; but no one could have done so much as the author of *Lucèce* to make the qualities of the French mind popular in Germany.

DORA D'ISTRIA.

THE WHARTON SCHOOL OF FINANCE AND ECONOMY.

UPON the occasion of the inauguration of Dr. Pepper as Provost of the University of Pennsylvania, the announcement was made that Mr. Joseph Wharton purposed asking the University to establish a "School of Finance and Economy," offering to present the amount of one hundred thousand dollars to enable it to be put into operation.

The founder of the school is widely known in this community as a successful manufacturer, largely interested in some of the most important industrial enterprises of the State, and as a man of cultivation, who has devoted much time to the study, not only of those processes in which he is immediately interested, but of other matters indirectly connected with them.

* He has been called the Voltaire of Germany.

The scheme proposed by Mr. Wharton is therefore not hastily suggested, but is the result of mature consideration, and the instruction based upon it may fairly be expected to fill a want in the modern system of education which his observation leads him to believe is sadly felt.

We cannot close our eyes to the fact that, while the great principles of education bear certain definite relations to human nature, and are therefore to some extent unchangeable, the conditions under which communities exist vary so much with time and with locality, that no rigid system, however proved by long trial, can be entirely satisfactory in all times and at all places.

While bearing in mind that education means essentially training, and not the mere imparting of facts and opinions which may be of more or less use in after life, it is obvious that there is a wide choice among the subjects suitable for a study as a means of training.

It is also true that of late years the number of these subjects has so much increased that one of the great difficulties is to decide which of them should be selected as affording the best means for that training which is the all-important matter.

The tendency among the so-called practical men who form necessarily the bulk of the parents of college students, is to value highly those studies which apparently give information that may be of use in after-life; and this has led to the partial substitution, in the modern college systems, of the so-called scientific courses for the older ones, which were purely literary or philosophic.

While many have preferred them for this reason, and for it alone, more careful students of the subject have recognized that their chief value lies in the methods of thought which they introduce differing essentially from those which are applied to the study of literature or even of pure mathematics. There has therefore been a tendency of late years to make certain parts of courses more practical, and naturally it has been done in the direction of science; so that colleges, or schools which are the equivalent of them, have been turning out young men supposed to be better fitted to attack the material interests of life than were those educated by the old systems.

It is too early for us to be able to measure the full value of these changes, as in most of the professions dependent upon the applica-

tions of practical science, the leaders are still the men who began before such schools existed, and who obtained their knowledge by the rough methods of practice ; and until the operations of the world come into the hands of the school-bred men, it will be impossible to decide the question. A number of persons are undoubtedly already quite satisfied with the results, and feel that it is time to apply the same systems to the education of those who are to take upon themselves the direction of the country's financial business.

It is a part of the ordinary experience of the University of Pennsylvania, and indeed of most colleges, that many under-graduates in the Department of Arts leave college during the Sophomore and Junior years, for the purpose of going into business when their necessities or their inclinations prompt them to do so, and it is very difficult to persuade them that a systematic college education is the best introduction to a successful career, even in a financial business. It seems likely, therefore, that the proposed school will supply a want which has undoubtedly made itself practically felt. Certainly, anything that will provide for the systematic training of young Americans for the pursuits that they are to follow, should be tried to its utmost limits, for the time has come when we are old enough and civilized enough to substitute for the rough and ready methods of a new country those more careful and intelligent ones which alone can lead to ultimate perfection.

As the relations of the Wharton School with the other departments of the University will be very close, the instruction given in it can be combined with that of any course in which it may appear to be useful. To the engineer, and to any man who intends to devote himself to the practical applications of science, a knowledge of the general principles of finance and economy are of the utmost importance, and it will be probably found advisable to give the students in the Scientific Department opportunities for extending their studies in this direction.

While a considerable amount of conservatism is necessary in educational matters, owing to the fact that unsuccessful experiments mean direct and life-long injury to the students experimented upon, all systems of education must be studied with reference to the conditions controlling them. In some respects the problem in

the older European countries is a more simple one than is presented to us in America. Within certain limits, young persons there have a more definite idea than here as to the sphere in life in which they are to move, and their education can be so shaped as to fit them for that sphere without great risk of its being misdirected.

In this country the changes in social position are so sudden that the young man leaving college with a liberal education, fitting him for refined society and literary labor, may find himself thrown into the roughest kind of practical work; and although his training will ultimately give him a great advantage in his fight with material things, he will, for a time at least, regret the want of other requirements which will seem to him to be of pressing importance.

On the other hand, the man who is entirely deficient in a literary education and the graces which it brings, may find himself upon a brilliant eminence where his short-comings in this respect are a constant source of annoyance to him and to his friends.

An American scheme of education must contemplate the possibility of these varying results; and while our end should be always to keep the education to the highest standard that the community is willing to receive and to support, a recognition of the above-mentioned conditions seems absolutely necessary.

Some combination of a certain amount of practical knowledge with that which the student takes away with him from his college course, appears to be required, and it already exists in those schools which, like the Scientific School and the Departments of Medicine, Law and Dentistry, aim at preparing the student for the practice of his profession. Every year the standard of general training among the students is raised by requiring higher attainments on the part of those entering these special schools.

It should not be supposed that the students entering the new school will be from among those who would otherwise enter the Departments of Science or of Arts, which would be unfortunate; but it is hoped that many young men will be induced to take this regular school training who would otherwise not have had it at all, but who would have picked up their business knowledge in an accurate but narrow way in ordinary places of business. If the engineer and the metallurgist can get a better training in a school than upon the works to which they must otherwise look for their

education,—which now seems to be universally conceded,—the merchant should profit equally by a systematic and liberal course of instruction.

If the sole object of business is money-making, it is possible that the education of the counting-house may be all-sufficient for that end ; but there is nothing more to be deplored, in a republic especially, than the growth of classes of young men with that single idea prominently before them, and there is nothing more melancholy than the spectacle of a man in middle life with as much money as he thinks he needs, won by hard traffic with the world, and without a taste or an interest that can make life worth living. Such a life without mental resources is the almost inevitable result of the removal of a boy from the opportunities of mental improvement to the actual drudgery of an office ; while the habits of study and of thought acquired during college life, although overshadowed for a time by the active interests of a business career, will shine forth with the opportunities of leisure and illuminate a life which would otherwise be most dreary.

The value of the new school will depend largely upon the spirit in which it is organized and carried on, and such organization, although admirably suggested in Mr. Wharton's carefully studied scheme, must finally grow as the result of the experience in the working of the school.

The plan contemplates the appointment of a dean or professor, who shall be the head of the school, and who shall direct the character of the instruction, and of assistants who shall instruct in such branches as book-keeping, accounts of trustees and officials, the routine of business, the details of banking, the forms and uses of notes, bills of exchange, bonds, and the like.

The general subjects of money, currency, taxation, industry, commerce, transportation and commercial law, will be divided among the professors and instructors ; and the history of financial and commercial matters will be thoroughly taught.

Much stress will be laid upon what might be called commercial ethics, the necessity of unswerving rectitude and of the highest sense of honor in financial relations being prominently insisted upon. The paragraphs indicating the general tendency of the instruction in the original scheme, as presented to the Board of Trustees

by Mr. Wharton, are here given, as showing the design of the founder in this direction :

“ General tendency of instruction. This should be such as to inculcate and impress upon the students :

“ The immorality and practical inexpediency of seeking to acquire wealth by winning it from another rather than by earning it through some sort of service to one’s fellowmen.

“ The necessity of system and accuracy in accounts, of thoroughness in whatever is undertaken, and of strict fidelity in trusts.

“ Caution in contracting private debts directly or by endorsement, and in incurring obligations of any kind ; punctuality in payment of debts and performance of engagements.

“ Abhorrence of repudiation of debt by communities, and commensurate abhorrence of lavish or inconsiderate incurring of public debt.

“ The deep comfort and healthfulness of pecuniary independence, whether the scale of affairs be small or great. The consequent necessity of careful scrutiny of income and outgo, whether private or public, and of such management as will cause the first to exceed, even if but slightly, the second. In national affairs, this applies not only to the public treasury, but also to the mass of the nation, as shown by the balance of trade.

“ The necessity of rigorously punishing, by legal penalties and social exclusion, those persons who commit frauds, betray trusts, or steal public funds, directly or indirectly. The fatal consequences to a community of any weak toleration of such offences must be most distinctly pointed out and enforced.

“ The fundamental fact that the United States is a nation, composed of populations wedded together for life, with full power to enforce internal obedience, and not a loose bundle of incoherent communities living together temporarily without other bond than the humor of the moment.

“ The necessity for each nation to care for its own, and to maintain by all suitable means its industrial and financial independence; no apologetic or merely defensive style of instruction must be tolerated on this point, but the right and duty of national self-protection must be firmly asserted and demonstrated.”

In addition to the subjects enumerated above, which form the essential technical features of the school, the students are to have

instruction in English, Latin, German, French, Mathematics,—the usual branches of a liberal education,—making use for this purpose of the existing courses of instruction in the Departments of Arts and of Science.

The entire course will be one of five years, the first two years being identical with the first two years in Arts or in Science, the remaining three being devoted to the special studies of the school while continuing some of the other courses.

Students who for any reason cannot devote so much time as five years to their college life, may enter the school at the beginning of its three years' course without going through the preparatory two years, provided that they can pass the examination for admission, which will be equivalent to that for graduation from the Sophomore Class.

The school will commend itself to those who, hesitating as to the advantages of the course of the Department of Arts as a preparation for an active business career, cannot fail to see the advantage of obtaining a liberal education directed exactly towards the necessities of the life which they purpose following, and it seems impossible that it should fail to furnish to the community a class of men with more extended views, greater knowledge and higher aims, than are at all likely to be acquired in the counting-house or the bank.

A school of this character promises also much in connection with the improved Civil Service which it is clearly the desire of the American people shall sooner or later be adopted.

Nothing will go farther towards improving the Civil Service of the general Government and of local Governments, than the employment of those who make the matter a profession and who have received a thorough training to fit them for such a career.

We now have the means of educating professional lawyers, physicians, engineers, metallurgists, and chemists; it is undoubtedly time that we should educate professional merchants and business men, who form the largest class of workers in the community.

It is no just criticism upon the project to say that merchants can only be educated in the counting-house. A few years ago the same was said of engineers; whereas, now, few young men think of entering that profession otherwise than through a recognized

school, if their means permit them to avail themselves of its advantages.

It is therefore probable that the ranks of the Alumni will be recruited by a large number of successful men of affairs who will shed an additional lustre upon the name of the University, and who will extend her influence among a portion of the community in which it has not hitherto been sufficiently felt, forming a class of broadly educated men, wielding the power in public affairs which will justly belong to them.

In October, 1880, Columbia College opened its "School of Political Science," "a school designed to prepare young men for the duties of public life." Its curriculum extends over three years, and includes the History of Philosophy; the History of the Literature of the Political Sciences; the General Constitutional History of Europe; the Special Constitutional History of England and the United States; the Roman Law, and the jurisprudence of the existing codes derived therefrom; the Comparative Constitutional Law of European States and of the United States; the Comparative Constitutional Law of the different States of the American Union; the History of Diplomacy; International Law; Systems of Administration, State and National, of the United States; Comparison of American and European Systems of Administration; Political Economy and Statistics.

The professorships are the following: 1. Constitutional History and Law; 2. Political Economy and Social Science; 3. Philosophy. There are also two lecturers,—one on the Roman Law and one on Administrative Law and Government.

The standard of admission is equivalent to that for admission to the Senior Class, and the degree of Bachelor of Philosophy is conferred at the close of the first year, and that of Doctor of Philosophy at the close of the three years' course, upon those students who pass the examinations.

The general character of the instruction is of a higher grade than that which is contemplated in the Wharton School, including more law, while many of the practical branches are omitted, and the intention of its instruction is quite different, its "prime aim being the development of all the branches of the political sciences, and its secondary aim the preparation of young men for all the

political branches of the public service," while the object of the Wharton School is to fit young men for immediate admission into mercantile life. In this respect the latter resembles more the *Realschulen* of Germany, which have the same aim, and which bear the same relation to business pursuits, that the technical schools,—*Gewerbeschulen*,—do to manufacturing. The organization of these schools in Germany is well worth the most careful study by all interested in our education; and sooner or later we must take up the subject with the view of replacing our present limping method of training boys for college by the introduction of graded schools in which uniformity of instruction and economy of time shall be the leading principles, or the future student will inevitably be overcome by the bewildering multiplicity of subjects offered for his selection, and thoroughness will disappear in a superficial acquisition of matters bearing no possible relation to each other and bordering closely upon the little knowledge which is a dangerous thing.

FAIRMAN ROGERS.

SHAKESPEARE'S DREAM.*

COULD the King of Bards, by some miraculous provision of his art, have foreseen that, after nearly two and three-quarter centuries of rest in his tomb at Stratford, he should once more return to the scenes of his youth,—again wander by his beautiful and beloved Avon, and soliloquize on the nature and art of the present day,—again, in an arbor on its banks, court sleep for his spirit, and, under the direction of "Spirits of Dreams" be revisited by his own immortal creations, and listen to them, singly or in groups, singing and discoursing, in familiar tones, of the past, present, and future,—he might well have exclaimed, in the language of his own *Prospero*, "We are such stuff as dreams are made on!" Yet all this he has done by the simple enchantment of beautiful poetry. The Enchanted undertook a bold adventure, but he felt sure of his wand; and we have nothing but applause and congratulation for him on his success. He had before tried its magical efficacy, when his

* *Shakespeare's Dream and Other Poems.* By William Leighton, author of *The Sons of Godwin, Change*, etc. Lippincott & Co., Philadelphia, 1881. Pp. 148, Quarto, \$1.50.

dramatic and historic muse brought to life the Saxon king and *The Sons of Godwin*, and won laurels even from the great English wizard; and again, in the realms of philosophy and *Change*, we had witnessed its epic power in compelling the "Sphinx" to "whisper" its mysteries. In the beautiful quarto before us, however, we have, we think, his master-feat. His muse has never appeared to greater advantage than in this "masque" of charming lyric, sung by the various characters of the great poet.

On first opening the volume, we were possessed, as, doubtless, others may be, with fear and jealousy; fear, that the attempt might have a tinge of temerity; jealousy, that any other hand than that of the master should touch the strings of his own lyre. But all this soon vanished; and we can truly say, the more we have read it, the more thoroughly we have enjoyed it. Mr. Leighton has so long and so lovingly studied Shakespeare, that he has become, as it were, imbued with the very spirit of the poet. Still, in all of these songs, and odes, and dialogues, each varying in rhythm with the varying occasion and character, each in faultless taste,—not the mere rhapsodies of "sounding brass or tinkling cymbals," but as gratifying to the head and heart as to the ear,—there is no attempt at *style-imitation*,—not a shade of what may be termed Shakespearean-mannerism,—for *that* would have been intolerable. They are rather a natural and reverent echo of the poet,—a parallel conception of his thoughts, fancies and metaphors.

Whether *Ariel* relates his history, "before the witch shut him in prison of the riven tree:"

" Long ages on ages—I know not how long—
Had passed on this island in eons of song;
Gay birds on the tree-tops, on flowers the wild bees,
The murmur of surges, the hymn of the breeze,—
Sweet voices of nature, and full of delight,—
Commingling with music of fairy and sprite;
Here dwelt we,—blithe spirits,—contented and free—
Elf, fairy and goblin,—shy nymphs of the tree;
Ouph, naiad and pixy,—quaint sprites of the sea, —
No people more merry, more happy than we.
One night,—can I ever forget the turmoil?—
The fiercest of tempests swept over our isle:
The sky and the billows were mingled and dun,
And the bolts of the thunder resounded as one;
The deep, rocky grottoes, whence springeth our isle :

Were filled with strange roarings, and trembled the while.
 We crept into caverns, mute, frozen with fear,
 And deemed that of all things the ending was near.

* * * * *

At length, came the morning; the tumult was o'er;
 Once more the sweet sunlight was flooding our shore.
 But hark! what loud summons sends forth its weird call?
 Piercing deepest of caverns, it crieth to all.
 We heard it, affrighted; crept forth to the morn,
 To behold on our island a horrible form.
 It was Sycorax,—she of witches most foul,—
 Whom the ocean brought hither, with terrible howl," etc.,

or whether *Caliban* relates his thrilling dream, or the *Midsummer-Night Fairies* dance to the music of their roundel on the sands, or *Puck* tells of his merry and frolicsome tricks and "errands of mischief:"

"Intent upon laughter, I cunningly steal
 In the cottage where, busily twirling her wheel,
 The house-wife is spinning, and artfully pull
 Her thread from the distaff, or tangle the wool.
 Then laugh I to see her bewildered surprise
 When, guessing my mischief, she angrily cries,
 'O, this is the work of that troublesome sprite!
 That mad Robin Goodfellow's been here to-night!'" etc.,

or whether *Cordelia* laments for her distracted father:

"O, cruel fortune, I must be away
 So far from this dear father when, perchance,
 One little word of true love, whispered him
 By filial lips, had saved his mind from wreck!
 He always yearned for love; but, in the wealth
 He deemed was garnered in my sisters' breasts,
 Thought my poor little, which I could not praise
 As they did theirs with lavish tongues, superfluous:
 And when he found but empty storehouses
 There where he thought him rich,—poor bankrupt father!—
 The love I had so little art to tell
 Seemed doubtless to him like the counterfeits
 He had believed; and so his heart was broken
 Because he had no child,"

or poor *Ophelia* chants to her withered flowers:

"Alas, to bloom no more!
 No sunshine can restore,
 Nor summer hours,
 Those that an icy breath
 Hath touched with kiss of death,

My pretty flowers !
 Pure snowdrops, pure and cold,
 And daffodils more bold,
 And violets blue ;
 Bright Mary-buds that hold
 Each a round cup of gold,
 To catch the dew.
 I loved to see them there,
 The blossoms sweet and fair
 Of glad spring-time ;
 But April winds were chill,
 And late frosts came to kill
 Them in their prime.
 When tenderly I pressed
 In sadness to my breast
 Their withered bloom,
 Their early blight, methought,
 My sorrowing bosom caught,
 And fatal doom.
 Ah, me, to be a flower,
 And perish in an hour
 Of cold, cold frost !
 Gay tints bright sunshine sent,
 Sweet odors Nature lent,
 All lost ! all lost !"

or where the *Ghost of King Duncan*, with piteous looks, haunts the crowned usurper :

" From solemn deeps
 Where silence sleeps,
 And dim uncertain realms that lie
 Beyond the reach of mortal eye,
 With dress of gloom
 And voice of doom,
 A grim night-wanderer, come I,
 A murderer's soul to terrify ;—
 Yet am not he your cruel hand
 Cut basely off from high command.
 I am your act,
 The dismal shadow of a fact,
 A fantasy
 Of memory ;
 Of your own being I am a part,
 A brand from out your burning heart.
 He in whose shape you see me dressed
 Is happy now among the blessed ;
 But hapless he
 Whose misery

Knows not an instant's rest,
 Bearing unceasing torture in his breast ;
 Who daily, nightly, lives in fear ;
 Whose coward eyes around him peer
 To watch what fiend is lurking near
 To snatch his soul
 From life's control,
 And plunge it where all demons be
 In sulphurous billows of that sea
 That ever laves
 With burning waves
 The murderer's soul eternally,"

or where the *Wierd Sisters*, that "owe their blackest art to the foulness of his heart," chant to the *King* their dismal and doleful refrain,—or in that most beautiful dialogue, too long to quote and too good to curtail, where *Fortia* pleads with *Shylock* in behalf of mercy and Christian charity,—in these and many more similar passages, we have Shakespeare constantly before our eyes and in our hearts, although we know it is but his *spirit* that informs the poetry.

In the West, we have long been proud of having among us a true classical poet ; and in his new book Mr. Leighton has added fresh laurels to his fame. To the lovers of Shakespeare, it will be especially welcome,—it contains not a line nor a word to offend their most jealous or critical taste,—while *every one* who loves natural and *intelligible* poetry, bold in thought, yet delicate in execution, will read "Shakespeare's Dream" with real enjoyment and edification.

We have no room to speak of the other poems contained in this volume, all of which have more or less merit. That entitled "Youth and Age," represented by a golden-haired child playing under the branches of a gnarled oak, is especially beautiful, though, perhaps, a few stanzas too long for the subject.

In conclusion, I would add that the publishers have done their duty in making the book all that could be desired. It is beautifully printed on thick paper, with wide, uncut margins, gilt top, and tastefully bound in dark green. The gilt design of fairies dancing in a ring, on the cover, is, I believe, from the author's own pencil. At the moderate price of publication, it is a most desirable holiday volume, and will unquestionably find, as it well deserves, a large demand.

JOSEPH CROSBY.

THE OWNERS OF IRELAND.

MOST of the land of Ireland has two possessors,—those who hold the title and those who occupy the soil. The British Parliament is now called upon to decide the nature of their joint ownership. That such a question should arise in this stage of European development, is a remarkable fact. In every other European country, these results of medieval conquest have been permanently adjusted. Not the least of the unpleasant feature of England's dilemma, is the necessity of settling, by methods of the nineteenth century, questions which belong properly to the sixteenth and seventeenth.

Fully to explain the relations of owners and occupiers of Ireland, it is needful to review the circumstances which have produced them.

Though separated from the main land of Europe, the island suffered the usual succession of conquests which were common to the Middle Ages. In the eleventh century, the last tide of migration passed from Europe to Great Britain. One hundred years later, the Norman Conquest reached its western limit on the banks of the Shannon. Henry II. had as good a pretext for invading Ireland as William, before him, for claiming the English crown, and a better one, probably, than the Milesians, who preceded him, had for their invasion. The time is not known when Ireland did not contain conqueror and conquered.

Unfortunately, the Norman Conquest was incomplete. Henry's troubles over the murder of Thomas à Becket, compelled him to leave Connaught and part of Ulster still in the hands of the native chiefs, and prevented the intended establishment of a competent system for preserving internal quiet and order. A few Norman nobles planted themselves on the conquered territory, and an English settlement was formed around Dublin, which became the seat of Government. With the exception of appointing, from time to time, a Lord-Lieutenant, the Kings had little to do with Irish affairs for three hundred and fifty years. In fact, the struggles with the barons, the wars with France, and the conflicts between York and Lancaster, left little time to be bestowed upon the settlement of Ireland. Meanwhile, the process of assimilation, which had been accomplished in England, progressed here, though more slowly.

Henry VIII. concluded that the English authority should be more than a shadow, and in consequence there began, in 1534, a series of rebellions against it which continued until the armies of William of Orange subdued effectually the whole island, and the English Parliament branded every Irish Catholic as an outcast from civilized society, and enacted laws whose effect in time made their declarations true.

When these struggles commenced, there were three classes of people in Ireland, which constituted almost distinct races. Living in Dublin and in the three adjoining counties of Meath, Louth and Kildare, were the English people in the island. This territory constituted the English Pale. Here, English language, customs, laws, prevailed. On the opposite side of Ireland,—in Connaught and Ulster,—the people were purely Irish, except a few thousand Scots who had crossed the narrow channel and gained a permanent foothold on the soil.

The country between these extremes was inhabited by Irish, ruled over by the descendants of the Norman nobles who had settled after the Conquest. In order to maintain their authority so far from the home Government and in the midst of strangers, they were compelled to adopt—some more, some less,—the customs of the natives. Many of the best of this Norman nobility had returned to England during the War of the Roses, and the native chiefs had taken their places over the whole country. Outside of the English Pale, the dress, manners, language and laws were Irish. Nowhere was there any tranquillity. The Irish tribes fought and plundered each other. The farmers of the Pale were exposed on the one hand to the predatory incursions of the Irish, and on the other to the oppression of the Deputy. The Irish did very little farming. Their main support lay in immense herds of cattle, which roamed the unenclosed plains and woods, and whose milk and flesh constituted the chief food of the people. The land was not held in severalty, nor did it belong to the chief. His right over it only extended to the collecting of rent,—so much for each animal that grazed on it. If the rent was not paid, its equivalent was seized; but the right to pasture, which was vested in the whole community, was never denied.

In spite of the feuds between the English of the Pale and the Irish without it, they had much in common. They had somewhat intermarried, in the face of stringent laws to the contrary. They agreed in opposing any strong rule by English Deputies. Home Rule was popular even then. When the Deputy was an Irish noble, there was no open trouble, because everything was conducted upon Irish principles. But when an Englishman held the office, all the island was in sullen rebellion.

As compared with England, the condition of Ireland was certainly barbarous. But the same forces which created every Western nation out of independent tribes, would in time have done its work here. Ireland was simply behind the age,—nothing more. All the movements of European regeneration have reached Europe's northwest corner late, or never. The Roman power was never felt there,—that power to which no barbarian nation yielded without receiving lasting benefits. The Norman Conquest came a century late, and brought few *permanent representatives* of its greater culture. The revival of learning was unknown there, and even the Reformation had spent its real force before its preachers crossed Saint George's Channel.

Broadly speaking, the sixteenth century was the time in which the contest was carried on for the political supremacy of the island; the seventeenth witnessed the struggle for the possession of the soil. The eighteenth was devoted to the legal degradation of Catholics, and the nineteenth to undoing the injustice of the two preceding centuries.

From 1534 to 1603, open resistance was offered to English authority every few years. Sometimes the Norman-Irish nobles sometimes the native chieftains of the North and West, sometimes both, were in arms to resist the extension of English authority beyond the narrow limits of the Pale.

The object of Henry VIII. was a good one. He desired to introduce civilization and order into a part of his hereditary dominions where he found barbarism and anarchy. The first rebellion being suppressed, and English power being demonstrated, his plan of action was to convert the Irish chieftains into English nobles. They were persuaded to abandon the names of O'Neil and O'Donnell, and become earls and lords. Where persuasion would not suffice,

confiscated abbeys were given as bribes to the support of English customs. The policy might have succeeded. But it required time, and a strong, firm, patient government at Dublin. With the end of Henry's reign, these essential conditions ceased, and, until Cromwell appeared in Ireland in 1649, the examples of English order which were presented by the Government Deputy were such as to cause the Irish to cling more firmly to their own institutions. The old state of anarchy returned. Each rebellion was ruthlessly suppressed, and then all soldiers withdrawn from the island. The natives, smarting under their recent punishment, were thus irresistibly tempted again to avenge themselves. In almost every engagement where the two nations met, the English were victorious. The difficulty lay in finding the Irish army amid its bogs and woods, and in preventing it, when defeated, from vanishing from sight and reach before serious injury could be inflicted. Hence, an army could march unopposed through the rebellious provinces, and, unless they succeeded in taking prisoner the leaders, would leave it as disaffected as ever.

So affairs progressed through Elizabeth's reign. The Queen was unwilling to expend sufficient money to maintain a permanent force large enough to discourage insurrection. Therefore, the results of each conflict were immediately lost. Of course, this exasperated the English. They became tired of a fruitless struggle. It was like climbing a hill of sand. They might draw the sand down under their feet, but themselves were still at the foot of the hill. It began to be said that the only way to subdue Ireland was to get rid of the Irish. The Government did not announce a policy of extermination; but it became a growing practice with the soldiers to have each war close with as few Irish alive as possible. In suppressing the rebellion which broke out over the whole South and West in 1580, the English Generals rivalled Cortez and Pizarro. The native Irish were but as beasts,—a race of vermin to be destroyed. The more men that were slain, the smaller would be this generation; the more women and children killed, the less there would be of the next.

These early struggles which attended the conquest of Ireland are often regarded as the source of the present ill-feeling between the two countries. I believe this is a mistake. England and Scot-

land, England and Wales, France and Brittany, had similar struggles, which were soon forgotten under a few years of common government. Besides, there was little with which Ireland could reproach England. The Milesian Celts were themselves invaders. By the sword had they acquired their title. That title must show itself faulty in the presence of keener steel. The Norman invasion benefited England.

History does not show that for three hundred and fifty years it hindered the development of Ireland. Henry VIII.'s motive toward the country and people was for their benefit. He sought to substitute order for anarchy, light for darkness. Even the misrule of the succeeding sovereigns was no worse than the oppression of the native and Norman-Irish chiefs. Had the Irish not fought with the English, they would have fought with each other. England's actions were certainly wrong, her treatment often cruel. But the Irish nobles were not the ones to reproach her for them. There could have been no improvement in Ireland till there was some central authority, and the evolution of that from the midst of her own people would have convulsed the land as seriously and as long as did the English struggle.

During Elizabeth's reign, two new sources of difficulty developed themselves, which widened the breach between the countries and gave ample justice to Ireland's charge of oppression and cruelty. One of these time has nearly outlived. The other was the cause of the trouble which England is now trying to adjust.

The first was the question of religion. Henry VIII. appropriated the property of the religious bodies, and gave much of it to the Irish nobles. Mary re-established the Catholic worship, while under Elizabeth it was again forbidden.

As the Irish were never attracted to the Reformed Churches, they simply dropped religion altogether. Then came the Catholic reaction, and just when England was settling into all but universal Protestantism, Ireland was returning with increased fervor to its primitive faith.

Meanwhile, the discovery of the enormous wealth of the New World was creating over all Western Europe a thirst for adventure. Spain was growing rich with the spoils of the conquered American nations. To her soldiers the people there were heathen outcasts,

who cumbered a soil which should support Christians; their priceless treasures were but trusts which they held till some Christian should claim them. In these enterprises of avarice and cruelty, English gentlemen had borne a part. The morality which they cultivated had taken root in English minds.

As the gap widened between the civilizations of England and Ireland, England rapidly advancing, Ireland standing still,—as the English saw the Irish turn again to a belief which they regarded as a perversion worse than the ignorance of heathenism,—the feeling which they had for the American natives was extended to the Irish. Ireland as well as America became a place where glory and honor and profit might be won by the sword. Englishmen had discovered at their own doors as good a chance for successful enterprise as Spain possessed in her trans-Atlantic possessions.

These ideas first took definite shape in 1568. The Earl of Desmond, whose territory included half of Munster, had been summoned to England to answer charges of disloyalty. On account of breach of parole, he was compelled to purchase his life by the surrender of all his possessions. Elizabeth was always parsimonious, and, in the repeated struggles to preserve order in Ireland, she spent as little money as possible,—usually, in fact, spoiling each enterprise by the mean way in which it was equipped. "Ireland," she finally said, "must support its own police." Here, now, was the chance. A party of gentlemen offered to occupy Munster, garrison it, and spread from its limits the authority of English law. The surrendered land of Desmond was to be granted them, and the rest of the chiefs south of a line from Limerick to Cork, were to submit their titles to examination, and, if any were defective, their possessions were to be added. The owners of the land the settlers would drive away or kill, and the common people would be reduced to order and industry, or "they through idleness would offend to die." The intention of these projectors was plain. They were to seize the land by force, hold it by the sword, and kill any one who opposed himself to their occupation.

Had they moved with moderation and caution, the scheme might have succeeded. But, before the Queen had given her final sanction to the enterprise, they had proceeded to Ireland and begun to

occupy the lands of Desmond and of others whom they thought would be included in the general confiscation. But they moved too hurriedly. Land was seized belonging to the house of Ormond, the one powerful family which had always been true to the English sovereign. The violence was retaliated, and all Ireland was on the point of rising to protect their homes and firesides against marauding strangers. Even the Earl of Ormond, the strongest friend of England, declared that he would resist this attempt at wholesale robbery. Rather than meet such a rebellion, the Queen recalled the colonists, restored Desmond to his possessions, and declared a general amnesty. The adventurers had to wait a little longer.

But a well-founded alarm was spread through the island. To the common people, the fighters and workers, it really mattered little who was their lord,—Irish, Norman-Irish or English. It mattered little how they dressed, or what law regulated justice. But whether they should be enslaved or driven from the soil, or killed like dogs and wolves, were questions which thoroughly stirred them.

They did not wait long for the second attempt. The Scots in the northeast of Ulster had taken part in one of the rebellions, and many had been killed; others had emigrated further southwest, and taken more desirable land. A design was now formed to appropriate their territory. Walter, Earl of Essex, father of Queen Elizabeth's favorite, offered to form an English settlement on the land of these Scots, at his own expense, if the Queen would grant him the land with certain privileges. These privileges read curiously at this time. Among other things, he had power "to spoil, besiege, raze or destroy the towers and castles of Irish outlaws;" "to annoy them by fire or sword, or any manner of death;" "to take to his use the goods and chattels of traitors, pirates and felons, with all shipwrecks that should happen within his grant;" "power," also, "to make slaves, and to chain to ships and galleys, all or any such of the Irishry or Scots-Irish as should be condemned of treason, for the better furtherance of his enterprise."

The expedition was unsuccessful, and the settlement was abandoned; but the present owners of that part of the island hold their title under this grant. Essex, though deserted by his settlers, was

able with his soldiers to overrun the territory and kill all that opposed him. To the island of Rathlin, just off the coast, the Scots had removed many of their wives, children, and aged people. Thither one of the generals was sent, with orders to kill whatever he found. He executed his trust faithfully, and the small garrison was overcome and cut down, and six hundred now defenceless people were put to the sword. On his return, Essex praised him for the thoroughness of his work ; and yet Essex was one of England's noblest gentlemen !

The last revolt in Elizabeth's reign ended with the most thorough subjection Ireland had yet seen. Soon after James I. ascended the throne, the heads of the houses of O'Neil and O'Donnell visited him in London and swore allegiance and the observance of English laws. In return, James made them Earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnel. But disputes between them and the Deputy soon arose, and, alarmed for their lives, they fled from the country and besought in foreign courts help for their cause. Their lands were declared forfeited, and King James organized a successful colonization of Ulster. To declare the fugitive earls traitors, and confiscate their rights over their hereditary domains, was one thing ; but to drive into the bogs and woods all those who lived upon the land was a very different one. The Irish nobles were law-givers and tax-collectors, but they were not, in the English sense, land-owners. The attainting of their property, therefore, did not convey a right to dispossess the original occupiers. But the settlers supplied their lack of right by surplus of force, and the Irish people saw with blank despair the occupation by strangers of the best of the land. With settled, desperate hatred, they sullenly withdrew. Stringent laws were passed by the colonists, excluding them from the towns, and depriving them of the benefits of English law.

The management of these settlements was confided to certain London companies, who advanced capital for some of the important public improvements. To encourage the emigration of industrious artisans and farmers, the land which they occupied was granted them on long leases. They had to erect the buildings and make most of the improvements themselves ; therefore, their right to ownership in these was recognized, and successors to their property were expected to refund what had been thus expended.

Thus arose the custom of Ulster Tenant Right. By it the land only is regarded as the property of the proprietor. The buildings, fences, and similar improvements, belong to the tenant. In many cases, at the present time, this tenant right is equal to eight times the annual rental. On one estate whose rent is \$300,000, it amounts to two and a half millions.

Thus tilled by industrious yeomen from England and Scotland, the rich soil of Northern Ireland presented the one flourishing spot in the country. The result was encouraging to England; but it was the civilization of the Irish land, not of the people. That the soil should blossom in English hands, was the first real profit that England derived from its four hundred and fifty years of conquest and armed occupation. But to the Irish it meant that they were to be an outcast race, dwelling in rocks and bogs.

That they should long endure this situation without a serious struggle, was improbable. They waited their time. The dissensions between Charles I. and Parliament gave a favorable opportunity. In 1641 the dispossessed people claimed by force of arms the restoration of their ancient lands. The rising had been secretly planned and suddenly executed. A few days saw Ulster again in the hands of the Irish, and again in its condition of primitive desolation. The plundering and burning excited the people beyond all control. The English found their own methods turned against themselves. If Ireland was to be kept Irish, there must be an extermination of the foreign, heretic seizers of the land. How many English were killed, cannot be ascertained. The estimates vary from five to forty thousand. The whole island joined the revolt. Dublin was almost the only place held by the English. The authorities here were slow to take positive action for the recovery of their control. They felt sure of success in the end, with the whole force of England behind them. Meanwhile, the longer they deferred action, the more persons joined the revolt, and the more confiscated land would there be after the reconquest. Parliament was unwilling to entrust to the King the conduct of the war. So it offered to repay all money and services contributed to the subjection of Ireland, with confiscated lands in Munster and Leinster. Connaught was too remote. Ulster was already partitioned.

The money came, and the suppression began again. Cromwell finally finished it. His work was thorough. The lessons of his

stern determination given at Drogheda and Wexford, needed little repetition. The country was soon at his feet. His plan for the regeneration of the island was no less vigorous. Of the four provinces, henceforth three were to be for the English, one for the Irish. That one was Connaught, the most sterile and rugged of all.

In 1652, the Long Parliament passed the act of settlement. Among its provisions were these :

I. All ecclesiastic and royalist proprietors were exempted from pardon of life or estate.

II. All royalist commissioned officers were condemned to banishment, and forfeit of two-thirds of their property, one-third being retained for the support of their wives and children.

III. Those who had not been in arms, but could be shown by a Parliamentary Commission to have manifested "a constant good affection" to the war, were to forfeit one-third of their estates, and receive an equivalent for the remaining two-thirds beyond the Shannon.

IV. All husbandmen and others of the inferior sort not possessed of lands or goods exceeding the value of £10, were to have free pardon on condition also of transporting themselves across the Shannon. The banished were to congregate in their new homes before the first of May, 1654, after which they were not to appear within two miles of the Shannon or four miles of the sea.

The land thus vacated, except 1,200,000 acres, which was confirmed to innocent Papists, was divided among the former settlers, the soldiers and adventurers who assisted in the conquest, and those who had contributed money since 1641. On the restoration of Charles II., one-third of the confiscated lands were returned to royalist Protestants and innocent Catholics. Even after this readjustment, 2,500,000 acres were in different hands, and from 5,000,000 belonging to Catholics, and 2,000,000 to Protestants, before the rebellion, 2,250,000 acres belonged to Catholics, and 4,250,000 to Protestants, after the redistribution.

One more convulsion shook the country. In 1688, James II., dethroned in England and Scotland, found adherents among his Catholic subjects in Ireland. Again was English supremacy demonstrated, and nearly half the remaining Catholic possessions

were confiscated and given to Protestants. This was the last general change of ownership. One-fifth of the land now remained in the hands of the old population.

But laws of cruel ingenuity rendered this tenure precarious. We cannot dwell now on the monstrosities of the penal code. Its provisions have long since been repealed, and the hatred and jealousy of races which they caused have largely been lost, or merged into the feelings which sprung from the relations that grew up between the new lords of the soil and the old occupiers.

THOMAS K. BROWN.

(Conclusion in June number.)

UNIVERSITY ITEMS.

THE Department of the University of Pennsylvania, inaugurated with the present number of the magazine, will be conducted by a committee representing the different departments of the University, at present constituted as follows: Prof. James Tyson, M. D., Chairman; Department of Arts, Prof. J. G. R. McElroy; Department of Medicine, Louis Stan, M. D., Arthur Van Harlingen, M. D., J. William White, M. D.; Department of Laws, Hampton L. Carson, Esq., H. Laussat Geyelin, Esq., Effingham B. Morris, Esq.; Towne Scientific School, Mr. Frank Theodore Freeland; Department of Dentistry, under-graduates, Mr. James Hamilton Robins.

It is designed to publish, under the above heading, all matters pertaining to the conduct and policy of the University, whether official or unofficial, which it is thought will be of interest to the alumni of its different departments; to make known its wants, and to make mention of the work which has been, or is being, carried out by graduates, at home and abroad; of their appointments and preferences. To this latter end, alumni are invited to send to the committee memoranda of important matters in which they or brother alumni may be concerned. The present issue, although imperfect, as the first effort of an as yet imperfectly organized department must necessarily be, will give readers an idea what it is desired to carry out.

The columns of the PENN MONTHLY will also hereafter contain articles on educational and scientific topics, and on others of gen-

eral interest, by those connected with the University in various ways, so that the magazine may be looked upon as at least a partial exponent of the literary and scientific work being carried out by the school, so far as it may be of general interest.

SCHEME OF THE WHARTON SCHOOL OF FINANCE AND ECONOMY.*

The general conviction that college education did little toward fitting for the actual duties of life any but those who purposed to become lawyers, doctors, or clergymen, brought about the creation of many excellent technical and scientific schools, whose work is enriching the country with a host of cultivated minds prepared to overcome all sorts of difficulties in the world of matter.

Those schools, while not replacing the outgrown and obsolescent system of apprenticeship, accomplish a work quite beyond anything that system was capable of. Instead of teaching and perpetuating the narrow, various and empirical routines of certain shops, they base their instruction upon the broad principles deduced from all human knowledge, and ground in science, as well as in art, pupils who are thereby fitted both to practice what they have learned and to become themselves teachers and discoverers.

In the matter of commercial education, there was formerly a system of instruction practiced in the counting-houses of the old-time merchants, resembling the system of apprenticeship to trades. Comparatively few examples of this sort of instruction remain, nor is their deficiency made good by the so-called commercial colleges; for, however valuable may be the knowledge which they impart, it does not suffice to fit a young man for the struggle of commercial life, for wise management of a private estate, or for efficient public service.

It is obvious that training in a commercial house not of the first rank for magnitude and intelligence, must, like trade-apprentice-

* Although the article of Mr. Rogers' in the body of the magazine, contains very full allusions to the motives and objects of Mr. Wharton in founding the new School of Finance and Economy, it is deemed desirable to publish separately in this department the detailed scheme, as drawn up by its founder.

ship, often result in narrowness and empiricism, which are not compensated by the hard and practical certainty within limited bounds derived from the routine of trade or business. Since systematic instruction cannot be expected from the over-worked heads of any great establishment, the novice mostly depends on what he can gather from the salaried employés of the house, and, instead of being instructed in the various branches, is probably kept working at some particular function for which he has shown aptitude, or where his service is most needed. Besides, ordinary prudence requires that many things indispensable to mastery of the business should be kept secret from these novices.

There is, furthermore, in this country, an increasing number of young men possessing, by inheritance, wealth, keenness of intellect, and latent power of command or organization, to whom the channels of commercial education, such as it is, are, by the very felicity of their circumstances, partly closed, for, when they leave college at the age of 20 to 25 years, they are already too old to be desirable beginners in a counting-house, or to descend readily to its drudgery.

No country can afford to have this inherited wealth and capacity wasted for want of that fundamental knowledge which would enable the possessors to employ them with advantage to themselves and to the community; yet how numerous are the instances of speedy ruin to great estates, and indolent waste of great powers for good, simply for want of such knowledge and of the tastes and self-reliance which it brings. Nor can any country long afford to have its laws made, and its government administered, by men who lack such training as would suffice to rid their minds of fallacies, and qualify them for the solution of social problems incident to our civilization. Evidently, a great boon would be bestowed upon the nation, if its young men of inherited intellect, means and refinement could be more generally led so to manage their property as, while husbanding it, to benefit the community, or could be drawn into careers of unselfish legislation and administration.

As the possession of any power is usually accompanied by taste for its exercise, it is reasonable to expect that adequate education in the principles underlying successful business management and civil government, would greatly aid in producing a class of men

likely to become most useful members of society, whether in private or in public life. An opportunity for good seems here to exist similar to that so largely and profitably availed of by the technical and scientific schools.

These considerations, joined to the belief that one of the existing great universities, rather than an institution of lower rank or a new independent establishment, should lead in the attempt to supply this important deficiency in our present system of education, have led me to suggest the project herewith submitted, for the establishment of a School of Finance and Economy as a department of the University which you now control, and which seems well suited to undertake a task so accordant with its general aims. In order that the University may not, by undertaking it, assume a pecuniary burden, I hereby propose to endow the School with the securities below-named, amounting to \$100,000, and yielding more than \$6,000 annual interest, these securities not to be converted during my life-time without my assent, and no part of the endowment to be at any time invested in any obligation of the University, viz. :—

\$50,000 stock in the Delaware and Bound Brook Railroad Company.

\$50,000 mortgage bonds of the Schuylkill Navigation Company, due in 1907.

I am prepared to convey these securities at the opening of the first term of the School, or at any earlier time when the University shall satisfy me that the School will surely be organized as below stated, and opened at the beginning of the next term, interest being adjusted to such time of opening.

The only conditions which I impose, are, that the University shall establish and maintain the School according to the tenor of the "Project" hereto appended, and that if the University shall, at any time hereafter, by its own desire, or by default established in a suitable Court of Equity, cease so to maintain the School, or if the School shall fail to attract students and therefore prove, in the judgment of such Court, to be of inconsiderable utility, the endowment shall forthwith revert to me or to my heirs, I reserving the right during my life to amend in any way, with the assent of the then Trustees of the University, the terms of the said "Project."

To commemorate a family name which has been honorably borne in this community since the foundation of the city, I desire

that the School shall be called "The Wharton School of Finance and Economy."

THE PROJECT.

1. *Object.* To provide for young men special means of training and of correct instruction in the knowledge and in the arts of modern Finance and Economy, both public and private, in order that, being well informed and free from delusions upon these important subjects, they may either serve the community skilfully as well as faithfully in offices of trust, or, remaining in private life, may prudently manage their own affairs and aid in maintaining sound financial morality; in short, to establish means for imparting a liberal education in all matters concerning Finance and Economy.

2. *Qualifications for Admission.* Assuming that the special instruction of this School will occupy three years, which may be called the sub-junior, junior, and senior years, the general qualifications for admission to the sub-junior class should be equal to those for the corresponding class in the Towne Scientific School, but different in detail to the extent required by the difference in studies to be thenceforth pursued.

As preparatory to admission to that class, candidates may, at the discretion of the Trustees of the University, be received into either of the lower classes of the Department of Arts or of the Towne Scientific School, upon the same general conditions as shall, from time to time, be established for admission to those classes. To guard against the too frequent unsoundness of preliminary instruction, which is a vice of our time, and which affords no proper foundation for a collegiate course, honest fulfillment must be exacted of those reasonable detailed conditions for admission which shall, from time to time, be determined upon and set forth in the official catalogue.

3. *Organization.* The School to be conducted by—

(a.) One Principal or Dean, to exercise general control over the whole School and to give tone to the instruction. He should, besides taking such part as may be found expedient in the routine instruction of the various classes, give stated and formal lectures, constituting a part of the instruction of the graduating class, and should in each year produce for publication a treatise upon some topic of current public interest connected with the lines of study pursued in the School, which treatises should be of such a nature as to bring reputation to the School and to possess permanent value as a series. No such treatise to be published until approved by a committee of the Board of Trustees appointed for that purpose, a certificate of their examination and approval to be printed at the beginning of the treatise.

(b.) One Professor or Instructor of Accounting or Book-keeping, to teach the simplest and most practical forms of book-keeping for

housekeepers, for private individuals, for commercial and banking firms, for manufacturing establishments, and for banks; also, the modes of keeping accounts by executors, trustees, assignees, by the officials of towns and cities, as well as by the several departments of a State or National Government; also, the routine of business between a bank and a customer.

(c.) One Professor or Instructor upon Money and Currency, to teach the meaning, history, and functions of money and currency, showing particularly the necessity of permanent uniformity or integrity in the coin unit upon which the money system of a nation is based; how an essential attribute of money is that it should be hard to get; the nature of, and reasons for, interest, or hire of money, and rents; the advantages of an adequate precious-metal fund for settling international balances, as well as for regulating and checking by redemption the paper money and credits of a modern commercial nation; how such metallic hoards are amassed and defended; the extent to which paper money may be advantageously employed; the distinctions between bank-notes and Government notes; the uses and abuses of credit, both private and public; the uses and abuses of bills of exchange, letters of credit, and promissory notes, the history of banking, and, particularly, of Government banks; the advantages and dangers of banks of issue, banks of deposit, and savings-banks; how the functions of different sorts of banks may be combined in one, and how any of them may be banks of discount; the functions of clearing-houses; the phenomena and causes of panics and money crises; the nature of pawn establishments and of lotteries; the nature of stocks and bonds, with the ordinary modes of dealing therein.

(d.) One Professor or Instructor upon Taxation, to teach the history and practice of modern taxation, as distinguished from the plunder, tribute or personal service which it, for the most part, replaces; the proper objects and rates of taxation for municipal, State, or National purposes; the public ends for which money may properly be raised by taxation; the nature of direct and indirect taxation, of excise, of customs or import duties, of export duties, of stamps, of income tax; the modern methods by which taxes are usually levied; the influences exercised upon the morality and prosperity of a community or nation by the various modes and extents of taxation; the effects upon taxation of wars and of standing armies; the extent to which corporations should be encouraged by the State, and to what extent they should be taxed, as compared with individuals engaged in similar pursuits.

(e.) One Professor or Instructor upon Industry, Commerce, and Transportation, to teach how industries advance in excellence, or decline, and shift from place to place; how, by intelligent industry, nations or communities thrive; how, by superior skill and diligence,

some nations grow rich and powerful, and how, by idleness or ill-directed industry, others become rude and poor; how a great nation should be, as far as possible, self-sufficient, maintaining a proper balance between agriculture, mining and manufactures, and supplying its own wants; how mutual advantage results from the reciprocal exchange of commodities natural to one land for the diverse commodities natural to another, but how, by craft in commerce, one nation may take the substance of a rival and maintain for itself virtual monopoly of the most profitable and civilizing industries; how, by suitable tariff legislation, a nation may thwart such designs, may keep its productive industry active, cheapen the cost of commodities, and oblige foreigners to sell to it at low prices, while contributing largely toward defraying the expenses of its government; also, the nature and origin of money wages; the necessity, for modern industry, of organizing, under single leaders or employers, great amounts of capital and great numbers of laborers, and of maintaining discipline among the latter; the proper division of the fruits of organized labor between capitalist, leader and workman; the nature and prevention of "strikes;" the importance of educating men to combine their energies for the accomplishment of any desirable object, and the principles upon which such combinations should be effected.

(f.) One Professor or Instructor upon Elementary and Mercantile Law, to teach the Constitution of the United States and of Pennsylvania; the principal features of United States law concerning industry, commerce, navigation, and land and mining titles; the principal features of the laws of Pennsylvania and of other States concerning mercantile affairs, partnerships, and corporations; of so-called international law; of the law of common carriers; the nature and operation of fire, marine and life insurance; the principal features of State law concerning inheritance, conveyance of land titles, mortgages, and liens; in brief, the history and present status of commercial legislation and the directions in which improvements may be hoped and striven for, particularly as to harmonizing or unifying, under United States laws, the diverse legislation of the several States of this nation; the manner of conducting stockholders' and directors' meetings, as well as public meetings; the rules governing parliamentary assemblies; the routine and forms of legislative bodies.

Elocution should be taught and practiced to the extent of habituating the students to clear, forcible, and unembarrassed utterance, before an audience, of whatever they may have to say, not in such manner as to promote mere rhetoric or prettiness. Athletic exercises within moderate limits should be encouraged, as tending to vigor and self-reliance. Latin, German and French, and sound

general knowledge of mathematics, geography, history, and other branches of an ordinary good education, must be acquired by the students; but these points are not here dwelt upon, because it is desired to direct attention to the peculiar features of the School.

This sketch of the instruction to be given in the School is not to be regarded as precisely defining, much less as limiting, that which shall there be undertaken and carried on, but rather as indicating its general scope and tendency; the true intent and meaning being that instruction shall be carefully provided for and regularly given in this School, at least as full and thorough as is above set forth, and substantially as there stated.

All the teaching must be clear, sharp and didactic; not uncertain nor languid. The students must be taught and drilled, not lectured to without care whether or not attention is paid; any lazy or incompetent student must be dismissed.

Though the special curriculum should probably at first be arranged to occupy three years, as has been suggested above, this term might hereafter be extended, or post-graduate instruction introduced, if experience should so dictate.

The Dean and Professors or Instructors are to constitute the Faculty of the School, and are to administer its discipline, as is done by the Dean and Faculty of the other departments of the University, subject to such general rules as shall from time to time be established for the University by the Board of Trustees.

4. *General Tendency of Instruction.* This should be such as to inculcate and impress upon the students:

(a.) The immorality and practical inexpediency of seeking to acquire wealth by winning it from another, rather than by earning it through some sort of service to one's fellow-men.

(b.) The necessity of system and accuracy in accounts, of thoroughness in whatever is undertaken, and of strict fidelity in trusts.

(c.) Caution in contracting private debt directly or by endorsement, and in incurring obligation of any kind; punctuality in payment of debt and in performance of engagements. Abhorrence of repudiation of debt by communities, and commensurate abhorrence of lavish or inconsiderate incurring of public debt.

(d.) The deep comfort and healthfulness of pecuniary independence, whether the scale of affairs be small or great. The consequent necessity of careful scrutiny of income and outgo, whether private or public, and of such management as will cause the first to exceed, even if but slightly, the second. In national affairs, this applies not only to the public treasury, but also to the mass of the nation, as shown by the balance of trade.

(e.) The necessity of rigorously punishing, by legal penalties and by social exclusion, those persons who commit frauds, betray

trusts, or steal public funds, directly or indirectly. The fatal consequences to a community of any weak toleration of such offences must be most distinctly pointed out and enforced.

(*f.*) The fundamental fact that the United States is a nation, composed of populations wedded together for life, with full power to enforce internal obedience, and not a loose bundle of incoherent communities living together temporarily without other bond than the humor of the moment.

(*g.*) The necessity for each nation to care for its own, and to maintain, by all suitable means, its industrial and financial independence; no apologetic or merely defensive style of instruction must be tolerated upon this point, but the right and duty of national self-protection must be firmly asserted and demonstrated.

5. *Theses and Premiums.* Each student intending to graduate should prepare an original thesis upon some topic germane to the instruction of the School, such as the great currents of the world's exchanges, past and present; the existing revenue system of Great Britain, France, Mexico, Japan, or some other modern nation; the revenue system, at some definite period, of Athens, Rome, Venice, or other ancient or mediæval nation; the relative advantages of mono-metallic and of bi-metallic money; the Latin monetary union; the land-credit banks of Germany; life-insurance, tontines, annuities, and endowments; reciprocity and commercial treaties; the nature of French *sociétés générales, anonymes* and *en commandité*; the banking system, past or present, of some specified nation; the advantages and disadvantages of attempts by employers to provide for the wants of their workmen beyond payment of stipulated wages.

In style, the thesis should be lucid, terse and sincere, showing mastery of the subject, with appropriate and logical arrangement of parts, leading up to definite statement of conclusions reached. The chirography must be neat and legible.

For the best thesis, and also for the best general proficiency in the studies taught in the School, should be given annually a gold medal weighing about an ounce, to be called respectively "Founder's Thesis Medal," and "Founder's Proficiency Medal," the same to be awarded by the Dean and Professors or Instructors in council.

6. *Relations to the University.* This School is intended to form an integral part of the University of Pennsylvania; its Dean and Professors or Instructors to be appointed by the Trustees of that University; its functions to be exercised under the general oversight of the Provost and Trustees, and its specific cost of instruction to be determined by them; its diplomas to be countersigned by him; its funds, however, to be kept absolutely distinct from those of the

University, and to be kept separately invested by the Trustees of the University in the name of this School, to be applied only to its own uses and not encroached upon in any manner for any debt, engagement, need or purpose of the University.

Since this School will require no house accommodation, except for class-rooms, the use of which it is expected the University will freely grant, none of its funds must be expended in building or for rent-paying.

7. *Financial Prospectus.* An endowment capable of yielding \$6,000 per annum would seem to be necessary and adequate. Forty students, if at \$150 per annum each, would contribute a similar sum.

From this revenue of \$12,000 per annum, the Dean might be paid \$3,000, and each of the five Professors or Instructors \$1,500 per annum, thus consuming \$10,500, and leaving \$1,500 per annum from which to accumulate gradually a Safety Fund equal to at least one year's expenses; also to buy books and to pay for premiums and for publication of treatises. The interest of this Safety Fund might properly be applied to pay to the Treasury of the School for the tuition of those admitted to free scholarships; the number of which would thus be limited by the amount of such interest; but, besides the other requisites for admission, sound physical health and high probability of life must be indispensable conditions for the enjoyment of a free scholarship.

Before so many as forty students are in attendance, the number of instructors may be reduced by running the subjects together. When more than forty attend, the instruction may be expanded, the salaries advanced, or the Safety Fund increased, as the Trustees may think most expedient. During the first year, before all the classes are under tuition, the instruction will naturally be condensed, fewer Professors or Instructors perhaps be required, and the Safety Fund thus have opportunity for accumulation. It is not expected that the University shall consume its own means for the support of this School, further than to provide class-rooms.

The School must exemplify its teachings by always keeping its expenses surely within its income, except that in emergencies it may consume any part of the principal of the Safety Fund, the same to be afterward replaced as soon as practicable.

In the Medical Department, the prolongation to six and a half months, of the winter term of lectures and instruction, has been definitely agreed upon by the Board of Trustees and the Faculty, to go into effect for the session of 1883-'84.

Among the recent additions to the Rogers' Engineering Library are the following works :

The Oxford, Cambridge and Dublin Messenger of Mathematics. 5v. 1862-71.

The Messenger of Mathematics (new series). V. 1-9, 1872-80.

Proceedings of the London Mathematical Society. V. 1-10, 1865-79.

The Quarterly Journal of Pure and Applied Mathematics. V. 1-10, 1858-69. This completes the University's set.

Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London. 23v., 1815-35.

North of England Institute of Mining Engineers. Transactions. V. 1-27, 1853-78.

Sganzin, J. *Cours de Constructions*. Bruxelles, 1867. 3v. Q. atlas, 34 by 52 cm.

Uhland, W. H. *Corliss Engines*. Translated by Tolhausen. London, 1879. Q. atlas, 60 by 41 cm.

The University wishes to complete its set of Crelle's *Journal für die reine und angewandte Mathematik*, and Lionville's *Journal des Mathématiques*. These sets are not in the city, and are indispensable to a student of advanced mathematics. They can be obtained for about \$1,000.

Prof. Kendall, Jr., is lecturing to the members of the Senior Class, who have elected mathematics, on Eulerian and other definite integrals, on differential equations and on quaternions; to the Junior electives, on analytical geometry of three dimensions, factorials, determinants, and other subjects in higher algebra.

Mr. Freeland is lecturing twice a week on higher analytical mechanics to a voluntary class of Seniors.

In the Chemical Laboratory of the Towne Scientific School, about 120 analyses of minerals and rocks have been made by Dr. Genth and F. A. Genth, Jr., which will form an appendix to the forthcoming report of the second geological survey of Pennsylvania by Charles E. Hall, on the Philadelphia belt east of Delaware County.

Many of these rocks have been studied under the microscope. The result of such study, with the above analyses, will form a part of Dr. Genth's "Lithology of the Crystalline Rocks of Pennsylvania," to be published at some future day.

Prof. Geo. A. König has completed his investigations of the ores from the Alaska Mine in the San Juan Mountains of Southwestern Colorado, collected by him during an extended journey in that region last summer. It results in the establishment of a new type species, with the formula $RS + Bi_2 S_3$, in which R represents lead, silver, copper and zinc. From the analyzed specimen, it appears that lead and silver vicariate chiefly. It has long been Prof. König's opinion that mineral species should be representatives rather of chemical force, or of the number of more or less satisfied affinities, and their physical expression in crystallographic symmetry, cohesion and refrangibility, than of simple elementary combinations. He finds a strong confirmation of this opinion in the result of his last researches. For the new species the name, "Alaskaite" is proposed. Incidental to this work, were experiments on the best methods for the separation of lead and bismuth, which led to a modification of the methods now generally used, of a too technical character, however, to be mentioned here. It may be found of more general interest, that Prof. König used the microscope to great advantage in determining the presence of small quantities of lead in combination with bismuth. He made use of the nitrates for this purpose, and found that, with a magnifying power of 600 diameters and a drop of solution containing five milligrams of the two metals, the characteristic octahedric crystals of lead nitrate were still easily recognized when the ratio between bismuth and lead was as 99:1. It is proposed to follow these crystallographic reactions into other fields of chemical analysis.

Arrangements are now being made for a summer course in practical mining for the students in the Department of Mining Engineering. The students will be required to spend one month at the collieries of Messrs. Coxe Brothers, in Luzerne County, under the guidance of Mr. Oswald Heinrich, Mr. Coxe's chief engineer. This is a new departure in the University methods of instruction; and,

with the cordial support of the students, very beneficial results are confidently expected. Meanwhile, the students of this department will spend each Saturday—the weather permitting,—in making cross-levels of the Wissahickon Valley, and sketching of contours, with the ultimate view of making a geological relief map of this interesting locality.

Members of the Senior Class in the Department of Civil Engineering are now completing a model of the present Howe truss over the Schuylkill at Market Street, on a scale of 1-16,—thus adding another to the interesting collection of models of Philadelphia bridges. It is proposed, if sufficient data can be obtained, to model the old single-span wooden bridge of Louis Wernwag, that once spanned the Schuylkill at “Fairmount.” To render this part of the instruction as practical as possible, the students are required to collect their data from actual measurements of existing bridges, and to make the drawings and complete the bills of material therefrom, thus requiring close observation, not only of the general form and dimensions, but of every detail of the structure.

Letters just received from graduates employed in Mexico, give encouraging accounts of the condition of the several railroad enterprises in that country, and of the almost universal demand for greater transportation facilities. It is proposed to construct a rival to the line from the City of Mexico to Vera Cruz, to break up the excessive rates charged for the materials required on other roads now building from the City of Mexico in all directions. A line is also proposed, to connect the latter with Jalapa, the location of which is entrusted to Mr. J. Elliott, '79, who resigns his present position as locating and constructing engineer on the St. Paul and Manitoba Railroad in Minnesota.

The students of the Senior Class in the Department of Dynamical Engineering have been making a number of visits to William Sellers & Co.'s machine tool works, paying special attention to screw-cutting machines, lathes and drilling machines.

1875.—The “Class-Cup,” offered on graduation for the first son of a member of the class of 1875, Department of Arts, has been

awarded to Caspar Morris, Jr., M. D., and will be presented to him on behalf of his son, Caspar Wistar Morris, at the annual Class supper.

1867.—William Henry Lex, Esq., has been elected President of the Common Council of Philadelphia. Mr. Lex was graduated in 1867, by the Department of Arts, and his election to this responsible position is a very gratifying symptom of returning health in the political system of this city.

1879.—Tosui Imadate, of the class of '79, Department of Arts, holds the chair of Philosophy in the University of Tokio, Japan.

1877.—Francis A. Lewis, Jr., of the class of '77, Arts, and '80, Law, has published a very creditable and exhaustive review of the "law relating to stocks, bonds, and other securities." Although designed for "bulls and bears," it can be read with comfort and profit by those who desire to gain a knowledge of the intricacies of the law of money securities, without the necessity of a personal experience.

The second edition of Dr. Duhring's well known "Treatise on Diseases of the Skin" which has recently appeared, contains about one-fifth more matter than the previous edition, and has been revised with painstaking thoroughness throughout. Two of the illustrations have been replaced by others giving the latest views regarding the microscopic anatomy of the skin. The work is highly appreciated by specialists. A French translation is about to appear, under the supervision of Prof. Fournier, and overtures have been made looking to a translation into the Spanish.

We notice the appearance of Professor James Tyson's "Treatise on Bright's Disease and Diabetes." The work has especial reference to the pathology and treatment of the several diseases covered by the title, but also contains a graphic account of their causation and clinical features. It is well illustrated, some of the best of the cuts being original, and, altogether, is a worthy result of the author's long and careful labors in this department of medicine.

Deaths—1822, Joseph A. Clay; 1837, John Clayton.

BRIEF MENTION.

LORD BEACONSFIELD'S death was one of the events of last month ; but the death of Dr. Wichern, of Hamburg, is not less worthy of notice from all who love their fellow-men. Wichern was one of those natures which are possessed by an impassioned sympathy for suffering humanity. Germany has had many such during this century. Johann Falk, Pastor Fliedner, Wilhelm Löhe, Ludwig Harms,—are but a few of the names. Like them; he made himself a centre of work of beneficence of various kinds, and left a large number of persons who have shared in something of his spirit. The Rough House at Hamburg was, first of all, a house of refuge for neglected children, and Dr. Wichern showed his fitness to have charge of such a home by the influence for good he acquired over the inmates. He also deserves the credit of originating the family system for the management of such children. Instead of keeping them all in one huge caravansery, he grouped them in households, with separate buildings for each, and the care of a house-mother. The necessity of giving them industrial education, forced him to become a printer and publisher, and, besides the *Flying Leaves* (*Fliegende Blätter*), a periodical publication, he issued a great quantity of religious and useful books. The work, to judge from a copy of Bunsen's second hymn-book, which is before us, was exceedingly well done, and through it the Rough House became a centre of religious influence, as well as through the admirable training which it gave to those who served it as teachers. We are glad to learn that the new Presbyterian Orphanage of this city is to be modelled on the plan of the Rough House, with separate homes for small groups of children, where their individuality and their need of motherly care will be recognized.

Mrs. Caroline H. Dall tells a good story of Thoreau. He came to Concord to hear her lecture, dressed in a green baize jacket, and looking like a working man. " Before I left, he showed me a superb set of Hindoo classics, fitted into a polished box, which had been sent him by an English gentleman, to whom he made Walden Waters sweet. His eyes sparkled as they looked at his treasure,

and I asked him if he could read them. 'Oh, no!' he said. 'And will you not learn?' I asked. 'For what good?' he answered. 'Now this box holds everything. Then I might find it very empty.'" To appreciate the point of the story fully, the reader must know that his English admirer was moved to this gift by the very strong expression of Thoreau's admiration for the Vedas and the Shasters, in contemptuous comparison with those uninteresting and unprofitable productions,—the Hebrew Psalms and Prophets, and the Christian Gospels. In one of his books, he wonders why people will go to church to hear the Bible read and preached about, rather than stay at home to read the Vedas,—there being at that time no English translation of more than a few fragments of the Vedas.

Thoreau's fear of finding his box as good as empty, is now realized for such as he, by the careful translation of the sacred books of the East which is appearing under the editorship of Max Müller. The editor himself warns his readers that they will find them for the most part uninteresting, and the public have taken him at his word, with the best of reason. Here and there, in these books, there is a gem of spiritual truth and beauty, which reminds us of Augustine's great saying: "*Quisquis bonus verusque Christianus est, Domini sui esse intelligat, ubicunque invenerit veritatem, quam conferens et agnoscans, etiam in literis sacris superstitionis figmenta repudiet.*" One great defect of all these books is the lack of that historical structure which is found dominant in the Bible. They abound in decrees and oracles, not in living examples. They are not the story of the actual experiences of men and nations, living a life like our own in all essential points, but the record of their guesses about the unknown. And, therefore, we turn from them to Herodotus and Plutarch, as writers who have more interest,—more real bearing on our human existence.

That the Bible still continues to deepen its hold upon the mind of the Protestant nations, is seen by the wide-spread interest in the appearance of the revised version of the New Testament, which is to appear on the 17th of the present month. The orders for the first edition, printed at the press of Oxford University, have been great beyond all expectation; and a large part of these came from America. Besides this, an American popular edition will appear.

within twenty-four hours after the publication, arrangements having been made for the composition, correction and press work to be done in that brief interval. This will surpass the feat accomplished in Philadelphia in 1849, of reprinting the first two volumes of Macaulay's *History of England* in forty-eight hours. The revision will be severely criticised from many directions. To judge from the fragments which have been published through the indiscretion of the London newspapers, it will be most open to objection as lacking the dignity of style which characterizes the recognized version. Probably its next fault will be the excessive conservatism shown in making needed alterations.

Mr. Friedrich Kapp's additions to our historical literature are always interesting as bringing into clearer light the German side of American history; but none of his books have equalled in interest his recently published biography of Justus Erich Bollman. The hero of the book was a young German physician, who had the happy gift of being always on hand when interesting things were happening, and of making himself agreeable to people of eminence. To judge from his letters, he must have been one of the best of conversationalists. He was in Paris during a good part of the Reign of Terror, and gives pictures of events as vivid as in the pages of Carlyle. Having helped Narbonne, Lafayette's friend, to escape to London, he fell in with the distinguished *émigrés* who then made a community by themselves. He undertook the task of aiding Lafayette's escape from the Austrian fortress of Olmutz, and failed only through the wrong-headedness of his hero. Liberated from prison by the intercession of the Hanoverian Government, he came to America in 1796, and made his home in Philadelphia, marrying and entering upon business, in which he twice failed. He then took part in the schemes of Burr and Blennerhasset, and shared in their arrest, trial and acquittal; sailed for Europe in time to attend the Congress of Vienna, and mingled almost as an equal among the assembled diplomats. And at every step he describes with clearness and vigor, in his letter, the experiences of a chequered life.

Mr. Kapp's work would have been still more interesting if he had been allowed access to all the existing material. But he has had little more before him than Bollman's letters to friends in

Europe, so far as these have been preserved. Herr Bollman's two daughters and several grand-children still live in this city, and have in their possession other letters, and even journals, to which they refused Mr. Kapp access. They also possess the book on whose margin Lafayette wrote, in invisible ink, the message by which he arranged with Bollman for the proposed escape from Olmutz. We greatly regret this refusal, which is the more unintelligible as Herr Bollman was not an ancestor to be ashamed of. He lacked, indeed, the capacity to strike deep roots anywhere. But he was a man of probity, courage and spirit; and the readers of Herr Kapp's book will be pleased with the man, as well as instructed and amused by his letters. Those which extend from page 257 to page 374, cover the period of his residence in America, and contain much bright and interesting criticism of the social and political condition of the young republic.

R. E. T.

The question of providing for Philadelphia a better Water Supply has again come to the front. The farewell of the out-going, and the inaugural address of the in-coming Mayor, as well as the addresses of the presiding officers in both the branches of Councils, have adverted to the subject, and especially to that feature of it which we know as yet, only in name, the EAST PARK RESERVOIR. As if to point the public attention still more strongly in this same direction, a memorial was presented to Councils, at their first session, by several private citizens, in favor of completing this great reservoir at an early day. This document bears evidence of careful study, and was at once referred to the appropriate Committee for consideration. The ground taken by the memorialists is that the reservoir is an essential factor in any system which may ultimately be adopted, and will promptly cure the most prominent evils of that which now exist. These evils may briefly be stated as: first, an insufficient storage capacity; secondly, impurities resulting from the admixture of foreign substances, and, thirdly, deficient supply to certain elevated parts of the city. It is urged, as to the first point, that the present storage gives but two and a half days' maximum supply, while, by the completion of the East Park reservoir, this will be increased to twelve days' supply. As to the second point, it is obvious that in such an extended period of time, mechanical impurities occurring during freshets will settle; and that

chemical impurities will, by oxidation and contact with purifying agents, be greatly reduced. As to the third point, that elevated localities may be supplied from this subsidiary reservoir, by proper pumping arrangements, either supplying a small supplementary reservoir at a higher point, or (which will probably be better and cheaper, and quite as efficient for a long time to come,) a stand-pipe erected at or near them.

The memorial further argues the propriety of using annually, for the purpose of defraying the cost of completing this work, about \$700,000, a part of the profits of the Water Department, which now amount to nearly a million of dollars a year; and pleads upon commercial grounds that such an appropriation is likely to pay a handsome interest upon the investment. It seems clear, that the impetus given to building operations by an ample supply of water at points now unsupplied, or imperfectly supplied, will soon result in largely increased receipts of water rents. The suggestion is made, that the cost of execution may be reduced by employing the inmates of the House of Correction, and, as there is considerable work requiring unskilled labor yet to be done upon it, there appears to be no good reason why labor which has proved so efficient in keeping water out, as in the "Meadow banks," may not be equally efficient in keeping it in.

The subject is one of so vast and general an importance, that it is to be hoped it will receive such prompt and careful attention as will result in a speedy beginning of the work. J. V. M.

The death of Lord Beaconsfield sends the thoughts of men back to the strange incidents which mark every stage of the parliamentary life of as notable a political leader as has ever appeared in England. Entering Parliament in 1837, after five years of contest and failure, Mr. Disraeli at once showed that his personal advancement was the sole object of his thought. Indeed, in his efforts to gain a seat, he had deliberately gone from one set of principles to another, showing that he was absolutely without real convictions. Coarse and fulsome adulation of Peel marked the first years of his House of Commons life, but as the great Conservative leader received these offerings of praise with indifference, refusing to reward them with even an Under Secretaryship when a change of Government came, it was natural for Disraeli to cherish a desire for

revenge. Opportunity was afforded in the period which followed the abolition of the Corn Laws. Invective as coarse as the previous flattery had been fulsome, was again and again uttered by Disraeli against Peel, and at last the great man was driven from office. The assailant then waited for years. Lord George Bentinck's death made him the leader of the Tories in the House, and the death of Peel removed a great obstacle to the success of a Tory Government.

At last, in 1852, Lord Derby succeeded in forming a ministry, and Disraeli became Chancellor of the Exchequer and leader of the House. It is well known that Lord Derby gave this position to Disraeli because of Gladstone's refusal to take it; the latter was immovable in his determination to sit in no Cabinet of which Disraeli was a member. Doubtless, Gladstone, as well as Sidney Herbert and other Peelites, had still fresh in remembrance the attacks which Disraeli had made on their honored leader. Doubtless, too Gladstone, who was in a sense the child of Peel, shared in the feeling which that great man entertained for Disraeli, from the time the public life of the latter began. But from 1851 onwards, Gladstone and Disraeli represented the great opposing principles in all politics—honesty and fidelity to conviction, as against unscrupulous self-seeking. Again and again, Gladstone put office from him because he fancied it involved some sacrifice, however slight, of principles. On numberless occasions Disraeli abandoned principles he had before advocated, rather than lose his hold on office. It was in 1852, that the Tories, on first taking office, were compelled by the Opposition to give assent to a resolution declaring the repeal of the Corn Laws, a "wise, just and beneficial measure,"—it was in those first days of office that Sidney Herbert, speaking from the front opposition bench, and referring to the Tory Ministry, who were thus forced to unsay what they had been saying for years, pointing to the Treasury bench, and especially to Mr. Disraeli, declared,—“if a man wants to see humiliation, he need but look there.”

Of the later career of Disraeli, little need be said. His political life was an unvarying course of appeal to the baser passions of man,—of flattery of the great, and pandering to the conceit and vanity of the mass of the people. His mastery of the Queen became complete. As early as 1868, when in endeavoring to retain office, he had told the House of interviews with the Queen,

and of her Majesty's preference of a certain course to be pursued by the Ministry, he drew upon himself the stern rebuke of Mr. Bright. "The right honorable gentleman, the other night, with a mixture of pompousness and sometimes of servility, talked at large of the interviews which he had with his Sovereign. * * Let me tell honorable gentlemen opposite, and the right honorable gentleman in particular, that any man in this country who puts the Sovereign in the front of a great struggle like this, into which, it may be we are about to enter, is guilty of a very high crime and a great misdemeanor against his Sovereign and against his country." But censures such as these never caused Mr. Disraeli to alter his line of conduct. He cared little for the moral judgment of men. Place and power were the objects of his desire. Men of less moral strength than Mr. Bright were won to his side either by flattery or by appeals to their personal interest. One of his closest adherents of latter years,—a man of high rank, who had sat in a Cabinet with him in 1867, said to him in that year, as the present writer testifies of his own knowledge, that he regarded him with loathing.

There is no need to speak of the harm he was permitted to do in the years of his last term of office,—of the hundreds of thousands of lives which were lost by his policy,—especially by his refusal in 1876 to join with the other Powers in putting pressure upon Turkey and so averting war,—of his rash and wicked Afghan war, and all the proceedings at the Cape. He is gone; and his great rival remains in the fullness of his strength, with unclouded mind and an eye single to the public good,—the noblest, purest statesman ever given as a leader to English-speaking men. E. Y.

The Land Bill recently introduced by Mr. Gladstone in the English Parliament, is the subject of much comment in Europe and America. It would be impossible to form a perfectly fair estimate of its value as a remedy for existing grievances, unless we had the full text of the bill. From the abstracts received by cable, certain features can be clearly discerned. There is an evident intent (in all probability an honest one,) to solve the present land problem in Ireland,—not merely to tide over for a time the existing troubles. Whether this intent can be carried into practical operation under the provisions of the bill is the vital question before Parliament. The salient features of the bill are:

1st. The recognition of the right of the tenant to purchase absolutely the land which he tills, whenever the land may be put up for sale. This is nothing more than the right which every American tenant possesses under our laws. This is the most valuable and perhaps the *only* valuable part of the bill.

2d. The extension by the Government of pecuniary aid to the tenants to enable them to purchase their farms. This provision is of doubtful value. It partakes too much of "paternal" government. Experience in Ireland teaches that such a fund will be distributed to certain favored classes, to the exclusion of the really poor tenants.

3d. Fixity of tenure and compensation for improvements. The ideas involved in the sections looking towards these reforms are in the main excellent; but as disputes concerning them (which must certainly arise,) are to be referred to a system of courts and judicial inquiries, which, to say the least, are complicated and hard to understand, we are afraid that these sections will prove a delusion, if not a snare. What is wanted is fixity of tenure, combined with compensation for improvements, the law concerning them to be simple, cheap and easily obtainable. A system of arbitration, as is practiced in some parts of England concerning disputes about wages, is what is needed. The tenant should have a voice in selecting the judge, as well as the landlord. The bill provides a system wherein the judges are the creatures of the landlords, or rather of "landlordism."

4th. Aid to emigration. This goes on the theory that there is a surplus of population. This is false. Ireland could support ten millions of population, if the laws permitted a diversity of trades and manufactures. The island has supported eight millions. There are now less than six millions of inhabitants. It is an insult to the people whom the legislation is intended to benefit, to tell them, "If you cannot exist under the present unjust system of laws, we will help you to emigrate to America."

The mistake made by Mr. Gladstone and other well-meaning legislators is in the extent of the misery and injustice which the Irish people suffer. No Englishman can appreciate the fact that the existing state of affairs is such that a more radical cure than any yet proposed is needed in Ireland. He cannot understand why a system of court judicature which might answer in England, would not

mete out justice in Ireland. He forgets that the judges are the appointees of the Government, and are equally blind with himself in viewing Irish grievances. Nowhere has the prostitution of the judiciary reached such a depth as in the Irish courts. The very atmosphere is unwholesome, and, until the Irish people have a voice either in electing judges or can claim the privileges of an arbitration to settle disputes with their landlords, no bill can accomplish much reform. What is needed for Ireland is the American system of land tenure, the American system of courts, the American law of descent and the American system of suffrage. J. H. C.

NEW BOOKS.

LECTURE ON DISEASES OF THE NERVOUS SYSTEM, ESPECIALLY IN WOMEN. By S. Weir Mitchell, M. D. Philadelphia: Henry C. Lea's Son & Co. 1881. 12mo. Pp. 238.

In this little book, Dr. Mitchell has presented, in a very attractive and readable form, a series of thirteen clinical lectures, some of which embrace the results of original studies of well-known diseases of the nervous system, while others treat of disorders which have received little attention, or have been entirely ignored by medical writers.

With the exception of chorea in childhood,—Lecture VII.,—all of the disorders discussed have for their foundation the existence of a condition of general nervousness or hysteria. The subjects dwelt upon are the paralyzes of hysteria, hysterical motor ataxia and hysterical paresis, mimicry of disease, unusual forms of spasmodic affections in women, tremor and chronic spasms, chorea of childhood, habit chorea, the disorders of sleep in hysterical persons, the vaso-motor and respiratory disorders in the hysterical, hysterical aphonia, the gastro-intestinal disorders of hysteria, and the treatment of obstinate cases of nervous exhaustion and hysteria.

Each lecture contains so many points of practical value in regard to symptomatology, diagnosis and treatment, and is illustrated by such typical cases, that it is difficult to fix upon any for special comment; perhaps the most striking, however, are those on mimicry and the chorea of childhood. In the first lecture on mimicry,—Lecture III.,—the author refers to the hysterical state, to general nervousness, to failure of the general health, and to mental and moral peculiarities, as conditions favoring the mimicry of disease; then gives examples of simple and uncomplicated mimetic cases, as mimicry of pain, imitative vomiting, palsy, epilepsy and meningitis, and concludes with a very well drawn account of an epidemic of imitative chorea occurring in a home for children.

Lecture IV. deals with more complicated cases of mimicry, showing the "curious progress from simulation, not consciously imitative, to conscious unresisted simulation and at last dissimulation."

In Lecture VII., the relations of chorea to childhood, to season, to climate, to locality and to race, are considered, and three elaborate diagrams are introduced to show the connection of the *months of on-set* of attacks of chorea, with the average relative humidity of the air, the average barometrical pressure, the average temperature, the amount of rain and snow fall, the mean daily range of the thermometer, and with the actual number of days on which rain or snow fell, and the number of cloudy days. The observations from which these diagrams were constructed, extended over a period of five years, 1876 to 1880, inclusive—the number of cases of chorea studied being 170. There is also a fourth diagram, showing the relation between the number of storm centres passing within 750 and 400 miles of Philadelphia during the years 1878, 1879 and 1880, and the months of on-set of 87 separate attacks of chorea occurring in the same period. These four diagrams are contrasted with a fifth, illustrating the connection between the average monthly temperature and the number of cases of infantile palsy noted from the year 1871 to 1880, inclusive.

Without going further into detail, Dr. Mitchell's book certainly contains much information which can be obtained from no other source, which must lead to the more successful management of a class of disorders often extremely baffling, and which, withal, is so pleasantly put, that the reader cannot but feel regret as he turns the last page.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

Faith and Freedom. By Stopford A. Brooke. Cloth. 12mo. Pp. 342. Boston: George H. Ellis. [J. B. Lippincott & Co.

The Duties of Women. A course of lectures by Frances Power Cobbe. Cloth. 12mo. Pp. 193. Boston: George H. Ellis. [J. B. Lippincott & Co.

Lectures on Diseases of the Nervous System. Especially in Women. By S. Weir Mitchell, M. D. 12mo. Pp. 238. 1881. Henry C. Lea's Son & Co.

Handbook of English Synonyms. By L. J. Campbell. Cloth. 16mo. Pp. 160. Price, 50 cents. Boston: Lee & Shepard. [J. B. Lippincott & Co.

The Legend of Thomas Didymus, the Jewish Skeptic. By James Freeman Clarke. Cloth. 12mo. Pp. 448. Price, \$1.75. Boston. Lea & Shepard. [J. B. Lippincott & Co.

Shakespeare's Dream and other Poems. By William Leighton. Cloth. Pp. 148. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co.

Co-operation as a Business. By Charles Barnard. Cloth, 16mo. Pp. 234. Price, \$1.25. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. [Porter & Coates.

The "Spoils" System and Civil Service Reform in the Custom-House and Post-office at New York. By Dorman B. Eaton. Swd. 12mo. Pp. 123. Price, 50 cents. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. [Porter & Coates.

The Sword of Damocles. By Anna Katherine Green. Cloth, 12mo. Pp. 540. Price, \$1.50. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. [Porter & Coates.

Mr. Perkins' Daughter. By the Marchioness Clara Lanza. Cloth, 16mo. Pp. 335. Price, \$1.00. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. [Porter & Coates.

THE
PENN MONTHLY.

JUNE, 1881.

THE NIBELUNGENLIED.

THE wild metrical tales of Denmark, Norway and Sweden, with the romances of ancient Germany, are numerous, and in many respects highly interesting. Rude as they are, they served as the mould in which much of the poetry of Northern Europe is cast, and their undoubted antiquity carries us back to the times of the Saxons, Norsemen, Danes, and those warlike tribes that, under different names, occupied or overran Britain and a great part of Europe, from the fourth to the tenth century of the Christian era. In the mixed stream which flows in the veins of Englishmen, the blood of these Teutonic and Scandinavian races forms by far the largest part ; for even the Normans, whose conquest is generally supposed to have altered and modified the Anglo-Saxon race by intermarriage, were, in reality, only recently sprung from the same Northern stock as the Danes and Saxons they came to conquer. We may therefore regard the heroes of these ancient romances in the light of ancestors. An additional interest arises out of the circumstance that these rude but characteristic monuments, however exaggerated they may be, are the only native records we possess of that by-gone time ; they speak where history is silent, and, in the absence of all other evidence, claim our attention.

If it is not possible to separate the sober truth of things from the exaggerations and inventions of the bards, we can judge of the

tastes and habits of the people (whose main and almost only intellectual delight was found in these ballads and romances,) from the nature of the old compositions that have been handed down to us. In the same way, to omit many others of different times and nations, the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* of Homer, produced some hundreds of years before the Christian era, the *Legends of Antar*, which preceded the birth of Mahommed in the seventh century, and the poem of the Cid, which was written in the eleventh century, may all serve as indices of the prevailing tastes and customs in Greece, Arabia and Spain, at those different periods, and the times that preceded them. In one capital feature, all these present a monotonous resemblance, for all agree in extolling brute force, war, bloodshed, rapine and cunning ; but as they reflect the predilections of various races of men, living at periods remote from each other, they thus help us to a great historical truth, while some of their minor details present generic differences that distinguish race from race, and country from country. The lays of the fierce Norsemen are as blood-stained and as ancient as many of these national records, and in number exceed those of most countries.

Tacitus, writing in the first century of the Christian era, makes mention of the songs of the ancient German bards, many of which, six centuries later, are said to have been collected by the order of the Emperor Charlemagne. The oldest existing specimen of Teutonic poetry is a creed, entitled *De Poeta Kazungali*, which appears to be considerably older than the time of Charlemagne. A few other fragments, half chronicle, half legend, and in the vernacular tongue of the old Germans, which are still preserved in Continental libraries, may be safely assigned to the eighth, ninth and tenth centuries. The celebrated *Nibelungenlied*, as it now exists, appears to have been written about eight hundred and fifty years ago ; but, like many other of the romances and heroic ballads, it is evidently a *rifacciamento* of something much older. It was indeed the common custom of the minstrels of the eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth centuries, to revive and modernize the ancient lays, loading them with marvellous fictions, introducing sentiments and references to customs and discoveries of their own age, to render them more acceptable to their contemporaries.

The song of the Nibelungen seems, however, to have been less altered by later hands, and to have preserved more of its rude, fierce,

original character than any of the rest. In it we find no trace of that chivalrous spirit which grew up in a later and—bad as it was,—a better and more civilized age. The most savage and ferocious of the warriors are those who are most praised ;—there is none of that romantic feeling which elevates the fairer and weaker sex, and which is at once the consequence and cause of advancing refinement ;—there is no obedience, no deference, no attention, to the ladies, who are indeed frequently more savage than their lovers. The absence of all these milder virtues and romantic feelings establishes the antiquity of the *Nibelungenlied*, just as their presence, even without anything else, proves Macpherson's *Ossian* to be the production of a modern age.

The chivalrous and romantic spirit penetrated Germany, and, during the twelfth century, began to tincture all Teutonic literature, when their brilliant contemporaries, the Troubadours of Provence and the Trouveurs of Normandy, served as models for the Northern minstrels. It was then that the most splendid period of Teutonic poetry commenced.

Henry Weber, a well-known *savant*, tells us, in his *Illustrations of Northern Antiquities*, that, for a century and a half, beginning about the twelfth, and ending with the reign of Rudolph of Hapsburg, emperors, kings, princes, nobles, monks and menial minstrels, vied with each other in producing and translating lays of love, romances, *fabliaux*, chronicles and sacred legends ; and, further, that the names and works of above three hundred minstrels of that period have been preserved.

It is not our present object to treat of this splendid period of German poetry and romance, but it will not be inappropriate to devote a few words here to the singular system which followed it, and gradually overspread the whole country. When verse fell into disrepute among the princes and nobles, and the minstrels were no longer courted in the castle-halls, the art transferred itself to cities and towns ; and, being taken up by sober, calculating burghers, it was soon converted into a regular craft or trade. The mechanics in this line, who turned out verses by the yard, constituted themselves into guilds or companies, with their masters, treasurers, and other officers ; and in their court of poesy passed judgment upon any member who did not conform to the rules and regulations established by their society. Every verse-maker had

to pass through the degrees of apprentice-poet and journeyman-poet, before he could receive the envied title of master of the craft. They were sent on their travels of improvement through Germany, just as young tailors, shoemakers, blacksmiths and other mechanics are at the present day, before they were permitted to set themselves up in business as masters of their particular trade. In whatever town they arrived, they repaired to the guild, or house-of-call for verse-makers, and were received and treated with beer, wine and sauerkraut, according to their standing and the rules of the confederation.

Some traces of these quaint customs are still to be found in the old city of Nuremberg. The pedantry of the rules for composition laid down by this body corporate of poets, which, strange to say, endured for upwards of three centuries, appears to have been excessive, and its effects were soon seen in the total banishment of not only the wild, irregular exuberance of the old minstrels, but of all fancy and imagination whatsoever. The worse the poetry became in quality, the more it increased in quantity. Apprentices, journeymen and masters were at work in all directions, and single pieces of twenty, thirty—even seventy—thousand verses came to be considered as not a whit too long for these remorseless men, who wrote on mechanical principles, with rule and line in hand. The quantity of work reported to have been turned out by Hans Sachs, one of the best of these master-singers, is truly prodigious. Hans was a shoemaker, and it is said that he used the awl and the pen alternately; but we cannot believe that he could find time to make or mend many shoes, seeing that, besides 4275 master-songs, which he was obliged to furnish for the trade, he wrote 6840 poems of various sorts and sizes. Hans Sachs was born in 1494 and died in 1576.

Several of these craftsmen, however, showed considerable talent for satire; and their verses in the vulgar tongue, which were current among the people, are said to have contributed in no slight degree to the advancement of the Reformation in Germany. Sebastian Brandt, who was born at Strasburg in 1458, and died in 1520, had the good fortune to produce a work which became immediately popular in other countries, as well as in the land of the master-singers; and which still floats above the pool of oblivion, where so many thousand contemporary productions are sunk. His

Ship of Fools was translated several times into Latin, French and Dutch. Alexander Barclay did it into English in the time of Henry VIII. ; and as the press was now getting into active operation, twenty editions of the original, with sundry alterations, were printed in Germany alone, before 1626.

But to return to the productions of much earlier ages, the bulk of which was transmitted for some length of time merely by oral tradition. The song of the Nibelungen is the most ancient of all the Teutonic metrical romances that have been preserved entire. There are three old manuscript copies of it at St. Gall, Hohenems and Munich, which were all consulted by Miller, who printed a complete edition of the poem in a collection of similar works, in the latter part of the last century. As soon as these antique productions became diffused through the medium of the press, they produced a sensible effect on the literature and fine arts of Germany. The painters, in particular, began to seek for subjects and inspiration in the quaint and striking incidents of the Teutonic romances ; and in this way they have in many instances attained to an originality and a nationality which we look for in vain among the historical painters of the rest of Europe. Among the most noted German artists as depicting scenes from this poem, may be mentioned the names of Schnor and Cornelius, whose noble frescoes are to be found in the royal palace and other buildings in Munich.

Mr. Weber, to whom we are indebted for the translation of this wild romance, opens the story in verse of precisely the same measure as the Teutonic poem. Chrimhild, the heroine, is thus introduced :—

“ In ancient song and story marvels high are told
Of knights of high emprise, and adventures manifold ;
Of joy and merry feasting ; of lamenting, woe and fear ;
Of champions, bloody battles, many marvels ye shall hear.

“ A noble maid, and fair, grew up in Burgundy ;
In all the land about fairer none might be ;
She became a queen full high ; Chrimhild was she hight ;
But for her matchless beauty fell many a blade of might.”

This Chrimhild had three brothers, Gunther, Ghernot and Ghiseler, who were all kings, and anxious to ally their sister to some great warrior ; but she obstinately resisted all such proposals, and vowed

she would never marry, because she dreamed one night that a falcon she had trained and nourished, and cherished above all things, was struck down and killed by two fierce eagles. Siegfried, the wonderful hero who was destined to work a change in her resolution, was son of Siegmund, King of Netherland. Hearing of the matchless beauty of Chrimhild, he resolved to go and gain her for his bride, notwithstanding all that was told him of her obstinacy, her brothers' pride, and the savage fierceness of her Uncle Hagen. He accordingly went to Worms, where she resided with her brother King Gunther, and, instead of taking a formidable army with him, as his father and mother recommended, he would only accept an escort of twelve knights. But the hero was otherwise well defended, and knew what he was about.

In the course of preceding journeys, he had slain twelve giants, made himself master of an immense treasure, of a magical sword, called Balmung, and of a magical *tarn-cap* that rendered him invisible whenever he put it on. Nor were these all his advantages; for, having killed a dragon, or fire-drake, he had bathed in the blood of the monster, "whereby his skin became of a horny substance, which no sword or other weapon could penetrate." Being advised of these facts, King Gunther thought it wise to entertain him civilly, and Siegfried was allowed to thrash all the warriors of Burgundy in jousting and tournaments, for none could resist his might. Still, the sight of the fair Chrimhild was denied him; but at length events favored his suit. One day the King of Saxony sent to threaten Gunther, her brother, with war and invasion, unless he paid him tribute and acknowledged himself his vassal. Siegfried seized this opportunity, and offered to go to chastise the Saxons, requiring only 1,000 men, although he knew the enemy mustered 40,000, besides giants. This offer was joyfully accepted, and the hero soon returned with the King of Saxony, his ally, the "strong King of Denmark," and a host of prisoners in chains, all of whom Siegfried presented to Gunther as he sat in a balcony of the palace, with the sceptre of gold in his hand. In reward for this service, the hero was presented to Chrimhild, who, "though she never before saluted man," kissed Siegfried, when told to do so by her grateful brother. There was now eating and drinking for twelve nights and twelve days, no fewer than 5,000 guests and thirty-two princes being assembled at the feast. But Siegfried had other achievements to

perform before he obtained his bride, who, however, by this time, dazzled by his heroic merits, had fallen in love with him and forgotten her ill-omened dream of the falcon.

“ This youth he was the falcon she in her dream beheld,
 Who by the two fierce eagles dead to the ground was felled
 But since right dreadful vengeance she took upon his foe,
 For the death of that bold hero died many a mother's son.”

When the feast was over at Worms, tidings came to the court of a queen, named Brunhild, who dwelt in a country “ far over the sea,” called Isenland. Her beauty was unsurpassed, but her fierceness and strength equalled her beauty. She forced every champion who came to woo her, to contend with her in throwing the spear, leaping, and casting the stone. Whoever failed in the contest with her, was put to a cruel death for his presumption in attempting it. It was scarcely known how many lovers she had killed already; yet, in spite of such discouraging examples, Chrimhild's brother, the most royal Gunther, determined to try his fortune with her. Siegfried's offer to accompany the King was gladly accepted. Great preparations were made for the journey. “ Chrimhild undertook to provide for each three suits of the richest apparel, and, with thirty of her virgins, she was employed for seven weeks in the task. Their mantles were made of white silk brought from Arabia, and green silk from the land of Zazamank, embroidered with many a gem. The covers of the mantles were made of the skins of strange fishes, covered with silk from Morocco and Libya. The choicest ermine was procured, and the heroes were richly adorned with gems, set in Arabian gold.” Thus apparelled, they embarked in a “ strong ship,” which sailed down the Danube, and on the twelfth day landed them at the “ strong castle of Isenstein, in the land of Brunhild.” As soon as the cruel fair one was informed of the object of King Gunther's coming, she ordered preparation to be made for the trial of strength, and presently came forth in complete armor, with a shield of the thickness of three spans, and of such weight that four of her chamberlains could scarcely carry it. When Hagen, the uncle of Gunther, cast his eye upon her, he exclaimed with trepidation,—

“ And how is't now, King Gunther? Here must you tine* your life,
 For the lady you would gain well may be the devil's wife.”

* Lose.

The King, too, felt uncomfortable ; and when he saw a mighty spear carried by three knights, and a stone that twelve could hardly lift, " he would fain have been back in his castle at Worms, without the love of Brunhild." But at that critical moment, Siegfried, who had put on his tarn-cap, and was invisible, took Gunther's shield, and, whispering in his ear, told him to imitate the movement he was about to perform.

Thus Gunther visibly, and the hero unseen, stood under the cover of the shield. Brunhild threw the spear with marvellous force ; Siegfried received it on the shield ; but such was the shock, that he and his companion were both struck to the ground, and the blood gushed from their mouths. Siegfried, placing his invisible hand before the hand of the King, returned the spear and knocked her down. Then Brunhild, in great wrath, lifted the heavy stone, threw it an immense distance, and leaped after it, so that " her armor resounded loudly." Siegfried next seized the stone and hurled it to a still greater distance ; and then, taking Gunther up in his arms, leaped after it. The wrathful beauty fell at the King's feet, and acknowledged that he had beaten and won her ! At this touching moment, Siegfried, who had stepped aside and taken off his tarn-cap, appeared to the eyes of the conquered Queen, and, with an innocent air, asked when the games were to begin. Brunhild told him that they were over, at which he expressed great astonishment.

After this amiable courtship, King Gunther was sorely afraid lest his bride should treacherously murder him and his servants ; but his fears were no sooner known to Siegfried, than that hero volunteered to go to his own dominions in Nibelungen, and return with a thousand choice knights to protect the brother of his dear Chrimhild. Putting on his cap of invisibility, he went alone on board the ship, heaved anchor, and sailed away, much to the wonderment of Queen Brunhild's warriors, who saw no mariners on the vessel. The next day he reached a castle on a mountain in the land of the Nibelungen, where his treasure was deposited, and where he had thirty thousand and more warriors " fast asleep," but all ready (on being awakened,) to do his bidding. At this, as in many other parts, the poem runs into an episode of fighting and bone-breaking ; but, to keep to the main points of the narrative, Siegfried selects one thousand out of the thirty thousand sleepers,

and returns with them to the castle of Isenstein. When the fierce Brunhild sees this arrival, she asks who they may be, and Gunther tells her, (for lying goes for nothing in these heroic tales,) that they are a part of his retinue he had left behind him in his haste to seek her lovely presence. Being thus put in a safe position, Gunther feels comfortable, and, getting his bride on board the ship, they all make sail, and in due course of time reach Worms, where the marriage is to be celebrated. Gunther's arrival in the capital of his dominions was celebrated with tournaments and other games. When these were over, and as they were washing their hands and faces previous to supper, Siegfried reminded King Gunther that he had promised him his sister Chrimhild if he (Gunther,) should win Brunhild. Gunther very readily complied, and the marriage ceremony was performed between the hero and the heroine of the *Nibelungenlied* that very evening, immediately after the marriage of the King and Brunhild. The proud Brunhild was indignant at this match, which she thought beneath the rank of her sister-in-law; and she told Gunther he must expect no favor from her, unless he declared what his motives were in consenting to such an unequal alliance as that between Chrimhild and a vassal. Gunther assured her that, though Siegfried might appear as a vassal at his court, he was a king in his own country, little inferior in power to himself. This answer did not satisfy her, and so Gunther found to his cost when they retired for the night. She took her girdle, and, tying his hands and feet together, hung him on a nail in the wall.

The next morning King Gunther was very disconsolate; nor could a splendid tournament, the dubbing of six hundred new knights, nor the mass in the Cathedral, dissipate his melancholy. Siegfried had shrewd suspicions of what had happened, and these were verified on inquiry.

“ Thus to his guest spake Gunther—‘ With shame and woe I sped ;
 I have brought the evil devil, and took her to my bed ;
 When I hoped her love to gain, she bound me as her thrall ;
 To a nail she bore me, and hung me on the wall.
 There I hung with fear and anguish, till the sun of morning shone,
 While soundly in the bed slept Brunhild, all alone.
 Loudly to thee I plain of my shame and sorrow sore.’
 Then spake the hero Siegfried,—‘ Right sorry am I therefor.’ ”

But Siegfried's friendship went further than this rather cool expression of condolence, and he promised to help the King the next

night, as he had done in his former trial of strength. Accordingly, when bed-time came, he put on his tarn-cap, and, joining the chamberlains, entered invisibly the chamber of Gunther, and placed himself by his side. As soon as the chamberlains retired, and the lights were put out, Siegfried began to assist the King, when a most violent and singular combat commenced. Brunhild threw the hero to the ground with such violence that his head "loudly resounded on the footstool;" she pressed him between a door and the wall, until he roared with pain; she squeezed his hands till the "blood flowed from the nails;"—but at last the strength of Siegfried prevailed; and, leaving the subdued wife with her husband, he retired to his own chamber, carrying off Brunhild's girdle and ring, both of which, shortly after, in a moment of affectionate confidence, he gave to the fair Chrimhild; "and for this gift he and many other champions lost their lives."

Next morning King Gunther was in high good humor, and dispensed rich gifts on all sides. A "high feast" was given, which lasted fourteen days; and then the guests departed for their several homes, Siegfried conducting his bride with him to Netherland.

Ten years had passed in peace, when "Brunhild one day ruminated how Siegfried was vassal to Gunther, and had not for a long time done any homage to his lord." She easily prevailed on the King to invite him and his wife to a "high feast" at Worms; and Siegfried, with Chrimhild, and his royal father, Siegmund, accompanied by a thousand Netherland knights, appeared at court as soon as possible. For eleven days, tournaments and other games were celebrated with much harmony; but at length, in a procession to hear mass, this concord was fatally interrupted. Brunhild and Chrimhild had been praising the perfections of their several husbands; and, growing warm upon the subject, the former taunted the latter with her husband's being the vassal of King Gunther. Chrimhild denied the fact, and, firing at the insult, vowed she would take precedence of her sister-in-law in the procession to the Cathedral. Accordingly, she went on, attended by forty-three maidens much more splendidly apparelled than the maidens of the Queen, and by all the knights Siegfried had brought to court. When Brunhild saw this, she exclaimed that no wife of any vassal should go before a Queen. The gentle Chrimhild retorted by calling her sister-in-law by an opprobrious name, and, pressing forward, entered

the Cathedral before her. Brunhild was highly affected, but her rage at this public insult was greater than her grief. As soon as mass was over, she again fell upon her rival, and demanded what proofs she could give of her dishonor. Chrimhild replied by instantly producing the fatal ring and girdle which had been given to her by her husband. As soon as Chrimhild had produced the ring and girdle, the Queen departed in great wrath, and complained to her husband Gunther, with whom was the hero Siegfried. Siegfried swore an oath that he had "not said the words." The fierce uncle of the King, Hagen, who hated the hero, on hearing the lamentations of Brunhild, undertook to revenge her injuries upon Siegfried, and Ortwin and Ghernot joined him in a plot.

W. DE BEAUVOIR FRYER.

(*Conclusion in July number.*)

THE USES OF YOUTH.

THE first man appeared already fully grown; but, whether an experiment or not, this creation was never repeated. Nearly one-fourth of the life of his posterity is passed in a state of dependency and pupilage, and in the latest dispensation, whose early twilight relieved the gloom of the Fall also, the normal temper of childhood is set forth as pre-eminently that of the Kingdom of Heaven. It must, therefore, be the human best. This temper may perhaps be best characterized by its quality of *teachableness*, a quality whose thus exalted existence is sufficient proof that man's life is made for his education. Is it strange, then, that so large a part of it should be useful for little but preparation for education; for putting on, so to speak, the school-suit and the school-mind? But this after-life education is through action on the full scale, and the preliminary studies must be shaped with this fact in view.

How has civilized mankind availed itself of this plastic material,—youth? With the most direct aim and to the highest degree in limited spheres by powerful classes and wealthy individuals, who have thus trained up perpetuators of power, maintainers of learning and inheritors of wealth, more or less in alliance. Meanwhile, the child of the peasant, as he grew in age and strength, grew also in the amount of such bodily toil as he was born into,—and nothing else. About the beginning of this century, the holy alliance began to be driven asunder by forces from below and above. Power,

wealth and learning, each for its own sake, and moved also by the undying, though often dormant, Communism of Christianity,—Christianity, whose first converts had all things in common,—promoted the extension of education. The universities became distributing as well as storage reservoirs, and the germs of public school systems were formed.

It was natural that public education, from such beginnings, should take what may be called a literary form only, and that it has grown on a single line, instead of covering a surface with foliage. If the after-education of life were to be chiefly through books, newspapers and accounts, such preparation of the schools had been enough : but the facts are otherwise. It is then natural, too, that there should now be a reaction in the public mind ; that it should confound misdirection with progression, and condemn *all* recent extensions of public education, because, from a lack of breadth, their results have not been satisfactory. The feeling should not be censured ; it should be understood and directed. The chief function of an animal seems to be the nurture of its young, for in that nurture is wrapped up the existence of its kind. Society, under the same instinct as to results, though not as to methods, is rightly jealous of the care of its youth.

In Europe, this error has already been corrected or avoided to some extent, and wise and strong nations or municipalities have made their schools nurseries of industries, with a view to promote the physical comfort of the individual and the productiveness of the community. This path, equally narrow with the other, at least leads to more useful results. Ought not, and cannot, this country secure the benefits of both, and more, and make education universal, both in itself and in its subjects? Where neither law, privilege nor probability guarantee to any immunity from labor or exclusion from power, a knowledge of materials and skill to use them may be as necessary for the rich, as a knowledge of facts and the ability to reason, may be desirable for the poor ; while physical, moral and mannerly training is the right of all. A system of truly public education must, therefore, in the interest of the people, include all these. And, in the interest of the State, which is *of the people*, it must be accepted by all.

But how shall all this be done in the schools? If we but once renounce the idea that all they can or shall teach is included in

spelling, reading, defining and deriving words,—in penmanship and monetary arithmetic,—in a limited chronology of certain nations,—and in the political geography of the world, which make up the sum of school studies to the vast majority, the way will be open to the introduction of whatever grows out of the principles stated. When children have learned to read, which they generally do at an early age, why not cease teaching them to do so, and apply their knowledge to learn more? Vocal culture is to be taught otherwise, and elocution is a speciality. When they have learned the rules constituting the four pillars of arithmetic, which requires more time than is usually supposed, why try to teach all that rest upon them in the various applications of daily life? Words and numbers are tools, to be wielded in an infinity of movement by imagination and reason. When writing has been taught—but it is not taught now, since the principles of penmanship have been discovered, or invented; yet since the drawing of letters after the rules of the sign-writer is taught, why not give as much time to those branches of drawing that are at the base of constructive textile and decorative art? And a very general knowledge of history and geography is enough to make further acquisition easy, through books, newspapers, intercourse and travel, or to forget, if these occasions for use do not arise.

When the studies of these subjects in their ramifications into the sciences are postponed to the high school and the college, some time will be found in the lower schools for other purposes;—for all, indeed, that is necessary for training eye, ear, voice, hand,—the whole body. Through these lies one of the roads to the mind. The intellect, like Antæus, must touch matter sometimes, to feel its full strength. Suppose a schedule of daily study, in which three-fourths of an hour each should be allotted to *Language*, including readings in general literature and history, the latter illustrated by large sketch-maps; to *Number*; to *Object-Lessons*, including manual occupations; to *Physical Exercises*; half an hour each to *Writing* and *Drawing*, alternately; to *Vocal Music* and *Training*;* and to general *Oral Instruction*, including morals, manners, local and general Government. A fair allowance

* Those who would know what generous returns voice-culture makes for the labor it involves, are referred to the chapters on "Faults in Speaking" and "Modulation," in Mrs. Seiler's admirable book on "*The Voice in Speaking*."

would seem to have been made under each head, and yet but four and a half hours will be occupied, which is half an hour less than is now required in the public schools of Philadelphia.

Such a course would be equally useful to the pupil who goes beyond, or stops at, the grammar school, and would often furnish tests for deciding whether he or she shall go on to a high school or college, or enter one of the technical schools which manufacturers are finding it necessary to establish. The mind that finds its most congenial exercise in reasoning from impressions made through the organs of sense, predestines its possessor to a mechanical, agricultural or scientific field. That which occupies itself more naturally with what may be called abstract considerations, leads to the pulpit, the teacher's desk, the bar or the counting-house. The ancient trades have been so expanded that, to learn the whole of one, it must be practiced in many workshops and studied in the scientific school. But they have also been so subdivided that each part, as much a means of livelihood as the original, which was supposed to require seven years' apprenticeship, may be learned in two or three; and this time may be reduced by the preliminary training of which we have spoken. Instead, then, of turning out a superfluity of clerks, middlemen, machine attendants and *Micawbers*,—useless without their employer, or their capitalist party,—we should have more skilled farmers and hand-workers,—whole numbers, not fractions—in the social scale. The producing capacity of the country would be increased, and a healthy competition for human labor would spring up between the factory and the home, giving us less poor machine-work and bettering the lot of those who shall still stand and wait on the metal tyrants of the mill.

But the nation needs, in its workers and thinkers, well-bred, God-fearing men and women. Besides a training that leads to productive lives, there is a place in our imaginary schedule for a real training in morals and manners,—a training essential to the balance of all others, and to keep alive the child-like quality of teachableness for the after-life. When our schools shall be entirely under the direction of philanthropic gentlemen and ladies (I use these terms in their fullest meaning), there will be no practical difficulties on these points. In the mutual independence of our local, political and social oligarchies,—the former claiming no respect, and the latter, more from lack of courtesy than of charity, failing to gain it,—

such directors would see that the teacher should be the standard bearer of good-breeding, and that our children should learn, *as a necessary part of their education*, good manners. As to morals, is there anybody whose opinions the State is bound to respect, who does not believe in the value, at least, of the Ten Commandments, and of the moral philosophy of history contained in the Old Testament? Under these two heads can now be imparted a knowledge of the highest standard of morality, individual and national. What lies beyond this, is the province of the church in its various forms. He who has been brought thus far, has travelled the same road and to the same point with the world before Christianity. The believer in the Old Testament ought not to object to the method; the believer in the Bible ought not to fear the end. The life of Christ and its sequences are matters of history, outside of the speculations of scientific or theologic theorists; and whoever the compass of conscience and the chart of law have brought to the harbor's entrance and the distant view of a city set on a hill, may be left to his own choice of a pilot.

It is no new truth that he who would improve society must begin with the children. But it is only just now felt that in our public schools we have the children gathered to our hand, in mass, ready for the moulding impress. It may be that we have been led, in the development of these schools,—though by a long and winding way, yet the only one that we would follow,—to a point where we can best see their deficiencies, their possibilities,—rather their and the State's necessities.

But this work must be taken "out of politics." Indeed, what ought not to be? But if *this* is well done, it will go further to vacate politics than any other single movement. It is the richest field for philanthropy,—for social science,—for all evil preventive agencies. It is a field for the church, in the widest sense of the word,—the organism that represents in some form to all men the Divine power as distinct from the human, in the world.

"Like to the arrows in the hand of a giant, even so are the young children!" Is there on earth a force that may be more truly called gigantic than that of a free nation, which has embodied its spirit, its convictions and its purposes in its own chosen institutions? Let us imagine such a nation gathering in her delicate but certain control, her millions of children,—whom she has taught,

whom she trusts, and who love her,—and sending them on their various ways through life, armed with light, against ignorance, idleness, bestiality, self-seeking, and all the powers of earthly darkness. Defensive or aggressive, she sits unmoved, for “in quietness and confidence shall be her strength.” It is a realization of the idea of Jove; nay, it is an expression of the strength of God.

JAMES S. WHITNEY.

THE OWNERS OF IRELAND.

II.

A WHOLE nation cannot be suddenly uprooted by legislation. Although most of the better classes either joined the ranks of European armies or took refuge beyond the Shannon,—although one hundred thousand men were sold into slavery in the West Indies and Virginia,—the majority of the common people still remained upon the soil. When the laws had relaxed some of their force, these were joined by many who had recrossed the Shannon. They owned no land, they had no property; but they must do something, or starve. Life could only be supported on roots and berries for a limited time. The position of the new owners was equally anomalous. Few of them were farmers,—still fewer cared to reside in Ireland. Many of those receiving the largest grants were the contributors of money, who never saw their new possessions. The land was not to make *homes* for them, but was an investment to yield an income. Bargains were soon made with the old occupiers. They were to take the land and till it, and pay a yearly rent. They took it as they found it, and were to make from it what they were able. In very few cases were leases given. They had always held their land by custom and did not understand the nature of contracts. The one new feature that was forced upon them was that each had so much ground, and must keep to it. The advantage of holding the land in severalty was immediately apparent. Year by year, there were more cabins erected, more roads made, more fences built, more bog drained. It was impossible for a man to draw his living from the bare ground without making it yearly better. But it was the tenants, not the owners, who made these improvements. The population began to grow. More unoccupied land was broken by the spade. New homesteads were

needed for the multiplied families. Nearly all the inhabitants derived their sustenance from the soil. As new industries were started, they were promptly checked by England. The linen trade alone obtained a firm footing. The people were driven to universal agriculture as irresistibly as the Jews had been to money-lending. Unquestionably, for some time Irish common people were happier than they had been for a long while before. From one hundred and sixty thousand cabins, representing as many families, the number rose to six hundred thousand. Other improvements to the land increased nearly at the same rate. This, I repeat, was mainly the work of the tenants; but the gain fell to the landlords. The rental of all the estates increased enormously. The rise in rent followed steadily, though with some interval of time, the improvements of the tenant. The actual maker of the improvements was not usually charged for the increased value. But the person who succeeded him, mostly his son or son-in-law, had to pay the full worth. Under such a system, accumulation of property by the native farmers was manifestly impossible. They would barely live on the soil from generation to generation, and the accumulated improvements would pass with each generation from the class that had made it to the owners of the soil. So, the present tenants of Ireland find themselves to-day as poor as their ancestors of six generations ago; but they see the property around them increased five-fold by the labor of those six generations; and all in the hands of men whose sole business it has been for *their* six generations to receive the rents. That they feel some bitterness, is not strange; nor even that they should be somewhat restless and turbulent. But that they should be resolved that the seventh and eighth generation of workers of the soil of Ireland shall find a different order of things, must have the sympathy of every true lover of humanity.

I have drawn no exaggerated picture. There are a great many exceptions to be made. But, outside of the cities and several of the counties of Ulster, these conditions exist. Take, for example, the land in the northern part of Ulster that was granted to the Earl of Essex. It was first rented for £250; soon after that for £1500. In 1636, thirty-eight tenants paid £2000. In 1769, the rent was £8000; while, not many years ago, £40,000 was paid by about nine thousand occupiers.

Of course, a considerable increase in value of the landed property was consequent upon an unusual rise in prices all over the United Kingdom. This much certainly belonged to the owner. But, just as certainly, a fair arrangement would have given the remainder of the advance to the class who produced it.

In the counties around Dublin which constituted the old English Pale, many of the farms are improved and stocked by the owners, and rented on long leases, just as in England. In most of the large cities, some security of tenure is to be found. In these places little complaint is made. The general discussion will exclude these localities. But the rest of Ireland contains four-fifths of the population and nine-tenths of the land.

The earliest settlers of Ulster were English and Scotch farmers, and, though they did not own the soil, they were granted long leases, and, as explained before, the improvements were early regarded as their own; and, for two hundred and fifty years, when a tenant has left his farm, he has sold at public or private sale his good-will and fixtures to his successor. Until 1870, custom only protected this right; but the land laws that were passed at that time legalized the Ulster tenant right custom. The tenants in this province possess claims for their improvements amounting to about twelve million pounds. In current language, when a person in Ireland sells this right, it is spoken of as selling his farm. But even the legalizing of the custom gives him little real security against the transfer of his interest to the landlord. Of course, the higher the rent, the less is an in-coming tenant able to pay for the good-will of the place. Many instances are known where the whole value of the tenant right has been taken away by the increase in rent. James Hack Tuke tells of a man who had built a corn mill and a flax mill upon the land which he rented. Desiring to go to America, he advertised his tenant right in the property, for which he expected to receive six hundred pounds; but the agent of the estate gave out that the rent would be very considerably increased, and therefore the man received little or nothing in return for his right in the improvements which he himself had erected. Another man had reclaimed thirty acres of land, for which he had paid £10 a year for some time; but a revaluation was expected, after which he would have to pay £45. This the man thought hard, considering that the whole value of the place was due to his own

work. Another writer speaks of a woman who had for some time paid £7 a year for a plot of ground which the labor of her son had reclaimed from worthless bog. Desiring to part with the land, the purchasers were informed at the time of the sale of her tenant right, that thereafter the rent would be £12. The increased rent on the land, which had been entirely reclaimed by her son, reduced the sum, by some £25, received by her for tenant right.

As shown in the case of the erector of the corn and flax mills, all of these tenants are by no means poor men, and many of the improvements which are made on land rented simply from year to year, amount to thousands of dollars. This would not be the case were such examples as have just been mentioned very frequent; but it seems almost incredible to Americans that any one should be willing to invest such large sums of money on a tenure which depends merely upon custom. And the fact that sixty millions of dollars have been expended in this manner in Ulster, shows how strongly the people of Ireland in the past have trusted to the force of custom. But such exceptions as have been mentioned, rare though they be, are creating a general sense of insecurity, which is now urging the people to insist upon a fuller protection of their property. What that protection will be, they would probably have known by this time, had not the senseless obstructions of Parnell and his followers occupied some weeks of the time of the British Parliament.

Outside of Ulster, not even custom has secured, in the form of a tenant right, the labor which a man has bestowed in improving his place. His condition, however, was benefited by the Act of 1870. Before that time, a landlord could evict any tenant at the close of any year. It was a right very seldom exercised, but still often enough to render the tenure somewhat uncertain, and, if the tenant went out, he left everything behind him. But the act of 1870 declared that, if a tenant were disturbed in his possession, except for non-payment of rent, the landlord should give him compensation for all improvements which he had made upon the land, the value of these improvements to be fixed by a court for that purpose. This security is popularly known as "compensation for disturbance." Landlords were loud in their condemnation of it. They declared that no land in civilized communities was hampered by any such restrictions; that this act, with the legalizing of

the Ulster tenant right, transferred, at a single stroke, property to the value of forty-five to seventy millions of pounds, from the land-owners to the tenants. "Tenants' rights," said Lord Palmerston, "are landlords' wrongs." True it is that the confirming of those tenant rights was the landlord's loss, but true it is, also, that the landlord had only gained by tenants' wrongs the property which was now restored. Landholders blame these acts of tardy justice for being the cause of the present agitation. To a certain extent, they are; for they opened the eyes of Ireland to the fact that the wrongs of her people, though overlooked for centuries, might at last find full hearing.

It is very difficult for an American to realize the effect which follows from the peculiar tenure of Irish land. Of the five and a half million population, about three million live directly by farming; but, of these three million, not more than fifteen thousand own the land they work upon. That is, about five hundred and eighty-five thousand families rent their land, and fifteen thousand own it. Besides these fifteen thousand, there are about ten thousand who own the rest of the land. A number of these have very small portions, so that the great bulk of the land really belongs to comparatively few people, who not only do not work it themselves, but in a majority of cases actually seldom see their possessions. One landholder, who lived in Paris for thirty years, received annually sixty thousand pounds in rent; all of which, except that spent for taxes and the management of the estate, was sent out of the country. In Ulster and Connaught, two and a half million acres, with a rental of one and a half million pounds, are owned by absent proprietors. This is more than one-third of the area of the two provinces. It is easy to see that any country which manages to collect in rent everything that is made from the soil, except what leaves the worker a bare living, and which then sends one-third of that amount to be spent elsewhere, has a heavy drawback to its prosperity. It may be wondered how it is that the landlords are able to charge its whole surplus production for the use of the soil. The answer may be found in the keen demand there is for land.

In the fore part of this century, the population of Ireland increased rapidly. Few people emigrated in those days. Each new family must have its cabin and plot of ground. It has long been a well-nigh universal custom, though with some distressing excep-

tions, to allow a man to occupy his land as long as he paid the rent demanded, and, when he became too old to work, to allow him to choose the succeeding tenant. In this way, fathers were usually followed by their children upon the same land. If a man's only child was a daughter, the son-in-law took the place. When the children thus succeeded to possession, they usually promised to support the old people. This dwelling of two families under one roof, often between the same and only four walls, did not conduce to domestic peace, especially as those now the dependents often claimed the same authority as before. Where a father had two sons to succeed him, and neither daughter-in-law brought a farm with her, the multiplication of families in the same small house became unbearable; so the land was divided and a new homestead made,—that is, a new cabin and new cattle-sheds were erected. During the time we are now considering,—the first half of the century,—large numbers of the estates were let in bulk to middle men, who underlet and made their profits by surplus of underletting value. These men cared for little but the total sum of rent. Now, they found that a twenty-acre farm with one cabin upon it would not rent for as much as two ten-acre farms with two households. The work of the family in building the new cabin and sheds gave the increased value. Hence, agents and middle men were not opposed to this subdivision of paternal farms. But, as the land yielded no greater return, though it paid a heavier rent, the farmers were really rendered poorer by the change. In some places this subdivision had gone on till each holding averaged six to eight acres, and supported about five people each, nearly one to the acre. To pay rent on such places only leaves the farmer the barest living. Any saving is impossible. The famine of 1847 was the awful result of such a system. Since that time the average size of holdings has steadily increased. In 1851 there were two hundred thousand farms under five acres in Connaught and Ulster; in 1878 only sixty-eight thousand.

Were not the people on some of these little holdings materially helped by their relatives in this country, they would have long ago starved, or been compelled to withhold their rent. The statement is not unfounded in many cases, that wages earned in America pay the rents to Irish landlords.

Land-owners assert that the tenure of every man, though only made from year to year, is, in practice, fixed as long as the rent is paid, and that the occupancy of land goes down from father to son as certainly as if they held the fee-simple. They also say that the rents are paid without competition, such a thing as one man bidding against another being unknown. These statements are true, but are very delusive. The fallacy under them is the root of the pressing evil of the tenant system of Ireland. A man may hold his ground and give it up to his son, *provided, they will pay any rent that the landlord may ask.* The Irish are firmly attached to their old neighborhoods. Hence, they will pay any rent that will leave them the barest living, rather than abandon them.

Therefore, with the demand for Fixity of Tenure, goes that for Fair Rent.

This clinging to the old land is the cause of a real but peculiar competition. A tenant is compelled to retake his old land, because he can get no other. There is no vacant land to be found; for, if any tenant departs voluntarily, he leaves some of his family behind him, and, if he is ejected, public opinion will restrain others from taking his holding. The renter feels the force of a competition, not of his neighbors, but of beggary, emigration, or the work-house. Confessed paupers are rare in Ireland. The people will beg from door to door before they will live in the work-houses. These have fewer occupants for the general population than in either England or Scotland. The most who find their way there are children, and these grow up with the taint of lost caste, even among the poor tenants.

Since 1870, a tenant has been able to claim compensation for improvements, if he was evicted while still able to pay rent. But, if he is unable to pay, or leaves of his free will, he can make no claim. Therefore, the only way to enjoy the improvements and preserve the right to them, is to pay the rent demanded, and remain. Hence has arisen the desire for free sale of the tenant right. But experience in Ulster has shown that the tenant right can be nearly extinguished by increasing the rent. Hence, the tenants all over Ireland join in the demand for fair rents,—rents proportioned to the natural fertility of the soil, and independent of the state of improvement.

Fixity of Tenure, Free Sale, and Fair Rent,—these are the “three F’s” which Ireland calls for and which seem likely to be granted. Fixity of Tenure and Fair Rent,—that is, ability to stay on the soil without paying whatever arbitrary rent the landlord may choose to ask. Free Sale of tenant right and Fair Rent,—that is, power to sell the improvements the farmer has made, without having them appropriated to the owner by a raise in rent.

Well may the proprietors of large estates feel a deep interest in the present Parliament. Well may they exclaim, “Let things alone!” The changes asked for are radical, indeed,—radical, but not unreasonable. It is not the agitation of Ireland, nor its violent demands, which worries the land-owners. It is the consciousness that an examination into the historical causes of the present unsatisfactory relations will show that something *ought to be done*, coupled with the growing necessity that something *must be done*, that renders them uneasy. This uneasiness is natural. They have an immense property at stake. Some have purchased recently, and feel entitled to protection for their investments. They say that they are not to blame for the relations between the landholder and tenant. They did not create them. The power which circumstances have put in their hands has been used as moderately as any set of men would have used it. Human instruments are not perfect. The fault springs from unavoidable fallibility, not from defective systems. The cases of hard treatment are exceptional,—one out of a thousand; and it is unfair to charge the whole system with them.

To these the Liberal party in England answer,—“We do not propose confiscation. If we take away your land, we will repay you. Though you are not responsible for the present condition, neither are the tenants, and they should not suffer all the inconvenience. You have not abused your power more than others would have done; but no class can possess such power without serious abuse. Though the hard treatment is relatively rare, yet the nine hundred and ninety-nine know of the thousandth case, and feel insecure and unsettled. In short, we do not intend to adjust the past; we only provide for the future.”

This last is the real duty of the present. Not to settle wrongs that are past, not to transfer to tenants property that *might have been* inherited from their grandfathers, but to make such regulations

for the future that they may leave something for their grandchildren. If the future gain of the tenant is the future loss of the landlord, it does not of itself indicate any injustice; for the loss is only loss of gain.

The adjustment of a fair rent is the most important and difficult matter. Two plans are proposed; one is to make a general valuation of the land, and determine the rent from the prices of the articles it produces, but independent of the improvements, and once in ten years to readjust the rent on the basis of prices for the time since the former valuation. The other, which meets with most favor, is to have the rent fixed forever; to make it a ground rent, in fact, and virtually separate the owner from all control of the land. Such a plan would probably be no real loss to the present landlords. The land is seldom cultivated as thoroughly as possible. Tenants do not care to work hard to drain bogs, only to have to pay full rent when they are reclaimed. This has been the experience of many, while many more have only avoided it by not improving where they had opportunity. The University of Dublin owns a large estate in the Southwest of Ireland. For many years prior to 1869, the whole was let to a middleman. When the trustees again came into possession, they readjusted the rents. A surveyor made a revaluation on the basis of present condition. Those who had improved their places and kept them in good order, had their rents raised, while those who had neglected their holdings were rewarded by a reduction.

Truly, the Irish peasant has had little inducement to improve his condition or to save money; for a farming people most naturally accumulate money by improving their land.

But let the farmers once feel that they can hold their land as long as the rent is paid, and know just what this rent will always be; and an inducement to save and improve will be felt, which to Ireland thus far has been unknown. With the improved land would come to the land-holder—now the rent-receiver,—an increased certainty of the payment. All the added value will be a guarantee for punctuality. This will probably raise the value of the investment by quite as much as is possible under the present system, while the peasant occupiers will reap the full reward for their enterprise. Much talk has been made over the reclaiming of the waste land and bogs. The employment of Irish laborers in Ire-

land is proverbially unsuccessful. They only work heartily when the master's eye is upon them. Extensive farming, or large pieces of contract work, can seldom be done with profit. The bogs cannot be reclaimed in this way. Adjoining twelve million acres of arable land are five millions of waste. Put a low fixed rent upon these, and year by year small patches will be taken up,—sometimes added to adjacent farms, sometimes formed into new homesteads,—till Ireland can support double her present population in greatly increased comfort. Such peasant holders would virtually constitute that most desirable class on any soil—peasant proprietors. Into actual proprietors many would soon grow. Having so little control over the land, the owners would simply regard it as an investment, and would take money for it, provided the amount was enough. Even without any legal enactments, such a result would follow. But Parliament will be likely to encourage the process. The experience of peasant proprietorship has been satisfactory. Since 1870, some six thousand tenants, occupiers of church lands, have purchased their holdings. In spite of many unfavorable circumstances, these in general have flourished. The benefit to the stability of the country is evident. Of these new proprietors, it was said: "The tenants who had risen in the morning Radicals and discontented, went to bed Conservatives and contented the evening they became landed proprietors."

The landlord in Ireland has long been really little more than a rent-taker. Let him become so openly. His ability to fix the rent, and the practical necessity of accepting his decrees, has long sapped the feeling of manly independence in the Irish peasants. Where ignorance is bliss, it may be folly to be wise. But the people of Ireland, lying between England and America, and in nearly as close communication with the latter as with the former, are not ignorant of modern ideas of individual freedom. They are restive under their restraint. It may be a nominal one, mostly; but it is always possible. Imagine forty-four thousand persons living on the property of one man, who has the power to render them all homeless and generally beggared. It is needless to say he will not do it. Men in the last third of the nineteenth century cannot live comfortably under such a power. It is the *right* to liberty and the pursuit of happiness, that makes them worth their name. They must be possessed, not because one man *will* permit, but because *no man can prevent*.

When the welfare of a nation is at stake, it will not do to talk of the sacred rights of property. Justice must be done to the land-owners; full compensation must be made for *their* disturbance. But property in land is of a peculiar nature. It is only the product of labor which really has an unchallenged owner. The crops which a man's industry has raised on the soil, a table which his skill has fashioned from the wood, a brick that he has dug from the earth and moulded and burned, are all his unrestricted property. But as no man made the surface of the earth, so no one can claim to own it.

The discoverer of an island cannot banish all after-comers. Crusoe was only "monarch of all he surveyed," because "his right there was none to dispute." But to the ground on which his hut was built, and on which his crops were growing, and his goats pasturing, his claim was good. A man's house may be his castle; but his land is not his kingdom. Had the English colonists simply taken the waste or unoccupied land of Ireland, or had they given fair compensation to those whose flocks had grazed on the better pasture which they needed, their title would have been lasting. But the grant was made to the proprietors for service to the English people. It will be no injustice, though some inconvenience, to the owners, if the English people now pay them in some other equivalent. The chief inconvenience is worthy a short consideration. Why are not £100,000 in consols as good as the same in land? Because the land can be entailed. It can be put beyond the chance of loss to the family. Everything else can be spent. So the old families cling to the land as the surest means of continuing the family name and station. As long as they monopolize the land, they are sure of their place. But let them lose this, and they are open to the competition of the whole kingdom. They cannot now keep their position at the head, except by real merit. To this they are afraid to trust. One after another, their families will be headed by weak or wasteful men, and so, one by one, they will disappear. They know the fate of the French nobility. When they lost their land, they lost their power. But others know the result to France of exchanging a few tens of thousands of noble proprietors and landed gentry for five million peasant owners. The steady prosperity of France, her freedom from commercial panics, her recovery from a disastrous war, her ability to adhere to a Conserva-

tive Republican Government, have shown what it is to have a people rooted to the soil. The Irish peasant of to-day is better off than the French peasant of last century. But English statesmen would feel themselves fully successful, could they start the Irish toward the point of the French to-day.

A really noble aristocracy is a good thing for Ireland. But if the means which insure its elevation also insure the continued depression of all else in the country, let the aristocracy take its unaided chance in the struggle for existence. A thousand honest and capable men must not be debarred from advancement, to prevent one noble fool from squandering his ancestral fortune.

It seems scarcely appropriate to omit all mention of the Land League in speaking of Ireland. But it really deserves little attention. Its good work was long ago done. Its evil effects must soon cease. When it protected from eviction those whom the failure of crops rendered unable to pay their rent, it did a benevolent work. When it declares that a man shall not pay his stipulated rent, though he is amply able, it forfeits our esteem. But when to social ostracism it adds secret harm and violence, it deserves our strongest censure.

The Land League in some respects fell little short of meriting our admiration. Had the members decided that it was hopeless to trust longer to English laws to protect them, and that till these were improved they would follow juster ones of their own,—had they determined upon these and quietly and peaceably lived up to them, and had the social punishments they inflicted been without violence,—they would have presented a grand spectacle of patient adherence to supposed duty, which would have won the sympathy of many who believed their action unnecessary or wrong. In their first proceedings they seemed to follow such a course. But the recent results of the agitation have shown a different motive. Agrarian outrages, not including non-payment of rent, have increased with the frequency of Land League meetings. They declare that they will pursue peaceable methods as long as these are most advantageous. When they violate the laws, they do not do it openly and accept the consequences. Their ways are dark and hidden.

Finally, when a party comes into power which is pledged to reform the land laws,—when the Prime Minister is one whose known views are nearly similar to their own,—their leaders boast of having spent

seven weeks in obstructing legislation which they knew they could not prevent, and which they also knew would have to precede the remedial measures. The Home Rulers in Parliament deserve little sympathy. Their ends are selfish. They direct the Land League for the benefit of Home Rule. They do not want to see order restored. Having excited the outrages of the League, of course they are anxious to protect the offenders. As long as Ireland is in a turmoil, they are kept on the surface. They are afraid to try to hold their own in the quiet.

The course of the Prime Minister offers a remarkable contrast. His treatment of the Irish difficulties is well illustrating his nobleness of nature. Ireland has suffered abuses; she is saddled with customs which wear out her strength. These he would remove, and open a road to future happiness and prosperity. But the Irish people will not wait; they are disorderly and violent. So he pauses in his remedial measures to preserve the authority of the law. The Irish leaders refuse to allow the passage of the necessary acts. So he pauses a moment longer to remove their power of obstruction. But his main purpose is not stayed or altered. He will labor as hard to secure justice for the Irish people as if they had given him no extra trouble. Not improbably they know this, and take deliberate advantage of it. The leaders of Ireland are far from being great statesmen, and they suffer when compared with England's greatest.

By the time this is in print, we will probably know what is planned for the reform of the Irish land laws. That it will embody wisdom and justice, Gladstone and his Cabinet are ample guarantees. But if this sketch has been fairly drawn, what is just toward the past and wise for the future will little please a powerful party in England. Before the Liberal statesman can count another victory over time-worn customs, there will be a fierce battle. Well will it be for the weaker party if it accepts the inevitable before it sustains the heaviest shock. Meanwhile, Americans will look on with deep interest, and will give all encouragement to those who are maintaining the advance. But they cannot help wondering why the old country works out so laboriously the principles which sprung spontaneously among her children on this side of the Atlantic.

THOMAS K. BROWN.

WILLIAM BEACH LAWRENCE.*

THE duty that I perform to-night is truly a sad pleasure. It is, indeed, a great privilege to be allowed to lay a tribute upon the grave of a departed friend, but, at the same time, it is a privilege that we would always be happier were we not called upon to embrace. William Beach Lawrence, the honorary Vice-President of this Society for the State of Rhode Island, died in New York, at the Albemarle Hotel, on Saturday, March 26, 1881, in the eighty-first year of his age. My acquaintance with Mr. Lawrence began in the summer of 1868, and, for the remaining thirteen years of his life, our relations were not only friendly, but intimate. This may seem strange, considering the disparity of our years,—he being nearly half a century my senior,—but the great theme that for so long occupied his mind and pen,—the Law of Nations,—was one that had early attracted my attention, and thus our similar tastes bridged over the gulf of years. Living far apart, in different States, our intercourse, except by letter, was necessarily limited; but I recall with great pleasure the occasions when I enjoyed the hospitality of his beautiful home at Ochre Point, and it is with equal satisfaction that I look back to when he was my guest here. Notwithstanding his engrossing labor upon his last great work, he was a no mean correspondent, and I find in my portfolio nearly fifty letters, closely written in his minute and characteristic hand. I need not say that I have felt flattered by his valued friendship; but in drawing up this memoir I have endeavored neither to paint the lily nor to gild refined gold, but merely to give a correct delineation of his life and labors.

William Beach Lawrence was born in the city of New York, on the twenty-third of October, 1800. The Lawrence lineage is one of the proudest in the land. They claim descent from Sir Robert Laurens of Ashton Hall, Lancaster, England, who accompanied Richard *Cœur de Lion* in his famous expedition to Palestine, and who signalized himself in the memorable siege of St. Jean d'Acre in 1191, by being the first to plant the banner of the cross on the battlements of that town, for which service

* A paper read before the Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Philadelphia, May 5, 1881.

he received, on the field from King Richard, the honors of knight-hood. After this, the family became eminent in England, and a writer says:—"The Lawrences were allied to all that was great and illustrious; cousins to the ambitious Dudley, Duke of Northumberland; to the Earl of Warwick; to Lord Guilford Dudley, who expiated on the scaffold the short-lived royalty of Lady Jane Gray; to the brilliant Leicester, who set two queens at variance, and to Sir Philip Sidney, who refused a throne." Whether this descent is verified, has been disputed; but certain it is that the three brothers, John, William and Thomas, who emigrated from Great St. Albans, in Hertfordshire, to this country, in the first half of the seventeenth century, bore the same coat-of-arms as those granted to Sir Robert of Ashton Hall. John and William Lawrence came over with John Winthrop, Jr., Governor of Connecticut, in the ship "Planter," which landed at Plymouth in 1635, while Thomas, the youngest brother, from whom the subject of our notice was descended, is supposed, from his name not appearing in the list of passengers of the "Planter," to have come out subsequently and joined his brothers. It is also claimed that these three brothers were own cousins to the famous Henry Lawrence, Lord President of the Protector's Council, who was associated with Lords Say and Sele, Lord Brooke, Sir Arthur Hasselrig, Sir Richard Saltonstall, George Fenwick and Henry Darley, in obtaining the large grant of land on the Connecticut River, and who sent John Winthrop, Jr., out to be Governor over the same, intending to follow him to this country, but the prohibition to Cromwell and others from emigrating to America, defeated their intention. This relationship, although lacking documentary proof, is very probable, and would account for the emigration of John and William by the same vessel as Governor Winthrop, at the early ages of seventeen and twelve respectively. From Massachusetts the brothers passed to New York, and, in 1645, John and William appear among the patentees of Flushing, L. I. Thomas, the youngest brother, lived awhile at Flushing, but, in 1656, removed to Newtown, L. I., and became one of the patentees of that place. He subsequently purchased from the Dutch settlers a number of cultivated farms extending along the East River from Hell Gate Cove to Bowery Bay. He was quite active in the affairs of the Colony, and accepted the command of the troops raised in Queens County to defend Albany

against the French. His commission by Governor Leisler, with the rank of major, bears date December 30, 1689. He died at Newtown in July, 1703, leaving a widow and seven children to survive him.

John Lawrence, the third son of Major Thomas Lawrence, married Deborah, daughter of Richard Woodhull, one of the patentees of Brookhaven. He was captain of a troop of horse, and also high sheriff of the county, and died December 17, 1729, leaving a widow and three sons. John Lawrence, second son of Captain John Lawrence, was born at Newtown, September 9, 1695, and married, December 8, 1720, Patience, daughter of Joseph Sackett. He was a wealthy farmer, and died May 7, 1765. His wife and ten children survived him. William Lawrence, the fifth child of Farmer John Lawrence, was born July 27, 1729, and married, May 14, 1752, Anna, daughter of Isaac and Diana Brinckerhoff, after whose death he married, April 14, 1771, Mary, daughter of Charles Palmer. By these two marriages he had twelve children, seven of whom were living when he died, January 13, 1794. His son Isaac, born February 8, 1768, was the father of William Beach Lawrence. He married Cornelia, daughter of the Reverend Abraham Beach, D. D., one of the ministers of Old Trinity, a woman of remarkable character and an exemplary wife and mother. Mr. Isaac Lawrence was a prominent and wealthy merchant of New York, and, from 1816, President of the branch Bank of the United States in that city, during its life of a score of years. He died July 12, 1841, leaving a large fortune to his seven children, of whom the subject of this notice was the only son. His eldest daughter married the distinguished James A. Hillhouse of New Haven, while the youngest became the wife of the Right Reverend Bishop Kip, of California.

The early years of William Beach Lawrence were passed at the seat of his maternal grandfather, the Rev. Dr. Beach, on the Raritan, in New Jersey, and at *twelve* years of age he was sent to Queen's, now Rutgers, College, which must have had a very modest curriculum to admit so mere a child. He remained at this school for two years, when he was prepared to enter Columbia College, New York, where he was graduated with the highest honors in the class of 1818, having among his class-mates the late Professor Henry J. Anderson and Mr. James Lenox. On leaving college, he became a student in the office of William Slosson, then the most eminent

commercial lawyer in New York, and subsequently attended the famous law-school of Judges Reeves and Gould, at Litchfield, Connecticut. His health becoming impaired by close and continuous application to study, he was obliged to make a voyage to the South, passing a winter in South Carolina and Georgia, where he was hospitably received by the historical families of Rutledge, Middleton, Huger, Lowndes and others, deriving much instruction from his intercourse with these cultivated people, many of whom had received their education at Oxford and Cambridge. Having married Hetty, daughter of Archibald Gracie, Esq., Mr. Lawrence, in 1821, visited Europe, spending two years in England, France and Italy, availing himself of a winter in Paris to attend a course of lectures on political economy by Jean Baptiste Say, as also to frequent the Sorbonne and the School of Law. In going abroad, Mr. Lawrence enjoyed every advantage an American could well possess to facilitate his objects of intellectual and social improvement. The position occupied by his father as President of the branch Bank, as also his having been a Presidential Elector at the late election which had placed James Monroe at the head of the nation, enabled him to obtain for his son private letters of introduction from the President, as also from his predecessors, Mr. Madison and Mr. Jefferson, to the different diplomatic representatives abroad and to many foreigners of consideration. At this time Richard Rush was our Minister at the Court of St. James and Albert Gallatin at the Court of France, and Mr. Lawrence's introduction to this last-named diplomat exercised a marked influence upon his subsequent career and, indeed, upon all the rest of his life. Voyages to Europe, now so common, were in those days very rare, and, during the winter which Mr. and Mrs. Lawrence passed in Rome, there were but four Americans in the city, and Mrs. Lawrence was the only American lady. It was at this time that the friendship between Mr. Lawrence and Mr. Bancroft began, the latter, then a student at Göttingen, having come to pass Holy Week in Rome.

On Mr. Lawrence's return from abroad in 1823, he was admitted to practice as a counsellor of the Supreme Court of New York. Chancellor Kent was at this time delivering the course of lectures which formed the basis of his future *Commentaries*, and Mr. Lawrence, always anxious to learn, attended the entire course and

took complete notes, which he carefully preserved, and which I have had the pleasure of seeing in his library at Newport. His attention was particularly directed to public law and the law of nations,—now comprehensively called international law,—to which he was particularly prompted by his intercourse with the subsequent great publicist, Henry Wheaton, with whom Mr. Lawrence on his return from Europe formed those intimate relations which resulted in a life-long friendship. That his observations abroad had not been confined wholly to the science he specially pursued, is shown by the fact that on the 10th of May, 1825, he delivered, by request, an address at the opening of the eleventh exhibition of the American Academy of Fine Arts, on the *Schools of Art, Ancient and Modern*, which went through two editions, and received high commendation from the *North American Review* (XXI., 459,) and other periodicals of the day. Mr. Lawrence possessed particular advantages for treating this subject. He had visited the famous galleries of France and Italy, and had been a pupil of the distinguished archæologist Vasi, under whose direction he examined the remains of Roman art; while Canova, himself, the most illustrious of modern sculptors, had explained to him his own great works. His career as a writer was now fully entered upon, and, from 1824 to 1826, he contributed several articles to the *Atlantic Magazine*, which later became the more widely known *New York Review*. At this time his studies were principally directed towards questions of political economy, and his first articles have for their titles, *Restrictions on the Banking System* and *Financial Policy of the United States*. Here he advocated the doctrines of free trade, with all its consequences, and of a paper money exchangeable at will into gold or silver,—principles to which he always remained faithful.

In the spring of 1826, President John Quincy Adams appointed the Hon. Albert Gallatin, on a special mission, to succeed Mr. King as Minister to England, and, in recognition of the historical and legal learning by which Mr. Lawrence had fitted himself for the profession of diplomacy, Mr. Gallatin, who had known him in Paris, asked that he should be named as Secretary of Legation. This was a period when important questions were at issue, and negotiations pending, between the two Governments. The commercial intercourse between the United States and the British American provinces, including the West India trade, was then sus-

pended. The general commercial treaty was to be revised, and the boundaries between the United States and the British possessions on our extreme North-eastern and North-western frontiers, in Maine and Oregon, had to be settled. The disputed points which had been pretermitted in the Treaty of Ghent, including the assumed right of impressment of seamen, had yet to be adjusted. The brilliant Canning was at this time the head of the British Government, and at the height of his career, so soon to come to a sudden end. This is, of course, not the place or the occasion to go into a review of the relations of the two countries; but the epoch was a critical one and called forth the exercise of the highest diplomatic functions. In August, 1827, Mr. Canning died, and Lord Goodrich succeeded him as Premier. In October, Mr. Gallatin resigned and returned to this country, leaving Mr. Lawrence in charge of the mission, having previously, in his final dispatch, assured Mr. Clay of the entire competency of the Secretary to conduct alone its affairs. The President at once named Mr. Lawrence Chargé d'Affaires, in which capacity, being vested with plenipotentiary powers, he exchanged the several treaties concluded by Mr. Gallatin, and to him also was confided, on behalf of the United States, the selection of the arbiter to determine the vexed boundary questions. While thus acting, Mr. Lawrence conducted several delicate matters to a successful conclusion and carried on a protracted correspondence, first with Lord Dudley, and later with Lord Aberdeen of the Wellington Ministry, in such a skilful and able manner as to call forth the approval of the President, and to receive the warm commendation of Henry Clay, then Secretary of State. The character of Mr. Lawrence's dispatches, which are to be found inserted at length in the State papers of the United States and Great Britain, may be inferred from the fact that, more than thirty years afterwards, portions of them were transferred without alteration to *Lawrence's Wheaton* (2d Annotated Ed., 1863, p. 37.) and to his French *Commentaire* (Vol. I., p. 170). He has in those works, besides other matters, drawn largely from his dispatches in regard to the relations of the Western powers and of Russia, to the affairs of Turkey, and the establishment of the Kingdom of Greece, which took place during his time (*Commentaire*, Vol. I., p. 412). During Mr. Lawrence's residence in London, he was a member of the Political Economy Club, to which McCulloch, Sir John Bowring, and

the liberal-minded banker and historian of Greece, George Grote, belonged. With Jeremy Bentham and Joseph Hume he was on terms of familiar intercourse. Questions of currency and finance were then uppermost in the Parliamentary debates, and Mr. Lawrence took an active interest in the friendly discussion of these subjects with the distinguished men just mentioned. He, moreover, during this period, carefully followed the proceedings of the British courts of law. Charles Abbot, Lord Tenterden, was then Chief Justice of the King's Bench, and the two illustrious brothers Scott, Lord Eldon and Lord Stowell, presided respectively over the Courts of Chancery and of Civil Law. He had likewise the good fortune to be present and hear Brougham deliver his memorable speech calling for legal reform. It is needless to say that Mr. Lawrence was more than a casual observer of the events passing before him. He was an intelligent student and critic as well, and garnered from the ripe field around him rich stores, to be used at a subsequent season.

Relieved from his duties at London, by the change of Administration consequent upon the election of Mr. Jackson, which also deprived him of the Mission to Berlin, which Mr. Adams and Mr. Clay assured him would be at his disposal, Mr. Lawrence passed several months in Paris, occupying his leisure, while there, by translating into English the *History of Louisiana and its Cession by France to the United States*, by Barbé Marbois, who had been the Minister from France to conclude the negotiations at the close of our Revolutionary War. This translation was published at Philadelphia in 1830, without the translator's name. During this period he also wrote a review of Fenimore Cooper's *Notions of the Americans*, which appeared in the *Westminster Review* for June, 1829. On his return home, he resumed the practice of law, becoming associated in business with Mr. Hamilton Fish, and in the summer of 1830 made a tour in the Western country, visiting Mr. Clay at his Kentucky home. Soon after, a subject especially cognate to his diplomatic studies engaged his attention. This was the prosecution of certain claims in which his family were largely interested, under the treaties of indemnity concluded, March 28th, 1830, by Mr. Wheaton, with Denmark, and, July 4th, 1831, by Mr. Rives, with France. These claims for spoliation, principally under the imperial decrees of Napoleon, in violation of the

law of nations, led to a minute investigation of the rights of belligerents and of neutrals, and his arguments, printed for the Commission, supplied valuable material for his annotations on the *Elements of International Law*. These spoliation claims must not be confounded with those which have so long figured in our Congressional annals. At this time he delivered a course of lectures on Political Economy to the Senior Class of Columbia College, which, after having been repeated before the Mercantile Library Association, were published in 1832. These lectures were intended to demonstrate the Ricardian theory and to sustain those doctrines of free trade of which he was ever a consistent advocate. He also pronounced the anniversary discourse, in 1832, before the New York Historical Society, which was published under the expressive title of *The Origin and Nature of the Representative and Fcderative Institutions of the United States*; the object of which was the defence of our system of government as it existed before the late civil war:—the complete autonomy of the States for the regulation of their internal affairs, and the national Government for the management of foreign affairs. Several articles from his pen appeared in the various prominent periodicals, many of which were subsequently reprinted. To the volumes of the *American Annual Register*, from 1829 to 1834, he contributed important papers on the different countries of Europe. For the *North American Review* (1831), he wrote an article on the *Bank of the United States*, sustaining its Constitutionality and necessity as the financial agent of the Government, and, for the *American Quarterly Review* (1834), *An Inquiry into the Causes of the Public Distress*, due to the failure to recharter the bank by the Government. For the *New York Review* (1841), he prepared a *History of the Negotiations in Reference to the Eastern and North-eastern Boundaries of the United States*, a subject with which he was perfectly familiar from his diplomatic experience in London. In 1843, the *Democratic Review* published his memoir of his old chief, Albert Gallatin, and the same year he delivered, by request, before the young men of New Brunswick, a discourse on the *Colonization and History of New Jersey*. At Mr. Wheaton's solicitation, he prepared for the *North American Review* (1845,) a notice of the *History of the Law of Nations*, while to an earlier volume (1843,) he contributed one on *Folsom's Translations of Cortez Dispatches*. To this era belongs

one of his few great forensic efforts made before the Court for the Correction of Errors of the State of New York, in the case of the German Reformed Church, (*Miller vs. Gable* 4, Denio, 570.) when his argument, (1845, 8vo, pp. 80,) exhaustively examining the doctrine of charitable uses in its relation to religious societies, was successful in reversing, by a vote of fourteen to three, the decision of the Chancellor, which had given to a small minority of a congregation the church property, on the ground of a deviation of the majority from the doctrines of the founders. For fear of misapprehension, it may be as well to state that, while the law of New York on this important question is as here decided by the Court of Appeals, the law of Pennsylvania, following the English doctrine on the same subject, is as decreed by the Chancellor, whose decision the Court of Appeals reversed.

Mr. Lawrence ever took an active interest in the public improvements of his native city. He had a prominent part in the projection of the Erie Railroad, and was one of its first directors. To his efforts, with other far-sighted New Yorkers, is due the construction of High Bridge and the consequent preservation of the navigability of the Harlem River. In 1850, Mr. Lawrence removed from New York to his estate known as Ochre Point, on the shore of the Atlantic Ocean, near Newport, R. I., where he already had had for several years his summer residence, and which was now destined to become his home for the remainder of his days. As an evidence of his far-sightedness, I may state that for this site, the most beautiful on the island, he paid the sum of \$12,000, which, a third of a century later, was appraised for purposes of taxation at three-quarters of a million of dollars. Soon after his settlement in Rhode Island, Mr. Lawrence was elected, on the Democratic ticket, Lieutenant-Governor of the State, and subsequently became, under a provision of the State Constitution, Governor. In the exercise of his office, he pointed out the abuses to which imprisonment for debt, which Rhode Island was the last State to abolish, had given rise, and was instrumental in having an act for its abolition enacted by one House; but it was not until 1870 that this relic of barbarism was wiped from the statute book. During the period he held office, the Maine Liquor Law excitement was at its height, and he was strenuous in his opposition to the measure on Constitutional grounds, a speech of his to the Senate of Rhode Island on the subject being preserved in print.

Mr. Wheaton, the early friend and mentor of Governor Lawrence, having died in March, 1848, leaving his family in impoverished circumstances, he undertook, at their request, a preparation of an edition of the *Elements of International Law*, which was published in 1855. This work was preceded by an appreciative notice of the life of Mr. Wheaton, and more than two-thirds of the matter consisted of the emendations of the editor, bringing it down to the period of its publication. This was wholly a labor of love on the part of the editor, and the entire proceeds of this and the subsequent edition of 1863, as well as of the French *Commentaire*, were voluntarily given to the family of the deceased publicist. In 1858 appeared his treatise on *Visitation and Search in Time of Peace*, occasioned by the revival, in the Gulf of Mexico, of the British pretensions to visit merchant vessels of other nations, under the pretext of suppressing the African slave trade. This same year Governor Lawrence visited Europe again, after an absence of some thirty years, remaining until 1860, travelling on the Continent and making the acquaintance of all the prominent writers on the law of nations there and in England. At Rome he was presented to the Holy Father, at a special audience given to him and Mr. William B. Reed, then just returned from his mission to China. Before his return to this country, he published in Paris a pamphlet in French, entitled *L'Industrie Française et l'Esclavage des Nègres aux Etats Unis*, which attracted considerable attention and was translated and published in the London *Morning Chronicle*, from which it was reprinted, with the English title, *French Commerce and Manufactures, and Negro Slavery in the United States*. It explained the connection which existed between the manufactures of Europe and the system of labor then prevalent in the Southern States.

Upon becoming settled at home, he applied himself to the preparation of a revised and enlarged edition of the *Elements of International Law*, which was published in 1863 as *Lawrence's Wheaton*. The appearance of this publication induced Brockhaus, the well-known publisher of Leipsic, who had brought out the French edition of Mr. Wheaton's two works, to request Governor Lawrence to prepare an original commentary in that language. The order of Wheaton's *Elements* was followed and the first volume of the *Commentaire sur les Elements de Droit International* was

issued in 1868; the second in 1869, the third in 1873, and the fourth only recently appeared, leaving the work unfortunately unfinished, as it was planned to extend to at least six, and probably eight, volumes. The publication of *Lawrence's Wheaton* occurred, as it will be seen, when the people of this land were in the midst of the bitter throes of the fratricidal contest between the North and the South, and the pronounced views of Governor Lawrence upon the questions of State rights and allied subjects were unacceptable to the narrow-mindedness which could look at such inquiries only from one stand-point, unable to view them from the broad platform of statesmanship. Such being the case, *Lawrence's Wheaton* was called *disloyal*, and Mr. Richard Henry Dana, Jr., a gentleman of high literary attainments, apparently especially qualified for the task by his position in Harvard University, as lecturer on International Law, was engaged to edit a new or *loyal* edition of *Wheaton's Elements*, which was issued, in 1866, by the same house as had published three years before *Lawrence's Wheaton*. This led to a sharp litigation for infringement of copyright between Mr. Lawrence and Mr. Dana in the Circuit Court of the United States for Massachusetts, which, I believe, although the bill was filed October 24, 1866, has not yet been finally settled.

I do not propose to go into an investigation of this highly important case, the printed papers in which cover upwards of sixteen hundred octavo pages; but it is only proper to say that the judicial investigation resulted in an opinion by Judges Clifford and Lowell, delivered September 20, 1869, finding that all the defences raised to Governor Lawrence's claim were bad, and deciding that "the complainant [Lawrence], in the view of a court of equity, is the equitable owner of the notes, including the arrangement of the same, and the mode in which they are therein combined and connected with the text, and of the copyrights taken out by the proprietor of the book for the protection of the property;" and decreeing "that many of the notes presented in the edition edited by the respondent [Dana,] do infringe the corresponding notes in the two editions edited and annotated by the complainant, and that the respondent borrowed very largely the arrangement of the antecedent edition, as well as the mode in which the notes in that edition are combined and connected with the text." Then, owing to the extensive and complex character of the matter infringed, the cause was referred to a

Master to report the details to the Court. In the course of the opinion, which is very elaborate, and occupies forty-seven printed pages, the Court says:—"Evidence to show that the notes in the two annotated editions of *Wheaton's Elements of International Law*, as prepared by the complainant, involved great research and labor beyond what appears in those two works, is unnecessary, especially as the allegations in the brief of complainant to that effect are not directly denied in the answer; and it is equally obvious and clear that the results of the research and labor there exhibited could not well have been accomplished by any person other than one of great learning, reading and experience in such studies and investigations. Such a comprehensive collection of authorities, explanations and well-considered suggestions, is nowhere, in the judgment of the Court, to be found in our language, unless it be in the text and notes of the author of the original work." This certainly is as high commendation as any author could hope to receive.

This copyright controversy became of national importance on the occasion of President Grant's sending to the Senate, in March, 1876, the name of Mr. Dana, as Minister to England, to succeed General Schenck, as it caused his rejection by a very decisive vote. I could not entirely approve of Mr. Lawrence's course in bringing forward this private matter to defeat great public ends; for certainly, after the way the country had been *misrepresented* by General Schenck, a gentleman of Mr. Dana's social position and cultivation would have done much to redeem our credit. Especially did I deprecate the association of so notorious a person as "the Essex statesman" in presenting the case to the Senate. After the rejection, Governor Lawrence wrote to me from Washington, under date of April 19, 1876:—"I am sorry that my course in reference to Dana does not meet your approbation. You can scarcely imagine the provocation; for his hostility antedates long the piratical edition. I can't, however, take to myself the result of the Senate's action; and, as it was entirely on the record that the decision was made, I can hardly imagine that that eminent body decided wrongfully." Further on, referring to a biographical notice which he had desired me to prepare for M. Rolin Jacquemyns, Secretary-General of *L'Institut de Droit International*, he writes:—"I hope that, unless my Dana affair has lost me your good opinion, you will take care of me after I am gone." It is in fulfilment of this request, often repeated, that this

memoir has been prepared. Before leaving this subject, it is a curious coincidence to note that the first important copyright case in this country was in 1831, by Mr. Wheaton against Richard Peters, Jr., of this city, for reprinting his reports of the Supreme Court decisions, and that the next should arise, also, out of one of Mr. Wheaton's works.

Another cause in which Governor Lawrence was personally interested, has become of public note, and must be mentioned here on account of an important and erudite treatise it called forth from his pen. He filed a bill against one Staigg for the recession of a contract for the sale of a small portion of the Ochre Point property, owing to the mutual mistake of the contracting parties. This litigation began in September, 1863, and is also unfinished, owing to the remarkable and anomalous action of the Supreme Court of Rhode Island, in making a decree and then refusing to enforce it. This called forth a *caveat* from Governor Lawrence, which was filed in February, 1874, and entitled *The Administration of Equity Jurisprudence*. It contains one hundred and seventy-six printed pages, and gives a complete history of the relations of equity to common law in England and in the United States.

Governor Lawrence made a fourth visit to Europe in the fall of 1868, remaining until the spring of 1870. While abroad, he attended the Social Science Congress held at Bristol, England, in October, 1869, when he had the gratification of renewing his former acquaintance with Sir John Bowring. The British Social Science Association had, three years before, named him as a member of the commission to prepare a code of international law. The winter of 1869-70 he passed in Paris, at work upon the third volume of the *Commentaire*, and immediately upon his return home he addressed himself to the preparation of an elaborate brochure on the *Disabilities of American Women Married Abroad*. Subsequently his attention was engaged by the meeting of the Joint High Commission at Washington, which resulted in the Treaty of May 8, 1871. Within a fortnight of its adjournment, he published an exhaustive examination of the Treaty of Washington, in which its different articles were taken up and explained. Later, when the presentation of what were known as the *Indirect Claims* was pressed by our Government upon the arbitrators at Geneva, and which threatened for a time to imperil the successful issue of their determination, he came forward

with an elaborate argument to show the impropriety of their presentation. Immediately upon the selection of the Mixed Commission on British and American Claims under the XIIth Article of the Treaty, for the consideration of all those other than the Alabama Claims, Governor Lawrence was solicited by many claimants to act as counsel, and in the most important one that came before the Commission, the case of the *Circassian*, he succeeded in reversing a decision of the Supreme Court of the United States, and obtained an award for his clients of \$225,264 in gold. His brief in this case was printed with the title *Belligerent and Sovereign Rights as Regards Neutrals during the War of Secession*, 1873, and the fee he received for arguing the cause was \$40,000 in gold.

For several years, Mr. Lawrence passed his winters in Washington, enjoying the society of the foreign diplomats gathered there, and during the season of 1872-73 gave, at Columbian University, a series of lectures upon his favorite theme. He wrote me, January 8, 1873, "I delivered, on Monday evening, the first of my course of lectures, before the Law School of the college here. I was honored by the presence of the Chief Justice and other Judges of the Supreme Court." Upon the formation at Ghent, in September, 1873, of *L'Institut de Droit International*, he was selected as one of the thirty-seven members to compose it. His minor contributions to the law of nations will be found distributed through the *London Law Magazine*, *La Revue de Droit International*, *Transactions of the British Social Science Association*, and the *Albany Law Journal*. His last article appeared in the *North American Review* for November, 1880, on *The Monarchical Principle in our Constitution*, which is a presentation of the subject, of remarkable vigor, coming from a man of four-score years.

Governor Lawrence held many positions of a *quasi* public character. He was in his early days a Counsellor of the Literary and Philosophical Society of New York, over which De Witt Clinton presided. He was Vice-President of the New York Historical Society, 1836-1845; Trustee of the College of Physicians and Surgeons, 1837-1855; and the last surviving founder of the Union Club, formed in 1836 by Philip Hone, Charles King, Ogden Hoffman, Mr. Lawrence, and a few others. He was elected a corresponding member of the Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Philadelphia, November 5, 1868, and chosen Honorary Vice-President for the State of

Rhode Island, 1869,—an honor he fully appreciated. He was much interested in our pursuits, and on two occasions was present at our meetings, and I have every reason to believe that, had he recovered from the illness which proved his last, he would have presented to our library his copy of Lord Kingsborough's superb work on Mexican antiquities. In 1826, Yale College conferred upon him the honorary degree of A. M. ; in 1869, Brown University the degree of LL. D. ; and, in 1873, the Regents of the University of the State of New York, the first degree of D. C. L. ever granted in the United States.

Last July, I was in Newport for a day, and saw Governor Lawrence for the last time, when I congratulated him upon his robust appearance ;—it struck me that I had not seen him appearing so well for years. But the dread conqueror must even then have been at work. He left Ochre Point for his native city in November, and gradually failed until he died, as has been stated, on Saturday, March 26th, from a general breaking up of the system. His funeral took place at St. Mark's Church, and the body was taken to the family ground, on Long Island, for interment.

Governor Lawrence will long be remembered for his frank and cordial manners, his princely hospitality, and that courtly bearing which so pre-eminently distinguished him. His reputation abroad as a writer on public law is unquestionably higher than any other American, only excepting Mr. Wheaton, and he is looked upon as the peer of any of his European contemporaries. In a country where diplomacy is a profession, as it should be under all enlightened Governments, Mr. Lawrence would ever have been employed in the public service. As a writer, his style was rather diffuse, and some of his later essays seem to suffer from an overcrowding of ideas, as if his thoughts out-ran his pen, as they most probably did. He was always a voracious reader, and, when first journeying abroad, carried with him a travelling library of books for study. He then began, also, the collection of that library which to-day stands unequalled, in this country, for works in English, French, Italian, Spanish and German, bearing upon the subjects he so loved to study. He leaves five children to survive him, Mrs. Lawrence having died in 1858, shortly previous to his third visit to Europe. I cannot bring this memorial of his life and labors to a more fitting end than by transcribing the closing item of his will,—a warning valuable

enough to be universally employed by all testators,—“ Aware of the ruinous consequences of litigation to all concerned in the case of wills, I do hereby declare it to be my will that, in case any child or descendant of a child, who may claim any share in my estate, shall oppose the probate of this, my last will and testament, or take any legal proceedings to impeach the validity of any of its provisions, the said child or other descendant shall be debarred from all participation in my property, real and personal, and the share of such child or descendant shall descend to and be possessed by the person or persons who would have been entitled thereto had said child or descendant of child died in my lifetime.”

CHARLES HENRY HART.

REFORMATION, THE FORERUNNER, NOT THE
ANTAGONIST, OF REFORM.

A REPLY TO JUDGE TOURGEE.

JUDGE ALBION W. TOURGEE, who has made some literary reputation by writing an effective political pamphlet, under the guise of a novel, has published, in the *North American Review* for April, an article, in which he states, with more plausibility than fairness, certain objections to civil service reform.

The article is entitled “ Reform vs. Reformation,” and it opens with a comment upon the meaning of, and the assertion of a supposed antagonism between, these words. It is true that reform implies amendment and improvement. It is also true that reformation means, literally, a making over, a forming anew ; but it is not true that, either in its popular or philosophical sense, reformation includes all change, whether for good or for ill, nor that it means any change which is not for the better. There is no real conflict between the signification of the two words. They are almost synonymous, and, if there be any possible distinction between them, it is in this, that reform is more generally applied to politics, and reformation to an amendment in the morals of an individual, or to a great advance in the religious life of a nation or a race. We speak of the reform in Parliamentary representation, the reformation of a criminal, the

reformation in Germany, and of a reform in the management of a business; and in each case we mean, not merely a change, but a change for the better.

“Reformation” is the process of re-forming; reform is the result, the state of being re-formed. A reformation is commenced; if it succeed, it ends in a reform accomplished.

There is, therefore, no “ambiguity” in the meaning of either reform or reformation. There is no possible “duplicity” or “subterfuge” in the use of either one word or the other.

When Judge Tourgee speaks of the “duplicity” of the reformers in selecting the “ambiguous term,” reformation, “for the very purpose of making capital out of its adjustable import,” he says that which is neither true in fact nor sound in sense.

It is true that the zeal of the reformer sometimes outruns his discretion. It is also true that reformers, earnest in the accomplishment of that which they believe to be a great good, are sometimes uncharitable in their judgment of those who may differ with them as to the expediency of their proposed means of accomplishing the end in view. It is also true that all reformers are not disinterested.

These truisms, of which Judge Tourgee was not the original discoverer, but which he presses as earnestly as if they were both novel and pertinent, may be granted, and yet his argument against the proposed reform of the civil service is not one whit advanced.

I shall endeavor to avoid the pitfalls which other and abler advocates of reform have dugged for themselves, and I shall try, while doing full justice to Judge Tourgee's zeal for a reform which shall be theoretically perfect, but have no practical application, to answer his arguments fully and fairly.

The civil service of the United States includes all of the Federal Government's employes who are not in the army or navy. By civil service reform, is meant a reform in the mode of appointment to, and tenure of, those offices whose incumbents transact the business of the Government, who collect its revenues and disburse its expenditures, and whose duties are ministerial and have no representative political character.

Under the present system, employes may be, and mainly are, appointed to these offices, “not from any test of fitness or ability, but solely as a reward for personal or partisan services, and

they hold their offices only during the pleasure of the appointing power, and subject to the liability of assessment for political purposes."

The vices of the present system are that the public service cannot have unrestricted freedom of choice from among those who are most competent; that unnecessary offices are created to make sinecures for constituents and political dependents; that, by political or personal influence, incompetent employes are put into office, and kept in office, to the great detriment of the public interests; that politics becomes a profession; that the doors of public life are too often closed to men of ability and character; that political contests are no longer the battle-fields of great principles, but are sordid struggles for the division of the spoils; and that the country can be disgraced, and the wheels of Government brought almost to a stand-still, by a Senatorial wrangle over the appointment of door-keepers.

Judge Tourgee, while he does not go so far as President Grant, President Hayes and President Garfield have done, in condemning the present system of appointment to office, yet concedes that the system, as tried by its effects, is not perfect, and that some change and amendment may well be sought. To that end, he proposes, as a scheme of civil service reform, "a short, secure term, with a preliminary examination, not competitive, graded in its character to meet the requirements of the various ranks and services, and leaving to the appointing power discretion to appoint from any who shall pass the examination required for the specific grade."

The fatal defects in this proposed scheme of reform can readily be shown. Judge Tourgee condemns changes which do not accomplish reform or amendment,—his scheme of reform accomplishes no change. It is simply the old system over again. The preliminary examination, not competitive, is the pass examination of the present system, to which only those are eligible whom the appointing power may choose to invite. The power to nominate for a pass examination, and to appoint those who shall stand its test, is practically an unrestricted power of appointment. The "short and secure term" would prove in practice to be a four years term, and the officer would be rotated out of office so soon as he had become familiar with, and competent to perform, his duties. This plan of so-called reform would not remove one of the evils of the present system.

But the scheme which the Civil Service Reform Association proposes is very different.

It limits the application of the reform to non-political offices, that is, to offices which have no representative political character, which do not mould or shape the national policy, as approved by the people at the polls, but which simply do the business of the Government. For the individual and irresponsible exercise of discretion by the appointing officers, it substitutes an uniform system, under which every citizen, without regard to political or personal affiliation, is entitled to offer himself for the service of the Government. In this respect the reform is democratic, and in thorough sympathy with the essential principles of a republican Government. These examinations are not to be nominal, as are the *pass* examinations under the present system, but they are to be real tests of average intelligence and education. All favoritism and all unfair discrimination is to be prevented by causing the examinations to be conducted upon an uniform system, and under the supervision of officers not subject to partisan influences. From among those who shall be graded highest, after open competitive examination, the appointment shall be made by selection, and, in order that actual experience in the duties of the office shall test the ability of the applicant, no absolute appointment shall be made until after a period of probationary service. That the officer, when appointed, shall devote his whole time and energies to the service of the public, and not to that of any party or any individual, the reform contemplates a tenure, not for life, but during good behavior, and subject only to removal for cause and after hearing, with freedom from political assessments, and a prohibition of the prostitution of the officer's official authority or influence to political purposes.

Such is, in general terms, the reform which Judge Tourgee condemns as impracticable and undesirable.

Judge Tourgee contends that this is "a great revolution and a proposition to overturn not only the practice, but apparently some of the basis principles, of the Government." If it be a revolution, it is a revolution of a very conservative character, for it is a return to the principles and practices of the founders of the Government, and, so far from its being an endeavor to overturn the basis principles of the Government, it strives only to make practical

application of those principles, and to abolish the corrupt practices which are sapping the life of the nation. It would seem that when the Revolution had wrested the Colonies from the British Crown, and, by an union of the States and their citizens, had established a republican Government in the place of a monarchical and aristocratic Government, one of the basis principles of that new Government would of necessity be the right of every citizen to offer himself for the service of the Government in any vacant office whose duties he was qualified to perform, and the correlative right of the Government to avail itself of the services of such citizen, whatever might be his religious or political views. That is the fundamental right which this reform seeks to re-establish, and which Judge Tourgee opposes.

Judge Tourgee pleads for the inalienable right of every citizen to become an office-holder by supplanting the present incumbent. When he talks of the unquestionable rights of a great class of citizens, which the reform of the civil service will abridge, he means only the right of every citizen to promote himself into office, and some more or less trained official out of office. Does he mean to imply that this is a natural right, indefeasible and not to be restrained? Does he mean that it is the right of any citizen to be appointed to any given office without regard to his knowledge or fitness for its duties? He will scarcely say that. Yet, if this right is to be qualified and limited by the applicant's fitness for the office, how is that fitness to be ascertained?

If it be lawful and Constitutional for the appointing officer, be he President, Cabinet officer, or chief of a department, to test in any way satisfactory to himself the fitness of the competing applicants for office, and to select from among them him who shall most satisfactorily answer the test,—if that be no invasion of any Constitutional or legal right, how is the applicant injured if he be sent to a board for examination?

Does not Judge Tourgee know that these unquestionable rights of appointment to office, of which he talks, have no existence in point of fact? Does he not know that the avenues to public employment are not open to citizens at large? Does he not know that any citizen, be he ever so competent for the duties of any particular vacant post, cannot, under the system in force, be appointed, unless he can obtain the requisite political or personal influence to support his claim?

Yet Judge Tourgee assails as undemocratic, unrepublican, and conflicting with the fundamental principles of free government, that measure of reform which would give to the Government an untrammelled liberty of selection for its service from among those best fitted therefor, and which would confirm to *every citizen* the right of serving the Government upon proof of his ability. Religious and political tests are odious ; but what possible objection can there be to a test of fitness ?

Judge Tourgee contends that there is a lack of Constitutional power to sustain the proposed reform.

“ The Constitution of the United States empowers Congress to vest the appointment of such inferior officers as they think proper, in the President alone, in the courts of law, or in the heads of departments.”

It would seem that the Constitutional power of Congress to “ vest the appointment of inferior officers must necessarily include the power to determine the terms and conditions of the appointment. The Constitution makes no original grant of the appointment of these officers to the President, and any power which he may exercise can only be exercised by him under the grant by Congress.

In 1822, President Monroe held Judge Tourgee’s opinion, and he asserted, in his message of that year, with regard to army and naval officers, that Congress had no right under the Constitution to impose any restraint by law on the power granted to the President, so as to prevent his making a free selection for those offices from the whole body of his fellow-citizens ; but the Senate wholly disagreed as to this doctrine, and held that Congress had the power of prescribing the conditions of his exercise of the power of appointment ; and the country, then and ever since, has acquiesced in that construction of the power.

Under this Constitutional provision, Congress has, in numerous instances, without cavil or question, vested the appointment of officers in the President, the courts, and Cabinet officers, and prescribed the conditions of appointment. District attorneys, marshals, registers in bankruptcy and court clerks, are only illustrations of a large class of officers authorized to be appointed for definite terms and under specified conditions.

By the Act of the third of March, 1865, the appointing officers are directed to give the preference for appointments to civil office to "persons honorably discharged from the military or naval service." By the Act of the second of July, 1862, every person appointed to office is obliged to take an oath of allegiance and loyalty. By the Act of the second of March, 1867, (the Tenure of Office Act,) any person holding any civil office to which he has been, or may hereafter be, appointed, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, shall be entitled to hold such office during the term for which he was appointed, unless sooner removed by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, or by appointment, with the like advice and consent, of a successor.

By the Act of the third of March, 1871, the President is authorized to prescribe such regulations for the admission of persons into the "civil service of the United States as may best promote the efficiency thereof, and ascertain the fitness of each candidate in respect to age, health, character, knowledge and ability, for the branch of the service into which he seeks to enter."

Under Judge Tourgee's view of the Constitution, each and all of these acts of Congress are unconstitutional, because it is only competent for Congress to create an office and to authorize an appointment to fill it, but not to restrict the action of the appointing power, either as to the mode of appointment or as to the tenure of the office.

If this opinion be a fair illustration of the soundness of Judge Tourgee's views upon Constitutional and legal questions, it is not to be regretted, in the interest of the administration of justice, that he has deserted law for literature, and devoted himself to the writing of political novels, rather than of judicial opinions.

Judge Tourgee's next objection is to the life tenure; he contends that it naturally and inevitably inclines to formalism, routine and blind adherence to established methods, and that it establishes an office-holding class, and threatens the liberties of the country, by creating a civil service army with which an ambitious usurper may overturn our institutions.

To this it is to be answered that the tenure of office proposed is not for life, but for good behavior, and that the officers are only to be removable for cause.

The Prætorian Guard, under whose swords the liberties of our country are to fall, is, therefore, to be composed of office-holders, who owe their appointment to no influence, personal or political, but only to their own abilities, as tested by success in competitive examination, and by their probationary service thereafter, and who shall hold their offices by the secure tenure of good behavior.

It is difficult to see in what way the intelligence and independence of these officers is to render them fit instruments for the ambitious usurper who shall erect a despotism on the ruins of the Republic. Would Judge Tourgee kindly indicate, by way of warning, the insidious methods by which custom-house clerks, letter carriers and tide-waiters, who do not wear the badge and collar of any politician or any party, are to be enlisted and drilled for the destruction of their country's liberties?

Another judge, whose pure judicial fame is the proud inheritance of his countrymen,—Judge Story,—said, half a century ago, that “if ever the people are to be corrupted, or their liberties are to be prostrated, officers appointed and dismissed at the mere pleasure of the Executive will furnish the most facile means, and be the earliest employed to accomplish such purposes.”

But, not content with this portentous threat of despotism masked under honesty of administration, Judge Tourgee points out the alarming tendency of civil service reform to produce in Governmental administration the terrible evils of “formalism, routine, and blind adherence to established methods.” How fatal is this tendency, must be clear to every one who reflects upon the importance in all business enterprises, public and private, of variety and novelty in the method of transacting business, and of the undesirability of routine, system and order!

Judge Tourgee, of course, objects to the exclusion of civil placemen from active participation in partisan politics, and he argues that the Government has no right to deprive any citizen of political activity or of any privilege which any other citizen may lawfully exercise. The answer to this is very simple.

No citizen is bound to take upon himself the duties of any public office, but, if he does assume those duties, the Government has precisely the same right, which any private employer of hired labor has, to compel the employé to abstain from that which is inconsistent with the performance of his duty to his

employer. The public employé, who is subject to political assessments, and who is required by his official superiors to perform partisan services, will owe a divided allegiance. He will have a political master, and he cannot be a faithful public servant. If he does not accede to the conditions, let him remain in private life, but, having entered upon the public service, he cannot be permitted to serve his party, or his party leader, at the public expense.

Judge Tourgee, of course, objects to competitive examinations, and he says, very truly, that they are insufficient as a test of merit. Of course, the best and the only satisfactory test of the fitness of any applicant for the performance of the duties of any office, is to be found in the practical trial of the applicant in the actual discharge of its duties in practice. To make the test as satisfactory as possible, a period of probationary service, in the proposed reform, follows the successful examination and precedes the appointment.

But the efficacy of the competitive examination is in this,—that it excludes favoritism, that it offers to every citizen the opportunity of competing for public office, and that, by the examination, it tests the average education and intelligence, the natural and acquired ability, of the applicants, and that, to those who best demonstrate their theoretical fitness, it offers the practical test of an appointment on probation.

I believe that I have now answered all of Judge Tourgee's objections. The literature of Civil Service Reform, both in England and this country, conclusively shows that there is no novelty in the objections, and no originality in my answers to them. The same objections have been more ingeniously stated, and more forcibly answered, over and over again. But the temper of the public mind is now ripe for the discussion of this subject. It has been well said that "this reform is the duty of the hour."

The President of the United States has earnestly advocated it on the floor of Congress, and he has called to his Cabinet, as Post-master-General, the faithful public official who has demonstrated, in the post-office of the city of New York, that the reform is as practicable as it is desirable; and, as his Attorney-General, the President of the Philadelphia Civil Service Reform Association, who has signalized his administration of the law department by the vigorous commencement of the prosecution of those who have disgraced the civil service of the Post-Office Department.

For the statesman who shall rise above partisan politics, and who shall accomplish this reform, there is reserved a place yet vacant in American history. When, in the Temple of Fame, the curtain rises which now hides his statue, whose shall be the image and superscription of the restorer of political purity?

CHRISTOPHER STUART PATTERSON.

THE SCHOOLS OF THE PENNSYLVANIA ACADEMY OF THE FINE ARTS.

IN an examination of the system of the schools of the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, it is necessary to bear in mind distinctly that they are supported in the interest of those who intend to become professional artists; that is, persons who expect to devote themselves to the production of pictures and statuary as a business or means of livelihood. Those who, like lithographers, china-painters and decorators, need nearly the same kind of education for their pursuits, are cordially welcomed, and amateurs are at liberty to make what use of the school they can, as far as its means and space permit.

This is a necessary introduction to any discussion of the subject, since the system pursued is not that best adapted to the teaching of drawing as an accomplishment, or to cultivating artistic taste among amateurs. The latter would be a perfectly legitimate addition to the work of the Academy; but its present resources do not permit it to enter upon so large a field,—one which, at some future time, it is to be hoped it may occupy.

The final paragraph of the circular of the Committee of Instruction—"The Academy does not undertake to furnish detailed instruction, but rather facilities for study, supplemented by the occasional criticism of the teachers; and the classes are intended especially for those who expect to be professional artists,"—is a clear disclaimer of the intention to provide instruction in the usual sense of the word. The schools are organized much as they would be by a club of artists who had associated themselves for the purpose of providing rooms, models and an instructor or critic, as is done by the Art Students' League in New York, the principal schools in Paris outside of the Government schools, such as

Bonnat's, Carolus Duran's, etc., and, to a more limited extent, by the Sketch Club in Philadelphia. The influence of the students upon each other is largely counted upon as a means of instruction, and the actual work in the classes of old students who may fairly be ranked as artists, is of the utmost value to the younger ones.

In arranging the work of the schools, all the resources at the command of the authorities are expended upon those things which are outside of the limits of the private opportunities of the ordinary student. Study from large casts and dissection of the human body are impracticable to the student in a private way, and study from the nude living model entails an expense which closes it to nearly all. The Academy therefore uses its means to provide these three opportunities of study,—from its extensive collection of casts from the antique, from the nude, and dissection.

There is a simple arrangement of classes, which has grown up mainly through experience. Students wishing to enter the school, submit a drawing from the solid, such as a cast of a hand, foot, or head, and are admitted into the first antique class, in which the work is from casts of portions of the body, but which is really a kind of probationary class, in which they show what they can do, and where their work can be judged by the instructor.

At the student's pleasure, he makes application for admission to the second antique class, sending in a drawing made for the purpose in the first antique; should that show satisfactory progress, he is advanced, and in this class draws from the whole figure. In these examinations, more weight is given to the grasp of the subject and appreciation of its character, than to finish or smoothness. The student spends more time in the second than in the first antique,—on an average, six months before entering the life class. The present Professor of Painting has a strong feeling that a really able student should go early into the life class, and, if he deems best to do so, go back to the antique, from time to time, later, to compare his work with it, on the principle that work from nature is more useful than that from a copy of nature, however great. This is, in fact, the key-note of all the present instruction.

Admission to the life class is made much more difficult than to the antique, for several reasons. It is not well for the life classes to be too crowded, not more than thirty-five or forty being able to work conveniently from a single model, no matter what the size

of the room may be, and it is not worth while to waste expensive models upon those who will evidently never make artists of any power ; so that many who enter the second antique never go into the life class. Minors are not permitted to enter the life class without the written permission of parents or guardians.

Following the strongly expressed preference of the present professor, the students, almost without exception, paint in the life class, instead of drawing, as is usual in most schools.

Mr. Eakins teaches that the great masses of the body are the first thing that should be put upon the canvas, in preference to the outline, which is, to a certain extent, an accident, rather than an essential ; and the students build up their figures from the inside, rather than fill them up after having lined in the outside. The practice of modelling leads the painter-student in this direction also, as in it the outline is not that which strikes the student most forcibly. It is not believed that the difficulties of painting are either lessened or more quickly surmounted by the substitution of the arbitrary colors, black and white, for the true color ; and as a painted study is more like the model than a translation into black and white can be, the comparison with nature is more direct and close, and an error in drawing is more manifest. The materials for drawing on paper, except charcoal, which is dirty and too easily rubbed off, do not admit of the strength, breadth and rapidity of treatment, which are considered important ; so that oil paint and clay are the real tools of the school.

Great stress is laid upon the weight and solidity of the figure ; it must stand upon its legs and show exactly what part of the general movement each portion of the body is bearing, and must look as if it is made from a real living body, and not from a paste-board silhouette.

The accurate knowledge of the anatomy obtained through the anatomical lectures and the dissections, forms a strong basis for the intelligent rendering of these qualities. An accurate representation of the model in all its peculiarities is insisted upon. The character must be caught, and something more than a superficial resemblance be evident. Conventionalizing, or improving upon the model, is discouraged, as the object is study, and not picture-making ; and the use of a variety of models familiarizes the student with many different types.

From time to time, athletes, trapeze-performers, and the like, have been secured. Originally, the number of male models was greater than that of female models, as they are rather more instructive as to muscular development; but because the male figure is more familiar to the male students, at least, than that of the female, through opportunities afforded in swimming and the like, for the past two years the sexes have been alternated so that the class sees the same number of each during the season. Rather simple poses, usually standing ones, are employed, as they seem to give the best practical results, and the mental comparison of the different models from week to week is more vivid in simple poses. Poses representing action, or those which depend upon several points of support, are difficult to keep, and confuse the student by constantly varying; but the model, in going in or out of the room, and moving about during the rests, shows how that particular body looks in action, and is carefully noticed by the students with that view. A proposition to use the last hour of each pose (not of each day,) in noticing and perhaps sketching the action in various positions of the model whose conformation has become familiar during the work of the week, may be carried out in future.

In each year, studies made in the life class which are peculiarly meritorious, are selected by the professor, and, after being signed and dated, are retained by the Academy, a new canvas being given to the student. These studies serve to show the character of the work done in the school, and form a collection possessing great interest, as showing the changes which may take place from time to time in the school methods. The selection is also considered a compliment to the student, and is, in fact, the only thing of the nature of a prize that is offered.

During the Spring Exhibition of 1879, one room was set apart for a students' exhibition, those in attendance at the school being invited to contribute pictures, not studies. A selection from those offered was made by the professors and the committee, and the exhibit proved to be very interesting; but it has not been repeated, as it was considered better that work of this kind should be offered for the regular Spring Exhibition and submitted to the more rigorous examination that is made by the Committee on Exhibition.

The whole subject of rewards or prizes in such schools is a somewhat difficult one. Where a number of young people are assembled for the purpose of receiving a general education, and where the principal object is to induce them all to attain a certain amount of proficiency to assist in making them useful members of society, inducements to study are perhaps necessary; but an art school such as ours can hardly be considered as subject to the same conditions. There is no reason for pushing on those who are incompetent or lazy; on the contrary, it is better that such persons should, as early as possible, abandon the pursuit of art and turn to some other work, and it is the business of the school to furnish facilities for the competent and industrious, and such stimulus as belongs to a healthy tone in the instruction. The students at the Academy come with a considerable amount of knowledge to commence with; they are somewhat in the position of those who take post-graduate courses in colleges; that is, they are entering a professional school, and are supposed to have every desire to make the most of their opportunities without the spur of temporary prizes. Promotion from the first to the second antique, and to the life class, are to some extent rewards, but more properly examinations which have to be passed, and the true prizes are the acceptance of pictures by the various exhibition committees and the approval of the public, and these can be worked for as soon as it is proper for the student to strive for prizes of any kind. This is the present theory of the school, and it is strongly supported by the Professor of Painting, who considers that working for any other prize is apt to distract the student from the steady course of study, and to take the attention off the regular work.

One peculiarity of the school, which has been somewhat unfavorably criticised, is that in one sense there is little variety in the instruction; that is, the student works first from casts which are almost universally of the nude human figure; he then enters the life class and continues to work from the nude human figure, usually in simple poses, and he works in the dissecting room also from the human figure. He does some work in the sketch class from a draped figure, and in the portrait class from the head and face; but the main strength is put upon the nude figure. There is a story of a young tenor in Italy, who, after many attempts to induce a famous retired teacher to give him instruction, succeeded,

upon promising that he would adhere strictly to his method without complaint. He was given certain exercises, which the master made him study and execute until he began to think that he was wasting his time, when he was told that the course was completed, and that he would find no music that would give him the least trouble, a result that he found he had really attained. The story is instructive, and upon such theory is all good art instruction based. It may be considered somewhat narrow, but the difficulties of attaining that knowledge that is necessary to a successful career as a producer of pictures and sculpture, are so great, that the four or five years of a professional life which are represented by the school work, have to be devoted to steady grinding application to that one thing. The objection that the school does not sufficiently teach the students picture-making, may be met by saying that it is hardly within the province of a school to do so. It is better learned outside, in private studios, in the fields, from nature, by reading, from a careful study of other pictures, of engravings, of art exhibitions; and, in the library, the print room and the exhibitions which are held in the galleries, all freely open to the student, the Academy does as much as it can in this direction. Loan collections of the best pictures obtainable, American and foreign, are among the most useful educators of this kind. It must not be supposed that broad culture is unnecessary; on the contrary, it is of the greatest importance, but it should be attained as far as possible before and after this particular period of work.

We see successful artists who have such diverse antecedents and attainments, that it is impossible to say what it is that makes them successful, except as to one thing; all great artists know the fundamental work thoroughly, and upon that should we put the strength of our resources. When the school is richer, it should add to its course instruction on many subjects connected with art, of great importance in themselves, a knowledge of which, however, does not appear, judging by a study of the successful artists, to be invariably essential. The addition of the best examples of modern landscape to the permanent collection of the Academy, would be of the greatest use to the students, and it is to be hoped that those who are disposed to make presents of pictures will let this fact weigh with them in their selections.

One of the most important innovations lately made has been the substitution of modelling classes, to which all the life class students are admitted, for the old sculpture class, which was for sculptors only. In this way, the painters model as well as paint, and the good effect of this practice became evident almost immediately. It is in accordance with the general theory of the school, that the students should gain accurate information rather than merely acquire the knack of representing something; and nothing increases more rapidly the knowledge of the figure than modelling it. The student studies it from all sides and sees the relation of the parts, and the effect of the pose upon the action of the muscles, much more distinctly than when painting from the one side of a model exposed to him from his fixed position in the painting class. The work is in clay, the figure being usually about twenty-two inches high, stands and irons for the support of the figures being provided by the Academy. The figure is complete,—not a bas-relief, or a high relief, as in the sculpture class of the Beaux Arts of Paris.

The modelling classes commence with the life classes on the first of October, and have three days in the week, of three hours each; the same number for the women as for the men. Each pose, continues from four to six weeks, depending somewhat upon the value of the model. During the past season, for the first time, a horse was used as the model for a six weeks' pose, the men's and women's classes working together for this purpose. Wax was used as more convenient than clay, the size of the studies being about eight inches in height to the withers, where a horse is usually measured. It is proposed to devote one pose each season to the horse or some other animal. Although at first sight it might seem quite easy for any student, while in the country for the summer, to obtain facilities for working from so common an animal as a horse, there are in reality great practical difficulties in getting control of one not owned by the student himself, for a period long enough to enable him to make a careful study, and in getting proper places to work at him with any kind of comfort; and as a dead horse, properly prepared, was in the dissecting room at the time that the living horse was in the modelling room, unusual opportunities were furnished to the student. The horse enters so largely into the composition of pictures and statuary, especially into works of the higher order, such as historical subjects, and is generally so badly

drawn, even by those who profess to have made some study of the animal, that the work seems to be of value. Like the work from the human model, it is intended more to give an accurate fundamental knowledge of the animal, than to teach how to portray him in his varied movements, which are only to be studied out of doors.

The anatomical study is so much more complete than in other art schools, that it requires special notice. Acting upon the principle that everything that can be, should be learned from the original source, the advanced students are encouraged to dissect and to examine for themselves, thus becoming familiar with the mechanism of the body, without which knowledge it is impossible to portray correctly those poses which, from their nature, a model cannot readily assume at will or retain. Dr. W. W. Keen, Professor of Artistic Anatomy, lectures to the general class twice a week, for eighteen weeks each season. These lectures are illustrated by the skeleton, the cadaver, which is prepared by proper dissection for the subject of each lecture in succession, and by the living model. The frame-work to which the muscles are attached, the form and the action of the muscles, are thus clearly exhibited. The cadaver is used in preference to a manikin, because it is the original material, and not a copy.

Some of the students are, for one reason or another, content with the anatomical information obtained at the lectures and from the text books which are recommended by the professor; but the majority of the working class pursue the study still further, into the dissecting room. A number of demonstrators are selected each year by the Professor of Artistic Anatomy from the advanced members of the class, who form a sort of committee having charge of the dissecting room under a chief demonstrator, making the prosecutions for the anatomical lectures and supervising the others in their dissecting work. Both the men and the women dissect, usually at different hours, as a matter of convenience; and there are two women demonstrators. Animals are dissected for the purpose of the study of comparative anatomy, and the demonstrators of anatomy use largely the nude living model, along with the dissected body.

These facilities for the study of anatomy are much superior to those possessed by any art school in the world; in the European

schools, lectures are given, more or less well illustrated; but the student has to depend for his dissection upon the medical schools or the hospitals. The school has been much indebted in the past to Mr. M. L. Shoemaker, who allowed a large class from the Academy to dissect and cast horses at his oil factory each season.

There are arrangements in the dissecting rooms for making plaster casts, and a set of anatomical casts have been made, duplicates of which are furnished to students, and to art institutions that desire them, at low prices. They are much superior to the French casts usually sold for the same purpose, having been made from careful dissections by gelatine moulds, possessing all the distinctness of the originals, free from all retouching, and therefore trustworthy. Complete sets hang in the painting room, the modelling room, and the dissecting room.

The facilities enjoyed by the men and the women in the school are exactly the same, except that the men have nine hours a week more life class work than the women, there being more of them, the usual proportion of male to female students being two to one.

Attendance is not in any way compulsory, but rolls are signed by the students present each day, and those who have been absent for a certain time are notified that they must give a reason for their absence or be dropped from the roll. This is to prevent the roll being encumbered with students who do not make a regular use of the schools. The life classes are, however, made up mainly of steady, hard-working students, who attend regularly, unless interrupted by the necessity for executing professional work which they have been fortunate enough to secure.

The discipline of the classes, apart from some simple regulations, is left to the members of them, the workers being quite ready to repress any tendency to disorder.

The poses are arranged in succession by a committee which is formed for the first pose of the season by the first five members at the head of the alphabetical roll, for the second pose by the next five, and so on, any one of the five who is not present losing his turn until it comes round to him in the regular alphabetical order. This committee have exclusive possession of the room and the model for ten minutes at the beginning of the first day of the pose, and their decision is final, those students who find fault with the pose, having an opportunity, when it comes to their turn,

of exercising their judgment to the best of their ability. As soon as the model is posed, the members of the class are admitted, one by one, in the order of numbers previously drawn, selecting their positions in the room as they enter.

The men have a painting life class every day from one to four, and on alternate evenings from seven to half-past nine, and a modelling life class three times a week from nine to twelve.

The women have a painting life class on alternate days from nine to twelve, and from half-past four to half-past seven, and a modelling class from three to six on alternate days.

There is a portrait class three days a week from nine to twelve, and a sketch class every day from four to five; these are composed of men and women.

The antique classes are in operation from nine to twelve and from one to half-past five each day, and on three evenings in each week. During the season, lectures on perspective are given by the professor of painting.

The collection of **prints**, one of the finest in the United States, bequeathed to the Academy by John Phillips, Esq., is freely accessible to the students, as is also the library, which, although small, is well selected.

Such is the brief account of the methods and resources of the schools of the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts, which it is hoped may be of interest to those who are engaged in similar instruction elsewhere. With a very limited amount of money to spend, the effort is being made to carry on a school which, in principle at least, shall compare fairly with the best of those abroad, and it must be left for the public to decide upon the merits of its graduates, how far its promises are fulfilled in the future.

FAIRMAN ROGERS,

Chairman of the Committee of Instruction.

UNIVERSITY ITEMS.

THERE have been added to the University Editorial Committee conducting this department of the magazine, Prof. Charles J. Essig, for the Dental Department, and Dr. Andrew J. Parker, for the Auxiliary Faculty of Medicine.

The name of Dr. Louis Starr was inadvertently printed Dr. Louis Stan in the May number.

Dr. Charles J. Stillé, *Emeritus* Professor of History and English Literature, has resigned. For some years, Dr. Stillé's engagements as Provost have prevented him from giving any instruction in the University, except to the Senior Class; and this instruction he was commissioned, upon his resignation of the Provostship last year, to continue giving, with the title of *Emeritus* Professor. Dr. Stillé has earned a release from all University duties and responsibilities, his professorship dating from 1866, and his Provostship from 1868.

"English" in the University means more to-day than it could possibly mean when six professors gave all the instruction in the Department of Arts. Since 1877, five or six hours a week have been added to the instruction given, and these chiefly of practical work. In Freshman year, Rhetorical Praxis prepares the way for the theoretical instruction of first-half Sophomore and the more formal compositions required of all three upper classes. Second-half Sophomore Philology is followed, in Junior and Senior years, by extended readings from the older English classics. This year the Seniors read Chaucer,—*The Prologue*, *The Nonne Prestes Tale* and *The Manne of Lawes Tale* (in part); Dunbar's *Thrisill and the Rois*; Book I. of Spenser's *Faery Queene* (in part), and, by way of something more modern, Tennyson's *Guinevere*. The Junior Shakspeare course has included *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, *Julius Cæsar* and *The Tempest*. Each class has had two hours a week for half the year.

It is earnestly hoped that in the near future even better arrangements will be made for the mother-tongue. The time must shortly come when men will talk of the old days in which it was

truly said that most college-graduates left college knowing all tongues and literatures *except their own*, as they now talk of the age of the *trivium* and the *quadrivium*.

Among the books added to the Rogers' Engineering Library during the past month, are the following :

Houghton, Samuel. *Animal mechanics*. 2d ed. London, 1873. O.

Corthell, E. L. *History of the jetties at the mouth of the Mississippi river*. New York, 1880. O.

Jacobi, C. G. J. *Vorlesungen über Dynamik*. Berlin, 1866. O.

Bachmann, Paul. *Die Lehre von der Kreistheilung und ihre Beziehungen zur Zahlentheorie*. Leipzig, 1872. O.

Kirchhoff, Gustav. *Vorlesungen über Mathematische Physik. Mechanik*. 2te Aufl. Leipzig, 1877. O.

Riemann, Bernhard. *Partielle Differentialgleichungen und deren Anwendung auf physikalische Fragen*. 2te Aufl. Braunschweig, 1876. O.

Dirichlet, P. G. Lejeune. *Vorlesungen über Zahlentheorie*. 3te Aufl. Braunschweig, 1879-81. O.

Neumann, Carl. *Vorlesungen über Riemann's Theorie der Abel'schen Integrale*. Leipzig, 1865. O.

Meyer, Gustav Ferdinand. *Vorlesungen über die Theorie der bestimmten Integrale zwischen reellen Grenzen*. Leipzig, 1871. O.

Bruno, Chev. F. Faà de. *Théorie des formes binaires*. Turin, 1876. O.

It may be remarked that some of these books do not properly belong to an engineering library ; but we have no funds set apart for the increase of the general library in the direction of mathematics and physics, and the more important works in these subjects have been obtained through the Rogers' Library. It is earnestly hoped that this will not be necessary much longer, but that some friend of the University will found and support a special library on the mathematical and physical sciences which will become as well known as our existing special libraries.

Prof. Sadtler and Wm. L. Rowland have commenced an investigation upon a new vegetable coloring matter, obtained from the wood called beth-a-barra, from the west coast of Africa, and have published a preliminary notice in the *American Chemical Journal*, Vol. III., No. 1. This wood is highly esteemed by those devoted to archery, on account of its extreme toughness and elasticity. The

coloring principle in many of its reactions is similar to hæmatoxylin and chrysophanic acid. The nature of the relationship thus indicated is still under consideration.

Drs. Edgar F. Smith and John Marshall have just placed in the hands of Presley Blakiston, publisher, the manuscript of a work to be entitled *Chemical Analysis of the Urine and Urinary Sediments*. The book is intended for the use of physicians and medical students, and only such methods of analysis are given as have proved to give the most satisfactory results. Especial attention has been devoted to the explanation of the preparation of the standard solutions and the simplifying of all calculations involved in the ordinary course of analysis. The illustrations have been selected chiefly from standard German works. It is expected that the book will appear about August 1st.

Dr. Edgar F. Smith and Wm. H. Jarden have almost completed a new method for the estimation of boracic acid. It is based upon the precipitation of the boracic acid by a solution of manganous sulphate of known strength in the presence of alcohol, the removal of the manganese borate by filtration, and the determination of the excess of the manganous sulphate by titration with potassium permanganate. The average result of fifteen determinations of the percentage of B_2O_3 in borax was 36.56 per cent., while the theoretical percentage is 36.60. In a specimen of turmalin in which 10.00 per cent. of B_2O_3 was found by Marignac's method, 9.70 per cent. was obtained by the method above indicated.

Drs. John Marshall and Edgar F. Smith are now studying the action of the electric current upon solutions of organic compounds. On passing the current from a two-cell bicromate battery through a mixture of methyl alcohol, benzoic acid and a very small quantity of dilute sulphuric acid, a considerable quantity of wintergreen oil, or methyl ether of salicylic acid, was obtained.

The spring course of the Medical Department has been this year unusually well attended. The importance of the lectures delivered therein, as supplementary to those of the regular winter session, seems to be generally recognized; and the number and

variety of the subjects treated of enable the student to follow his particular bent, and to select those which he deems most likely to be of early practical use to him. The course extends from March to June, and, although originally an experiment, has come to be considered an integral portion of the system of instruction in this department.

Dr. Gwilym G. Davis has recently been elected Resident Physician in the Pennsylvania Hospital. Dr. Davis graduated from the Medical Department in 1879, immediately after which he went to London, and, after a two years' course, took the M. R. C. S. England, a degree rarely taken by an American physician. He also took the degree of Doctor of Medicine in Göttingen, Germany.

Dr. William K. Beachly, of Meyersdale, Pa., a graduate of the Medical Department in the Class of '81, died on the 16th instant of diphtheria, contracted while in attendance upon a case of that disease, which, by a coincidence, formed the subject of his graduating thesis. Although so recently graduated, he had already entered upon active practice as an assistant to his father, and gave promise of success.

BRIEF MENTION.

THE Philadelphia Civil Service Reform Association has been organized under a constitution, the most material provisions of which are:—

“II. The members, while recognizing that certain officers of Government should be in sympathy with the policy of the Administration, believe that the routine business should be conducted on business principles; that officers should be appointed on account of fitness for the work to be done, systematically tested, and should be continued in office as long as they do that work well; that their offices should not be used for partisan purposes; that representatives are chosen to legislate, and their time should not be given to the distribution of patronage; that the adoption of a well-devised system carrying out these principles will insure better administration and better legislation.

“III. The Association will hold meetings, raise funds, publish and circulate appropriate information, correspond and co-operate with associations organized elsewhere for the objects set forth in this constitution, and support all executive and legislative action which will promote its purposes.

“IV. The conditions of membership shall be wholly independent of party preference. Questions shall not be discussed in the debates, or in the publications of the Association, upon party grounds. Neither the name nor influence of the Association shall be used on behalf of any party, or for procuring office or promotion for any person. But nothing in this article shall be construed to prevent the Association from opposing any candidate when in its opinion (or in that of three-fourths of the members of the Executive Committee,) such course is demanded by the objects of the Association.”

The officers of the Association are:—President, Wayne MacVeagh; Vice-Presidents, J. I. Clark Hare, J. Andrews Harris, Samuel G. King, Henry C. Lea; Treasurer, R. Francis Wood; Secretary, Samuel W. Pennypacker. Executive Committee—J. Andrews Harris, Chairman; Hampton L. Carson, George M. Dallas, William W. Frazier, Jr., Philip C. Garrett, J. I. Clark Hare, Samuel G. King, Edward Law, Henry C. Lea, Wayne MacVeagh, William W. Montgomery, C. Stuart Patterson, Samuel W. Pennypacker, Dallas

Sanders, Isaac J. Wistar, Charles Wheeler, R. Francis Wood. Sub-Committee on Finance—Charles Wheeler, Chairman; William W. Frazier, Jr., R. Francis Wood. Sub-Committee on Publication—Isaac J. Wistar, Chairman; George M. Dallas, William W. Montgomery, C. Stuart Patterson, Samuel W. Pennypacker. Sub-Committee to Note and Expose Evils of the Civil Administration—Hampton L. Carson, Chairman; Philip C. Garrett, Edward Law, Dallas Sanders, Isaac J. Wistar.

The office of the Association is at 209 South Sixth Street, where the Secretary is in attendance during business hours to give information and distribute documents.

The Association now has two hundred and ninety-two members. It will supply to its members its publications and those of the New York Civil Service Reform Association.

The Philadelphia Association has issued, as its Publication No. 1, the following document, which has been compiled by one of the members of the Executive Committee, as a brief statement of the purposes of the Association:—

THE NEED, OBJECT, AND METHOD OF CIVIL SERVICE REFORM.

I. THE NEED.

1. *The Present System.*—A free country can only be governed by political parties; and the dominant party must, by election or appointment, fill, with its representatives, those offices which control that policy of which the country has expressed its approval by putting the party into power.

But the Government of the United States, the States, counties, cities, towns and boroughs, have employes whose duties are purely administrative and ministerial, without any political character or significance. These employes, in number as the sands of the sea, constitute the civil service of the country. Their selection for appointment is, in almost all cases, made, not from any test of fitness or ability, but solely by personal or political influence, and as a reward for personal or partisan services, and they hold their offices only during the pleasure of the appointing power, and subject to the liability of assessment for political purposes.

2. *The Effects of the System.*—It is the right of the public and of every citizen that the public service should have unrestricted freedom of choice among those best fitted therefor; yet, under the present

system, no citizen, however competent, is eligible to public office, unless he can command the necessary political influence.

Legislators besiege the departments of Government, in order to secure appointments to office for their constituents and political dependents; and, when there are no vacancies to be filled, they create unnecessary offices. The influence of the employés, thus foisted upon the public service by this abuse of patronage, keeps in legislative power those who are not worthy of any public or private trust.

Appointment to, continuance in, and promotion in, the public service, being dependent upon political or personal influence, party or personal fealty and service, takes, in the employés' minds, the place of loyalty to the country and the faithful performance of public duty. Hence, discipline cannot be maintained in the public service; competent employés, who cannot or will not do political work, are dismissed, and incompetent employés, who are politically efficient, are retained, and the intelligent and economical administration of the public business is greatly hindered. The office-holders become an army of political mercenaries; by their contributions, they create a corruption fund; and, under the orders of their leaders, they pack nominating conventions, and, by force or fraud, control elections.

Many pure and able men, who will not stoop to practice the arts of the politician, and whose services the country cannot afford to lose, find the avenues to public employment closed to them.

Political contests are made to turn, not upon the approval of party principles, but upon the possession of patronage and the division of the spoils. The popular will is thwarted, and the party against whom the people have decided can entrench itself in the public offices. Thus, confidence in popular government and in the perpetuity of free institutions is diminished.

President Grant said, in his message of 1870:—"The present system does not secure the best men, and often not even fit men, for the public places. The elevation and purification of the civil service of the Government will be hailed with approval by the whole people of the United States." President Hayes, in his message of 1880, dwelt upon "the pernicious competition of influence and official favoritism in the bestowal of office," and the necessity of an "open competition of merit between the applicants."

President Garfield has said that "the reformation of this service is one of the highest and most imperative duties of statesmanship."

II. THE OBJECT.

The object of Civil Service Reform is the restoration of the service on the basis which the founders of the nation laid, and the transaction of the public business upon those principles which experience has shown to be necessary in the conduct of enterprises in which hired labor is employed.

III. THE METHOD.

The method is to create an active and intelligent public opinion, which shall compel the adoption of the necessary legislation, and the faithful execution of that legislation by the executive, to the end that the public service shall be administered on these principles :

1. That all non-political offices, places and employments in the public service shall be filled only by selection from among those graded highest after open competitive examinations, conducted upon an uniform system, and under the supervision of officers not subject to partisan influences.

2. That original entry into the public service shall be at the lowest grade.

3. That there shall be a period of probation before any absolute appointment or employment.

4. That the tenure of office shall be during good behavior.

5. That promotion shall be from lower to higher grades, on the basis of merit and competition.

6. That no public employé shall be compelled to contribute to any political fund, or to render any political service.

7. That no public employé shall be permitted to use his official authority or influence to coerce the political action of any person or body.

This reform is practicable. In England, it has been accomplished after centuries of maladministration, and despite the opposition of blind conservatism and interested political and aristocratic influences.

In this country, the system has been applied to the New York Custom-House and Post-Office, and it is now in successful operation in those heretofore strongholds of corruption.

President Garfield has said, in Congress, "in this direction is the true line of statesmanship, the true path of economy. Let us take this great subject in hand and it can be settled in a few weeks."

This reform is the duty of the hour. Upon it depends the purification of American politics, perhaps even the preservation of free institutions.

C. S. P.

A great deal has been written about Mr. Conkling and the recent events in his public career; but so keen is the interest, and so active the public thought, just now, upon all political questions, that the readers of the *PENN MONTHLY* will probably not take amiss a few words of comment upon this very extraordinary incident in our national affairs.

It is not the first time that a member of the Senate of the United States has resigned his office; but certainly it is the first time in the history of the country that a Senator has resigned for the avowed reason that he has not been permitted to control the President of the United States in the exercise of the appointing power intrusted to him by the Constitution. In itself, and apart from the peculiar circumstances of the case, the resignation of Mr. Conkling would have been an affair of no especial importance. It would have made some stir, perhaps; but then there could be found among the many good men who have not made so much noise in the world, as good, if not a better, Senator, to take his place. But, viewed in the light of all its attendant circumstances, and its very dramatic surroundings, it "points a moral" as certainly as it "adorns a tale."

Those who have been quietly and thoughtfully watching for some years past the course of public events, steadily trying, with the best means at their command, to stem the seemingly unmanageable current in the direction of the "one man power," or, as we call it now, the "boss system," in politics, see in this incident only another outcome of the active and determined spirit of reform which has taken strong hold upon the American people, and which is moving with so great force that every objectionable thing in its path must fall before it. Only a few years ago, this spirit of reform seemed but a very small thing. The little cloud on the horizon, no bigger than a man's hand, was, perhaps, too insignificant to

catch the eye of Mr. Conkling, or, if he saw it, he was too sure of his power to permit himself to imagine that it would grow and spread until it should cover the whole horizon, and result in a torrent that would sweep him and all his kind from their boasted strongholds of power. Up to a very recent period, Mr. Conkling, in his own domain of New York State, reigned supreme. He ruled with a rod of iron, it is true, but his people hugged their chains; for he was "*Roscoe il Magnifico*," and he dealt out his favors with a lavish hand. Had he been content to rule a single State, he might have secured a longer lease of power, for he was a very giant among the "bosses," and would probably have enjoyed the distinction of being the last survivor of his race. He was not content with this; he was determined to rule the country, and become the dictator to the conscience of the President himself. Just here he overstepped the mark, for he came face to face with the spirit of reform in the person of a President nominated and elected by the very people who had made up their minds that the "boss" system was out of place in a country having a republican form of Government, and who were old-fashioned enough to think that the President should be a President, and that a Senator should be a Senator. The conflict was short, sharp, and decisive. Personal considerations, whatever they might be, (and with these the people had no concern,) must give way before the vital question at issue; for it was a conflict between the "boss system," with all its hideous corruptions, on the one hand, and the pure, healthy, and vigorous principle of honest government, on the other.

President Garfield was but true to his own manly and honest instincts, and but faithful to the people who elected him to his high office, when he girded himself for this fight, and fought it out like a man. That the result has been, or will be, in the end, a total defeat to Mr. Conkling and the system he represents, can scarcely be doubted. His last move is a clever one, but it cannot save him. If the New York Legislature again sends Mr. Conkling to the Senate, it will not be a vindication of his course in the eyes of the people, but will only add another circumstance to intensify the popular demand that the Legislatures of the States, as well as that of the nation, shall discharge their functions from a sense of duty, measured by the wishes and wants of the people they represent, and not by the dictation of a single man. S. W.

Dr. Leidy, of the University of Pennsylvania, has written to the *Ledger* a very interesting letter on the subject of *trichinæ* in pork. This parasite was first discovered by an English surgeon in 1833, but its presence in pork was first detected by Dr. Leidy himself in 1840. He reminded the public for their comfort: 1st, that all food animals are liable to have parasites, and that the tape-worm is some times conveyed in rare beef; 2d, that only one hog in about ten thousand is infected with *trichinæ*; and, 3d, that thorough cooking will kill all such parasites, while none of them are poisonous after a good cooking. He believes that the Mosaic prohibition of pork was due to the danger of trichinosis, in a country where fuel was scanty, and, therefore, their food seldom well cooked. He thinks that millions may have died of trichinosis in the centuries before the true source of the danger was discovered, and that many of the deaths which occurred in the army during the Civil War were due to the frequent use of raw and badly cooked pork, although ascribed to typhoid, rheumatic or malarial fevers.

Dr. Leidy is unable to say positively whether salting and smoking are sufficient to destroy these parasites, but he has never been able to find any of them alive in meats which had been treated in either way. We think some precautions should be exacted of the great slaughter houses to secure the elimination of the one hog in ten thousand from the world's supply of this kind of meat. As the *trichinæ* are diffused through all parts of the tissue of the infected animal, a slight microscopic examination in three or four spots would suffice for their detection. It is not merely the danger of infection with which the public are concerned in this matter, but the possibility of making such disgusting objects an article of food, even after heat has reduced them to harmlessness. And if our great pork butchers were to give the world sufficient assurance that they will put upon the market no infected pig meat, the sale they would thus command would more than compensate them for the expense. Until they do so, nothing is left us but the universal use of the microscope in households which use this kind of food.

Dr. Leidy thinks that we are surrounded by sources of danger much more perillous than the *trichinæ*, in the universal pervasion of

dust. "Recent investigations render it probable that dust contains the germs of decomposition, gangrene and contagious diseases." He believes that the danger from this source could be diminished greatly by a more constant wetting and cleaning of the streets, by a better system of pavements, and by especial attention to those which lie around our market-houses and other depots of provisions. With this view of the matter, Professor Tyndale made the reading world familiar by his famous lecture on "Dust." We suspect that the theory, like all those which coincide with the tenor of thought which happens to be the dominant one in scientific circles, has been pushed to an extreme. Just at present, there is a disposition to reduce every energy, good or evil, to germ-vitality, and to regard each molecule of an animal system as possessed of a distinct vitality apart from those of the rest. The old doctrine of a monarchic vitality has given way to a theory of republican equality and independence. Into this view the dust theory of disease fits; but we shall ask very thorough proofs of its truth before we relieve it from the suspicion which attaches to all theories which have their coincidence with current tendencies of thought to help them in securing acceptance.

Our honored poet, Mr. Whittier, has stirred up quite a lively nest of hornets by his last poem,—*The King's Missive*. It professes to be an account of the persecution of the Quakers in the Colony of Massachusetts Bay, in 1661, and of the interference of the King of England with the proceedings of the Colonial Government by a *mandamus* which opened the prison doors to the Quakers, after many had been grossly ill-treated and some put to death. Dr. Ellis, the well-known Unitarian divine, challenges Mr. Whittier's version of the story as grossly incorrect, and as ignoring all the points of the case which, if stated, would have tended to lessen the severity of our judgment upon the persecuting Puritans. Mr. Whittier's poem especially touches the historic pride of Massachusetts, in seeming to indicate that the Stuart King showed a degree of compassion which was not felt by the colonists. Dr. Ellis denies this. He claims that, twice before the arrival of the *mandamus*, the Puritans threw open the prison doors to all Quakers who would leave the colony; that they were ready to dismiss any Quaker, at any stage of the proceedings against them, on pledge of their departure,

not to return, and that they paid very little attention to the King's orders received in 1661. He also shows, by a second letter written by King Charles to the Governor of the Colony, and by a brief enumeration of the punishments imposed upon the Quakers by the English law, to which the King there refers, that no credit is due to Charles, as a man of more tolerant disposition than the colonists. He especially dwells upon the fact that the people of the Colony had already relented with regard to the severe law under which four Quakers had been hung, and many others flogged, and that to this was owing the cessation of the persecution. On many of these points, especially as to the attention paid to the King's *mandamus*, there is a conflict between the authorities; but Dr. Ellis has on his side the records of the General Court, and other Massachusetts documents of contemporary date.

As to the severity and cruelty with which the Quakers were treated, there is no dispute. It is not possible in this age—it is not possible for such a man as Dr. Ellis,—to defend the conduct of the Puritan colonists. But there is room for a difference of opinion as to the amount of provocation given by the Friends, in their persistent invasion of the Colony, the strong language they employed in their public denunciations of its ministry and its church ordinances, and the conduct of the two Quaker women who appeared *in puris naturalibus*. Here Dr. Ellis and Mr. Whittier part company in their friendly discussion of the matter; but neither of them has so managed his case as to bring the other to the point. Dr. Ellis indeed urges that modern Friends have disowned such proceedings by abandoning them. But this has less force of argument against Friends than it would have against Christians of most of the other denominations. The old Friends believed that they were led by the Spirit to do these and other strange things for a sign to their generation. Modern Friends can recognize their claim to that guidance, without feeling themselves led to do anything of the sort. Certainly it is true that the manner and method of the members of the Society have changed greatly during two centuries. They are no longer dreaded as a people whose mission it is to “turn the world upside down.” But there is no ground of objection to their claim to historic continuity with the primitive Friends, unless it can be shown that the change in their external things has grown out of a change in the spirit of the body.

NEW BOOKS.

HOW TO TELL THE PARTS OF SPEECH. AN INTRODUCTION TO ENGLISH GRAMMAR. By the Rev. Edwin A. Abbott, D. D., Head Master of the City of London School; Author of *How to Write Clearly*, *How to Parse*, and, jointly with Professor Seeley, of Cambridge University, England, of *English Lessons for English People*. American edition, revised and enlarged, by John G. R. McElroy, A. M., Professor of Rhetoric and the English Language in the University of Pennsylvania. Roberts Brothers, Boston. 1881. 16 mo., cloth. Pp. xvi and 143.

Richard Grant White has called the English language a "grammarless tongue," but in spite of him the grammar books have gone on increasing. Their number would have been far less, however, if the earlier writers had displayed the same intelligence in conceiving and presenting their subject that has been displayed in the little book before us.

Assuming that the youngest child can reason about what he understands, Dr. Abbott helps him to understand the function of each word in the sentence, and then to infer the nature of each word from its function, or, "as a child would put it, to tell you first what the word does, and then what part of speech the word is."

Nor is this the same thing as telling them the parts of speech first, and then giving the reasons why; for, as Dr. Abbott acutely remarks, "a boy who has given a bad answer will generally find little difficulty in supporting it with a bad reason. Giving reasons *after* the answer, is not the same mental process as giving first the facts, and then deducing the answer from the facts." This plan is kept up throughout the book. Each part of speech is talked about, and made perfectly intelligible. *Then* the pupils' understanding and reason are tested in practical exercises. This is the only rational method of teaching young pupils, since it obviates the many false and inexact notions so often taken up by children when set to study a lesson without preliminary instruction.

The style of the book is well adapted to the end in view, being familiar and conversational. And for this very reason the teacher who cannot, or who will not, do any more than hear *the lesson*, will not take to it. But the teacher who is alive and alert, will find this conversational style a great merit. It is so suggestive. It will suggest many things not explicitly directed.

If any fault was to be found with the English edition of the book, —and the same is true of Dr. Abbott's *How to Parse*,—it was the exhibition of an occasional excess of zeal on the part of the author. He has something of the spirit of Jack in *The Tale of a Tub*, who, in ridding his coat of the accumulated finery of years, left it bare

and rent. Dr. Abbott, in his honest, earnest effort to rid his favorite subject of its rubbish, has torn away a little that the judgment of more conservative scholars would pronounce essential. With a view to remedy this, Messrs. Roberts Brothers, of Boston, requested Professor McElroy to edit the American edition. This he has carefully done, although he says [note to American edition,] he has made but few changes, and these "in no way affecting essentials." He has been careful to follow the method of Dr. Abbott, so that the book is consistent throughout.

He has made numerous additions, however, (all marked with the *,) chiefly in the form of exercises. Their purpose is to extend the scope of the book so as to include *elementary composition*. Professor McElroy is of opinion that the younger pupils should study English grammar, not so much for the grammar itself, as to attain the ability to use the language,—to construct and construe aright. This is obviously our aim in studying the grammar of a foreign language. No one denies the great value of grammar as the "reflective study" of language in certain stages of instruction. Its functions in elementary instruction must be principally to teach the right use of the mother tongue. Hence, the exercises which Professor McElroy has added are constructed with this end in view. Exercises of this kind are too often confined to analysis, neglecting the reverse process; those added by Professor McElroy provide for both equally. They greatly enhance the value of the book. It would have been a good thing if *How to Parse* had passed through the same hands before publishing.

SPINOZA: HIS LIFE AND PHILOSOPHY. By Frederick Pollock. London: C. Kegan Paul & Co. 1880. 8vo. Pp. 467, with portrait.

This exhaustive sketch of the Dutch philosopher is in capital contrast to the brief booklets in which Descartes and Hume and Adam Smith, following the fashion of the day, have been abbreviated. Even men as clever as Mahaffey and Huxley and Farrer could not do full justice to the merits of the great leaders in philosophy in the procrustean limits to which they were confined, and Mr. Pollock has wisely preferred room and verge enough for a complete treatment of the noble subject of his volume. Spinoza now stands forth fully furnished with complete literary apparatus, giving bibliographical details of all his own writings and of those which have grown up out of the curious incidents of his personal life and of the strange results of the alternations of popularity and persecution with which both the man and his books were successively pursued. Mr. Pollock gives an admirable summary of the early Jewish philosophy, and traces it down through the mediæval Hebrew schools and the Arab and other protecting nationalities, to the great Italian and French masters, showing its influence on the man

who, more nearly than any other, revived pure Aristotelianism, and in turn brought about the revival of that philosophy which has its latest and greatest teachers in the leaders of thought in our own day in France, and Germany, and England. Even on political philosophy in its highest and best development, Spinoza has left his mark, and in this direction the modern revival of his popularity has had most wholesome effect by its tendency to found government on the highest basis. Few things in the history of literature are more striking and affecting than the story of the rehabilitation of Spinoza and his philosophical writings, after a long period of almost absolute indifference, following the persecution that drove Spinoza into retirement. The French philosophy of the eighteenth century owed almost all of its value to the revival of Spinoza's doctrines, for which he had been silenced in his own lifetime with such effect that much of his teaching owed its survival to a book professedly intended to overthrow his doctrines. In Germany, Mendelssohn and Lessing were the leaders in proclaiming the truth of his philosophy, and to its acceptance Goethe and even Heine owed much of their strength and force. Auerbach, in his essay in the form of a novel, did much to renew popular interest in Spinoza, while, in France, Rénan has been the recognized leader in spreading the knowledge of Spinoza's greatness as a philosopher and his virtues as a man. Indeed, Saisset's edition of Spinoza, the first thoroughly good translation of his works, made them accessible to modern readers. Voltaire himself was largely indebted to Spinoza for much of the philosophy of history which is now accepted as part of the common stock of human knowledge. In England, Coleridge taught the doctrines of Spinoza, and to him is due the curious plan of a translation by Shelley, with a life by Byron, which, fortunately, perhaps, remains among the unexecuted and impossible plans of great literary genius. Maurice and Lewes, Matthew Arnold and Froude, have all proclaimed their indebtedness to Spinoza, and Victor Cousin and Taine have loudly acknowledged the greatness of Spinoza in their special fields of labor, Mr. Pollock has told the story of the persecution that Spinoza suffered in the cause of truth at the hands of his own fellow Jews, in terms of such touching sympathy, that the reader is almost disposed to believe that the advocate, too, must be a Jew, and thus all the more anxious to see justice done the greatest of modern Jews and the most illustrious of their long line of philosophers.

COLONIE AGRICOLE DE METTRAY. 40ième Année. Tours, 1880.

The Fortieth Annual Report of the famous French Reform School at Mettray deserves more than a passing notice. Apart from the deep impression made by Mettray far and wide, it is curious and instructive to see how its management is conducted.

Founded in 1839, it is still practically controlled by the Paternal Society of Paris. This Society meets triennially; and this report shows that, on the 12th of March, the Society met at its room, at ten o'clock, in pursuance of a notice dated the 4th and duly published. There were present thirteen persons, including the President, Vice-President and Secretary of the Society, the Director and Inspector of the Colony, the General Agent of the Society, and seven members. The President made a short address; the Director read the report, which fills fourteen pages; the Board submitted a list of fifteen names, from which five persons were elected to fill vacancies, being the old members whose terms had expired; then, at eleven o'clock, the meeting adjourned. There is a lesson in this brevity that might well be applied to our own management of public and private corporations. The recent death of Drouin de Lhuys, the President, and of other members of the Board, naturally calls forth a tribute to their services; and the loss of an officer of the Colony, after twenty-five years of zealous labor, is fitly mentioned. The honors won at the Exhibition, and the substantial reward of an increased appropriation by the Government, are duly acknowledged. The Colony sent up some of its boys for local school honors, and out of the thirty-three applicants, there were seventeen successful, and of these twelve were from Mettray,—three of these heading the list,—while two others were sons of officers of the Colony,—making in all fifty-five Mettray boys who have obtained the distinction of the certificates of scholarship. The list of honors won at Mettray includes a medal given one of its boys for saving a girl from drowning, and others for distinction in music, gymnastics, etc., at local festivals. Among the tributes to the usefulness of Mettray, was a request from the authorities of a reform school in Louisiana for instruction, and with this is quoted the emphatic praise of President White of Cornell, Randall of the Prison Reform Association, and other American authorities, and of other foreign visitors. The statistics of Mettray, as shown in this report, give a total of five thousand three hundred boys admitted during these forty years of its activity. Naturally, more good was effected than with the fifteen thousand children that have passed through our own House of Refuge in fifty years. Of course, the longer period of detention enables the reform to be much more effective. Of its total annual population of seven hundred, the details are curiously like those of our own House of Refuge, in matters of age, and knowledge, and occupation; but at Mettray there were over a hundred who opened accounts with the Saving Fund of their surplus earnings, and seventy per cent. received marks of good conduct and prizes in money or in leaves of absence; while the cost per head per day, for food, clothing, instruction and general expense, including assistance to those who had been discharged, was reduced to one

franc, thirty-two centimes,—say, thirty-five cents. The members of the Society which governs Mettray, are composed of founders,—who subscribe at least \$20,—of contributing members,—who pay not less than \$2 or over \$20; and the Society is governed by a Board of seventeen Directors, with four officers, while it receives contributions from local authorities, from gifts and legacies. The work done with the sums thus obtained, is, of course, completed by the per capita and other allowances made by the Government for special services.

CHINESE IMMIGRATION in its Social and Economical Aspects. By George F. Seward, late United States Minister to China. Pp. 421. New York: Charles Scribner & Sons.

Mr. Seward holds a brief for our Mongolian immigrants. He discusses first the number of immigrants in America, next what Chinese labor has done for California, then the objections to their free admission, and, last of all, the fears of the anti-Chinese party in America. It is well that there should be such a book,—that every great public question should be discussed thoroughly. But a little candor would have made Mr. Seward's book a good deal more effective on his own side of the controversy. From beginning to end, he writes as a special pleader, bound to make no concessions, and to push every argument to the utmost. He will not admit anything against this people, either at home or abroad. He admires their morals, he who has lived among them! He deals out the old fallacies of the English economists,—now the sole property of the Prison Labor people and the Chinese Labor people—about anything that is good for the capitalist being equally good for the laborer. Mr. Seward's book has its value in its facts rather than in its arguments. It is the armory from which weapons will be drawn for an impending controversy. But it will not have any decisive influence.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

A Memorial of Joseph Henry. Published by order of Congress. Washington: Government Printing Office.

The *Œdipus Tyrannus* of Sophocles. Rendered into English verse by William Wells Newell. Sewed. 16mo. Pp. 65. Price 50 cts. Cambridge: Charles W. Sever.

Mademoiselle Bismarck. From the French of Henri Rochefort. By Virginia Champlin. Sewed. 16mo. Pp. 334. Price 60 cts. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. [Porter and Coates.

Journal of a Farmer's Daughter. By Elaine Goodale. Cloth. 16mo. Pp. 183. Price \$1.00. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. [Porter and Coates.

Political Economy and Political Science. (A list of works recommended for general reading, etc., on those subjects.) Sewed. 12mo. Pp. 36. Price 25 cts. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

David Hartley and James Mill. By G. S. Bower. Cloth. 12mo. Pp. 250. Price \$1.25. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. [Porter and Coates.

Boston Monday Lectures, 1880-81. Christ and Modern Thought. By Joseph Cook. Cloth. 16mo. Pp. 315. Price \$1.50. Boston: Roberts Brothers. [Porter and Coates.

T H E

PENN MONTHLY.

JULY, 1881.

RUNEBERG.

JOHAN LUDVIG RUNEBERG, one of the greatest poets of the nineteenth century, was born 5th February, 1804, at Jacobstad, a small town situated on the eastern shores of the Gulf of Bothnia. His father, a merchant captain, was married to Anna Maria Malm, and Johan Ludvig was the eldest of six children. He was educated first at Uleaborg, in the far North, where he lived with an uncle, and then at Wasa, where, as his parents were poor, he, like many other youths, earned the means of study by giving instruction to younger boys. In 1822 he entered the University of Abo, and in 1827 took his degree as doctor of philosophy. After this, he spent three years in the interior of the country, where, far from civilization, in the depths of the great forest surrounding Lake Päjane, he learned to know his own country, "the land of thousand lakes," and to love it in the sternness of its poverty and the grandeur of its solitude. One of his finest epic poems,—The Elk-hunters,—was written here. In 1830 he left Saarjäroi and became Amanuensis to the Consistory of the University, which now had been removed to Helsingfors, after the destruction by fire of Abo in 1827. Here he published his first volume of lyrical poems (translated into English by Mess. Maynison & Pohlner), and dedicated it to the poet Franzen, Bishop of Wörnesund. The Bishop wrote to him from Sweden: "When your charming present arrived, I was prevented by official duties from bestowing on it a careful study. I had only time to rejoice here and there at the sight of a violet or the sound of a lark; but

even then I learnt that it was a real poet who was making his appearance in my former fatherland. Now I have given a more careful study to the poems, and know that it is a great poet which Finland is about to produce." In 1831 Runeberg married the daughter of Professor Tengström, and in 1837 removed to the little town of Borga, where he lived until his death, 6th May, 1877.

Runeberg's greatest poems are the "Elk-hunters," "Hanna," "Christmas Eve," "King Fjalar," the "Kings of Salamis;" but the work which, above all others, has made him dear in the North, is a series of poems dealing with the war of 1808, when Finland was severed from Sweden and joined to Russia—"The Tales of Ensign Stal." One of these poems is "The Cloud's Brother;" the first is "Our Land," now the national anthem, beautiful and prophetic in its truth and simplicity. . . .

Our land is poor, so e'er shall be,
 To him who asks for gold.
 A stranger passeth by, but we,—
 We love this land of forests free,
 For us, though rock-bound, bare and cold,
 It is a land of gold.

We love our rivers' rushing noise,
 Our winters' starry light,
 The deep, still forests' mystic voice,
 Our lakes, our darkless summer night,
 And all that here our heart hath found,
 Beauteous of sight, of sound.

Thou Land of Lakes! still as of yore
 The home of song thou art!
 Life, ocean-tossed, gave us thy shore,
 We shall uphold thee evermore;
 Enshrined in all thy children's heart,
 Say not that poor thou art.

Thy budding blossom, closed now,
 Shall burst its bonds ere long,
 And from without our love shall grow,
 The light and lustre of thy brow;
 And higher strains shall bear along,
 Our native country's song.

THE CLOUD'S BROTHER.

“More than living unto me was loving,
More than loving is to die as he died.”

In the forest lay the lonely homestead,
Wilderness surrounded, far from roads on
Which, since autumn, scenes of war had shifted.
Enemies had not found out the dwelling,
Nor had strangers' feet yet trod the path that
Led to it ; of blood and battle spoke the
Raven only, shrieking from the cloud-tops ;
Or the kite that gorged on pine-trees rested,
Or the wolf that with his bloody booty
Sought again the desert's hidden caverns.

In the cottage, at the table's long side,
Sat the host one evening, sad and silent,
Resting from the week's toil. Bedded lay his forehead
In his right hand, and his elbow firmly
Pressed against the table ; but his dark eyes
Wandered, driven as by restless thinking.
Neither saw it of the two who, with him,
Were the only inmates of the cottage,—
Not his foster-son and not his daughter.
Hand in hand, and arms around each other,
And with bended heads, they rested near him—
Peace within and all around them silence.
Still a while, and then the old man broke the
Silence, singing. One of those who heard him
As he sang, although the words fell only
As by chance, yet listening, understood them.
“Bears,” he sang, “are born the forests' monarchs ;
Pine-trees grow to be the desert's glory ;
Child of man, if born to strength and greatness,
If to dust and baseness, no one knoweth.
Sought a boy, one winter night, the cottage ;
Unknown came he, untamed, like a wild bird
Storm-tossed, cast into a human dwelling.

Brows were shining through a cap in tatters ;
 Toes pierced snow-drifts, for the feet were naked ;
 Breast gleamed bare beneath a ragged jacket.
 Whose and where from ? ' Ask thou whose and where from
 Of the rich one who has home and father.
 Wind, perchance, blows from the home I come from ;
 Cloud in heaven dare I call my brother ;
 I but snow am on the foot of midnight,
 Which he flings off when he enters homesteads.'
 Snow did not melt from the feet of midnight ;
 Cloud's strange brother went not with the tempest ;
 And the boy remained and grew to manhood.
 Scarcely noticed, ran he all the first year ;
 But the second year, he felled the forest ;
 And before the fourth of summers ended,
 Slew the bear that fell upon the cattle.
 Where is now his glory ? His fame greater
 Than the fame of others, and so precious
 Unto some ! Foster-father's hope is where ?
 Old man sitting in his cottage, longs and
 Yearns to hear how goes the bloody warfare.
 Is his country safe, or has it fallen ?
 Eagle's speech—he does not know its meaning ;
 Vulture's cries—he fathoms not ; a stranger
 Brings no tidings to the distant desert,
 And the young man who should be his help now,
 Hears but tidings from the heart of woman."

As when summer's whirlwind, in the evening,
 Nature, like a Sabbath lying silent,
 Comes unseen, alone, swift as an arrow,
 And doth pierce the breast of the still lake ; no
 Plant stirs, pines and firs stand motionless, e'en
 Flowers are at peace upon the hillside ;
 All is peace, the deep lake only seethes ;
 So, when struck the song into the youth's heart,
 He sat motionless and mute and hidden ;
 But each word drove from his heart the life-blood.
 Near the maiden he sat all the evening,—

Seemed to sleep before the others slept ; but
 Long before the others wakened, even
 With the first beam of the morning's dawning,
 He went out unseen, unheard, and vanished.

Morning came, and sunshine spread o'er heaven.
 Only two awakened in the cottage ;
 Sunday's morning meal of bread was laid out ;
 Only two came forward to the table ;
 Noon advanced, and yet the third one came not ;
 Without cloud was still the old man's forehead,
 Without tears were still his daughter's eyelids,
 But to rest, although by even bidden,
 When the meal was ended, lay down neither.

Some few minutes passed,—time no more than
 To between the first sight of the rising
 Storm-cloud and the tempest that bursts from it
 And has cleared again ; then gently lifted
 His dear voice and spake unto his child, the
 Father, comforting : “ My daughter, 'tis a
 Long way to the village ; autumn rains have
 Filled the streams, no bridges span them, wild rocks
 Block the pathway, and the marsh is dreary.
 He who with the dawn of morning went out,
 Hardly can be home when evening setteth.”
 So the old man ; but the words not heeding
 Sat his daughter, closed as a flower
 Closes up its petals when the night comes ;
 And her thoughts, they were her own thoughts only.
 But she sat not long, the noble maiden,
 Longer not than after the sun's setting
 Plants wait silently for evening's dewdrops, e'er a tear fell
 down upon her bosom,
 And she sang, her fair head bended, softly !
 “ When a heart has met another heart, then
 Poor is all that it before thought riches ;
 Earth and heaven, home-land, father, mother.
 More than world's in one embrace is folded ;

More than skies in one eye's brightness gazed at ;
 More than mother's words and father's bidding
 Heard is in a sigh that hardly breathes.
 What the power that is strong as love is ?
 What the charm that bindeth him who loveth ?
 Like he crosses, swimming like the wild duck,
 Meet him rocks, an eagle's wings uplift him.
 Long ere noon he comes to where he was not
 Waited for till fall the evening's shadows."

Scarcely had the old man heard her singing
 Than, by fear and sorrow sorely stricken,
 He went out to seek the one who came not.
 Mute he went, and mute he sought the pathway
 Dimly traced through that wild waste of forest.
 Morning's sunlight almost touched the tree-tops
 When the wanderer reached the nearest dwelling.

Waste and empty, like the lone tree standing
 On the heath that fire and flame have wasted,
 So stood now the homestead erst so thriving ;
 And its mistress, in the cottage sitting
 All alone, bent o'er the cradle, where her
 Baby slept ; but, as a wild bird when it
 Hears a shot and hears the bullet whistle,
 Starts affrightened with its wing outstretchéd,
 So flew from her chair the youthful mother
 When she heard the door open ; but her terror
 Turned to joy when she beheld the old man ;
 And she ran and took his hand in hers, and,
 Great tears rolling down her cheeks, she said :
 " Hail, O father ! hail, thou dear old father !
 Precious are the steps that led thee hither,
 Precious were the steps of him whom thou didst
 Rear to be the help of the afflicted
 And their shield ; now sit and rest thy weary
 Limbs, and hear with joy what I can tell thee :
 Hard this war has been on all since autumn,
 Friend and foe alike the country wasting,

Sparing only those who had no weapons.
 But the day has only just gone from us
 When a troop of men from the next parish
 Joined the army, drawn up here to battle.
 We have fought the battle; but we have not
 Gained the victory; the few who might have
 Come back living, scattered are they like the
 Leaves that wild winds of the autumn scatter.
 There ragéd wrath as shoreless as the spring flood
 O'er the land, and, with or without weapons,
 Man or woman there was grace for no one.
 Hither came the flood last morning early,
 And, while bells were to God's service calling,
 Sent a wave that left our homestead wasted.
 Let me not dwell on those scenes of sorrow;
 Bound, my husband lay beneath his own roof,
 Blood was shed and outrage ruled, and all seemed
 Hopeless, for no help could reach us. I was
 Seized, and stood, eight greedy arms around me,
 Quivering as beneath the glare of wild beasts.
 But redemption came; like storm from heaven
 The Cloud's Brother burst into the house and
 Struck the foe, who fell or fled. I'm sitting
 In this wasted home, much poorer than the
 Sparrow 'neath its roof; and yet more happy
 Than in days of joy shall I bid welcome
 To that noble one and my dear husband,
 Come they home unhurt again, for to the
 Village, following close the foe, they hurried."

When the old man heard the last words spoken,
 He arose as if he long had rested,
 And his eye was darkened by his sorrow.
 Vainly urged to stay, he took the well-known
 Pathway leading to the village; and the
 Sunset lingered on the distant forest
 When he, hoping against hope, in terror
 Reached the house where dwelt the village pastor.
 Wasted lay that pleasant homestead also;
 Bare and barren like an unrobed island

Seen from frozen lake in winter evening.
In a cottage by the hearth, alone, sat,
Burdened by his years, the soldier Klinga.

Now, when the old man heard the door-lock open,
Saw his friend of by-gone days approaching,
He rose up, though lamed by wounds, to meet him.
"Life hath light for us," his greeting words were,
"When the young, advancing in our footsteps,
Show that strength and manhood dwell amongst us.
Such good service has to-day been done here,
That the child who heard it in his cradle,
To his grandsons shall relate about it.
See, as greedy as a troop of wolves, the
Foe came; reeking blood and ashes marked
His victorious footsteps. Let all lesser
Be unspoken, although not forgotten.
When the troop had had its fill of blood, the
Worst ones only staying, then the bitter,
Brimful cup of misery overflowed.
They took horses, and between the wildest
Bound our loved pastor, thus far spared;
Told him then on foot to follow the fierce
Riders. Short the order given; soon his
Hand would fail him, and his feet would tremble,
And his white locks in the dust be trailing.
There he stood alone, with head uplifted,
And with eyes that looked unto heaven,
Knowing that on earth was night and darkness.
Praise and glory! Then our help was nearest;
He begotten as the breath of midnight,—
The Cloud's Brother,—like a flash of lightning
He struck down, and crushed lay the oppressor!
I have lived here with the help of others,
An uprooted pine, on others leaning,
Weary to myself, my neighbors' burden;
And yet shall I call my life a treasure,
If that noble one comes back victorious,
From the battle raging near the old church!"

When the old man heard the last words spoken,
 He went out as if he fled from live flames;
 But the shades of evening gathered round him
 Ere he reached the village near the old church.
 Lo, the village lay in smoke and ashes,
 Like a starry sky by clouds destroyed;
 Lo, the church lay on the wasted hillside,
 Like a lone star seen athwart a cloud-bank;
 And the silence over wasted country,
 Lay like moonlight over barren autumn.

Amid fallen warriors, friend and unfriend,
 Like a shadow moving over gathered
 Fields, the old man went. Dead all, naught living,
 Naught to breathe a sigh. The road wound on 'mid
 Ruined homes, to where the last had stood, and
 There a youth sat bleeding, but alive still.
 To his pale cheeks came the last drops flushing
 Like eve's flickering ray to silv'ry cloudlet,
 And his dimm'd eye for one minute brightened
 When he woke and saw the old man coming.

"Hail!" he said, "now is it easy bleeding,
 One of many unto whom is granted
 Death in youth for our dear native country.
 All hail! thou who fostered the deliv'rer.
 Thrice hail him, the noble one who led us,
 Stronger he than we were all together.
 See, our troop stood, but its strength was broken,
 Scattered like a herd without a leader,
 Doomed to die. There was no man to call us,
 None gave order, therefore none could follow,
 Ere he came, ere from the wild wastes' cavern
 Came the beggar son with king-like forehead,
 And his voice to battle calling, rang out.
 Then leaped fire to every heart, hope kindled,
 Doubt dispersed, all knew him and followed with him;
 Led by him, our troop went down on swords, as
 When a tempest breaketh over rushes.
 Yonder church, see,—all the way towards it,

Lies the foe cut down, as on a meadow
 Worked by reapers' sickle, blade near blade doth
 Lie ; that way went he, the one victorious,
 Whom my eye hath followed since my foot failéd,
 Whom my thoughts e'en unto death shall follow."
 Spoken, and the warrior's life-light wanéd.

So in silence wanéd daylight also ;
 Moon, night's sun, the pale one and the lovely,
 Lit the wanderer's pathway to the churchyard.
 When the old man came within its walls, he
 Saw a crowd of people 'mongst the crosses,
 Mute and awful like those hid beneath them.
 No one took a step to come and meet him,
 No one spoke a word to bid him welcome,
 No one even with his eyes did speak, but
 When the old man stepped into the circle,
 There lay, fallen at his feet, a youth, though
 Blood o'erwashed yet easily recognized.
 Like a pine laid low amongst the fir trees,
 E'en in dust more fair and greater than all
 Others, lay 'mid fallen foes, the hero.

But with hands tight clasped, head low bended,
 Mute, as if by thunder struck, the old man
 Stood ; his cheek was white, his lips were trembling,
 Till his grief found words and broke out wailing :
 " Now the roof-tree of my house is broken,
 Harvest of my field by hail-storm ravished—
 Now my grave is more to me than homestead.
 Woe is me that thus I find thee,—thee, mine
 Honour, glory of mine old age,—thee, the
 Gift of heaven, erst so great and beautiful,—
 Now like dust on which thou liest, lowly."
 Thus in sorrow scarce the old man ended,
 When a voice that sounded like his daughter's
 Was heard speaking, drawing near the watchers :
 " Dear he was when to my heart I pressed him ;
 Dearer far than all else in the world, he ;
 Dearest now here lying in his glory,

Cold upon the earth's cold breast reclining.
 More than living unto me was loving,
 More than loving is to die as he died."
 So she said, and without tears or wailing
 Softly went towards the fallen body,
 Kneeled down, and with her kerchief gently
 Covered up his bullet-pierced forehead.
 Dark and mute the warriors stood around her,
 Like a forest when the air is breathless ;
 Silent also stood the women round her,
 Gathered there to look at him and mourn him.
 But she spake again, the noble maiden :
 " If but one of you would bring me water,
 That I might the blood stains from his forehead
 Wash, and smooth once more his locks, and see his
 Eyes again, in death e'en beautiful,—then
 Would I show with joy unto you all here
 The Cloud's Brother, the foreign beggar,
 Who arose and was our land's deliverer."

When the old man heard his daughter speaking,
 Look'd at the forlorn one kneeling near him,
 Then again, with broken voice, he cried :
 " Woe's thee ! woe's thee ! O my lovely daughter !
 Joy of joys, and sorrow's comforter, and
 Shield of life, thy father, brother, husband.
 All with him is lost to thee forever,
 All with him is lost and nought is left thee."

Into wailing burst the listeners ; there was
 Not one who stood with tearless eyes. But the
 Noble maiden's tears were shining, and she
 Took the fallen hero's hand and said :
 " Not with mourning be thy memory honored ;
 Not like his who goes and is forgotten ;
 Thus thy fatherland shall weep for thee,—
 As an evening weepeth dew in summer,
 Full of joy, and light, and peace, and singing,
 And with arms outspread towards the morning."

JOHAN LUDWIG RUNEBURG.

THE NIBELUNGENLIED. II.

WITH the King's consent, these conspirators pretended that thirty heralds had arrived at court from the recently liberated Kings of Denmark and Saxony, to defy Gunther. The generous Siegfried instantly offered to take up the King's quarrel as before; upon which Hagen went to Chrimhild, and, feigning great friendship for her husband, asked if there were not some part of his horny body that required defence in battle. Chrimhild, whose rage had cooled, regretted in the first place that she had given offence to her sister-in-law Brunhild, (for which she said her husband had "beaten her black and blue,") and then, suspecting nothing, she told Hagen, that when Siegfried bathed himself in the dragon's blood, a leaf had stuck to his skin, just between the shoulders, and had prevented that part from becoming impenetrable. "Well," quoth Hagen "only sew a small cross upon his garments, in the place where the spot is, and I promise you to defend that part of his body with all care when we go against the Danes and the Saxons." The small cross was affixed, and now Siegfried was informed that there was to be no war, but only a great royal chase of boars and bears in the forest of Vagovia,—where the treason was to be done.

Great preparations were made, and nothing was heard but the baying of hounds and the blowing of horns. By the advice of Brunhild, every kind of meat was carried to a well in the forest,—but no wine. Chrimhild, who, like a good wife, had forgotten the sound drubbing she received from him, did all she could to persuade him not to go to the hunt, as she had been warned of his fate in two dreams. But his doom was inevitable; and, taking an affectionate leave of his wife, who gazed on his face and caressed him "full tenderly," he departed with his hound in leash, and mounted his swift horse. When the chase began, who so distinguished himself as Siegfried? Killing all kinds of wild beasts, and among them a half-wolf, (demi-wolf,) a lion, a buffalo, an elk, four uris, and one fierce bull, besides deer, boars and bears without number.

King Gunther then caused a horn to be blown, giving notice that he would dine at the well.

"In gorgeous guise the hero did to the fountain ride;
Down unto his spurs, his sword hung by his side;

His weighty spear was broad, of mighty length, and strong;
 A horn of the gold so red, o'er the champion's shoulders hung.
 "Of fairer hunting garments ne'er heard I say before;
 A coat of the black velvet the noble hero wore;
 His hat was of the sable, full richly was it dight;
 Ho! with what gorgeous belts was hung his quiver bright.

* * * * *

"And by his side hung Balmung, that sword of mickle might,
 Which in the field Sir Siegfried struck on the helmet bright;
 Not the truest metal the noble blade withstood.
 Oh! thus, right gloriously, rode the hunter good!"

To make "disport for the King," Siegfried caught a great bear alive, and brought him to the well, where the animal made great havoc among the kitchen utensils and dinner-service, "to the exceeding great sport of the company," until, wearying of this sport, the hero slew the beast.

The gallant huntsmen had not proceeded far with their dinner, when Sir Siegfried was full wroth with Hagen for having forgotten the wine. That traitor said that the wine had not been forgotten, but carried to another well in a distant part of the forest. On this, Siegfried proposed a foot-race, (we suppose to go to fetch the wine,) and, throwing off part of his garments and all his arms, to run the lighter, started with the rest, whom he far outran. At the well, King Gunther laid himself down on his belly, and, stretching his head over the hollow, drank a copious draught. Siegfried followed the royal example, but he was no sooner prostrate than Hagen treacherously struck a lance into the vulnerable spot between his shoulders. The hero, leaping to his feet, pursued the murderer; and, though wounded and weaponless, knocked Hagen down, and broke his shield in twain. Then he fell down himself and died, upbraiding his assassins with ingratitude and cowardice, but recommending his spouse, Chrimhild, to the mercy of the King, her brother. Gunther wished to give out that he had been slain by robbers, but Hagen fiercely said that he cared not to conceal the fact that he had done him to death.

To give a keener edge to the Queen's revenge, Hagen caused the dead body to be laid before the chamber-door of Chrimhild, who, knowing nothing of what had happened, and coming suddenly forth, beheld it there. She shrieked, clasped her hands on high, and then threw herself on her murdered husband, making

"boundless lamentations." After this storm of grief, her first thoughts were for **vengeance**. She sent for Siegmund, the father of Siegfried, who, as well as his eleven hundred champions, swore **instant** revenge. But Chrimhild said she would bide her own time. She ordered a splendid coffin of gold and silver, in which the body of the hero was carried to the Cathedral. Gunther, with Hagen and others, went to bewail the death, which, they now all said, had been done by robbers; but Chrimhild, standing by the open coffin, fiercely bade those who knew themselves to be innocent, to approach and touch the corpse.

"A marvel high and strange is seen full many a time:
When to the murdered body nears the man who did the crime,
Afresh the wound will bleed; the marvel now was found,
As Hagen felled the champion with treason to the ground."

For three days and nights, without food or drink, did Chrimhild watch beside the coffin, and when it was about to be lowered into the grave she caused it to be again opened, and once more she took leave of her husband. Her next care was to distribute 30,000 marks of gold among the poor, "that so his soul might have peace."

Brunhild gloried in her deep revenge, and Gunther and Hagen induced Chrimhild to send for the Nibelungen treasure, which Siegfried had given her for her jointure. The dwarf Alberich, who held it in custody, grieved to give it up, and loudly lamented the loss of the hero and of his tarn-cap. Under the mountain of treasure, which it took twelve wagons four days and four nights to remove, there lay a wishing-rod, by which the possessor might become master of the whole world; but as the dwarf Alberich would not explain this miraculous quality, the rod remained of no use. Seeing that Chrimhild was gaining great popularity by her liberal employment of this wealth, Hagen, with some other conspirators, got possession of it all and sunk it in the Rhine, swearing at the same time they never would reveal the place. After this fresh wrong, Chrimhild dwelt thirteen years at her brother's court; but then came a prospect of revenge for her.

Attila, King of the Huns, (called in the poem Etzel,) sent a splendid embassy to Worms to demand her hand. At first she refused, because she had determined to remain a widow, and could, on no account, as a good Christian, think of marrying a heathen

prince. But Rudiger the Hun used potent arguments, telling her that Etzel had twelve kings and thirty princes, all his vassals, and that

“ From the Rhone unto the Rhine, from the Elbe to the distant sea,
No king of greater riches and greater power may be ;”

and he finally overcame her disinclination by swearing to Chrimhild that he and his men would be ever ready to avenge her injuries.

Etzel, accompanied by a great host of vassals, “ among whom were Russians, Greeks, Poles, Wallachians, Kybens, the *savage* Petscheners, and many other nations,” received his bride at the town of Tulln. The marriage ceremonies, the feasting, the largesses, were surpassingly splendid, and Werbel and Swemmel, the two court minstrels, got each a thousand marks of gold.

When Chrimhild had dwelt thirteen years with King Etzel, and borne him a son, she bethought herself of inviting King Gunther with his brothers, and Haghen, his uncle, and all the choice Burgundian warriors, to a “ high feast ” in Hungary. The message, which was carried to Worms by the minstrels, Werbel and Swemmel, was at first received with diffidence, and Haghen strongly opposed accepting the invitation. Uta, the Queen-mother, was also in opposition, because she had dreamed a dream, in which she saw all the birds of Burgundy drop down dead ; while Rumold, the master of the royal kitchen, attempted to show that it would be ridiculous to go all the way to Hungary for a feast, seeing that they had plenty of meat, drink and clothes at home. However, after seven days of consultation, Chrimhild’s invitation was accepted, and Gunther, with his brothers, Haghen, and a retinue of one thousand knights and nine thousand squires, set out for Hungary, leaving Brunhild and the Queen-mother at Worms, under the care of Rumold, the head cook. Among Gunther’s choicest knights was one Folker of Alsace, commonly called the Fiddler, on account of the excellence of his playing and singing. This personage plays a very conspicuous part, both as a hero and buffoon, in the sequel of this long story.

After meeting with a mermaid, who predicted to Haghen that he was running into danger by going “ into King Etzel’s land,” and having encountered one or two other adventures, Gunther arrived at Etzelenburg, where the King of the Huns kept court.

Chrimhild was affable to Ghiseler, Gunther, and her own youngest brother, but stern to all the rest. When Haghen saw her face, he tied his helmet faster on his head. "What presents have ye brought me from the Rhine?" cried the Queen of the Huns. Haghen replied, scornfully, that "he was sorry he had not brought her a gift from his own treasury." "Why brought ye not the Nibelungen treasure?" cried the Queen, in still more wrath. Haghen answered that it was sufficient for a knight to carry his armor and his sword. The Queen then bade them give up their arms before they entered the hall, and when Haghen and Gunther sternly refused to do so, she felt convinced they had been forewarned of the compliment she intended paying them.

Haghen then took Folker the Fiddler aside, and they went together across the court, and sat them down on a bench before the hall of Chrimhild. When the Queen beheld them there, she wept bitterly, and complained to her knights of all the injuries Haghen had done her. Having inflamed them against the two Burgundians, she descended to the court with one hundred knights to kill them. At the approach of the Queen, Folker the Fiddler would have risen out of respect, but Haghen told him to sit still, lest their enemies should take it as a sign of fear.—

"'Twas then the hero Haghen across his lap he laid,
Glittering to the sun, a broad and weighty blade."

This was Balmung, the sword of Siegfried, the sight of which much affected the Queen.—

"It minded her of all her woes. Chrimhild to weep began.
Well I ween Sir Haghen in her scorn to sword had drawn,
* * * * *
Folker, knight of courage, bold by his side sate he;
A sharp and mighty fiddle-stick held the hero free."

What with the sight of "Balmung," and the "mighty fiddle-stick," and a tale told by one of the Huns of the prowess of Haghen, whom he had seen in his youth in twenty-two battles, the hundred knights became afraid of attacking the two champions, and departed in peace. Then Haghen and Folker rejoined King Gunther, and they all proceeded to the hall of King Etzel, who received them with a show of courtesy.

At night, when Gunther and his knights retired to a large hall, where all their beds were prepared, Haghen undertook the guard,

and for the sake of a little music associated Folker with him, who soon fiddled all the champions to sleep. Of a sudden he ceased his lay, for he discovered helmets glittering in the light of the moon. These were the knights sent by Chrimhild to murder Haghen in his sleep; but, seeing the hall door guarded, they hastily retired, much taunted for their cowardice by Folker the Fiddler.

The following morning King Gunther was to go to hear mass with King Etzel, and his knights were attiring themselves in "silken shirts," and "spacious mantles," when Haghen, reminding them of "Lady Chrimhild's angry mood," made them put on their armor. King Etzel, who, it would appear, had intended to murder his guests in the church, marvelled much when he saw them in complete armor, and they excused themselves by saying falsely that such was the common custom in Burgundy. After mass there was a tournament, but the Huns declined engaging with the fierce visitors. Haghen, who could never be quiet, on seeing a Hun arrayed in splendid armor, rode at him in the crowd, and pierced him through and through with his lance. Then began a general engagement, which was interrupted by Etzel, who threatened to hang every Hun who harmed his guests. After this the knights of both nations went to dinner, at which they sat in complete armor, every one mistrusting the other. Towards the end of the repast, Ortlieb, the young son of Chrimhild and Etzel, was brought in; Haghen spoke lightly of the boy, thereby incensing the King and increasing the wrath of the Queen. Meanwhile, Blodelin, the brother of King Etzel, incited by Queen Chrimhild went with the knights into another hall, where Dankwart, the brother of Haghen, was dining with the Burgundian squires, and defied him to his teeth as one of the murderers of Siegfried. Dankwart swore he was innocent, and then, with his first blow, cut off Blodelin's head. The Burgundian squires, though mostly unarmed, drove out the Hunnish knights, but they, soon returning in greater force, slaughtered all the nine thousand squires. Dankwart fought his way through the *mêlée*, and, rushing to the hall where the Kings and knights were dining, told his brother what had happened, upon which Haghen commenced a general slaughter of the Huns by cutting off young Ortlieb's head, which fell into his mother's lap. Chrimhild now began to fear for her own life

but Dietrich of Berne, a friendly guest, who had nothing to do with the champions of Burgundy, took up her Majesty under one arm, and her husband Etzel under the other, and carried them out of the hall, away from the fearful affray, which ended in the champions remaining sole masters of the hall, after killing and throwing out of window seven thousand Huns. In the conflict Folker particularly signalized himself.

“ King Etzel cried, ‘ Alas and woe ! that to this feast they came,
For there a fearful champion fights, Folker is his name,
Raging like a savage boar ; a fiddler mad is he ;
Praised be my luck, that from that fiend safely I could flee ;
Fouly his lays resound ; his fiddle-stick is red,
And oh ! its dreadful tones strike many a champion dead ! ’ ”

After a short truce, the fight was renewed, Chrimhild offering great riches to any one who would attack Haghen. Iring, Margrave of Denmark, at length undertook the task, and wounded Haghen on the skull, but he was killed by that champion, and so were Irnfried and Hawart, and all the knights who tried to avenge Iring's death. Chrimhild then brought 20,000 Huns to attack the heroes, who fought furiously, but not without heavy losses, till nightfall, when the assailants, not knowing what better to do, set fire to the hall. The heroes, now reduced to 600, were at the last extremity. They had nothing wherewith to quench the raging thirst caused by the fire and smoke, till, by the advice of Haghen, they drank the blood of their foes. Fortunately, the hall roof was arched, “ which,” says the song, “ prevented a general conflagration,” and Haghen, Folker, and their fellows were only half-roasted by the following morning, when they were attacked by a fresh host of Huns, whom they slew to a man.

Rudiger, who had gone to Worms to obtain the unlucky hand of Chrimhild, was one of the bravest warriors at court ; but as he had entertained the Burgundians on their journey, and *shown them hospitality in his own house*, he could hardly be prevailed upon to attack them ; and even when he yielded to the King and Queen on their knees, and prepared himself and his knights, with heavy hearts, for the attack, he advised the Burgundians, that they might get ready to withstand him, and told them that he was only persuaded to it by the entreaties of Chrimhild.

The only glimpses of the generous spirit of chivalry that are caught in this foul and murderous epic, are in the character of

Rudiger. When told by Haghen that the shield he had given him at his castle was hewn to pieces, Rudiger insisted on his accepting the one he wore, so that they might be on a more equal footing in the fight. Even Haghen was touched by his generosity, and, with Folker, swore he would not fall upon Rudiger, who, however, was slain by Ghernot, one of King Gunther's brothers, after he (Ghernot,) had received a mortal wound on the head from the sword of Rudiger. All Rudiger's knights were then added to the heap of dead, but not before the Burgundian band was almost exterminated. Dietrich of Berne, who, very prudently, had abstained from an active interference, then sent his follower Hildebrand, a wise old warrior, to demand the dead body of Rudiger from the Burgundians. Wolfhart, Sighestab and Helfrich, three nephews of Dietrich of Berne, would follow Hildebrand, in spite of the good advice of their uncle. And now the catastrophe approaches, which, in some respects, resembles that of the immortal drama of *Tom Thumb*, when all the heroes lie dead on the stage together.

When they entered the hall, and saw the noble-hearted Rudiger lying dead, the lamentations of Dietrich of Berne's messengers were excessive, and Wolfhart could not refrain from insulting the heroes of Burgundy, who refused to deliver the body. Folker answering in the same style, Wolfhart broke loose from Hildebrand, who would have kept the peace, and struck the Fiddler a mighty blow,—but the Fiddler felled him dead in return. Nothing could now restrain the heroes from the fight. Folker slew Sighestab, and the wise old Hildebrand slew Folker, whose "red fiddlestick" thus at last dropped from his hand. Helfrich, Dietrich's last nephew, and Ghiseler, Gunther's last brother, exchanged death-wounds with one another;—so that, at length, none remained on either side, except Haghen, King Gunther and Hildebrand. The wise Hildebrand endeavored to carry off the body of the brave Wolfhart, but he was put to flight by Haghen, and, flying to Dietrich, told him all that had happened. Then the mighty Dietrich of Berne armed himself, and, going to the hall where Haghen and Gunther stood among the dead, bade them surrender. They refused. Upon this, Dietrich attacked Haghen, and, after a fierce combat, bound him, and carried him to Chrimhild, imploring that queen not to take his life. Dietrich returned to the hall, and, after another hard fight, also brought King Gunther, bound. The

Knight of Berne then departed, loudly lamenting. Chrimhild offered Haghen his life if he would tell where he had concealed the Nibelungen treasure; but Haghen, well knowing her malice, refused the condition.

“‘Then I’ll bring it to an end,’ spake the noble Siegfried’s wife.
Grimly she bade her meing* take King Gunther’s life.
Off they struck his head, and she grasped it by the hair!”

Having thus finished her brother, she turned to Haghen:—

“When that sorrowing hero his master’s head did see,
Thus to the Lady Chrimhild spake he wrathfully:—
‘Thou hast brought it to an end, and quenched thy bloody thirst;
All thy savage murders I prophesied at first.
Where was sunk the Nibelungen treasure, knows none but God and I;
Never, thou fiend-like woman, that treasure shalt thou nigh!”

Chrimhild replied:—

“‘Fouly hast thou spoken;’ thus she spake with eager word;
‘But still I bear in my right hand, Balmung, that noble sword,
That bore my Siegfried dear when by you, by your treacherous deed,
Basely was he murdered, nor shall you better speed.’
‘From out the sheath she drew that blade so good and true;
She meant the noble champion with his life the deed should rue.
Up she heaved the falchion, and off she struck his head.
Loudly mourned King Etzel, when he saw the hero dead.
‘He wept and mourned aloud: ‘Oh woe! by woman’s hand
Lies low the boldest champion,—the noblest in the land,
Who ever shield and trusty sword to the bloody combat bore!
Though he was my fiercest foe, I shall mourn him evermore.’
“Up and spake old Hildebrand:—‘Thus she shall not speed;
She has dared to strike the champion dead, and it’s I will quit the deed
Full oft he wrought me wrong,—oft have I felt his direful wrath,
But bloody vengeance will I have for that noble hero’s death!’
“Wrathfully Sir Hildebrand to Queen Chrimhild he hied,
Grimly he stuck his falchion all through the lady’s side.
In sooth, she stood aghast when she viewed the hero’s blade;
What might her cries avail her? On the ground the Queen fell dead.
“There bled full many a champion, slaughtered on that day;
Among them Lady Chrimhild, cut in pieces, lay.
Dietrich and King Etzel began to weep and mourn,
For their kempst† and for their kindred, who their lives had lorn.
“Men of strength and honor, weltering lay that morrow;
All the knights had muckle pain and sorrow.
King Etzel’s merry feast was done, but with morning did it end.

* Retinue or train of servants.

† Champions.

Thus evermore does Love its pain and sorrow send.

“What sithence there befel, I cannot sing or say—
Heathens bold and Christians full sorely wept that day,
With many a swain and lady, and many maidens young,
Here ends the tale adventurous, hight the Nibelungen song.”

This is an imperfect outline of the lay which delighted the rude warriors of the Northland. As a picture of manners, it is very curious. It may be truly said that the legends of a rude people are, when first produced, wild and strange in themselves, and, when preserved only by tradition, soon become extravagant and confused, furnishing but very insufficient data for establishing the certainty of political events; they afford, nevertheless, the only pictures which remain of the ages which gave rise to and which preceded them. If we see how things are at present, and feel a laudable desire to know from what origin they arose, through what gradations they have passed, and how they came to be moulded into the form in which we find them, we must look for the state and condition of our forefathers into their ancient rhymes, which served as their memorials and their annals.

W. DE BEAUVOIR FRYER.

THE NEED OF A BROADER POLITICAL EDUCATION.

THE relation between the higher education of a country and its politics and government is a subject of paramount importance, to which the circumstances of our time add a peculiar interest. Members¹ of a brotherhood of scholars and thinkers, you are the fit representatives of the educated class. Graduates of institutions of learning, you are the best judges in what way they may become a yet more conservative and ennobling power in a free state.

I hope, therefore, I may fitly speak to you of the responsibility of the educated class, and the institutions of learning, for the character of our civil administration.

Nothing is more remarkable in the politics and public opinion of this country than the facts that, while there are no people who, with such unanimity venerate their Constitution, or hold so dear the fundamental principles of their Government, there is yet among

¹Address before the PHI BETA KAPPA SOCIETY at Brown University, June 14. 1881.
BY DORMAN B. EATON.

the leading nations, no one of which the people are so disappointed, humiliated and alarmed at the character of their politics.

These facts appear broadly in our literature ; and foreign nations have taken notice of them. The *Saturday Review* describes us as "the people who boast most over their form of Government and groan most over the abuses of their Administration."

More and more, in later years, it has become the conviction of candid and thoughtful minds, that we have trusted far too much to the saving influences of liberty and the principles of abstract justice embodied in Constitutions and laws, while we have greatly underestimated the moulding potency and the growing perils incident to the action of the stupendous machinery and forces of government,—those internal, vital, forever active and formative elements of national character which sustain, to the Constitution and the body politic, relations, in many ways analogous to those of the lungs, the heart, the nutritive and nervous systems and the mind itself, to the human frame.

Whether constitutions and fundamental principles, or the methods and controlling elements in administration, are the more potent forces in determining the character and prosperity of a people, is a baffling question of curious interest.

It is well to bear in mind, that no right can be protected, no education can be provided for, no wisdom can lead in official places, no work of statesmanship can be carried forward, no beneficent power can be exercised, by the State, however excellent and inspiring the Constitution may be, which is not dependent upon the principles and methods of public administration. That administration measures and apports to the citizen all possible blessings from the government of his country ; and to the world beyond, it is the expression of the nation's character and the standard by which its institutions are judged. And, more than this, it is in itself a powerful element in forming that character—a prolific source of those influences which determine the morals, the education, the patriotism and the prosperity of a people. We are not likely, I presume, ever to say with Pope,

" For forms of government let fools contest,
Whate'er is best administered is best."

But we are getting over some illusions, and are more and more seeing things as they are. We are in the way of comprehending

that in the processes of carrying on a government, even under a beneficent constitution like ours, there are being constantly developed elements of corruption and despotism so prolific and obstinate, as to require all the light and resistance with which the virtuous and intelligent citizens can confront them, to prevent these elements becoming a national peril. The literature of boasting and reckless assurance have been for some years in a decline. "The era of buoyant youth, (says Van Holst,) is coming to a close; ripe and sober manhood is to take its place."

We are seeing, more clearly than ever before, that human nature is the same in republics as elsewhere; and consequently that the best methods of bringing worthy persons into official places, of making them faithful while there, of preventing fraud and corruption at elections, and in legislative bodies, of arresting that official and partisan tyranny which threatens all learning, all virtue, and all manly independence, in politics—are much the same under every form of responsible government, whether called republican or not.

A more careful study is convincing us also that our administrative abuses have by no means all their strength in the corruption or perverseness of the citizen; but are largely the result of misleading and pernicious theories and usages, which have been honestly and thoughtlessly accepted by the great body of the people. This view not only opens to us clearer possibilities of reform, but it shows us that the administrative experience of the older countries—the political wisdom accumulated through centuries—is available for our instruction—an experience which should no longer be an unknown chapter of history, but be made the subject of our studies and our teaching. And, in the light of such facts, we may well have a more vivid sense of the responsibility which rests upon our institutions of learning and our educated class by reason of the debasement of our politics. For, who, but the teachers and the thinkers in a free country—the princes and noblemen of a republic—are the true lights and leaders most responsible, and with the greatest duties unperformed, when an intelligent and virtuous people—uninstructed in the administrative wisdom of other countries, and the victims of pernicious theories and methods developed in their own—are being led on by demagogues and partisans down the dark way which leads to national disgrace and ruin. However unwelcome the

alternative presented, the habitual surrender to false theories and the persistent disregard of sound principles—which are shown in the admitted decline of our administration—are decisive evidence, either of the incompetency of the people to govern themselves, or of the neglect or incapacity of their natural leaders. Now, which of these conclusions should we accept? This is a vital and significant question surely.

The true answer, as well as the nature and extent of their responsibility we are to consider, will more clearly appear in the light of history.

When our federal constitution was adopted, the administration of every European State was as proscriptive, despotic and corrupt as the princes, noblemen and their favorites, by whom it was controlled. Great Britain was the only country where there was liberty enough to permit the existence of great parties in the sense of our day. Outside Great Britain, public affairs were managed and education was controlled almost absolutely in the interest of great families, state churches and privileged classes; the members of which constituted the dominant party, forever in power and forever insatiable of spoils. The sons, the favorites, the henchmen and the superannuated servants of the governing classes—the predecessors of our office-seeking partisans—crowded all official places and were the serviceable minions of those by whose favor they enjoyed the salaries of the nation.

In Great Britain, where political parties had existed for nearly a century, they had become strong enough to force the monopolists and despots of the original spoils system to share the offices and profits with such parties and the official chieftains by whom they were managed. The old monopoly and despotism were not superseded, but were simply transferred, in part, from the hereditary class to the partisan class—from the members of the House of Lords to the members of the House of Commons—from bishops and great landlords to party leaders and great officers. The pressure was all the greater for sinecure places, pensions and spoils of every kind. Members of Parliament invaded the executive and usurped a control over appointments, to an extent and with pernicious consequences hardly ever exceeded by our members of Congress. The patronage of Members of Parliament carried their elections and augmented their

vicious influence in the executive departments. These departments were crowded by their minions, cousins and favorites.

Books were kept at the treasury in which the share of patronage belonging to and received by each member of Parliament was carefully recorded. No test of merit, at the gates of office, protected the public interest against incompetency; but arbitrary tests of political opinion and of servility were as potent there as tests of religious opinions were at the doors of the state church and the universities.

Before our Revolution the interference of the officials of the Custom-Houses and Post-offices with the freedom of elections had become so intolerable in Great Britain that those officials had been disfranchised, and all such interference had been made penal by act of Parliament,—a disfranchisement never removed until within this generation.

To rightly estimate the despotic potency of such a system, we must not forget the stern law of libel, the ignorance and depression of the common people, or the overawing social prestige of the crown and the nobility in an ancient and aristocratic nation. What hope was there, then, that republican principles would ever prevail in the civil service of Great Britain?

These abuses were the secrets of the partisan and official classes across the ocean, who were able to prevent their exposure in the literature of the day. Little was known of them on this side of the Atlantic when our Constitution was formed. The possibilities of corrupt and despotic methods in administration were hardly conceivable in the open, simple politics of the colonial period. Vast cities, great fortunes and gigantic industries controlled by unscrupulous, able men, greedy parties bound together by a discipline as stern as that of a regular army and domineering from border to border, an enormous volume of public business, officials numbering scores of thousands and scores of millions dispensed in salaries,—the prolific sources of venal and tyrannical administration in our time—were not before the eyes of our fathers, or even imaginable in their day. They had to deal with oppression, to their eyes impersonated in the British king; with injustice organized in the very structure of government; with discordant, impoverished and jealous colonies, requiring almost superhuman wisdom to bring them into any form of union.

Under such conditions nothing was more natural than precisely what happened, the facts that our original Constitutions—complete, strong, glorious, immortal on the side of religion, justice and liberty,—are yet indefinite and inadequate on the side of administration; leaving, for example, the great and perilous power of removal to mere influence, giving no clear authority for preventing appointments without merit or removals without cause; providing a method for selecting the President and Vice-President so faulty that the first attempt of the great parties converted it into a convenient agency of their own despotism.

But if it was not given to our early statesmen to foresee all the perils which would attend the working of the Government they had created, or to fully comprehend all the conditions of good administration, they yet understood better than any of their successors seem to have understood, that a Government like ours, with no class or hierarchy dependent upon its character, and with principles too lofty to permit a reliance upon selfish interests, more than any other needs the support of sound principles and methods of administration and of that political intelligence on the part of the people, which are only possible when those methods and principles have become a part of the instruction of the higher institutions of learning, and consequently of the knowledge of the educated class.

The framers of our Constitution are surely not to be blamed because they did not have a fore-knowledge of evils of which the very causes were to be the growth of the next generations. It is for us to deal with the problems which have originated in our time, and to make the efforts and sacrifices they require. Our fathers created not only the most righteous and beneficent Government the world had ever seen, but apparently the strongest and most permanent. In the century that has passed, standing serene and immovable, it has been less changed than the Government of any other great nation; and in the century before us it promises equal stability. Socialism, communism and Nihilism are the only productions of modern politics which are not in the spirit of our original Constitution; and for them it appears to be the most effective antidote. Such facts may not only admonish us that all the possibilities of improvement in our political condition must be in harmony with our original system, but they may well increase

our respect for the opinions of its authors upon questions now directly before us.

The principal State papers of Washington, were framed after consulting the leading statesmen whose wisdom they embody. These papers show it to have been deemed important, that the principles and methods according to which the Government was to be administered, not less than those embodied in the Constitution itself, should not only be public and familiar, but should not be defensible on the grounds of reason and justice; and beyond all this, that they were deemed to be fit and essential subjects of scientific instruction; to the end that those in official life might be held to fidelity by a scrutinizing public opinion well informed as to their rights and duties. Those statesmen comprehended the need of having the administrative affairs of the nation, from the beginning, made the subject of thoughtful interest on the part of the educated class, and of having them brought into intimate and dignified relations with all that should be most enlightened and patriotic in its citizenship.

“In proportion as the structure of the Government, (says Washington in the farewell address,) gives force to public opinion, it is essential that public opinion should be enlightened;” not merely about things in general, or about government in Greece, Rome, in the Middle Ages, or under Elizabeth and Louis XIV.; but enlightened as to what practical methods and theories of duty and responsibility ought to prevail, and what do prevail, in the American Government itself. To that end, he recommended a *Military Academy*, and also a *National University*, a recommendation repeated by two of his successors;—and declared that “a primary object of a national institution should be the education of our youth in the science of government. In a republic, what species of knowledge can be equally important, and what duty more pressing on its legislature, than to patronize a plan for communicating it to those who are to be the future guardians of the liberty of their country.” The foresight of a statesman! The prescient solicitude of the father of his country! No wiser words do honor to that immortal name. In the National University, which Washington would have established, and in aid of which—anxious to the end of life—he made a bequest in his last will for a site, a part of the instruction, as that final in-

strument defines it, was to be "in the principles of politics and good government."

Education "in the *science* of government, in the *principles* of politics and good government." Do we comprehend the significance of that language? Are we capable of associating our ideas of politics and administration with our ideas of science and principle? Have we thought, or taught, or acted as if we considered the political affairs of the nation as a part of life which philosophy should lead, and in which principles had any place? Or have such language and theories become almost as incomprehensible to us, as those words with which Burke defines a politician to be "a philosopher in action," and a party to be "a body of men united for promoting the national interests upon some particular principle."

Who of our day has studied to make himself competent for giving that kind of instruction?

It was a generation which did comprehend the meaning of such language and the need of such instruction, which established the Military School at West Point, and thereby made it possible to establish the Naval School at Annapolis, where the principles and science of military and naval administration have been taught, and by reason of which a public opinion has been formed,—wise and strong enough, we hope, to keep our army and Navy, in the future, as they have been kept in the past, from becoming a part of the spoils of partisan politics. But who will venture to say that, if the statesmen of the first generation had not founded the school at West Point, those of any later time would have been allowed, by our politicians, to do so?

Very likely, a *National University*, as our politics have developed, would not have proved to be the best, but the ordinary colleges and universities a far better, agency for the noble purpose of the fathers. The civil servants of the country should not, like those in the army and Navy, be made a permanent and separate class; and hence the kind and conditions of instruction, having regard to civil administration which was needed, was very different from and by no means so easily defined as that proper for a military school. But there was a failure in form and substance alike in civil affairs; no such instruction being any where given. The righteous principles and the ideal perfection embodied in the Constitution, with the excellent administration first established under

it—as much purer, more efficient and respectable than that of any other country at that day, as our Constitution was more liberal and just than any other—dazzled and satisfied the people, and powerfully contributed to the pernicious conclusions that there are no principles involved in administration which are a fit study for statesmen and scholars, and that the working of the Government machinery may be safely left to parties and politicians.

The great statesmen who controlled the first six administrations kept them almost free from the abuses of our times. There was no spoils system, no machine and no political assessments. Public life was honorable. Appointments, promotions and removals were made only for good cause. No nation of the world was served by more worthy and competent officials. Statesmen of learning and pure and noble lives had the lead in our politics. But there was no instruction anywhere in “the science of Government,” or in the “principles of politics.” The public affairs of the nation were not brought into any vital relations with the higher reason and the conscience of the people. The leading minds, not in official life, gave themselves wholly to other subjects, unmindful, apparently, of the pernicious and destructive forces which were being developed. A knowledge of the practical methods of filling the public places and of conducting the affairs of the Government, was no part of the general information of the citizens.

On the other hand, secretly and adroitly, under the fair surface of things, in the cities, at all the centres of partisan activity, around all the demagogues and corrupt men of business, and in the caucusses and conventions, those combinations had been made, those interests had been confederated, those disciplined bands had been formed, those plausible and vicious rules of action had been matured and accepted, which, when brought into co-operation under efficient leadership over a whole nation, make up the formidable and corrupt forces of partisan politics.

At an early day Aaron Burr had in New York—a State which has not yet quite lost its peculiar pre-eminence in politics—devised the machine and laid deep the foundation of that spoils system which Van Buren perfected and made ready for use when Jackson took the Presidential chair. In New York, earlier than elsewhere partisan influence and spoils began to be a political power more potential than character and capacity. Neither the literature, the

teaching, nor even the thoughtful minds of the country noticed these opening lines of divergence between the politics and the virtues and culture of the nation.

When the new partisan theories found expression in that law of 1820, which reduced the stable, Constitutional tenure of collectors and post masters to a term of four years, thus drawing them into the great quadrennial contests and making inevitable the grave abuses of our day, no young man had been instructed at our colleges in any sound principles; no American had written concerning the vital subject of tenure of office in a republic like this.

When, a few years later, President Jackson proclaimed, in a message, the communistic, demagogical doctrine, that "no man has more right to an office than another," and, in his acts, proclaimed that no man, unless a servile Jacksonian democrat had any right at all to an office—thus substituting a partisan test of opinion for the old British Aristocratic test—and arbitrarily removed and appointed thousands of officers on that theory—what students had been taught, what writer had explained any sound theory concerning the just claims of citizens upon office or the obligations involved in making appointments and removals? When Senator Marcy of New York, on the floor of the national Senate, disgraced his country by proclaiming the infamous creed of the pirate and the robber, that "to the victor belong the spoils," may we not doubt whether there was a single member of that body competent to lay down a sound rule, defining the claims of parties upon patronage? And why should there have been? Had such matters anywhere, on the part of our thinkers, been the subject of teaching, writing, or even of serious consideration? Who then fully comprehended the significance of Senator Marcy's language? So unconscious had been the members of the educated class of the new power and the new morality in politics—a sort of invasion of political barbarism—which Jackson's administration announced, that they seem to have looked upon what were only the results of a slow development before their own eyes, with something like the surprise with which an invasion from the depths of the sea, or a storm from a cloudless sky might have witnessed. We need not follow the course of events. We cannot even stop to inquire what might have been the consequences had our colleges from the first made the "science of government" and "the principles of politics"

—covering as they would the sphere and rights of parties, the responsibility of the appointing power,—the tenure of office, and the moral obligations of official life—a part of liberal studies; sending their graduates year by year to the bar, the pulpit and all the circles of business life, with sound views on those subjects and with that fit apprehension of the dignity and importance of politics and administration, and that better sense of patriotic duty which such instruction would surely have developed.

It is the present and future, which we must now consider.

We may here glance at administrative abuses only so far as they illustrate the peculiar responsibilities of the teacher and the thinker. These plain statements can hardly be questioned:

The moral standards of public life have been steadily falling below those of private life. In the sphere of thought and teaching, there has been a constant divergence between the literature and the higher sentiment of the country on the one hand, and the selfish and partisan elements which in great measure control its political and official life, on the other.

Offices have lost much of their dignity in popular estimation; and character and capacity are less essential for procuring them. The members of the educated class have less influence in politics, and a collegiate education is thought to be less useful for a political career than formerly. Parties have become more and more domineering and proscriptive. Salaries are assessed to increase their despotism, to advance the interest of their chieftains, to carry elections, to overcome the virtue and manhood of the citizen. Politicians, for party ends, not unfrequently exert a pernicious and controlling influence in Boards of Education, causing the selection of unworthy teachers and the dismissal of those most fit to be retained. Members of Congress have usurped control over appointments, which they use to coerce the executive and carry their own elections. Government itself is less respected than in earlier years. Patriotism has been enfeebled. Many pure, noble minds stand aloof from politics as something disreputable and contaminating.

These causes, and consuls speechless in the language they most need to use, and ignorant of the laws they are to administer, and ministers, sometimes having little more than political influence as qualifications for diplomatic duty, have discredited republican institutions in foreign countries. Secresy—claimed as an official privilege—

shrouds the details of administration; and it was thought impossible, if not an intrusion, to require that the census should give the particulars of offices and salaries in districts and municipalities—interesting and highly useful in many ways as such information would have been. More and more the ominous questions are asked, Is not universal suffrage a failure? Are republican institutions so great a blessing, after all, and so sure to be permanent?

The very nature of these evils suggests more publicity and more thorough political education as essential conditions of a remedy. If we had reached this decadence against all the conservative influences available under our political system, then, indeed, republican institutions would stand sadly impeached, if not justly condemned. It is because—and only because—the principles and methods which should govern the administration of the country have not yet been brought within the sphere of instruction and discussion and thus been impressed with the higher sentiments and intelligence of the nation, that there is hope.

There are doubtless many who think it impossible to retrace our downward steps. I must hold that view both unwarranted and unworthy of an American. The experience of the leading States of Europe, but especially that of Great Britain, is the fit answer to such unpatriotic and cowardly fatalism. Having suffered, as we have seen, the gravest abuses, and alarmed by evidence of popular discontent, statesmanlike measures for their removal were adopted by the Government of that country, soon after 1850, which brought to their support the most liberal and intelligent minds of the nation—a support before which the baser influences of partisan politics and the old aristocratic despotism were soon shown to be powerless.

The class monopoly of administration was broken up. Members of Parliament were compelled to surrender the control of appointments which had been their perquisites and monopoly since George the first came to the throne. Parties were confined within their proper sphere; character and capacity asserted and vindicated their just claims in political life; open competitions of merit, modelled after those of the colleges and the schools, taking the place of influence and favor, were placed at the gates of the public service; promotions were made only for good cause. The sale of commissions in the military service was arrested. The postal,

revenue and consular services were taken out of politics. As a natural consequence, a powerful impetus was given to popular education, aiding to extend it more rapidly in Great Britain during the last decade than it has been extended with us during any decade of our history.

And now, in that aristocratic old country, where the degrading spoils system we have reproduced had flourished for generations, it has given place to an administrative system based on character, capacity and sound principles; to a system thoroughly republican in spirit and under which no member of Parliament, great official or party chieftain, can confer office as a favor or bribe; to a system under which the son of a bishop or a duke, if he would secure an appointment in the public service of his country, must submit to a competition of merit whereat the sons of the washerwomen and the coal heavers have equal opportunities and chances with himself. No longer, as formerly, the disgrace and peril of Great Britain, the character of her administration now gives vigor to patriotism, prosperity to her commerce, wisdom, stability and strength to her vast Empire. Are such possibilities open to us, or does the form of our Government forbid them? A vital question, indeed.

There are those who tell us that by declining all political union with the church, republican institutions have deprived themselves of the dignity and exalted attractiveness with which, through such a union, the religious sentiment would have ennobled them; and that by rejecting all class distinctions and all titles of social eminence, these institutions have equally weakened themselves in the sphere of pride and ambition. "Religion and honors," says Arthur Helps, paraphrasing a maxim of Napoleon, "are the two things by which mankind may be governed." Having thus taken all that is dignified from one side of administration, and all that is selfish and attractive from the other, we ought, therefore, it is said, to be prepared to see it fall a prey to the ignoble and selfish spirits, to the level of which we have in theory reduced it. The answer is not difficult. There is not the less religion among a people, nor does it do less to ennoble life, because it is not imprisoned in the forms of the Constitution or officially represented by the officers of the State. In no country is religion a more vital, pervading and regenerating force than in this; and the fact that its ministers have thus far lamentably neglected the study of political

principles by no means tends to prove that religion would have been more beneficent if held in political alliance with the State.

It was not the State church or the privileged classes who raised the character of administration in Great Britain, but the patriots and thinkers—Bright and Gladstone among them—who represent the intelligence and the justice of the nation. Indeed, the sale and the bestowal by mere favor of the salaries and positions of curates, vicars and rectors in the national church are almost the only part of the old British spoils system which yet survives.

The real question, therefore, is, whether the intelligence and patriotism of this country are as capable of elevating its administration when invited and helped by the spirit of our Government and social life,—when inspired and admonished by our noble record in the past,—as the intelligence and patriotism of Great Britain have shown themselves to be, when they had only a dark history behind them, and were compelled to confront a hostile social prestige and the most powerful and dignified institutions of the realm.

An excuse is found for the failure of our teachers and thinkers to make principles and character a greater power in our politics, in the fact that the test at the polls is one at which numbers decide, and where the vote of the professor, the lawyer, the minister, and the day laborer count alike. But who has the power to originate and give vital force to the convictions which go with the elector to the polls and direct the deposit of his vote? Who has the ability and the duty to create that sound public opinion which, in all free countries—and more than elsewhere in a republic—may always secure dominion over numbers? In the domain of reason and principle, who but the teachers and thinkers are the responsible leaders in a free state, whose jurisdiction is unchallenged, whose power is unlimited, whose audience is universal, whose duties extend to every place and every form of action, where any great interest is involved, and especially to those supreme activities of a nation by which its political character and destiny are being moulded? The enlightened reason and the nobler sentiments, and not mere numbers gave birth and character to this government, and have been the elements of its glory and the great forces in its history; and if the teachers and thinkers of this generation stand idly on the shore of progress, pleading minority of members, and inability to guide without making an effort to do so—when the

whole domain of administration they ought to enlighten stands dark and neglected before them, and the current of ignorance and corruption is sweeping us on to ruin—posterity will surely and justly hold them to a stern responsibility.

There seems to have been, in our literature, a sort of conventional propriety—much I must think to be regretted—to the effect that administrative affairs are either in their nature ignoble, or that they are apart from the proper sphere of the philosopher and the scholar. We seem to forget that Aristotle, Cicero and Burke, Bacon, Guizot and Gladstone, were not only great scholars and writers, but statesmen who dealt practically and directly with the political affairs of their day. We have no work devoted to such subjects; and those comprehensive treatises which cover what is called political science, and which do not overlook the administrative methods of other ages and countries, refer in only the most cursory manner to our administrative affairs.

In other words, the science and the principles which the fathers of our institutions felt a need of having taught in a national university—which they believed would exert an elevating influence upon those vast motive forces which have done more than all others to defeat the purposes of the constitution, to obstruct and weaken the influence of learning, and to degrade the official and political character of the country—have yet secured no place in our instruction and hardly any study on the part of our thinkers. We have to-day more thorough and practical expositions of Roman administration and of the political methods of King Alfred, than we have of our own, and perhaps as many scholars who understand the former as the latter.

We study the philosophy of Plato and the morals of Cicero; but Cicero explains that philosopher's rules as requiring that those who would be a political power must "extend their cares to the whole state," and declares that "the administration of government, like a guardianship, ought to be directed to the good of those who confer and not of those who receive the trust"—a rule of duty perhaps as much reversed as observed in our day.

We study Aristotle, but the prince of philosophers wrote books on practical politics, and he tells us that instruction in the polity of a constitution is the best way of preserving it.

We read and admire Milton and Burke, but Milton warns us against "cloistered virtue," and calls that "a complete education

which fits a man to perform justly, skillfully and magnanimously all the offices both private and public of peace and war;" while Burke condemned "gentlemen detached from public affairs," and his highest claims upon the respect of mankind rest in those magnificent speeches in which he arraigned administrative abuses on two continents at the bar of justice and public opinion.

But it is not patriotism and the great examples of the past alone, but self interest and the dictates of an honorable ambition as well, which invite the educated class to make the higher intelligence and thought of the country more potential in the administration of the government. It is almost too plain for remark that when favoritism, intrigue, or partisan discipline dictate selections for office, men of worth and education are sure to be deprived of honors upon which they have the highest claim. It is indeed but a just retribution upon the educated class—however disastrous to the state—that, in proportion to the neglect of its members to make their just power felt in politics, the opportunities for political distinction are closed against them. Of the fifty-six signers of the Declaration of Independence, thirty had a collegiate education; of the members of the Senate of the first Congress, fifteen out of twenty-six; but of the members of the last, (the forty-sixth) Congress, only thirty-three out of seventy-six Senators, and a still less proportion of the members of the House, were college graduates.

In New England, in 1826, one person out of each 1,513 of the inhabitants was a college student; in 1855 the ratio was one to 1,689; and in 1869, it had fallen to one to 1,927 of the inhabitants.

In the whole country, in 1840, the ratio of college students was one to 1,549, and in 1869 it had fallen to one in 2,546.

It aids the interpretation of these facts to notice that in those States where the divergence between the educated class and the political managers has been the greatest, the smallest portion of well educated men have been sent to Congress. Of the 11 members of Congress from Massachusetts, 7 are college graduates, and of the 20 from Ohio, 13 are college graduates; but of the 27 from Pennsylvania only 14, and of the 33 from New York only 7 have a collegiate education.

During the last fifty years, within which Massachusetts has furnished two Speakers of the House of Representatives and Ohio

several of its leaders, New York, though sending nearly a tenth of the members, has furnished no Speaker, hardly a second-class candidate for that office of its own rearing, and no leader of the House.

Thus, it would seem that the same causes which impair the prestige of learning also dwarf statesmanship and deprive great States of their legitimate influence in the councils of the nation.

And yet further, these causes have so impaired the sense of official duty and propriety that Senators from New York—and not without some popular sympathy—have imitated the example of the rebellious Senators of 1861, by resigning their seats, and thus doing all in their power to enfeeble the spirit of allegiance on the part of States toward the Union—not because any right belonging to them as Senators or to New York as a State had been denied or even called in question, but because—pushing yet further a long continued usurpation—they could not control the appointment of federal officers to serve at New York—the assertion of an authority which, if generally conceded, would work a revolution degrading to all official life, and dwarf this nation into a feeble and precarious confederacy.

The excessive materialism of the age, the vast accumulation of property in the hands of a few able and unscrupulous men, the increase of infidelity and the consequent disregard of wholesome authority and of the higher obligations, may have aided in impairing the influence of men of learning and conscience in our public affairs; but I must think the main causes have been the despotic power of party discipline, the necessity of ignoble means for obtaining office, the precariousness of its tenure, and the small measure of manly independence allowed by party managers to those in the public service.

But however many causes have co-operated, they but make the need all the greater of increasing the number of educated men who take part in our public affairs and of making the principles and morals which should prevail in public life a part of the liberal instruction of every American student and of the general knowledge which every educated citizen is under a patriotic duty to acquire and to disseminate.

If our politics are now as respectable, if our administration is as good as our virtue and intelligence will admit of, then our hopes can rest only in future generations or in some other form of govern-

ment. But if the facts be otherwise, and there has been a failure to make those elements the elevating and conservative forces which they may become in our public affairs, then what graver duty can rest upon our teachers and thinkers than that which now calls upon them to make effective this wasted power for good ?

To vote for worthy candidates and to refuse to vote for those who are not worthy, to use our influence for improving the laws and in aid of faithful officers, to expose and help to bring to punishment those who are unfaithful, are of course a part of the fundamental obligations of good citizenship,—duties which may be so vigorously discharged on a grand scale, that, as in the case of Mr. Bristow and Postmaster General James, they may rise to the dignity of heroism.

But the number of our citizens who have seen obligations beyond these are few. Yet, quite beyond them, is the duty of bringing before the people the experience of other countries, the lessons to be drawn from our own history, and the evil consequences, in a large way, of false methods and theories, which are accepted with little perception of their disastrous effects ; subjects which I cannot dismiss without expressing my sense of the invaluable services rendered in this field of patriotic duty by Thomas A. Jencks, a son of yours, whom you have honored and who has honored both you, the State of Rhode Island and our whole country.

But this is not all, nor perhaps what is most difficult. We must act upon the maxim of Mr. Mill, by presenting the great principles involved in administration before the minds of the people in that light in which it is for their interest that they should view them.

Our students and teachers have attended to only one half, or one aspect, of the science of government—presenting and studying it much as would have been the case with physiology and anatomy, had their study been limited to the frame and muscular system, leaving the nerves, the circulation and the nutritive functions in the realm of darkness. We need to carry our teaching inside the great frame work of the constitution, down and out to the very elements of political reasoning and action, where, in the domain of administration, the contending interests of business, the rival ambitions of parties, the diverse theories of public duty, and all the corrupt elements of private life struggle together for gain, power and glory at the expense of the people.

The primary condition of a public opinion potential for better politics is that there shall be information and an interest among the people, especially on the part of the educated class, concerning the organization and processes of the government.

What, in the general government, in the States, in the municipalities, in towns, are the organization and the distributions of authority for doing the public business? What grades and classes of officials? What are their duties and rights? Who is responsible for extravagance, corruption and neglect? On what theories and for what reasons do the present arrangements exist?

Yet on these points, nothing is taught in schools, academies or colleges; except the general provisions of the constitution in the colleges. The boys and the young men not only leave the halls of instruction without any basis for an intelligent interest in such matters,—not only almost without any suggestion that they concern the duty of a freeman—but they are hardly in the least instructed in the moral obligations which rest upon official life. We need elementary works and teaching concerning the relations of public officers and the moral obligations of those who fill them. No small part of our people, thoughtlessly to a great extent—consider the primary responsibility of the official to be to the party which elected him or to the chieftain who gave him his place; and they accept a loose morality which regards it a less crime to pillage a whole city than to steal from a single citizen. We regard politics, as under a peculiar kind of morality, or none at all. Yet we look in vain for any adequate work or instruction to which a young man may be referred for strength and enlightenment upon these subjects. In all our political literature, there is not a work which so clearly sets forth the political organization and the duties of public officers in this country, as those subjects are set forth under the British constitution in the Commentaries of Blackstone.

We are compelled to take notice that political parties are a tremendous power in our public affairs, directing their potential forces, overawing our manhood, tending constantly to corruption, threatening our political liberty, dictating our laws, filling our highest seats of authority, constantly making encroachments beyond their proper sphere, weaving their network of activities through all the spaces and over all the fair forms of the constitution.

But are political parties, on the whole, useful, or are they inev-

table under our institutions? Should a patriot and philosopher oppose them altogether, or should he labor to improve them? How far should their activity be restrained or regulated by law? What offices should they be aided in filling with their representatives? What is their true sphere of activity? These questions go to the foundations of our political system, involving the most subtle elements of human nature and the most dangerous forces of political life. But have they yet been discussed by our thinkers, or anywhere been made the subjects of instruction? On the contrary, our literature on the subject is little more than mere narrations of party history—utterly destitute of guiding light or instructive principles.

Not a few educated men who should be able to bring the moral force of sound principles in arrest of party excesses are without influence and without faith for effort, because yet undecided whether all parties should not be opposed as absolute evils. And is it too much to say that the majority of our educated class are without clear views alike as to the proper limitations of party action and the true method of dealing with partisan usurpations?

The politician lays down the specious rule that it is as justifiable to insist on a partisan test in the election of a Mayor as in the election of a President. And how many of our young men have had any instruction in a political science which can aid them to sound our conclusions on the subject? The false reasoning lurking under that rule, with the neglect to reason at all on the subject, have made it possible to treat our municipalities as the spoils of partisan contests, and to keep up in them a feverish, pernicious political activity where no political principles are involved.

The politicians have been constantly and successfully teaching the people, and the greater part of the people have accepted the theory, that all the reasons which require that the President and the members of his Cabinet should hold and enforce the views of the dominant party, also require that every subordinate—the postmasters, the letter carriers, the accountants, the weighers, the door-keepers, the light-house tenders, the washerwomen even, should be stalwart for the same views, and active in propagating them at the peril of their places.

This false but plausible theory covers and justifies the partisan proscription in our civil service, and is controlling with millions of

honest votes voters, the greater part of whom are incapable of original reasoning, but who would readily accept sound principles, upon a subject so complicated. They think this universal patronage and proscription essential to the life and usefulness of a party. What instruction, on the basis of reason and principle have they had to the contrary?

To draw the line, as has been done in Great Britain, between the few officers on the one side who must be treated as political, and the many subordinates on the other side, who should be treated as ministerial, and whose political opinions are therefore not important, to cause that classification to appear reasonable and practicable, to set forth the great truths that parties would be far more stable and salutary if compelled to appeal to the people on the basis of sound policy, worthy officials and good administration, instead of trusting to patronage and spoils, and to give fit instruction on those points, I must regard as among the great needs and duties of our times, and hence as a work worthy the best efforts of our foremost statesmen and thinkers. Thus far, I believe, we have no teaching and but little writing in this field of political science.

The need of three great departments—legislative, judicial and executive—in the Government, and the wisdom of the fathers in placing them in such majestic counterpoise in the Constitution, are shown in the text books and the teachings. But where is the student shown how, in practice, that counterpoise has been disregarded and imperiled? How, for mere offices and spoils, members of Congress have usurped executive functions and degraded the civil service of the nation? Where instructed in principles or in lessons of history, which will guide or inspire him in the discharge of his duty to help restore that essential counterpoise?

The question of the proper term and tenure of office, more especially in the judicial and executive departments, under our institutions, is one which involves profound principles and the gravest interests of society. The shorter the term the more readily partisan domination may be extended and the more difficult it is to induce the worthy citizen to enter the public service. No instruction, no matured views on the subject, no light from our literature, guide our young men at their entrance upon practical life.

We have seen how thoughtlessly—and our experience has shown how disastrously—the Constitutional tenure of many officers was in 1820 reduced to four years; yet, at this moment, the prospect is, that before the end of the present Congress, a formidable effort will be made to bring the more than a hundred thousand subordinate officials—now holding during efficiency and good behavior—still more under partisan control by reducing their terms also to four years, and thus making them dependent upon Presidential elections far more than ever before.

As a rule of duty, in the abstract, it is too plain for argument that a public officer has no more right to use the appointing power for conferring offices for the benefit of a party or an individual, than he has to use the public money for the same purpose. As an officer he has no right to confer a favor, no discretion except to serve the public to the best of his ability.

Yet, while we hold the peculator of money and the defaulter to be infamous, we have been so little instructed in the moral obligation involved in conferring offices, that we but faintly condemn, if we do not justify, their bestowal as mere favors, if not as bribes. Where, in our ethical teaching or writing, is the rule of duty on this subject enforced?

But there is one other result of our neglect and of our one-sided political education yet more extraordinary.

Party managers and public officers have not only been able to establish a monopoly in conferring office, as absolute and proscriptionist as that of a feudal aristocracy, but they have even caused a great portion of the people to believe—for they are ignorant of the overwhelming proof to the contrary—that partisan influence and the favor of those very monopolists are better evidence of fitness for public duties than the knowledge taught in the schools, which the people are taxed to support for the very purpose of qualifying their sons for good citizenship.

And at the doors of the public offices, within sight of the school-houses, the most competent and manly of the scholars may any day be rejected to make sure of a place for the ignorant and servile favorite of a great politician; and yet there is not, perhaps, a school in the country in which the principle is inculcated that the ability to perform official duties is a higher claim upon office than partisan servility and political influence.

And, as a natural consequence, there is not, at this moment, a leading nation in which education and capacity are recommendations so feeble, and mere partisan support and official favor are influences so potent, for obtaining official places, as in this country—this great republic, this original, the model, the leader, the glory of republican institutions in the world.

It is in the domain of false theories and disastrous consequences like these, that our political education must be extended and our educated class and our institutions of learning have a supreme duty and a noble opportunity.

Women may well join in the work, opening to themselves a way to their fit share of the public service; an approach not, as is now so often the case, repulsive, from the need of intrigue, compromising solicitation and compliance, but honorable and consistent with their delicacy, self-respect and all womanly virtues.

Ministers of religion may well see, in the need and accomplishment of such a work, a new sphere of duty and a means of regaining somewhat of their old and just influence in public affairs, by increasing the potency of sound principles and moral sanctions in political life. The separation of Church and State does not mean that religion and politics should occupy two distinct and independent spheres. The life of a nation is one continuous, all-comprehending life. Deep religious convictions do not render us indifferent to the political commonwealth, but make more intense and exalted our sense of duty to vindicate the eternal obligations of the moral law everywhere—not less in public than in private affairs.

There is nothing in the relation which this republic holds to religion or to the Church, which in the smallest degree releases its ministers from their supreme obligation to make the spirit of Christian civilization a regenerating influence in our politics. They, above all others of the educated class, are able to stir the nobler sentiments and to mould public opinion in its higher forms.

And why should not the nation itself aid such a work? May not a Government which raises flowers and shrubs on its public grounds at the Capital—which employs men of science to expound the habits of flies and grasshoppers on the Western borders and to hatch bass and shad under the national flag—which bids its officers prognosticate rains and winds, and extend the knowledge of geography amidst the eternal icebergs of the

antarctic seas—which allows no arc of our heavens to be unexplored and no depths of our seas to be unfathomed—which, more than any other, rests on the political intelligence and virtue of its people—may not such a Government, at least, when giving its public lands to the States in aid of instruction in military affairs, so far act on the advice of the Fathers as to require that higher instruction, touching its own vital functions and the conditions of its purity and stability, upon which every human interest of its citizens depends?

And it need not be doubted, I think, that teaching on such subjects would not only add to the dignity and influence of liberal learning, but would also increase the attractions of college life and ennoble its recollections; satisfying the student with the thought that he was gaining knowledge essential to a freeman, and uniting in the mind of the patriotic graduate his sense of greater capacity and zeal for serving his country, with a grateful memory of those academic years of which such possessions would be the fruits.

“BOSS-ISM” AND “CIVIL SERVICE REFORM.”

The fundamental principles upon which and the purposes for which the government of the Republic was founded upon its present basis are stated in the preamble to the Constitution to be, besides the forming of a more perfect union, the following, to wit: the establishment of justice; the insurance of domestic tranquillity; provision for the common defence; promotion of the general welfare; securing the blessings of liberty.

The fundamental principles upon which and the purposes for which the “Boss” system of government has been established, are, besides the forming of a more perfect union of ringsters, the following: the perversion of justice; the insurance of domestic turmoil, to be evaded only by supine submission to despotism; provision for the defence of the “Boss,” his henchmen and “the Machine;” utter disregard of the general welfare; making the blessings of liberty live chiefly in the memories of the past; and (it may be added,) whenever and wherever practicable, the plunder of the substance of the people.

The former principles contemplate freedom of choice in selecting those entrusted with the responsibilities of office ; intelligence, honesty and efficiency in office-holders ; a supreme regard for the interests and welfare of the public ; responsibility to the public for the manner in which the duties of office are performed. Only by these means can the perpetuity of the blessings of liberty be secured and the Republic maintain its existence.

The latter, the principles and practice of " Boss-ism," contemplate (sometimes) the *form* of freedom of choice in selecting those who are to hold office, while crushing out the substance of such freedom ; the promotion, as nothing else can, of stupidity, dishonesty and inefficiency in office-holders ; a supreme disregard of any interests and welfare except those of a necessarily corrupt " Ring ;" responsibility only to the " Boss" for the manner in which the duties of office are performed or left undone.

And let it never be forgotten that, however others may have since elaborated it, the *author* of the " Boss" system in politics was Aaron Burr, a man infamous both in public and in private life, a man whom Washington chased from his military family for an outrage no honorable man could commit, and whom, in spite of the brilliancy of his talents, the Father of his country indignantly refused to appoint to a Foreign Mission, because of his inherent corruptness ;—a man whose true history, even if written, could never be published as long as Anthony Comstock supervises the suppression of corrupting literature.

From such a poisoned source has flowed the stream of bad influences which have made American politics a by-word and a reproach at home and abroad ; and which if allowed to continue in force must assuredly result in the downfall of our institutions, which cannot always resist this strain upon them. No truer words were ever written than those which some of us used to "spout" in our schoolboy days :—" The loss of a firm national character and the degradation of a nation's honor are the inevitable preludes to its destruction." Nothing is more inexorable than the persistency with which history repeats itself.

The question now pre-eminently before every citizen of this Republic who places the welfare of his country above the welfare of party, who believes that " he serves his party best who serves his country best," is this, " Shall the ' Boss' system be allowed to live

and work in politics?"—a system which cares nothing for honor or country, but only for spoils. Every student of history sees the necessary final outcome of this corrupt system. It may not come in our day, but come it will unless destroyed in time. The alternative now presented is, a vigorous and united effort to bring back the old ways and honor of the Republic into public life for the salvation of the country; or, while admitting the evils of the present system and foreseeing their certain tendencies, to resign one's self to their sway with the unworthy resignation of good (?) king Hezekiah in hopes that "Is it not good if peace be in *my* days?"

The contrast between the present and the past is thus forcibly drawn by Mr. Eaton ("Civil Service in Great Britain," p. 327):—

"Before 1848 the constitutional system of the United States and its administration had probably reached the maximum of their effect in Europe in favor of Republican institutions. Until near that date, our administration had generally been worthy of our principles; and the savage partisanship and official corruption with which we were then first becoming familiar, and which marked the extent of our fall from that high standard which European statesmen had recognized in our public affairs, were little known in Europe; so that our political system had no drawbacks, and stood commended in foreign countries by the great attractions of equality, liberty and justice upon which it rests."

What a contrast is here presented! Let us go farther back than 1848. Suppose that in the year of grace 1789, one of the Senators from Massachusetts had resigned from the United States Senate in a huff, because Washington had appointed as Collector at Boston a perfectly competent man, but one who was distasteful to the Senator; and not only had himself resigned, but also had compelled his brother Senator (they *were equals* in those days), to resign likewise; and that both had gone off with a flourish of trumpets which brayed forth the intention of allowing the "sovereign people" of Massachusetts to "vindicate" their course; and, suppose further, that John Adams had hurried off to Boston as soon as he decently (or indecently) could, to lobby in the legislature in full view of Bunker Hill, "like a common ward politician" of this present "era of good feeling" (!), to force a return to the Senate of the man whose henchman he was, who had gone back to "lobby" for his "vindication," and whom he abetted in his deter-

mination to usurp the rights of the Executive: suppose all this as a true index of the statesmanship of the time (which in those days exceeded the highest flights of prophetic imagination), and can any sane man suppose that the Republic would have lived to see the year of grace 1881?

One may say with Faust

“ Das also war des Pudels Kern !
Ein fahrender Scolast ? * Der Casus macht mich lachen ! ”

If it be possible to imagine for Washington's administration that condition of political morality, that estimate among public men of the duties and responsibilities of office, which in later days has manifested itself in the existence of Credit Mobilier schemes, Star Route frauds, and Whiskey Rings; of concentration of public office and power upon the simple acquisition of spoils and public plunder; of National, State and Municipal Rings; all of them inseparably connected with and outgrowths of the "Boss" system, then it is safe to say that these serpents of corruption would have inevitably strangled the infant Hercules in his very cradle, and the Republic would never have gained as it did by its growth under an honorable and responsible system of public service, that strength which has enabled it in these latter days by the occasional exercise of its vital force to withstand the hideous stricture of those corrupting coils.

Shall the serpents be allowed to continue to wind themselves around the limbs of the full grown body? That is the question of the hour. They encircle not only the National trunk but all the limbs, State and Municipal, through which the blood of political life flows.

It is one of the cheering signs of the times that the better men of both political parties are thoroughly alive to the evils and the dangers of the "Boss" or "spoils" system in politics. The practical question is, What is the best remedy? And another not less practical one is, Is it possible to apply a remedy? To answer these questions we must look more particularly into the facts of the case.

* We believe that one of the Vice-President's claims to support during the late canvass was that he was "a scholarly man."

The evil begins in the "primaries," whether that term be used to designate clubs formed to make nominations for office, or to designate the division or precinct elections where such nominations are made or confirmed. Modes of conducting and controlling "primaries" may vary in different places. They may, as in the case of the Republican party in New York, be so arranged as to prevent the possibility of any one's taking part in them who would advocate any man or measure not approved by the "Boss," and therefore in his interests; or they may, as in some other places, be so arranged as to present the appearance of allowing the fullest liberty of choice in the matter of measures or men, and yet in reality leave the thing very much in the hands of the "Boss" and his adherents.

The New York system of securing the supremacy of the "Boss" and the control of the "spoils" is well worth citing to show the perfection to which the effort has been brought. Too much space would be taken by a full exhibition of it, and the following summary of its important features is quoted from Appendix A to Mr. Eaton's Report on "The 'Spoils' System and Civil Service Reform in the Custom House and Post Office at New York," (1881) published as No. 3 of the New York Civil Service Reform Association's pamphlets.

On p. 109, after giving details of the party organizations, and the pledges and conditions upon which alone any one can be a member, Mr. Eaton says:—"Scrutinize these pledges and conditions. There is not a word about fidelity to principles or support of the *party*, but only obedience to the *Central Committee* (that being the Committee all of whose authority is with its *secret Executive Committee*) and support of the party *organization*, that is, the County Machine. Next, '*all nominations*,' good or bad, must be *sustained*, that is, voted for at least, if *recognized* by this Central Committee. This is fatal to all true manly independence. The most conscientious Republican, of life-long devotion to the principles of his party, cannot, even in silence, stand aloof from the most detestable and ruinous nomination—from the nomination of a man known to be a knave, like Tweed—without this Standing Committee of investigation being upon him, and incurring the penalty of expulsion by a *bare majority of the 'Regulars'* who may be at any meeting of the primary club, and who scruple at nothing. . . .

This is not all. The fourth pledge allows no membership in '*any body*' which does not recognize the authority of the primary club; thus making membership of any organization in aid of a more independent public opinion, or for bringing about any reform in political affairs—if that body be not in subordination to a primary, which is impossible—a forfeiture of membership in the latter body. Thus all movement to improve political methods is sought to be suppressed. . . . It is out of such organizations that those influences come which have so long and so widely separated the party managers and chieftains of the State from the great body of the better men of the Republican party. It is the certain and selfish support of such close-corporation primary clubs, in no sense representative of the people, which has made it possible for those managers and chieftains to be sure of nominations and support when the Republican press and the higher Republican opinion of the State in great majority condemned them. It is the spirit and discipline of the members of these primaries, forever demanding patronage and spoils, which have been felt at Washington in resistance to the head of the party, and in national conventions in support of despotic instructions."

These facts reveal the most perfect form, perhaps, to which "Boss-ism" has attained. It is, as stated, the "Boss-ism" in the Republican party of New York—the party of "progress and ideas" as its members fondly claim. No doubt the party organization devised and fostered by Aaron Burr is not far behind it there. But what is to be noted as a point distinct from all "party" questions in the true and broad sense of that term, is, that the power of "Boss-ism" *begins in the primaries*. And this is equally true, in modified *forms* perhaps, of the power of "Boss-ism" in every city, county and State in the Union.

The purpose of the "grand strategy" is to gain *national* control; the purpose and results of the "tactics," both "grand" and ordinary, is to saddle every ward and city with its "Boss" or Bosses, who work together for the common end of nothing but spoils. And each "Boss" is surrounded by his own "Ring," every member of which is animated by the same lofty aspirations, to the utter disregard of the interests of the people at large.

It is to the "*primaries*," then, that the origin of "Boss" power is to be referred.

How is the evil to be remedied? Is it by the passage of stringent legislative acts, such as the Governor of Pennsylvania has lately signed, (June 8, 1881,) "to prevent bribery and frauds at nominating elections, nominating conventions, returning boards, county or executive committees, and at election of delegates to nominating conventions in the several counties"?

Such acts to the number of legion may be passed, but unless the better class of citizens give their time and attention at the primaries to secure their enforcement, they will be, each one, a dead letter, and "Boss-ism" will thrive, by hook or by crook, as though such acts did not exist.

Will this effort on the part of the better class of citizens avail to remedy the evil?

Only partially, unless the very root of the evil is exterminated. The best efforts of country-loving citizens will, in many cases be circumvented by the thorough training and unscrupulous pertinacity of "Boss" adherents as long as the root of the evil is allowed to exist: and that root is the whole patronage or "spoils" system in our government—ward, city, county, state, national. Replace that by the "merit" system based upon open competitive examinations, and fitness for office tested by a post-examination probation before permanent appointment to office; make the tenure of office coincident with ability to perform its duties; provide a retiring pension in the civil service as is done in the military and naval service of the nation for those who have served the public well and faithfully. Do this and you at once remove that which makes "Boss-ism" possible;—and, when this is done, *never trust a "Boss" who wants to be a Reformer when he sees that he can no longer thrive as a Boss*; and for the reason thus set forth in verse:—

"When the devil was sick,
The devil a monk would be;
But when the devil got well,
The devil a monk was he."

Again:—a very important result of the adoption of the "merit" instead of the "spoils" system will be the modification of the clemency to convicted and sentenced criminals, which is vested in Executive officers or Boards of Pardon. Under the present system it often happens that the greatest criminals are among the most

useful partisan "workers." When the evidence of guilt is too strong against them for even packed juries to dare to disregard, they are sent to prison, a fate they care very little for, as their usefulness to the Ring or the Boss insures the intervention of a pardon from a Governor or a Board of Pardons, and they are again turned loose to exercise their nefarious practices upon the community. The "merit" system would most effectually modify this particular iniquity of the present political system, for the simple reason that it would destroy the usefulness, to the Boss, or the Ring, of the professional criminal.

To the adoption of measures of Civil Service Reform—the details of which, as elsewhere, so especially by Mr. Patterson in the PENN MONTHLY for June, 1881, p. 470, have been so clearly set forth that they need not here be repeated—there are and will be objections made.

1. By those whose unpatriotic and iniquitous trade is ruined by them. This is a matter of course. The only question is, shall the mass of the people, all of whose true interests are imperiled by the "Boss" system, admit this objection to be a valid one?

2. By those who either do consider, or who affect to consider Civil Service Reform through the "merit" system as something which they stigmatize by the term "doctrinaire," or by some other term which implies that it is either unpractical or impracticable. Those who really think in this way, and therefore object, need only to open their eyes to *facts*, not *fancies*. The "merit" system has been but partially tried in this country, but wherever it has been tried—as notably in the New York Post-Office and Custom-House and in a few of the Departments at Washington,—it has been proved abundantly successful in restoring to the public service honor, integrity, manliness and efficiency, on the part of those appointed to office. In England, whose Civil Service had been for centuries in a deplorable condition of degraded corruption, and where the introduction of the "merit" system was almost unanimously opposed by Parliament, Reform has become an accomplished fact in every department of the Civil Service, and there no one *dare* oppose it. And the same thing is true in other European countries. It is no longer an experiment: it has proved a *successful* experiment,—both practicable and practical.

3. Civil Service Reform through the "merit" system is opposed by many on the ground that it will establish a sort of aristocratic

bureaucracy ;—that it will militate against the freedom and equality which should belong to all citizens of a Republic.

To this objection it will be a sufficient reply to say that the present "spoils" system promotes such a bureaucracy in the most offensive way. It is one of the worst features of the personal prerogative of patronage which has been adopted from the system formerly and for centuries in vogue in England. It should never be forgotten that there the adoption of the "merit" system has proved itself to be not only a benefit to the public service in the way of honesty and efficiency, but also and pre-eminently a movement in favor of popular rights and freedom. It had arrayed against its adoption all the interests and all the power of the crown and the aristocracy. But the popular will prevailed in spite of all aristocratic pretensions, and with the best results to enlarged liberties and popular rights. So it will be found wherever tried. It opens the door of subordinate office to *all* citizens irrespective of every consideration except that of being fit to perform the duties of the office ; and its adoption here as the law of the service will be the death blow to the intolerable and degrading tyranny and quasi-aristocracy of the "Boss" and the "Ring." It is to be gravely suspected that those very tyrants and quasi-aristocrats are the most urgent in fostering the idea that it will be an unpopular measure ; and simply *because* it deals the death blow to their badly gained and badly exercised power, and delivers from their thralldom the *manhood* of the American citizen.

Another important consideration connected with this subject is, that the replacement of the "spoils" or "Ring" or "Boss" system by the "merit" system in the civil service, will free Senators, Congressmen, and heads of Departments from what has become an intolerable tax upon the time they owe their constituents in the performance of their normal duties. The necessity which the present system imposes upon such public men to give a vast amount of their time—rightly due to the public in other ways—to listen to hungry applicants for office, would be entirely done away:—to the great gain of the public service and to their own greatly increased comfort. What the present tax upon them and the time they should devote to other things amounts to, may be seen from the fact that (as he himself stated in my hearing) a Cabinet Officer, between March 4th, and June 4th, 1881, received seven hundred

and twenty visits, of which *two* were on matters apart from his official position, *eight* were partly on such matters, and *seven hundred and ten* were solely visits of application for office either in his department or elsewhere! And it is not unlikely that others in a similar position have had their time taxed even more heavily.

Facts like these speak for themselves, and, apart from other considerations, call loudly for a remedy. That remedy, as experience here and elsewhere abundantly proves, is the adoption in all branches of government in this country, of rules of Civil Service Reform—rules which provide for the tested fitness of all applicants for office below the properly political ones of the Cabinet, Heads of Departments, and Foreign Missions, and which make that tested fitness, at the beginning and throughout the continuance of office-holding, the sole ground of appointment and retention; rules which, if faithfully applied, will relegate “Boss-ism” with all its multiform attendant evils to the memory of a hideous past, and will restore our Country to its former place of honor among the nations of the earth.

June, 1881.

JOHN ANDREWS HARRIS.

“THE THRISSILL AND THE ROIS.”

THE years 1501-3 were momentous in the history of England and Scotland. In October, 1501, James IV., sent into England an embassy to demand in marriage the hand of Margaret Tudor, daughter of Henry VII. The alliance was agreed upon; the ceremony of betrothal took place at St. Paul’s Cross, January 25, 1502; and, on the 8th of August, 1503, Margaret having reached Edinburgh with a numerous retinue, the marriage was solemnized “in the Abbey of Holyrood, with a degree of splendour never, perhaps, equalled in the northern kingdom.”

Great things were expected of this marriage. For centuries, as is well known, England and France had been at odds, while Scotland had played the rather undignified part of make-weight in the balance. Now all this was to be changed. As the union of Margaret’s father with Elizabeth of York had allayed the fierce passions aroused by the Wars of the Roses, so, it was confidently

believed, would Margaret's marriage conclude the strife by which the neighbor-kingdoms had so long been wasted. Scotland would henceforth be always on the English side; and a career of uninterrupted prosperity would be opened to both nations. No one foresaw, of course, that these expectations were doomed to bitter disappointment,—at least to long postponement. By the dim light through which one scans the future, nothing could be made out of what was really in store:—Margaret's husband falling at Flodden, so shortly after his marriage, in battle against Margaret's brother; Margaret's son, carefully trained by his English mother in the English interest, deliberately re-allying himself with England's hereditary enemy by his marriage with Mary of Lorraine; Margaret's granddaughter, wife of the French dauphin, obedient ward of her French uncles the Guises, standard-bearer of the Roman Catholic cause against the "bastard" Queen Elizabeth, pretender to the English crown, and "martyr" for these pretensions at the hands of an English commission;—and, though, after a hundred years, Margaret's great-grandson and his heirs were upon the English throne, and the two kingdoms were nominally united, yet the nations in fact divided by cruel wars of religion, barbarizing alike to northern and to southern race, and their perfect union in even the political sense, deferred for nearly another century. Men saw only a beautiful child—the princess was but fourteen—whose marriage was to establish forever national amity in place of national hatred; whose son or son's son (by the grace of God,) might succeed to both thrones, and unite the two crowns; and whose importance, therefore, could not possibly be over-estimated.

We can not be surprised, then, that, to celebrate this auspicious event, Scotland lent all her powers. A chronicler accompanied the princess from London to Edinburgh, and has left us a minute account of the journey. Edinburgh put on her holiday attire, and the wedding was on a scale of unprecedented magnificence. Last, (but, for the purposes of this essay, first,) Scotland's greatest poet, (save only Burns,) wrote the *Epithalamium*. And no wonder! Given such a marriage and a patriotic poet, and a notable bride-song must have been written—a song full of strains of sweet melody—a song

" Whose harmony to hear it was delight,"

and whose harmony can never quite lose its power to please. The poet was William Dunbar; his poem, "The Thistle and the Rose."

Dunbar had, in all probability, accompanied the Scottish Embassy to London, and had been present at the betrothal. He had seen the Princess, and, ecclesiastic as he was, had been carried away by her beauty. This he praises in no measured terms; yet, when he had returned to Edinburgh, and when, fifteen months after the betrothal, and three before the wedding, he sat himself down to compose his bridal gift, feelings of patriotism, of exaltation in the prospect of so glorious a future for his native land, mixed themselves with his gallantry. Margaret is, indeed, "the fresh rose, of colour red and white," and a "lusty¹ daughter most benvng,² above the lily;" but these phrases are allegorical as well as complimentary. The red and white rose is, of course, the Tudor, in whose veins ran commingled the blood of both Lancaster and York; and the apparently meaningless words, "above the lily," say subtly that no French Princess could for a moment compare as bride for a Scottish King with a Princess of England.

Still, Dunbar's relations with Margaret, judged not only by the evidence submitted in his poems but also by a scrap or two of other information we have about him, were plainly of the closest. He evidently looked upon her as alone among women, and he devoted himself to her service, body and soul. His words are clearly not those of a hired flatterer; his magnifying of her personal loveliness sprang from a real sentiment. Perhaps, even as 'clerk,' he allowed himself one of those harmless, because purely, ideal, attachments so common in the mediæval Courts of Love. Certain it is that Margaret, in her loneliness and homesickness, separated from her husband by a clique of noblemen who engrossed his time, was not insensible to Dunbar's delicate attention. She was always his friend, seems to have admitted him much to her society, and even took him with her on her famous tour through Scotland.

But we have stayed too long from the poem. Dunbar adopted the machinery then in vogue, a dream, a May morning, and a beautiful garden;—machinery that William de Lorris had been the first to use, early in the thirteenth century; which Chaucer, like Brunetto Latini and Brunetto's pupil, Dante, had borrowed from de Lorris;¹

¹Beautiful.

²Kind.

¹Minto, *Char. of Eng. Poets, in initio.*

and which Dunbar unquestionably borrowed from Chaucer. His garden is

“Most dulce,² and redolent
Of herbs and flowers and tender plantës sweet,
And green leavës doing of dew down fleet.”³

Dunbar,⁴ however, may speak for himself:

“When March was with varying windës past,
And April¹ had, with her silver showers,
Ta'en leave of Nature with an orient blast;²
And lusty³ May, that mother is of flowers,
Had made the birdës to begin their hours,⁴
Among the tender odours red and white,—
Whose harmony to hear it was delight;—

“In bed at morrow⁵ sleeping as I lay,
Methought Aurora, with her crystal ene,⁶
In at the window lookèd by the day,⁷
And halsit⁸ me, with visage pale and green;
On whois⁹ hand a lark sang from the spleen,¹⁰
'Awake, lumaris,¹ out of your slumbering,
See how the lusty morrow does up spring.'

“Methought fresh May before my bed up stood
In weid² depaint³ of many diverse hue,
Sober, benyng, and full of mansuetude,⁴
In bright attire of flowers forgèd⁵ new,
Heavenly of colour, white, red, brown, and blue,
Balmèd⁶ in dew, and gilt with Phœbus beams;
While all the house illuminèd of⁷ her gleams.

“‘Sluggard,’ she said, ‘awake anon for shame,
And in my honor some thing⁸ go thou write:
The lark has done the merry day proclaim,⁹
To raise up lumaris with comfort and delight;
Yet naught increases thy courage to indite,
Whose heart some time has glad and blissful been,
Songës to make under the leavës green.’

²Sweet. ³Quickly dropping dew.

⁴That is, Dunbar *modernized*; for Scottish English of the fifteenth century is, indeed, “curst hard reading.” But no *liberties* have been taken with the text: as printed here, it bears the same relation to the original as the Cambridge Shakspeare, for example, to the first folio or an early quarto.

¹Trisyllable *A-per-il*. ²“Gone out like a lion.” ³Beautiful. ⁴Orisons.
⁵Morning. ⁶Eye. ⁷At day-break. ⁸Hailed. ⁹Whose. ¹⁰“With all his *heart*.”
¹Lovers. ²Dress. ³Painted. ⁴Gentleness. ⁵Fashioned. ⁶Bathed.
⁷Was illumined by.

⁸Work, poem. In Chaucer [Prol. 327] it means a contract, a law-paper. ⁹Has proclaimed the merry day.

“Whereto,¹⁰ quoth I, ‘Shall I rise up at morrow?
 For in this May few birdēs heard I sing:
 They have more cause to weep and ’plain their sorrow;¹
 Thy air it is not wholesome nor benyng;²

Lord Eolus does in thy season ring:
 So busteous³ are the blastēs of his horn,
 Among thy boughs to walk I have forborne.’

“With that this Lady soberly did smile,
 And said, ‘Uprise, and do thy observance:³
 Thou did’st promit,⁴ in Mayēs⁵ lusty while,⁶
 For to describe the ROSE of most plesance.
 Go, see the birdēs how they sing and dance,
 Illuminēd o’er with orient skyēs bright,
 Enamellēd richly with new azure light.’”

Then, being led into the garden, he sees the sun rise; and was ever description more successful?—

“The purple sun, with tender beamēs red,
 In orient, bright as angel, did appear;
 Through golden skyēs putting up his head,
 Who’s gilt tresses shone so wonder⁷ clear,
 That all the world took comfort, far and near,
 To look upon his fresh and blissful face,
 Doing⁸ all sable⁹ from the heaven’s¹⁰ chace.¹

“And, as² the blissful sound of cherarchy,³
 The fowlēs sung through⁴ comfort of the night;
 The birdēs did with open voices cry,
 ‘O luvaris⁵ foe! away, thou dully⁶ night!
 And welcome day that comfort’st every wight⁷
 Hail May! hail Flora! hail Aurora schene⁸!
 Hail, princess Nature! hail Venus, lovēs queen⁹!’”

Finally, the beasts and birds and flowers are summoned into “parliament,” as if to witness the pageant of the royal wedding: Dame Nature (whom Dunbar appears to confuse with the Queen of May) gives an “inhibition,”

¹⁰Wherefore, why. ¹Lament. ²Gentle. ³Boisterous, rough.
⁸Pay thy duty. ⁴Promise. ⁵May’s. ⁶Time.
⁷Wonderfully. ⁸Putting. ⁹Darkness. ¹⁰Heaven’s. ¹Field.
²Like. ³Cherubim. ⁴For, because of. ⁵Lovers’.
⁶Doleful. ⁷One. ⁸Bright, beautiful. ⁹Queen of Love.

“ To fierce Neptunus and Eolus the bold,
 Not to perturb the water nor the air,
 And that no showers (snell^{1 0}) nor blastēs cold
 Effray¹ should flowers nor fowlēs on the fold²;
 She bade eke³ Juno, goddess of the sky,
 That she the heaven should keep amene⁴ and dry;”

the Lion is crowned King of Beasts; the Eagle, King of Birds; the Thrissil King of Flowers, and the Rose his Queen. James (the Lion) is exalted sovereign, and the cry raised “Vive le Roy;” advice is given him as to the principles of government; and hints both delicate and ingenious are thrown out as to a husband’s faithfulness to his wife.⁵ Then the poem closes with a grand burst of praise to the Rose, the child-queen Margaret, Tudor and welder together of long separated kingdoms.

“ This awful beast⁶ full terrible was of cheer,⁷
 Piercing of look, and stout of countenance,
 Right⁸ strong of corpis,⁹ of fashion fair, but flier,^{1 0}
 Lusty¹ of shape, light of deliverance,²
 Red of his colour, as is the ruby³ glance:
 On field of gold he stood full mightily,
 With flour-de-lycēs⁴ circled lustily.
 “ This lady lifted up his cluvēs⁵ clear,
 And let him listly⁶ lean upon her knee⁷,
 And crownēd hīm with diadem full dear⁸
 Of radious⁹ stonēs, most royal for to see;
 Saying, ‘ The King of Beastēs make I thee,
 And the chief-protector^{1 0} in woodēs and shawēs¹:
 Unto thy lieges go forth, and keep² the lawēs.’ ”

“ And sen³ thou art a King, thou be discreet:
 Herb without virtue⁴ thou hold not of such price
 As herb of virtue and of odour sweet;
 And let no nettle vile and full of vice
 His fallow⁵ to the goodly flour-de-lyce;

^{1 0}Sharp.¹Affright.²Earth.³Also.⁴Pleasant.⁵Dunbar, it must be remembered, was “in orders,” and, therefore, had a right to “preach.”⁶The lion.⁷Appearance.⁸Very, most.⁹Body.^{1 0}Ready¹Handsome.²Movement.³Ruby’s.⁴Fleur-de-lys.⁵ Claws, hoofs. ⁶ Lightly. ⁷ The last stanza, with these two lines, pictures the “lion rampant,” that makes a part of the royal arms of Scotland. Hence, the verses are a subtle compliment to James. ⁸Costly. ⁹Radiant. ^{1 0}Head of clans and (therefore) protector. ¹Groves. ²See that the laws are kept. ³Since. ⁴Plant that (from its color or other quality,) does not symbolize virtue. ⁵Make herself equal.

Nor let no wild weed, full of churlishness,
Compare his⁶ till the lily's⁷ nobleness :

“ Nor hold no other flower in sic denty⁸
As the fresh Rose, of colour red and white ;
For, if thou dost, hurt is thine honesty⁹—

“ Then to the Rose she turnēd her visage,
And said, ‘ O lusty daughter, most benyng,
Above the lily, illustrious of lynnage¹⁰,
From the stock royal rising fresh and ying¹,
But² any spot or macull³ doing spring⁴,—
Come, bloom of joy, with jemēs⁵ to be crown'd ;
For o'er the laif⁶ thy beauty is renown'd.”

“ A costly crown, with crystal⁷ stonēs bright,
This comely queen did on her⁸ head inclose⁹ ;
While all the land illuminēd¹⁰ of the light.
Wherefore, me thought, the flowrēs¹ did rejois,²
Crying attonēs,³ ‘ Hail be thou, richest ROIS !
Hail, herbēs Empress⁴ ! hail, freshest Queen of Flow ers !
To thee be glory and honour at all hours⁵ !

“ Then all the birdēs sang with voice on height,
Whose mirthful sound was marvellous to hear.
The mavēs⁶ sang, ‘ Hail, Rose most rich ard right⁷,
That dost up flourish under Phœbus speir⁸ !
Hail, plant of youth ! hail, Prince's daughter dear !
Hail, blosom breaking out of the blood royal,
Whose precious virtue is imperial !

“ The merle⁹ she sang, ‘ Hail Rose of most delight !
Hail, of all flowers queen and soverane¹⁰.’
The lark she sang, ‘ Hail, Rose both red and white,
Most pleasing flower, of mighty colours twain !’
The nightingale sang, ‘ Hail, nature's suffragane¹
In beauty, nurture and every nobleness,
In rich array, renown and gentleness.”

⁶Herself. ⁷The fleur-de-lys and the lily of course mean purity : the nettle, carrying punishment in itself for those who meddle with it, may aptly stand for vice. So, the mediæval estimate of self-morality explains the line, “ Nor let—— ”

⁸So fine. ⁹Honour. ¹⁰Lineage. ¹Young. ²Without. ³Blemish. ⁴Springing
⁵Gems. ⁶Rest.

⁷Dunbar's word is clarified. The more poetical word ‘ crystal ’ has already been used by him in the second stanza. ⁸That is, the Rose's head.

⁹‘ Did inclose ’ may mean *caused to close round*. ¹⁰Was illumined by. ¹Flowers
²Rejoice. ³At once, together. ⁴Empress of Plants. ⁵Times. ‘ At all h. ’—ever.
⁶Thrushes. ⁷True. ⁸Sphere.

⁹Blackbird. ¹⁰Sovereign. ¹Suffragan, (assistant.)

“ The common voice up rose of birdēs small,
 Upon this wise, ‘ O blessd be the hour
 That thou wast chos’n to be our principal !
 Welcome to be our Princess of honour²,
 Our pearl, our pleasance, and our paramour³;
 Our peace, our play, our full felicity :
 Christ thee conserve⁴ from all adversity !”

“ Then all the birdēs sang with sic a shout,
 That I anon awoke where that I lay ;
 And with a braid⁵ I turnēd me about
 To see this court ; but all were gone away :
 Then up I leanēd, halflingēs⁶ in affray⁷;
 And thus I wrote as ye have heard to-forrow⁸,
 Of lusty May upon the ninth⁹ morrow.”

It would, of course, be impertinent to notify our readers that language like this, as graceful in form as it is delicate in sentiment, shows Dunbar a lyric poet of no mean order. Even recalling Mr. Tennyson's sister's marriage-song, appended to the *In Memoriam*, or Spenser's *Epithalamium*, addressed to his own wife, we still have no difficulty in agreeing with Mr. Laing, that Dunbar has been too long neglected. It may be proper, therefore, to add by way of conclusion, a line or two upon Dunbar's merits as a poet, and his place in the history of our literature.

The merits of Dunbar as a poet have been attested by well-qualified witnesses. Warton, “ the classical historian of English poetry,” praises him highly. Ellis, both antiquary and critic, and friend of Sir Walter Scott, pronounces him “ the greatest poet that Scotland has produced ;” and this, three years after Burns had published *The Cotter's Saturday Night*. Sir Walter himself adds, “ This darling of the Scottish Muses has been justly raised to a level with Chaucer by every judge of poetry to whom his obsolete language has not rendered him unintelligible.” Elsewhere Sir Walter terms him “ the Scottish Chaucer,” and speaks of “ his power both of heroic and humourous poetry.” George Crabbe, too, hearing “ Sir Walter read and interpret Dunbar,” said, “ I see that the Ayrshire bard had one giant before him.”¹ Minto, to be sure,

²Honoured princess. ³Sweet-heart. ⁴Preserve.

⁵Start. ⁶Half. ⁷A fright. ⁸Before. ⁹Pronounced *ni-inth*.

¹ These notices of Dunbar were first collected by Dr. Laing, in his edition of the poet. (Edinburgh, 1834.)

qualifies Ellis's words by adding to them the phrase "next to Burns;" and he explains the title "Scottish Chaucer" by emphasizing the adjective. But he styles Dunbar "the pride of early Scottish poetry," concedes him a place (and no inferior one either,) among "the numerous poetical offspring of the *Roman de la Rose*," confesses that he is "the best Scottish representative of the movements initiated and transmitted by that poem," and grants that, "formed in the school of Chaucer, as Chaucer was in the school of Gillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meun," Dunbar has "many points of resemblance to his English predecessor."

This cumulative praise is the more remarkable, too, because neither English nor Scottish poetry during the fifteenth century shows much that is not imitation of the great English Trouvère. The school of Chaucer had but a sorry sort of learners: they copied their master's hand too faithfully. Occleve, Lydgate and their clan are, for the most part, bald versifiers, tiresome in the extreme. They prose it here, and prose it there, and picturesque it nowhere. Dunbar, on the contrary, strikes us more as a favorite pupil to whom Chaucer gave private lessons; a pupil, too, whose own endowments enabled him to catch the spirit of his master and to reproduce it in truly original work. His *Twa Freris* (*Two Friars of Berwick*), for example, is full of the sparkle of Chaucer's wit, and overflows with Chaucer's humor: no student of Chaucer can fail to detect the source of Dunbar's inspiration. Yet the poem shows no trace of conscious imitation, and can not be compared directly with anything in the *Canterbury Tales*. The distinctive merit of Dunbar, in comparison with all his contemporaries, can be expressed in a single sentence. The pages of the imitators of Chaucer are a dreary row of smug gardens laid out in conformity with a mechanical idea of landscaping: Dunbar's flowers of poesy glow with exquisite and varied colors, of which we know only that we have seen them before in even greater beauty.

J. G. R. McELROY.

UNIVERSITY ITEMS.

THE One Hundred and Twenty-fifth Annual Commencement of the University was held on Wednesday, June 15th, at eleven o'clock. Degrees were conferred in six Faculties and Certificates of Proficiency in two; all seven Departments of the University being represented. The occasion was truly, and as never before, a Commencement of the University, not merely one of certain Departments. The recipients of the honors awarded were one hundred and thirty-four in number, including two ladies, whose Certificates were in Music. The Honorary Degree of Doctor of Laws was conferred on the Hon. Henry M. Hoyt, Governor of the Commonwealth, whose son took at the same time his degree as Bachelor of Law. The degree of Doctor of Philosophy, granted for a course of study in the sciences auxiliary to Medicine, was conferred upon five graduates in medicine. After the graduation of those students who matriculated in this Department prior to June, 1880, the degree in this Faculty will be Bachelor of Sciences Auxiliary to Medicine (B. S. A. M.?), and the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, which will be conferred by a Faculty of Philosophy which has just been organized, will be made to represent, as it now does in Germany, University studies in Literature, Science, Philosophy, etc.—in a word, *studies not leading to a technical degree*. Twenty-one prizes were divided among twenty-two students, and Honorable Mention was made of one other.

One feature of the vast assemblage that witnessed the ceremonies of Commencement must have struck every observer. There was an unusually large number of elderly persons present. The girls in all their beauty, with all their bouquets—both those they gave their friends among the graduates and those they wore on their bright summer costumes—the girls were, indeed, there; and no one but a crabbed Diogenes would wish them ever away. But their papas and mammas were also there, with their uncles and cousins, many of whom represented the alumni of years far gone towards the forgotten past. Time was when a University Commencement drew few graduates of more than three years' standing: for some years now, (ever since the Alumni Society changed its Anniversary to Commencement Day, indeed,) large numbers of graduates of all

years have attended. On two occasions "golden" anniversaries were celebrated, and often "silver" returns.

As to the speeches, let us not say anything invidious; but, had the audience, which so heartily and so deservedly applauded Mr. Prevost, been generally able to appreciate the singular excellence of Mr. J. C. Montgomery's Latin Salutatory, they would have dismissed him with more than the usual complimentary *claquement*. Mr. Montgomery is the son of the late John Phillips Montgomery, Esq., of the class of 1837, long known as a classical scholar of extraordinary attainments. We quote by Mr. Montgomery's permission the following passages from the Salutatory:

"Ille vir egregius, qui hanc Universitatem, jam labentem, non solum ad salutem, sed etiam ad pristinam gloriam restituit; qui tandem res maximo cum studio ac diligentia administravit: quum, ædibus novis academicis exstructis, omnibusque ad summam felicitatem erectis, optime meruisset; tum demum dignitatem suam deposuit, atque a rebus agendis se removet. Ut eis Romanis, desiderantibus unius imperium, qui civitatem jam labentem extolleret; quum cecidisset Cæsar, spes omnes cecidisse videbantur; sic omnibus doctrinam et scientiam amantibus, spes profecto defecere, quum nos illo viro privati sumus, præstantissimo et assiduissimo, CAROLO JANEWAY STILLE; qui, in hac Universitate, sibi exegit

'Monumentum ære perennius,

Quod non . . . possit diruere . . . innumerabilis
Annorum series et fuga temporum.'

Sed ut illis Romanis, post longas exspectationes, tandem venit Augustus, qui consilia Cæsar's protulit et consummavit; sic nobis quoque inter dubitationem accedit hic noster Augustus, agendi et administrandi peritus."

Mr. Marks's Valedictory, too, deserved far closer attention than it received. The Valedictory comes unfortunately, after "the fun is out." People are tired; the degrees and prizes have all been announced; and the custom that has tied the valedictorian down to saying "good-bye" *six times with variations* gives the audience almost a right to think that there is nothing to wait for when the Valedictory begins. But those who left without hearing Mr. Marks missed it. Let them be wiser another year.

The following received the degree Bachelor of Arts :

William Louis Abbott, Ellis Ames Ballard, Joseph Thompson Barnhurst, Elihu Spencer Blight, Morris Weyl Brinkmann, Joseph Sill Clark, William Allison Cochran, William Heyward Drayton, Jr., John Francis Foulke, William Henry Fox, George Howard Freckley, George Christian Gardner, William Jones Gregory, George Herman Gross, John Hall Ingham, Morris Jastrow, John Eaton Le Conte, Howard Jones Lukens, Rufus Bicknell Marks, Robert Kennedy Matlock, David Milne, James Clayton Montgomery, Lewis Neilson, Clifford Pemberton, Jr., Eli Kirk Price, Jr., James Hamilton Robins, Felix Emanuel Schelling, Pearson Peterson Sentman, William Crowell Watt.

The following received the degree of Master of Arts :

William S. Blight, Jr., George E. Brooks, Edw. S. Buckley, Jr., James C. Craven, James C. Corry, Charles P. Henry, Clarence Kennedy, Edw. G. McCollin, Harry McDowell, Thomas Pritchett, C. August Oscar Roselle, August J. Rudderow, Richard B. Shepherd, Isaac S. Smyth, Jr., William H. Stetler.

The following received the degree of Bachelor of Science :

Richard I. Downing Ashbridge, Joseph Trowbridge Bailey, Jr., George Blow Beale, Francis Hoskins Easby, Howard Beck Felton, Willis Edward Hall, Orville Horwitz, Samuel Jamison, Hermann Augustus Keller, Henry Frederick Keller, Charles Brandes Lane, William Albert McGonagle, Francis Lanier Potts, Severo Mallet-Prevost, Nathaniel Wiley Thomas, Benjamin Chew Tilghman, Samuel Tobias Wagner, Uriah Yeakel.

The following gentlemen received the degree of Bachelor of Laws :

James B. Anderson, Jr., Michael Arnold, Esq., Class of '62-'63, Albert J. Bamberger, Charles H. Bannard, Henry B. Bartow, Edward P. Bliss, Frederick L. Breitingner, J. Douglass Brown, Jr., John D. Carlile, Edward G. Comingo, Samuel W. Cooper, Henry T. Dechert, Amos H. Evans, Walter S. Gibson, Joseph L. Greenwald, Henry W. Hall, Fred. W. Hammett, Samuel A. Heilner, Henry M. Hoyt, Jr., Bertram Hughes, Harry A. Ingram, Clarence Kennedy, Joseph J. Knox, A. Nelson Lewis, Hugh J. McCartney, Edward W. Magill, Charles Mecum, James L. Miles, Alfred S. Miller, Charles R. Miller, E. Augustus Miller, Walton Pennewill, Benj. F. Perkins, Hugo A. Rennert, George Rogers, Millard F. Scheide, Norcum L.

Seguin, Jacob Singer, William M. Stewart, Jr., Francis G. Taylor, Oscar B. Teller, Henry M. Tracy, Thomas P. Twibill, Francis L. Wayland, Henry C. Whitlock, Chas. F. Wignall, Robert J. Williams, William G. Wise, J. Willis Witherop, LeRoy J. Wolfe, Harry B. Yerger.

Michael Arnold, Esq., of the Law-Class of '62-'63, by special action of the Faculty and Board of Trustees, was given his degree with the graduating class, he having been prevented from receiving it when his class graduated.

The law oration was delivered by Francis Lincoln Wayland, he choosing as his subject "Monopolies and the State," which he treated in a very able manner.

The Faculty announced the award of the following prizes:

The "Sharswood" prize, founded by the Alumni Association, to Charles H. Bannard, of the Senior Class, for his essay, entitled "The Partnership Relation." The "Meredith" prize, founded by the Alumni Association, to Henry T. Dechert, of the Senior Class, for his essay on "The Appointment of Guardians." The "Faculty" prize for the best written examination, open to both classes, was awarded to Edwin A. Jaggard, of the Junior Class.

At the annual examinations three of the Senior Class were refused their degrees and over one-third of the Junior Class were dropped or conditioned, so that the prospects for a large Senior Class next year, unless these conditions are worked off, is not very good. The rapid raising of the standard of studies by the Faculty during the last few years is perhaps the cause of the large number of failures.

Four thousand announcements of the Law Department have been sent this year to various applicants, members of the Bar throughout the State and the Senior Classes of all our large Colleges and Universities. It is thought that although some faint-hearted ones may perhaps be frightened by the increased severity of the examinations, nevertheless the reputation the Department has gained for the thoroughness of its course, together with the now generally accepted opinion that the "school" or "university" system is the best means of preparation for the bar, will continue the, of late, steadily increasing number of students in this Department of the University.

The degree of Doctor of Medicine was conferred upon the following: Christian M. Fagen, William Patton Griffiths, Robert W. Haynes, Flank H. Elder and Franklin M. Beltz.

The degree of Doctor of Philosophy was conferred upon Millard F. Gerrish, M.D., Louis J. Lautenbach, M.D., P. Frailey Wells, M.D., Howard D. Speakman, M.D., and Louis Brose, M.D.

On the evening of the same day the Society of the Alumni held its annual meeting in the Chapel of the University with a much larger attendance of members than usual. In the absence of Hon. George Sharswood, LL.D., Chief Justice of Pennsylvania, for many years President of the Society, the chair was occupied by Mr. John B. Gest, one of the Vice-Presidents.

Officers were elected to serve for the ensuing year as follows :

President, Hon. George Sharswood, LL.D., 1828; Vice-Presidents, Hon. John Wm. Wallace, LL.D., 1833; John B. Gest, 1844; Wm. S. Blight, 1846; Rev. James W. Robins, D.D., 1850; Corresponding Secretary, Charles Ashburner, 1874; Recording Secretary, John G. R. McElroy, 1862; Treasurer, Walter George Smith, 1873.

Board of Managers. Morton P. Henry, 1843; Charles Platt, 1846; Dr. Charles M. Cresson, 1847; Dr John H. Packard, 1850; Alfred G. Baker, 1851; Joseph G. Rosengarten, 1852; E. Coppée Mitchell, LL.D., 1855; Rev. J. Leighton McKim, 1857; George Tucker Bispham, 1858; David Pepper, 1859; John C. Sims, Jr., 1865; Wm. H. Lex, 1867; Henry Budd, 1868; Robert H. Neilson, 1871; J. Rodman Paul, 1872; John Neill, 1877; E. G. McCollin, 1878; A. M. Hance, 1879; H. H. Bonnell, 1880; Severo Mallet-Prevost, 1881.

Resolutions were adopted congratulating the University upon the election of Dr. William Pepper as Provost and revealing in detail his successful career in the Medical Department, and his invaluable services in the establishment of the University Hospital. Provost Pepper's inaugural address setting out the purposes and aims of his administration was heartily endorsed, and his plans for the development of the University were commented upon and approved. In pledging its co-operation and support to the new Provost the Society invites the aid and sympathy of every one of its members, of all graduates and former students, of all friends of the University and of higher education in general, in the task of relieving the University from debt, and in placing it upon an assured basis of financial independence.

Recent changes in the organization of the Departments of Arts and of Science were explained and their consistency with the University organization in other departments set forth. The work of the late Provost, Dr. Chas. J. Stillè, was commented upon, and the thanks of the Society voted to him for his unselfish labors in the University's behalf. A minute was ordered to be entered relative to the death of H. Lenox Hodge, M. D., one of the Vice-Presidents of the Society, after which the members of the Society and many invited guests adjourned to the Assembly Room, where a collation was served.

After a felicitous speech by Vice-President Gest, the Society was addressed by Morton P. Henry, Esq., of the class of 1843, and also by Samuel Dickson, Esq., of the class of 1855.

Provost Pepper was then introduced by Mr. Gest, and the needs of their Alma Mater were forcibly and eloquently laid before the Alumni. Dr. Pepper began by speaking of the recognition which had been gained by the Centennial for the commercial and manufacturing interests of Philadelphia, and dwelt on the endowments of the chair of History and English Literature by citizens of Philadelphia in commemoration of the event and in recognition of the services of Hon. John Welsh. He referred to the substantial aid which had recently been given to the University by persons who were not graduates, and urged strongly upon the Alumni the duty of aiding their Alma Mater to take that exalted position in the world of education which her age and her situation as the intellectual centre of a great city justly demanded of her.

It may be well to state in connection with the Provost's remarks that committees from the Alumni of the various departments, Art, Law, Medicine and Science, have been appointed to consult with the Board of Trustees and to devise some concerted plan to effect the object.

It is earnestly hoped that Alumni in all parts of the country will put themselves in communication with this Magazine—now the organ of their Alma Mater—with a view not only of reaching the result desired by the Provost, but in order to strengthen personal ties of friendship, and to increase their interest in the well-fare of the University.

One hundred and eleven applicants for admission to the Department of Arts and the Towne Scientific School have presented themselves:—Arts, 48; Towne Scientific School, 63; Total 111.

Of these, however, twenty-five are candidates for the ten Towne Prize Scholarships; so that the class may be smaller than the number given above. This, too, takes no account of candidates rejected. On the other hand, would-be Towne scholars who fail to get a prize often come into college regularly, and the September examinations commonly call out a dozen new candidates. In the Department of Arts last year there were 23 Freshmen, in the Towne Scientific School, 38; so that under any circumstances the classes next year will be decidedly larger.

In April, Professor Rothrock began for the fifth season, the free botanical lectures in Horticultural Hall, Fairmount Park. This course is in execution of the Michaux Trust, and authorized from that fund by the American Philosophical Society. The lecturer has had the pleasure of seeing the attendance increase from one hundred to six or seven times that number of attentive, appreciative listeners. That so many can be found to visit, week after week, so remote a point as the Park, may be accepted as a sign that such lectures are meeting a popular want. There is reason indeed to believe that this interest will increase in proportion as it is cultivated.

The lectures are popular in character and bear directly upon the practical side of botanical science. They are not, however, to be regarded in any sense as a substitute for a systematic study of vegetable life from a purely scientific standpoint. There is ground for hope that the University of Pennsylvania will soon undertake this supplementary work, and undertake it in so earnest a spirit as to bring back to this city the botanical celebrity it enjoyed fifty years ago. To-day the city of Philadelphia is half a century behind other less wealthy centres so far as facilities for biological instruction are concerned. Indeed, in the way of thorough, *systematic* instruction, such as foreign laboratories are offering, we do nothing. The work, then, proposed by the University should meet with a ready response from such citizens as have means and have an interest in the reputation of Philadelphia for mental culture.

In addition to his regular course of lectures, Professor J. T. Rothrock gave some special lessons to his class on the microscopic

structure of plants, and later in the season began instruction in Analytical Botany. This practical work was well attended by the class, and formed the natural conclusion to a long course of lectures devoted mainly to Vegetable Anatomy and Physiology. In subsequent years much more attention will be paid to this branch. The interest in Botany is so decidedly on the increase here, that it would be a want of respect to public sentiment to neglect the analytical portion of it.

During the past spring Professor A. J. Parker has been conducting, in connection with his lectures on Comparative Anatomy and Zoology, a course of practical laboratory instruction illustrating the comparative anatomy of the Invertebrata; the students studying with the microscope the lower forms of animal life and dissecting type specimens, showing, as far as possible, the anatomy of the various phyla of the Invertebrate Metazoa.

The Trustees of the University, by the creation of the Chairs of Botany and Zoology in the Towne Scientific School, have definitely established the "Course preparatory to Medical Studies." In this course students who afterwards expect to study medicine will receive thorough preliminary training in those sciences which form a necessary part of the education of every physician who desires to keep pace with the growing demands for higher medical culture. By this step the University again shows its determination to elevate the standard of medical education.

Dr. Robert Meade Smith—Demonstrator of Experimental Physiology in the University—has recently published in the German, a paper on "The Temperature of Irritated Muscles of Mammals," (*Die Temperatur des gereizten Säugethiermuskels.*) The subjects considered are the changes in the temperature of the venous blood coming from contracting muscles; the temperature of normal contracting muscles; the share of the blood current in the production of an increased temperature in tetanus, and heat production in muscles in which the circulation is artificially maintained.

The conclusions are, first, that the venous blood coming from a tetanized muscle may be elevated in temperature as much as 0.6° , C.

Secondly, that the increase in temperature and actual heat production in normal contracting muscle bears little relation to the amount of work done or to the alteration in shape, but that the development of heat increases with the irritation of the muscle, whether a corresponding increase occurs in the degree of contraction or not. Thirdly, that the heat production in tetanus depends intimately upon the blood supply, the amount of heat produced being slight in the muscle deprived of blood, but great when the circulation remains intact. Finally, that when artificial circulation is maintained there is a rise of 0.16° , C., even when the fluid thrown into the artery is 0.76° cooler than the muscle itself.

Dr. Hugh Lenox Hodge, Demonstrator of Anatomy in the University and whose personal and family history is so inseparately associated with the Medical Department, died on the 10th of June.

The son of Professor Hugh L. Hodge, whose name is still familiar and so honored in this community, he graduated from both departments of the University, taking his medical degree when he was twenty-two years of age, and subsequently living for two years at the Pennsylvania Hospital as resident physician. After entering upon practice he was successively appointed Demonstrator of Surgery and Demonstrator of Anatomy in the University, Surgeon to the Children's Hospital, Surgeon to the Presbyterian Hospital, President of the Pathological Society, and to other positions of professional honor and responsibility, in all of which he acquitted himself in such a manner as to win the esteem and regard of his associates. He was a member of the principal medical societies of this city and in most of them was an active worker, contributed freely to medical literature, chiefly upon surgical and gynecological subjects, rendered valuable service to the Union during the Rebellion, both in the field and in hospitals, and altogether lived an active, useful and honorable life.

His inherited ability, his pure and unselfish character, his high sense of personal and professional duty, and his unwavering desire to further the best interests of the University, all entitled him to our respect and affection during his life and explain the universal regret which has been shown at his demise.

BRIEF MENTION.

ON the evening of the 16th of June, Mr. Franklin B. Gowen delivered at the Academy of Music, before a large audience, an address, whose advertised subject was "The position which the city of Philadelphia should occupy to the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, to the transportation lines, and to the railroad problem of the day."

The speech received the enthusiastic applause of its hearers, yet no dispassionate observer can rise from the perusal of its newspaper reports without a feeling of sincere regret that Mr. Gowen permitted himself to make such a speech. It is very mild censure to say that the speech was not worthy of Mr. Gowen, for he has, as a speaker, deserved and achieved so high a reputation, that any speech of his must be tried by more severe tests than those to which the public utterances of less brilliant men are subjected.

Mr. Gowen's argument can be briefly stated. He contended that Philadelphia should be the metropolis and the factor of the products of the state; but he showed that this cannot now be so, because large portions of the state are more nearly connected by railroads with New York. He insisted that Philadelphia capital should be directed to the development of railroads within the state and not beyond it, and that the Pennsylvania Railroad Company should not be permitted to crush competition by the absorption of the Reading Railroad Company. He condemned very emphatically and very properly, any unjust acquisition of wealth by railroad officials, all unjust discrimination in transportation rates, and all corrupt corporate control of political power.

Of pertinent argument other than this, the speech had none. All honest men will concur in Mr. Gowen's censure of illegal and immoral corporate and official action, but every one will not agree that all the industries of the commonwealth should pay tribute to the city of Philadelphia, and that those portions of the state which, by geographical position are more naturally connected with New York, should not have the right to send their products to that market. Mr. Gowen's views upon this point savour of a past age, and are not such as one would expect to hear from a man of his culture and ability. Nor would Mr. Gowen's "Chinese Wall" encircling Pennsylvania,

with outlets only at Erie and Philadelphia, have availed to preserve for our city that supremacy over New York which she had in revolutionary days. New York passed Philadelphia in the race of commerce and trade before the days of railroads, and her continued pre-eminence is assured, under the inexorable laws of trade, by her geographical situation. Indeed, rivalry in business between Philadelphia and New York is, if Mr. Gowen will pardon the comparison, as absurd as rivalry between the Philadelphia and Reading Railroad of to-day and the Pennsylvania Railroad of to-day.

The Pennsylvania Railroad Company bears to Mr. Gowen's late speeches the relation which the head of Charles the First held to Mr. Dick's memorials. When Mr. Gowen discusses the trade of Philadelphia, it is the Pennsylvania Railroad Company which, by unjust discriminations, has diverted that trade. When he refers to the contest for the control of the Reading Railroad Company, it is the Pennsylvania Railroad Company which has organized the opposition, in order to accomplish by a change of management that which Mr. Gowen would have prevented. When he alludes to the Junction railroad litigation, it is the Pennsylvania Railroad Company which corrupted the fountain of justice, and maintained in law its title to a mile of road which it had built upon its own land and with its own money. When he considers state and municipal legislation, it is the Pennsylvania Railroad Company which has dictated the action of the State Legislature and the City Councils. When he speaks of his financial negotiations, it is the Pennsylvania Railroad Company which, by its emissaries in the direction of the banks, has compelled the refusal of loans to his company.

This last seems to us to be the greatest of the evil achievements of that bold, bad corporation, as Mr. Gowen's fancy paints it. It may be easy to stimulate factious opposition to the management of a rival corporation, to divert the course of trade, to corrupt legislators, and to buy judges, but it is not easy, in these days of diminished banking profits, to induce bankers to refuse to loan, when the security is sufficient and the rate of interest satisfactory.

We shall not follow Mr. Gowen in his criticism of the wisdom of the policy and management of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company. It is a question not for us, nor for Mr. Gowen, but for the stockholders of that corporation. Despite the criticism, the fact

remains, that that company was never so prosperous. Its lines of railroad are well managed, its business is skilfully conducted, and its stockholders receive large dividends.

It is not surprising that defeated litigants should, in moments of irritation, question the integrity of judges whose decision has disappointed their hopes, but it is surprising, and it is to be regretted, that a lawyer of Mr. Gowen's experience, ability and high character should permit himself even to think that the judges of any Pennsylvania Court would deny justice, because of the supposed wishes or interests of any railroad corporation or its managers.

It is also to be regretted that Mr. Gowen should have descended to personalities which were not pertinent to his subject, and which, though more or less veiled, and in no case supported by a statement of facts, could be none the less wounding to the feelings of gentlemen whose character and reputation entitle them to respect. Mr. Gowen said much as to the wealth acquired by Pennsylvania Railroad officials. In this country, whose boast it is that the poorest and the humblest may by honest industry rise to affluence, the mere possession of wealth is no crime. If Mr. Gowen means that any officer of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company has made money at the expense of its stockholders, he makes a charge which should not be lightly made, and which will not be accepted without the clearest and the most convincing proof. If the officers of that company have brought to the management of their private affairs the intelligence and ability which they have displayed in their conduct of the business of their company, it is not surprising that they have acquired wealth.

Mr. Gowen had something to say also in criticism of the newspapers of Philadelphia. It is not for us to defend them, and we cannot altogether regret that those who are so ready to criticize others, should themselves be subjected to public comment of an unfavorable character. But we do regret, that Mr. Gowen should have striven to hold up to public ridicule before a Philadelphia audience, one newspaper proprietor, a public-spirited citizen, who is foremost in every good work, where sound judgment, kindness of heart, and unstinted generosity can avail, and who has always subordinated the pleasures and triumphs of wealth to its duties. The ridicule was neither novel nor clever, and we are sure that Mr. Gowen will, most of all men, regret that, in this portion of his

speech, he yielded to what must have been the temptation of the moment.

The climax of the speech, though not the natural outgrowth of its subject, nor the necessary result of its premises, was the suggestion that Mr. Gowen should be retained in power, either as the President, or the President-maker of the Reading Company. Whether the speech will assist in the accomplishment of that end may, perhaps, admit of doubt. When men are to be influenced to action, in matters that affect their pecuniary interests, calm, clear and dispassionate argument, that deals fully with facts, and that conciliates, not intensifies, opposition, will generally be more successful than a speech, such as that of Mr. Gowen, which, though it may be styled brilliant by those who have no interests at stake in the Reading Company, and by those who have no real respect for Mr. Gowen, has, we fear, given greater satisfaction to his opponents than to his friends. * * *

The sound and healthy views of Attorney-General MacVeagh on the subject of Civil Service Reform, seem to have effected already a very wholesome influence upon the atmosphere in which the Cabinet lives and has its being. When the army of office-seekers made its attack upon the members of the new administration, Mr. MacVeagh was probably the only one of the Cabinet who suffered no inconvenience or annoyance from it. What was to the others a pressure so strong and persistent as to harass the mind, and even impair the bodily strength, was to him no more than a diversion, with, perhaps, a dash of enjoyment of the fun there was in it, for an army of office-seekers is, to a man of his keen sense of humor, a thing worth seeing. His pronounced views as to the Civil Service furnished him a well-fitting armor against the attacks of the belligerent office-seekers, and gave him, in a manner, the power enjoyed by the knight in the fairy tale, of making himself quite invisible, if he chose, at any critical moment. It is not surprising, therefore, to find that their own experience in the last few months, and their observation of the action of their colleague, have furnished to other members of the Cabinet a good deal of food for reflection, with a disposition to stop and inquire whether, after all, Civil Service Reform is not a sensible and practical thing, and likely to make the wheels of the Government run

more smoothly. Mr. James is perforce a believer, notwithstanding his earlier political record, for he owes his present position to the recognition of the true principle upon which appointments in the civil service should be made; Mr. Windom is now an open and avowed convert; and as to the head of the other most important branch of the civil service, Mr. Kirkwood, if there is any deduction to be drawn from the history of his administration thus far, it is fair to presume that he is at least in a state of penitence, and that his conversion will be a mere matter of time. Mr. Blaine as yet makes no sign, but he is endeavoring, in the healthy mountain air of his native state, to restore the strength wasted in the effort to meet the relentless demands of the "spoils system" and at the same time discharge the duties of his office. Probably, it cannot reasonably be expected, at his time of life, in his present position and with his peculiar public career behind him, that he should give his adherence to Civil Service Reform; but he may yet yield to the popular demand, for the importance of the subject is pressing itself upon the minds of the people at every point, and it may not be long before it can be safely made a distinct "issue" in a national campaign. If the President should take the lead, it would go far to bring about an entire unanimity in the Cabinet on this subject, and would finally advance the movement which is now so general throughout the country. His failure to do so may not unjustly be considered as an evidence of an unwillingness to free himself from the trammels of a bad system in politics, and may tend to withdraw a large share of the hearty support which the people have been ready to give to him at the outset of his administration.

The "Anti-monopoly League" of New York is pursuing its work with very great vigor, and it is evident that there is a growing interest throughout the country on the subject they have in hand, and a disposition to demand a solution of the questions involved in a way to secure the rights and protect the interests of the people. The active discussion of the subject has been very much hastened by an incident which occurred in New York a few months since. A mass meeting was held by the Anti-monopoly League at Cooper Institute, and the New York *Tribune*, in commenting upon the proceedings, characterized the opinions of the speakers as showing "a wanton disregard of private rights, and an

obstinate blindness as to the ultimate consequences to the people as a whole, which better befits the Reds and Communists of a by-gone day in Paris, than the free citizens of self-governing and prosperous United States." Mr. F. B. Thurber, an officer of the League, wrote a reply to the *Tribune's* editorial, and, that paper having declined to insert it, the League printed it, side by side with the *Tribune's* editorial, and sent it in an appeal to the press throughout the country, or at least, as its letter significantly read, "to that portion of the press which is still free from the control of corporate ownership, patronage and influence." This "carrying the war into Africa" by a journal of such prominence as the New York *Tribune*, in its eagerness to support the interests of the corporations, tended to bring about a very general discussion of the subject, and over so broad a field that we have, on the one hand, the contention that there can be no safety for the rights of a people short of a control by the Government of Railroads and Telegraphs, and, on the other hand, the view that the present system best protects the interests of the people, because the Corporation makes the most money which gives the people the best service at the least cost. In the course of this discussion, some one ought to write what might be called a "History of Monopolies," in which a chapter or two from certain epochs of English history might furnish very suggestive reading. What the "Royal Prerogative" has at times done in the past in England, corporate franchises may, possibly, in some cases, do in this country, and in our own day and generation. At all events under our system of government these franchises are the gifts of the people, and it becomes, therefore, a matter of the first importance to us to see that they are so given, and so used, as best to supply the wants of the people, and promote the public good. If, then, we should come to such a condition of affairs that corporations control the people, instead of the people controlling the corporations, we are subjected to a far more dangerous form of monopoly than ever existed in England, we have a state of things in which the corporations virtually control the government. Mr. Lester F. Ward gave us some very thoughtful suggestions on the subject of monopolies in his recent paper on "Politico-Social Functions," in the May number of the PENN MONTHLY; a paper which deserves a very wide reading, and we hope that portion of his subject will receive a much larger development at his hands.

S. W.

NEW BOOKS.

CO-OPERATION AS A BUSINESS. By Charles Barnard. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. 8vo.

This book is one of especial value to the working men of this country, for it is a sensible and practical treatment of a subject which has been written about and talked about so loosely, and with so little intelligent apprehension of its real value and the proper methods of carrying it into operation, that it has come to be considered generally as an impracticable theory. Mr. Barnard has done a good work in pointing out the great value of co-operation as a means of saving a great deal of money, and in laying before us in a clear and most interesting way the immense results which have been accomplished by it in England and Scotland in a comparatively short period of time. In our own country, with the exception of the Building and Loan Associations of Philadelphia, very little has been done in this direction, but it is gratifying to learn from Mr. Barnard's book that most excellent co-operative enterprises have been projected in various parts of the country, many of which are already in very successful operation, and promise most satisfactory results. In no country more than our own are there greater opportunities for the successful development of co-operation as a practical method of saving money, and in no country is there greater need of habits of thrift and economy. Any one who is interested in the well being of working men could do no better service than to circulate among them, in large numbers, copies of this valuable book.

GLEANINGS IN THE FIELDS OF ART. By Ednah D. Cheney. Boston: Lee and Sheppard, 1881, 8vo. Pp. 345.

This book is made up of fifteen essays or chapters, which bear no definite connection, one with the other. They are respectively Art, Greek Art, Early Christian Art, Byzantine Art, Restoration of Art in Italy, Michel Angelo, The Poems of Michel Angelo, Spanish Art, French Art, Albert Durer, Old German Art, American Art, English Art, David Scott and Contemporaneous Art, which enumeration shows the very broad expanse travelled over, and indicates at the same time the superficial treatment the various subjects must have received, to compress them within so narrow a limit. The facts set forth in the several papers are, of course, gathered from sources already in print, perhaps spread through many volumes, yet accessible to all, but they are served with a flavor of individual criticism, the result of personal observation, which gives them a very agreeable relish and makes the volume readable and companionable. In the careful examination we have given of this volume we have found a good many inaccuracies and unnecessary repetitions, which

a little care would have obviated. The chapters on American Art and English Art are particularly unsatisfactory, while that on Contemporaneous Art, does not treat the subject at all, but is wholly devoted to the dead Düsseldorf School, of Schadow, Overbeck and Cornelius. Notwithstanding the defects we have indicated—and what work is without some defects? Miss Cheney's book has some very good ideas cleverly expressed, and in closing this brief review we feel we must transcribe with approval, her words upon that latest *craze* known by the name of Decorative Art. "Is this a legitimate branch of Art? It is certainly a worthy occupation to make life more comfortable, more cheerful, and more enjoyable, even if by only pleasing the eye or gratifying the ear; but Decoration is not Art unless it does more than this—unless it also speaks to the mind. Michel Angelo's Prophets and Sibyls do not cease to be the grandest art of the world because they decorate the ceiling of a Chapel, but mere intricacies of carved lace work do not become so because they are within the walls of a Cathedral. The exquisite tracery of the Alhambra has delighted the souls of poets for centuries, but it is not the careless play of frost work; it has a soul in it and expresses in its delicate and seemingly wayward lines the same religious spirit as do the texts of the Koran interwoven in magic letters among its windings. A bit of color stuck upon the wall because it is the fashion is not Decorative Art. A single flower so placed as to tell you its thought more clearly may become so. Still less can that be Art which is meant to serve any purpose of display, or any gratification of the vanity of the possessor. Art is varied as life and nature are; the little chickweed is as good in its place as the apple-tree, with its glory of beauty in spring and its wealth of use in autumn. So the true feeling for use and beauty may express itself humbly in the ordering of a household or grandly in the building of a temple."

LENOX DARE, by Virginia F. Townsend, and LOST IN A GREAT CITY, by Amanda M. Douglas, from the press of Messrs. Lee and Sheppard, of Boston, are both interesting books. Lenox Dare is a fresh and vigorous story of American country life, and the character of the heroine whose name gives the title to the book is drawn with more skill than would be apparent from a casual reading of the story after the manner of novels. It is a portrayal of a character which may perhaps not often be found in the quiet out-of-the-way nooks and corners of our American Country life, but, when found, it is to be highly prized as a national possession, for nowhere except in our own country do we find existing just those conditions which are necessary for its development.—*Lost in a Great City* is a most touching story of the adventures of a young girl who, when a little child, is lost in the street, in New York, and falls into the

hands of a low set of people, by whom she is literally *sold* to a "professor" in the flying trapeze line, and the poor little thing is trained, much against her will, to be a performer on the stage. The book is extremely well written, and is far above the average of novels of the kind. It is not sensational, but is a simple narrative of the trials and difficulties of a brave little girl, whose innate refinement, loving disposition, and genuine courage win the fight against the bad influences around her and the sore trials and difficulties which come upon her. It is a book which deserves a large reading, and is likely to broaden the sympathies of the reader, for it serves to illustrate very plainly the truth of the familiar saying that one half of the world does not know how the other half lives.

THE SWORD OF DAMOCLES, by Miss Anna Catharine Greene, from the press of Messrs. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York, is likely to cause a disappointment to those who have learned to admire the work of this clever authoress in her earlier books, "The Leavenworth Case," and "A Strange Disappearance." The mere announcement of a new book by the same author raised great expectations, and the disappointment is likely to follow because Miss Greene has, in her last book, made a "new departure," and instead of giving us another of those stories in the production of which she has shown herself so capable, she has ventured into a larger field, and in doing so, has exposed certain weaknesses, without at the same time displaying the full strength of her powers. The book is not a complete success, because too much is undertaken, and consequently no part of it is thoroughly well done. Nevertheless, it bears the impress of the mind of its very clever author, and anything from her pen will be read with interest.—MR. PERKINS'S DAUGHTER, one of Messrs. G. P. Putnam's Sons' "Knickerbocker Novels," is written by a daughter of Dr. William A. Hammond, of New York, under the "nom-de-plume" of the Marchioness Clara Lanza. The story is based upon a theory in morbid psychology which the Marchioness calls "periodical amnesia," meaning, in plain English, that a person apparently in good health both in body and mind, has, at certain intervals, a separate mental existence, as of another person. This, worked into a love-story, gives a scope for complications and intricacies quite beyond that of a novelist who is obliged to deal with the ordinary and usually recognized conditions of human life, and gives to the book an interest which could hardly be claimed for it merely as a literary production.

THE LOST CASKET, and MADEMOISELLE BISMARCK, also from the press of Messrs. G. P. Putnam's Sons, are translations from the French. The first is a very well written story of Parisian life, and the interest of the reader is held closely from the beginning to the

end of the book. It deals with the plots and political schemes of the Nihilists, and on that account possesses a peculiar interest just at the present time. "Mademoiselle Bismarck" is a clever story by Henri Rochefort, in which the heroine, an obscure and uneducated woman, aspires to be the wife of one of the greatest statesmen of France, and, by various ingenious and subtle devices, such as would probably occur only to the mind of a French woman of her class, or to the imagination of a French novelist, comes very near succeeding; but, in her last and most clever stroke, that of feigning suicide, she jumps into the wrong place in the river, and really drowns herself, after the true French fashion, in the Seine.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

The Princess of Alfred Tennyson recast as a drama. Cloth. 12mo. Pp. 63. Boston: Lee & Shepard. (Claxton & Co.)

Life of Voltaire. By James Parton. 2 vols. Cloth. 8vo. Pp. 639 and 653. Price \$6.00. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. (Claxton & Co.)

American Nervousness; Its Causes and Consequences. By George M. Beard, A. M., M. D. Cloth. 12mo. Price \$1.50. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. (J. B. Lippincott & Co.)

Count Agenor de Gasparin; by Thomas Borel. Translated from the French by O. O. Howard. Cloth. 12mo. Pp. 123. Price \$1.00. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. (J. B. Lippincott & Co.)

The Library, by Andrew Lang, With a Chapter on Modern English Illustrated By Austin Dobson. London: Macmillan & Co. 1881. 12mo. Cloth. Illus. (Art at Home Series,) \$1.25.

A Monograph on Privately Illustrated Books. A Plea for Bibliomania. By Daniel Tredwell. Brooklyn: 1881. 8 vo. Paper. \$1.50.

THE
PENN MONTHLY.

AUGUST, 1881.

ART MUSEUMS AND THEIR USES.

"C'est dans le gouvernement républicain que l'on a besoin de tout la puissance de l'éducation."

MONTESQUIEU.

"Promote, as an object of primary importance, institutions for the general diffusion of knowledge."

WASHINGTON.

THE juxtaposition of this wise counsel of the Father of our Republic with the aphorism of the great French jurist, was the happy thought of some one connected with the American educational department of the Paris Exposition of 1878. The words were inscribed on either side of the entrances to the little enclosure where the indefatigable efforts of the able director, Dr. Philbrick, had provided, *multum in parvo*,—many things in small space,—an admirably arranged exhibit illustrating the condition and methods of education in the United States. I have quoted the words here because the sentiments they express are strongly affirmative of the argument I wish to make. Certainly, never before the present time have the educational forces of the country been so severely tried, nor has there ever been a time in our history when greater effort was needed to promote every aid to the general diffusion of knowledge. In addition to the rapid natural increase of the population in the United States, a great army of immigrants—3,000,000 or thereabouts in the last decade,—is peopling the land. They come from all parts of Europe, and they are chiefly the surplusage of the unskilled labor of the nationalities which they represent. The heterogeneous mass is absorbed into the body-politic, and

contributes to the material growth of the country, but it is deficient in the elements essential to intellectual development. To remedy this, it is the province of education to so order this growth that it be healthy,—to take care that it shall not drain the vitality of the system, but increase its strength. Education is the only agency upon which we can rely to infuse vigor and activity into the parts. It is the vivifying power,—the genius of the Republic.

It is of the first importance, therefore, that we should exercise constant vigilance that education is fulfilling these requirements ; and this is the more necessary just at this time, because there is every evidence that we are entering upon a new era of progress, and that the present is a transition period in which the old educational methods are giving place to new ones. The change is rendered necessary by the changed conditions of society which accompany the progress of civilization. The industrial development of the country during the past fifty years has been accompanied by a multiplication and diversification of the occupations of men heretofore unthought of. Science is engaged in making discoveries of great economic value as aids to production. What the discovery of the mariner's compass and printing did for a former age, has been supplemented by steam-carriage and telegraphy in this. Industrial competition has become world-wide, and in every department of industry there is a demand for increased technical skill and knowledge. The great educational question of the day is how to supply this demand.

We have passed that stage of development when the production of the simple necessities of life required all our attention. Industry is adding attractiveness to usefulness. The hard utilitarian period, when all our energies were centred on material aims, may be said to have passed away with the first century of our existence. With the opening of the Centennial Exhibition were unfolded possibilities of culture and refinement for the people never before thought of. We learned then the lesson that previous expositions had taught Europe : that art, as a branch of mental training, had value as an economic factor, and importance as an educational aid ; that it might be made to contribute to the advancement of the working people, and to the prosperity of the whole community. We saw that the art instinct is no vague feeling, but a potent actuality ; that it is universal, entering into the humblest home and beautifying the

humblest surroundings. The era of national culture in the United States may be dated from the Centennial. Since then the interest in everything relating to the encouragement of the arts, and to the development of those forms of education in which they are practiced, has become too generally diffused throughout the country, and is being evidenced in too many substantial ways, to allow of its being regarded as a mere passing whim or fashion. Its study is no longer relegated to a few, but urged upon all.

The movement to make industrial art training a branch of technical education had its practical beginning in England in 1851. At the World's Fair, held that year in London, the deficiency of taste shown in all articles of British manufacture incited the Government to take immediate steps to remedy this defect. Ten years later, at the Exposition of 1862, the improvement in this regard was so marked, that France, always keenly alive to anything threatening her prominence in art manufactures, appointed a commission to report what measures were necessary to make the training of her artisans more effective. It was not long before German commissioners were at work upon a similar report for Germany, and at the present time the question of industrial art education is receiving earnest and general discussion throughout Europe. Governments, State and local, are giving it attention. In the struggle for industrial supremacy, each nation is striving to secure the highest development of industrial productiveness. They are using every means to incite, encourage and educate whatever of talent their people possess. Vast sums are being spent in its accomplishment. Education in the elementary schools is revised, and industrial departments added thereto. Drawing is universally taught. Training schools are established in the smaller towns; art and technological collections are provided for the universities. Arrangements are perfected by which the treasures of the great national museums can be brought more directly within the compass of educational use. To the world's expositions, which may be regarded as vast temporary museums containing the latest achievements in every department of science and art, delegations of artisans are sent, at Government expense, to study the productions of their fellow artisans in other nations. The manifold advantages of making such exhibitions always accessible to the working classes has led to the establishment of local museums in most of the great centres of industry. Such institutions

are regarded as an essential element in national progress and are mostly under the patronage of the Government.

The most famous institution of this kind in Germany is the Industrial Museum at Berlin, which was organized in 1866 by a private association formed for the purpose, but which is now managed conjointly by the association, the State and the city. It is liberally supported by the Government, and its schools have rapidly obtained a wide reputation. The *Gewerbe Academie* of Berlin justly ranks among the foremost of the great industrial institutions of Europe. Dresden, Stuttgart, Leipsic and Hanover also have industrial museums and schools that are noteworthy. The smaller trade schools may be counted in Germany by the hundreds, and in connection therewith we frequently find museums supplied with collections chosen especially to illustrate the school work.

A feature of the great Industrial Art Museum at Vienna is its system of sending loan collections of art objects to the various industrial schools throughout the Empire, and accompanying them with courses of illustrative lectures.

The people of France have long been indebted to the magnificent Government museums of art for the refining influences which always emanate from such surroundings, but it is only recently that there has been any effort made to render these collections directly subservient to educational purposes. The nation has, however, such unrivalled special collections as those of the *Conservatoire Imperial des Arts et Metiers*, the Museum at Sèvres and others, which, with their carefully conducted special schools, supply that technical education, the result of which is seen in the industrial supremacy of the nation.

Zurich has a noble school and museum, which was established to elevate the different branches of trade and operative arts, to endeavor to guide and cultivate a proper development and improvement of taste by exhibiting first-class specimens of foreign products; to domesticate, as it were, new and important inventions; in general, to assist trade and tradesmen with such expedients and models as they cannot conveniently procure themselves. Numerous other instances might be mentioned, but these are sufficient to indicate the position European museums occupy relative to Continental systems of industrial education. They differ somewhat in the character of their collections, and in their facilities for instruction, but their common aim is the promotion of art industry.

In England, however, we find the best illustration of what it is possible to accomplish by these means. Great Britain was the first nation to undertake the art education of the people in a systematic manner. An art school for the training of designers to improve the patterns and designs used for manufactures had been established by the Board of Trade in London as early as 1837, and a few years later similar schools were established in the principal manufacturing cities in the provinces. At the same time, a system of purchase by the State of examples of art for use in these schools was begun, and sums of money were granted from year to year by Parliament for this purpose. Still the progress of the undertaking was slow. In 1850 only twenty-one schools existed. But the Exhibition of 1851 showed the inferiority of British art workmanship in so striking a manner that England at once set seriously to work to promote the cause of industrial art education. Convinced that the subject of art education was one of Governmental and public concern, a Department of Science and Art was formed under the Committee of Council on Education, for the purpose of disseminating a knowledge of science and art as applied to industry. In this year Parliament granted a sum of £5,000 for the purchase of objects for the purpose of forming a Museum of Manufactures of a high order of excellence in design, or of rare skill in art workmanship, as well for the use of schools of industrial art as for the improvement of the public taste in design.

The Museum was first opened in 1852 in Marlborough House. Five years later, the collections, already greatly increased by purchases and donations, were removed to the temporary structure in South Kensington, which has been replaced by the present extensive permanent buildings. Previous to 1860, £50,000 had been expended by the State in the purchase of specimens with the view of exhibiting the effects of the artists in combination with the workmen, not only in England, but in foreign nations, dating from the period of the revival of the arts in Europe. Since that time the scope of the Museum has been much extended and the amounts voted by Parliament have been proportionately increased. It has now become the central depository of all works of art, pictures, books on art and education, engravings, etc., collected by the State to serve in aid of the art education of the public.

In the twenty-five years intervening between the exhibition of 1851, when the movement really began, and the exhibition of 1876, when we in this country saw the results, England advanced from her position far behind the Continental nations in the artistic excellence of her industries, to a place in the foremost rank. That is what the nation accomplished. The report of the Science and Art Department for that year gives us some insight into the way in which it was done. The total cost to the nation of South Kensington Museum, including administration, buildings and collections, amounted to £1,191,709 17s. 4d. Of this, the sum of £281,672 6s. 1d. had been applied to the purchase of the collections.

There were under the direction of the Science and Art Department 1336 science schools, with 53,050 students under instruction, and 1132 schools of art, with a total of 24,138 students. In addition, there were 653 art night classes of 21,851 students. 290,425 were taught drawing in the elementary day schools. The grand total of persons taught drawing, painting or modelling through the agency of the department, was 343,382.

From the first formation of the Museum, a system of circulation of selected objects for exhibition in aid of schools of art in the provinces has been in force. These comprise: 1. Examples furnished to schools for stated periods for the purpose of study. 2. Original art objects for exhibition in connection with the schools. 3. Circulation of reproductions by various processes, sent on deposit loan, to be retained by the schools for a period of one or more years.

The relation of the South Kensington Museum to this general plan has made it the centre of the system, from which emanate the streams of knowledge and taste that have already so marvellously increased the industrial productiveness of the nation.

Turning now to our own country from this brief review of what Europe is doing to provide technical education, we find that the progress of our industrial development and the changed conditions of civilization here, are exerting similar influences on our educational methods. Having allowed the apprentice system to fall into disuse, we are called upon to provide our youth an education that will supply its place. Our manufacturers who are engaged in the prosecution of those branches of industry in which skill and taste

are required, ask to be relieved of their dependence on foreign workmen. Our working people, the class which always feels most sensibly the effects of prosperity or depression in trade, require that they be given equal training to their competitors from abroad. They see that skilled labor is always in demand, even when unskilled labor, is begging for bread. If any one asks whether the demand here for skilled labor is sufficient, they answer that the country sends annually two hundred millions of dollars to Europe for the products of skilled labor. The reason why we import artisans and designers from Europe to work at artistic manufactures and to do skilled work, is mainly because we have not made provision to give our youth the same educational opportunities these men have had. The same excellent results that have been achieved in Europe may be expected here when we have made like provision for the universal teaching of drawing, for the establishment of trade schools where our young men shall be systematically taught the principles and practice of the art or handicraft which they are to follow, and for the founding of museums where they can go to refresh their memories, obtain ideas and have their ambition stimulated.

Thus far, Massachusetts is the only State that has undertaken to establish a system of general industrial education. The movement was initiated by the Boston Public School Committee under the law of 1870 authorizing any city or town to establish schools of instruction in industrial and meehanical drawing. Mr. Walter Smith, an art teacher graduated from South Kensington, was placed in charge of the new department. Afterwards, as State Director, he organized the system which now extends to every city and town in the State. Independent of this action on the part of the Government, the liberality of public-spirited citizens and manufacturing companies has provided the State with a number of industrial schools. Of these, the most noteworthy, the Worcester Free Institute—conducted nearly on the plan of the German trade schools,—is one of the best equipped and most practically ordered schools in the country. The Lowell branch of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology is another generous provision for industrial education. Already there is abundant evidence that the instruction given has added materially to the value of the manufacturing industries of the State, and in other States the desirability of following the

example of Massachusetts is under discussion. The Maryland Assembly has recently been memorialized by the Maryland Institute to have drawing taught in the public schools, and in connection therewith to found a museum of industrial art. We find also that, in addition to the applied science departments which have become a common feature in our principal colleges and universities, several have established art departments in connection with museums or galleries of art. Among these are Washington University, Yale, Amherst, Cornell, the Universities of Louisiana, Rochester, Syracuse and Vermont. The generous gift of Mr. Wayman Crow of St. Louis, founding "The Museum and Art Gallery of the St. Louis School of Fine Arts" in connection with Washington University, entitles that university to the first place on the list.

Other institutions, such as the Cooper Union, the Illinois Industrial University, the School of Design for Women in Philadelphia, and the Decorative Art Associations of New York, Baltimore, Cincinnati, Chicago, and elsewhere, either give instruction in industrial art as a part of their curriculum, or are founded for that purpose alone. The Cooper Union is the most important industrial school in this country. Since the property was transferred to them in 1857, at the cost of \$630,000, its trustees have expended upwards of a million dollars in giving free instruction to the public. Its aim is "to educate the industrial classes into intelligent skill as a necessary antecedent to their prosperity and happiness." Among the numerous schools of fine art in connection with galleries, are the Pennsylvania Academy, the National Academy, the Yale School, the St. Louis School already mentioned, and the School of the Boston Museum of Art.

I shall group the Corcoran Gallery, at Washington, under the museums, because the munificent founder stated in his deed of gift that his object was "the perpetual establishment and encouragement of painting, sculpture and the fine arts *generally*," and because he has himself enriched the collection with several magnificent examples of applied art. The fame of the gallery, however, rests at present upon its galleries of painting and statuary. The Corcoran Gallery, including the ground, building, contents and endowment fund, is the free gift of Mr. Corcoran to the public. He has endowed it with one million dollars.

The Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York was incorporated in April, 1870, "for the purpose of establishing and maintaining a museum and library of art, of encouraging and developing the study of the fine arts, and the application of art to manufactures and practical life, of advancing the general knowledge of kindred subjects, to the end of furnishing popular instruction and recreation." Two hundred and fifty thousand dollars were raised by subscription, and the next year the Legislature passed an act appropriating five hundred thousand dollars and authorizing the Department of Public Parks to erect a building in Central Park for the purpose of establishing therein a museum and gallery of art. By a later act, the Park Department was authorized to enter into an agreement with the Trustees of the Metropolitan Museum for the reception of the same. In 1878, as the building approached completion, a law was enacted authorizing the city to expend thirty thousand dollars in the equipment and furnishing of the Museum, and the same amount was appropriated in the following year. These sums were expended by the Park Department in the ways recommended by the Trustees of the Museum. The building—which is only the Hall and about one-twelfth the area of the structure as it is planned,—was opened March 30th, 1880. The report, issued two months later, stated that the total subscription to the Museum fund was \$348,583.00. The collections were valued at \$389,188.08, of which sum \$87,475.50 was the value of the donations. During the first year in the new building, upwards of a million persons visited the Museum. Apart from anything else, the Cesnola collection of Cypriote antiquities would make this museum well known, but, in the rapidly increasing value and variety of the other acquisitions, this will soon be but a special feature in a collection of general interest and attractiveness. Last year a generous patron of the institution offered to erect a building on First Avenue, south of Sixty-seventh Street, for an industrial school, to give the use of it rent-free, and to pay all the other running expenses for three years. This educational department of the Museum is now begun, and doing well.

The Boston Museum of Fine Arts was organized, "1. To make available to the public and to students such Art collections already existing in this neighborhood as the proprietors of such collections

may see fit to deposit in a suitable building to be arranged for the purpose, under such general provisions as to the custody and exhibition thereof as shall be agreed upon, with the sole view to their greatest public usefulness. 2. To form in this way the nucleus of what may hereafter become, through the liberality of enlightened friends of Art, a representative Museum of the Fine Arts, in all their branches, and in all their technical applications. 3. To provide opportunities and means for giving instruction in Drawing, Painting, Modelling and Designing, with their industrial applications, through Lectures, Practical Schools, and a Special Library." A subscription of \$250,000 was made for a Museum fund, the city providing the land and putting the surroundings in order. The present building, which is but one wing of the structure ultimately to be erected, was opened to the public July 3, 1876. The most important features of the Museum are its galleries of paintings and engravings, although it has lately received numerous valuable additions to its already rich collections of applied art. The art classes occupy rooms in the building. In its direction and arrangements for furthering the purpose for which it was founded, the Boston Museum is in advance of all the other museums in the country. The institution is supported by subscribers and the interest from several legacies. The number of visitors during 1880 was 167,843.

The Pennsylvania Museum and School of Industrial Art, in Philadelphia, differs from those already mentioned in that it was organized to provide "for the State, in the city of Philadelphia, a Museum of Art in all its branches and technical applications, and with a special view to the development of the art industries of the State, to provide instruction in drawing, painting, modelling, designing, etc., through practical schools, special libraries, lectures and otherwise. The institution to be similar to the South Kensington Museum of London." Its inception was due to the Centennial Exhibition, just as the South Kensington Museum had its origin in the Exhibition of 1851. The institution was incorporated in February, 1876. A fund of fifty thousand dollars was subscribed with which to make purchases for the collection. As the city already had in the Pennsylvania Academy a school and gallery distinctively of the Fine Arts, and in the Franklin Institute a school and collection distinctively of the Mechanic Arts, it was determined to limit the purchases to be made for the Pennsylvania Museum to

objects illustrative of the application of art to industry. The institution had the benefit of the lively interest taken by many of the foreign Commissioners to the Exhibition, evidenced in several instances by valuable donations, notably in the donation by the British Commissioner of the major portion of the India collection. Although this limitation to the scope of the Museum makes its collections less attractive to the public, they possess peculiar value for educational purposes. Only those persons who are in a position to observe the multitude of industries which employ art, know what a wide field is included within these limits. A generous patron of the institution is now furnishing a suite of rooms in the buildings as a memorial gift, with a collection of objects of applied art, which, when opened, will form the most generally interesting feature of the Museum. The most important acquisition since the Centennial has been the lease for ninety-nine years of the extensive collections of mining and metallurgy made during the Centennial by the American Institute of Mining Engineers. Memorial Hall, which the Pennsylvania Museum occupies by permission of the Board of Directors of that building, was built under an Act of 1873, directing that a permanent fire-proof building be erected in Fairmount Park, to cost not less than \$1,500,000, to be kept open perpetually after the year 1876, as a Museum of Art and Industry, for the improvement and enjoyment of the people. But no legislative provision having been made for the maintenance or, with the exception of an appropriation in 1878 of \$5,000, for the repair of the building, the Trustees of the Museum have been obliged to pay these expenses out of the funds of the institution. This has seriously crippled the usefulness and impaired the growth of the institution, although this year its prospects are brighter than before, the Councils of the city having provided \$10,000 for the maintenance and repair of the Hall—\$5,000 of this sum being on condition that the building be opened free to the public. But the institution, without either an endowment fund or an assured annual appropriation for the maintenance of the building it occupies, lacks that element of permanency which is absolutely essential to its success. It is as discreditable as it is incomprehensible, that a manufacturing city of the first importance should be so uninterested in an institution of this kind. The School, now in its fourth year, occupies rooms in the central part of the city, is well attended, and shows better results

each year. The income of the institution for 1880 was \$12,025.61. Of this sum, \$4,721.13 was spent on the maintenance and repairs of Memorial Hall. The admissions to the Museum for the first six months of this year were 47,799.

The report of the Commissioner of Education for 1876 gives statistics of thirty-one museums of art and twenty-three schools of art, independent of those conducted by the museums. Since that report was issued, numerous other similar institutions have been organized. Among them are the National Museum at Washington, for which Congress, in 1879, appropriated two hundred and fifty thousand dollars; the Cincinnati Museum, towards which one citizen subscribed one hundred and fifty thousand dollars; and the Chicago Museum, an outgrowth of the annual exposition in that city.

Mr. Walter Smith, to an objection that there are not in the country sufficient works of art to fill museums and galleries, replied, that, "for a very little money, reproductions of the finest works in the British Museum, the South Kensington Museum, the Louvre, and other great national collections, can be obtained, and are as good for the purpose of instruction as the originals. Besides this, public museums and galleries are like a vacuum,—they fill themselves. The empty rooms of a museum and the bare walls of a picture gallery have an attractiveness and cohesiveness about them for the works of art in the possession of private persons, that is simply irresistible. The owners of such works try, in the first place, to soothe their sense of possession by *loaning* their treasures to the public; then they make a clean breast of it, and change the loan into a donation or bequest. This is how the South Kensington and the Louvre have been made the glories of the earth." The European nations regard museums as an essential element in national progress, and large sums are appropriated yearly for their support. It is reasonable to believe that in time this view of them will obtain here. When the Metropolitan Museum was opened, one of the trustees, referring to this subject, said: "A few reluctant tax-payers have grumbled at it [*i. e.*, the appropriation for the Museum,] as beyond the legitimate objects of government. * * * But now that art belongs to the people and has become their best resource and most efficient educator, if it be within the real objects of government to promote the general welfare, to make education practical, to foster commerce, to instruct and encourage trades, and

to enable the industries of our people to keep pace with, instead of falling behind those of other States and other nations, then no expenditure could be more wise, more profitable, more truly republican."

It is an axiom that it is as much the part of good government to increase the value of its industries, as to keep an open market for them. The modern art museum exists as an aid to this end. It may even be safely asserted that without its aid industrial education can never attain its highest development. At the opening of the Boston Museum, the Mayor of the city said: "We may regard this Museum, together with our Public Library, as the crown of our educational system." This phrase expresses the position of the modern art museum exactly. It is in the highest degree educational. Its mission is to impart a perception of the beautiful. It illustrates and makes plain those principles and laws by which alone any intelligent study of art can be made, and upon which any practicable system of art education must be based. The museum is to the artist what the laboratory is to the chemist. No amount of theoretical instruction can give that perfect understanding of the subject that the object-lesson gives. The student will often comprehend in a glance what the clearest unillustrated explanation fails to make plain to him. Form and color are beyond description; yet the value of these qualities should be understood by every art-worker. If our artisans are to compete with the skilled workers of other nations, we must show them what these nations are accomplishing. They must have opportunities of comparing means with results, and be given an insight into the processes employed. If their taste is to be cultivated, and trained to detect what is false and meretricious in art, it must be through contact with beautiful things. And by this influence, not only the artisan, but the whole community, is benefited.

DALTON DORR.

CIMABUE AND GIOTTO.

I. CIMABUE.

TO Cimabue for three centuries had been awarded the exalted title of "Father of Modern Painting;" and to him, on the authority of Vasari, had been ascribed the merit, or rather the *miracle*, of having revived the art of painting when utterly lost, dead and buried,—of having by his single genius brought light out of darkness,—form and beauty out of chaos. The error or gross exaggeration of Vasari in making these claims for his countryman, has been pointed out by later authors; some have even denied to Cimabue any share whatever in the regeneration of art; and, at all events, it seems clear that his claims have been much over-stated; that, so far from painting being a lost art in the thirteenth century, and the race of artists annihilated, as Vasari would lead us to believe, several contemporary painters were living and working in the cities and churches of Italy prior to 1240; and it is possible to trace back an uninterrupted series of pictorial remains and names of painters, even to the fourth century. But, in depriving Cimabue of his false glories, enough remains to interest and fix attention on the period at which he lived;—his name has stood too long, too conspicuously, too justly, as a land-mark in the history of art, to be now thrust back under the waves of oblivion. A rapid glance over the progress of painting before his time will enable us to judge of his true claims, and place him in his true position relative to those who preceded and those who followed him.

The early Christians had confounded, in their horror of heathen idolatry, all imitative art and all artists. When, in the fourth century, the struggle between paganism and Christianity ended in the triumph and recognition of the latter, and art revived, it was, if not in a new form, in a new spirit, by which the old forms were to be gradually moulded and modified. The Christians found the shell of ancient art remaining; the traditional handicraft still existed; certain models of figure, drapery, etc., handed down from antiquity, though degenerated and distorted, remained in use, and were applied to illustrate, by direct or symbolical representations, the tenets of a purer faith. From the beginning, the figures selected to typify our redemption were those of the Saviour and the Blessed Virgin; first separately, and then conjointly as the Mother

and the Infant. The earliest monuments of Christian art remaining, are to be found, nearly effaced, on the walls and ceilings of the catacombs of Rome, to which the persecuted martyrs of the faith had fled for refuge. The first recorded representation of the Saviour is in the character of the Good Shepherd, and the attributes of Orpheus and Apollo were borrowed to express the character of Him who "redeemed souls from Hell," and "gathered his people like sheep." In the cemetery of Saint Calixtus at Rome, a head of Christ was discovered, the most ancient of which any copy has been handed down to us; the figure is colossal; the face a long oval; the countenance mild, grave, melancholy; the long hair, parted on the brow, falling in two masses on either shoulder; the beard, not thick, but short and divided. Here then, obviously imitated from some traditional description, (probably the letter of Lentulus to the Roman Senate, supposed to be a fabrication of the third century,) we have the type, the generic character, since adhered to in the representations of the Redeemer. In the same manner, traditional heads of Saint Peter and Saint Paul, rudely sketched, became in after-times the groundwork of the highest dignity and beauty, still retaining that peculiarity of form and character which time and long custom had consecrated in the eyes of the devout.

A controversy arose afterwards in the early Christian Church which had a most important influence on art as subsequently developed. One party, with Saint Cyril at their head, maintained that, the form of the Saviour being described by the prophets as without any outward comeliness, he should be represented in painting as utterly hideous and repulsive. Happily, the most eloquent and influential among the Fathers of the Church, Saints Jerome, Augustin, Ambrose and Bernard, took up the other side, of the question; the Pope, Adrian I., threw his infallibility into the scale; and from the eighth century we find it irrevocably decided, and confirmed by a papal bull, that the Redeemer should be represented with all the attributes of divine beauty which art, in its then rude state, could lend him.

The most ancient representations of the Virgin Mary now extant are the old mosaics, which are referred to in the latter half of the fifth century,—* in these she is represented as a colossal figure,

* At Venice, and in the churches of Rome and Pisa.

majestically draped, standing, one hand on her breast, and her eyes turned to heaven ; then succeeded her image in her maternal character, seated on a throne, with the infant Saviour in her arms. We must bear in mind, once for all, that, from the earliest ages of Christianity, the Virgin Mother has been selected as the allegorical type of religion in the abstract sense ; and to this, her symbolical character, must be referred those representations of later times, in which she appears as trampling on the Dragon ; as folding the nations of the earth within her ample robe ; as interceding for sinners ; as crowned between heaven and earth by the Father and the Son.

Besides the representations of Christ and the Virgin, some of the characters and incidents of the Old Testament were selected as pictures, generally with reference to corresponding characters and incidents in the Gospel. Thus, St. Augustin, in the latter half of the fourth century, speaks of the sacrifice of Isaac as a common subject, typical, of course, of the Great Sacrifice. This system of corresponding subjects, of type and anti-type, was subsequently, as we shall see, carried much farther.

In the seventh century, painting, as it existed in Europe, may be divided into two great schools or styles—the Western, or Roman, of which the central point was Rome, and which was distinguished, amid great rudeness of execution, by a certain dignity of expression and solemnity of feeling ; and the Eastern, or Byzantine school, of which Constantinople was the headquarters, and which was distinguished by greater mechanical skill, by adherence to the old classical forms, by the use of gilding, and by the mean, vapid, spiritless conception of motive and character.

From the seventh to the ninth century, the most important and interesting remains of pictorial art are the mosaics in the churches, —notably in those of Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome, and St. Mark in Venice,—and the miniature paintings with which the MS. Bibles and Gospels were decorated and illuminated. But during the tenth and eleventh centuries Italy fell into a state of complete barbarism and confusion, which almost extinguished the practice of art in any shape ; of this period only a few works of an extremely rude character remain.

In the Eastern Empire, painting still survived ; it became, indeed, more and more conventional, insipid, and incorrect, but the

technical methods were kept up; and thus it happened that when, in 1204, Constantinople was taken by the Crusaders, and that the intercourse between the East and West of Europe was resumed, several Byzantine painters soon after passed into Italy and Germany, where they were employed to decorate the churches, and taught the practice of their art, their manner of pencilling, mixing and using colors, and gilding ornaments, to such as chose to learn of them. They brought over the Byzantine types of form and color, the long lean limbs, the dark-visaged Madonnas, the blood-streaming crucifixes; and these were followed more or less servilely by the native Italian painters who studied under them. Specimens of this early art remain, and in these later times have been diligently sought and collected into museums, both in this country and in Europe, as curiosities, illustrating the history and progress of art. As such, they are in the highest degree interesting; but it must be confessed that otherwise they are not attractive. In the Berlin Gallery, and in that of the Fine Arts of Florence, the best specimens have been brought together, and there are also a few in the Louvre. The subject is generally the Madonna and Child, throned, sometimes with angels or saints ranged on each side; the figures are stiff, the extremities long and meagre, the head of the Virgin generally declined to the left, the eyes long and narrow; the infant Saviour is generally clothed, and sometimes crowned; two fingers of his right hand extended in the act of blessing; the left hand holding a globe, a scroll, or a book. The ornaments of the throne and borders of the draperies, and frequently the background, are elaborately gilded; the local colors are generally vivid; there is little or no relief; the handling is streaky; the flesh tints are blackish or greenish. At this time, and for two hundred years afterwards,—before the invention of oil painting,—pictures were painted either in fresco, an art never wholly lost, or on seasoned board, the colors being mixed with water thickened with white of egg or the juice of the young shoots of the fig tree. This last method was styled by the Italians *a colla* or *a tempera*; by the French *en détrempe*; and is known to us and to the English as *distemper*; and in this manner all movable pictures were executed previous to 1440.

It is clear that before the birth of Cimabue—that is, from 1200 to 1240—there existed schools of painting in the Byzantine style,

and under Greek teachers, at Sienna and at Pisa, that the former produced Guido da Sienna, whose *Madonna and Child*, with figures the size of life, signed and dated 1221, is preserved in the Church of San Domenico at Sienna. The reader may remember that it is engraved in Rossini's *Storia della Pittura*, on the same page with a *Madonna* by Cimabue, to which it appears superior in drawing, attitude, expression and drapery. Pisa produced about the same time Giunta da Pisa, of whom there remain works with the date 1236; one of these is a *Crucifixion* engraved in Ottley's *Italian School of Design*,* in which the expression of grief in the hovering angels, who are wringing their hands and weeping, is very earnest and striking. But undoubtedly the greatest man of that time, he who gave the grand impulse to modern art, was the sculptor Nicola Pisano, whose works date from about 1220 to 1270. Further, it appears, that, even at Florence, a native painter, one Maestro Bartolomeo, as Vasari tells us, lived and was employed in 1236. Thus Cimabue can scarcely claim to be the "father of modern painting," even in his native city of Florence. We shall now proceed to the facts on which his traditional celebrity has been founded.

Giovanni of Florence, of the noble family of the Cimabue, called otherwise Gualtieri, was born in 1240. He was early sent by his parents to study grammar in the school of the Convent of Santa Maria Novella, where, instead of studying his lesson, he distracted his teachers by drawing men, horses, buildings, on his school-books. Before printing was invented, this spoiling of school-books must have been rather an expensive fancy, and no doubt alarmed the Professors of Greek and Latin. His parents, wisely yielding to the natural bent of his mind, allowed him to study painting under some Greek artists who had come to Florence to decorate the church of the convent of which he was a scholar. It seems doubtful whether Cimabue *did* study under these identical painters alluded to by Vasari; but that his masters and models were the Byzantine painters of the time, seems to be beyond doubt. The earliest of his works mentioned by Vasari still exists—a *Saint Cecilia*, painted for the altar of that saint, but now preserved in the Church of San Stefano. He was soon after employed by the monks of

* A copy of this work can be seen in the Philadelphia Library.

Vallambrosa, for whom he painted a Madonna with angels on a gold ground, now preserved in the Academy of Fine Arts at Florence. He also painted a Crucifixion for the Church of San Croce, still to be seen there, and several pictures for the churches of Pisa, and by these and other works his fame extended, and in the year 1265, when only twenty-five, he was called to finish the frescoes in the Church of Saint Francis at Assisi, which had been begun by the Greek painters and continued by Giunta Pisano.

The decoration of this celebrated church is memorable in the history of painting. It is known that many of the best artists of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries were employed there; but only fragments of the earliest pictures exist, and the authenticity of those ascribed to Cimabue has been disputed by a great authority (Rumohr, *Italianische Forschungen*); Lanzi, however, and Dr. Kugler, agree in attributing to him the paintings on the roof of the nave, representing in medallions the figures of Christ, the Madonna, Saint John the Baptist, Saint Francis and the four Evangelists. "The ornaments which surround these medallions are, however, more interesting than the medallions themselves. In the lower corners of the triangles are represented naked genii bearing tasteful vases on their heads; out of these grow rich foliage and flowers, on which hang other genii, who pluck the fruit or lurk in the cups of the flowers." (Kugler.) If these are really by the hand of Cimabue, we must allow that here is a great step in advance of the formal monotony of his Greek models. He executed many other pictures in this famous church, "*con diligenza infinita*," from the Old and New Testaments, in which, judging from the fragments which remain, he showed a decided improvement in drawing, in dignity of attitude, and in the expression of life; but still the figures have only just so much of animation and significance as are absolutely necessary to render the story or action intelligible. There is no variety,—no express imitation of nature. Being recalled, by his personal interests, to Florence about 1270, he painted there the most celebrated of all his works, the Madonna and Infant Christ, for the Church of Saint Maria Novella. This Madonna, of a larger size than any which had been previously executed, had excited in its progress great curiosity and interest among his fellow-citizens, for Cimabue refused to uncover it to public view; but it happened about that time that Charles of Anjou, brother of Louis IX., being

on his way to take possession of the kingdom of Naples, passed through Florence, and was received and feasted by the nobles of that city; and among other entertainments, they conducted him to the atelier of Cimabue, which was in a garden near the Porte San Piero; on this festive occasion the Madonna was uncovered, and the people in joyous crowds hurried there to view it, rending the air with exclamations of delight and astonishment, whence that quarter of the city obtained, and has kept ever since, the name of the "*Borgo Allegri*." The Madonna, when finished, was carried in great pomp from the studio of the painter to the church for which it was destined, accompanied by the magistrates of the city, by music, and by crowds of people in solemn and festive procession. This well-known anecdote has lent a venerable charm to the picture, which is still to be seen in the Church of Santa Maria Novella; but it is difficult in this present advanced period of art to sympathize with the *naïve* enthusiasm it excited in the minds of a whole people six hundred years ago. Though not without a certain grandeur, the form is very stiff, with long lean fingers, and formal drapery, little varying from the Byzantine models; but the Infant Christ is better; the angels on either side have a certain elegance and dignity, and the coloring in its first freshness and delicacy had a charm hitherto unknown. After this time, Cimabue became famous in all Italy. He had a school of painting at Florence, and many pupils, among whom was one who was destined to take the sceptre from his hand and fill all Italy with his fame, and who, but for him, would have kept sheep in the Tuscan valleys all his life—the glorious Giotto, of whom we shall speak presently. Cimabue, besides being a painter, was a worker in mosaic, and an architect: he was employed, in conjunction with Arnolfo Lapi, in the building of the Church of Santa Maria dell' Fiore at Florence. Finally, having lived for more than sixty years in great honor and renown, he died in Florence about the year 1302, while employed on the mosaics of the Duomo of Pisa, and was carried from his house in the Via del Cocomero to the Church of Santa Maria dell' Fiore, where he was buried. The following epitaph was inscribed above his tomb:—

*"Credidit ut Cimabos picturæ castra tenere; Sic tenuit vivens—
nunc tenet astra poli."*

Besides the undoubted works of Cimabue preserved in the Churches of San Domenico, La Trinità, and Santa Maria Novella, in

Florence, and in the Academy of Arts in the same city, there are two Madonnas in the Gallery of the Louvre; one life-size, with angels, originally painted for the Convent of Saint Francis at Pisa; the other of a smaller size. From these productions we may judge of the real merit of Cimabue. In his figures of the Virgin he adhered almost servilely to the Byzantine models. The faces are ugly and vapid; the features elongated; the extremities meagre; the general effect flat; but to his heads of prophets, patriarchs, and apostles, whether introduced into his great pictures of the Madonna or in other sacred subjects, he gave a certain grandeur of expression and largeness of form, or, as Lanzi expresses it, "*un non so che forte e sublime*," in which he has not been greatly surpassed by succeeding painters; and this energy of expression—his chief and distinguishing excellence, and which gave him the superiority over Guido of Sienna and others who only painted Madonnas,—was in harmony with his personal character. He is described to us as exceedingly haughty and disdainful, of a fiery temperament, proud of his high lineage, his skill in art, and his varied acquirements, for he was well studied in all the literature of his age. If a critic found fault with one of his works when in progress, or if he were himself dissatisfied with it, he would at once destroy it, whatever pains it might have cost him. From these traits of character, and the bent of his genius, which leaned to the grand and terrible, rather than the gentle and graceful, he has subsequently been styled the Michael Angelo of his time. It is recorded of him that he painted a head of Saint Francis *after nature*, a thing, Vasari says, until then unknown; but the earliest head after nature which remains to us, was painted by Giunta Pisano, forty years before. It was the portrait of Frate Elia, a monk of Assisi. It is possible that Vasari means that the San Francesco was the first representation of a sacred personage for which nature had been taken for a model.

There is only one known portrait of Cimabue extant, and that is painted on the wall of the Chapel degli Spagnuoli in the Church of Santa Maria Novella, by Simone Memmi of Sienna, who was at Florence during the lifetime of Cimabue, and must have known him personally. This painting, although executed after Cimabue's death, has always been considered as authentic as a portrait.

Cimabue had several remarkable contemporaries. The greatest of these, and certainly the greatest artist of his time, was the

sculptor Nicola Pisano. The works of this extraordinary genius which have been preserved to our time, are so far beyond all contemporary art in knowledge of form, grace, expression and intention, that, if indisputable proofs of their authenticity did not exist, it would be pronounced incredible.

On a comparison of the works of Cimabue and Nicola Pisano, it is difficult to conceive that Nicola executed the bassi-relievi of the pulpit in the Cathedral of Pisa, while Cimabue was painting the frescoes in the church of Assisi. He was the first to discard the stiff monotony of the traditional forms for the study of nature and the antique. The story says that his emulative fancy was early excited by the beautiful antique sarcophagus on which is seen sculptured the Chase of Hippolytus. In this sarcophagus had been laid, a hundred years before, the body of Beatrice, the mother of the famous Countess Matilda, in the time of Nicola it was placed, as an ornament, in the Duomo of Pisa; and as a youth he had looked upon it from day to day, until the grace, the life and movement of the figures, struck him, in comparison with the barbarous art of his contemporaries, as nothing less than divine. Many before him had looked on this marble wonder, but to no one had it spoken as it spoke to him—he was the first to see the light and follow it.

Another contemporary of Cimabue, and his friend, was Andrea Tafi, the greatest worker in mosaic of his time. The assertion of Vasari, that he learned his art from the Byzantines, is now discredited; for it appears certain that the mosaic-workers of Italy (the forerunners of painting,) excelled the Greek artists then, and for a century or two before. Andrea Tafi died, very old, in 1294, and his principal works remain in the Duomo of Saint Mark in Venice, and in the Church of San Giovanni in Florence. Another famous mosaic-worker, also an intimate friend of Cimabue, was Gaddo Gaddi—remarkable for being the first of a family illustrious in several departments of art and literature. It must be remembered that the mosaic-workers of those times prepared and colored their own designs, and may therefore take rank with the painters.

Further, there remain pictures by painters of the Sienna school which date before the death of Cimabue, and particularly a picture by a certain Maestro Mino, dated 1289, which is spoken of as wonderful for invention and grandeur of style. Another

painter whose influence on the progress of art was unquestionably great, and who sprang from the Byzantine school, and surpassed it, was Duccio of Sienna, who painted from 1282—twenty years before the death of Cimabue,—to about 1339. A large picture by him, representing, in many compartments, the whole history of the Passion of Christ, is still preserved at Sienna; it excited, like Cimabue's Madonna, the pride and enthusiasm of his fellow-townsmen, and is yet regarded as wonderful for the age in which it was produced.

(Conclusion in September number.)

SAMUEL STEHMAN HALDEMAN.

THE writer of the following memoir had occasion to prepare a brief necrology of the late Professor Haldeman, soon after his lamented death, for one of the learned societies with which he was connected. In looking for material for the purpose, he was met with an *embarras des richesses*, which, owing to the limits then imposed upon him, he could not use; but, deeming the matter thus gathered of too much importance to be lost, he has employed it in the preparation of the following pages.

Samuel Stehman Haldeman was born August 12th, 1812, at Locust Grove, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, a family homestead situated on the eastern bank of the Susquehanna River, twenty miles below Harrisburg. He was descended, in the seventh generation, from Honeste Gaspard Haldimand, (Caspar Haldeman, German spelling,) of Thun, Switzerland, who became a citizen of Yverdun, Canton de Vaud, in 1671. His grandson Jacob, born October 7th, 1722, in a canton of Neufchatel, died December 31st, 1784, in Rappo Township, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, where he settled on first coming to this country and purchased a considerable tract of land. He adopted the German method of spelling his name, doubtless out of a desire for kindly feeling among his neighbors,—that section of the State being settled almost exclusively by Germans,—and took an active interest in the affairs of the colony, being chosen a member of the Committee of Public Safety for his adopted shire, on the breaking out of the war of the Revolution. The eldest brother of Jacob Haldeman was the noted British general, Sir Frederick Haldimand, K. B., who, after serving with distinction in the armies of Sardinia and Prussia, entered the military service of King George in 1754, was appointed Lieutenant Colonel of the Sixtieth Regiment Royal Americans, January, 1756, and the next year was despatched to America, which was to be the field of his future service, and where, prior to the Revolution, he made frequent visits to his brother in Lancaster County. Early in 1776, he was commissioned a general in America, and subsequently became Commander-in-Chief of His Majesty's forces, succeeding Guy

Carleton, Lord Dorchester, as Governor of the Province of Quebec, when he received the honor of knighthood, May 19, 1778. He administered this office until the close of 1784, when he returned to England and died at his native Yverdun, June 5, 1791, in his seventy-third year. A tablet has been erected to the memory of General Haldimand in Westminster Abbey, in the Chapel of Henry VII.

A niece of Jacob and Sir Frederick was Mrs. Marcet, the celebrated scientific writer, who was Jane Haldimand before she married Dr. Alexander Marcet. It seems as if this distinguished woman, whose name is almost unknown to the general reading public of to-day, should not be passed by unnoticed, especially in view of the fact that her kinsman, who is the special subject of this memoir, followed in some respects closely upon her footsteps. Mrs. Marcet was the first writer to attempt to popularize science by the publication of her *Conversations on Chemistry, Natural Philosophy, Botany, Mineralogy, Language and Political Economy*. Macaulay said of the last of these works: "Every girl who has read Mrs. Marcet's little dialogues on Political Economy, could teach Montague or Walpole many lessons in finance;" and Faraday gleaned his first knowledge of science from the book which heads the list. In long after years, when speaking of what he owed to this remarkable woman, Faraday wrote, "When I questioned Mrs. Marcet's book by such little experiments as I could find means to perform, and found it true to the facts as I could understand them, I felt that I had got hold of an anchor in chemical knowledge, and clung fast to it. Thence my deep veneration for Mrs. Marcet—first, as one who had conferred great personal good and pleasure on me; and then as one able to convey the truth and principle of those boundless fields of knowledge which concern natural things to the young, untaught, and inquiring mind. You may imagine my delight when I came to know Mrs. Marcet personally; how often I cast my thoughts backward, delighting to connect the past and present; how often, when sending a paper to her as a thank-offering, I thought of my first instructress; and such thoughts will remain with me."

Jacob Haldeman's son John (1753-1832,) settled at Locust Grove, which in turn became the property of his eldest son, John Brene-man Haldeman, (1779-1836,) from whom it passed to his fourth son, Henry Haldeman, (1787-1849,) who married Frances Stehman, (1794-1826,) and was the father of the subject of our notice. Samuel

Stehman Haldeman was the eldest of seven sons and as a boy developed great fondness for investigating nature. This taste was promoted by the encouragement he received from his estimable father, who was a bookish man and proud of the bent so early developed in the mind of his eldest son. When a mere child, he formed a museum of specimens in natural history and aboriginal stone implements, gathered in the vicinity of his home, which he located in the loft of the family carriage-house. Until the age of thirteen, he attended the local schools in the neighborhood, receiving such elementary groundwork as they were capable of affording. At this early age he had the misfortune to be deprived of a mother's care, but not until she had given him, through her superior musical acquirements, that correct ear for the notation of sound which made him in after-life such a capable phoneticist, and enabled him to form such accurate judgments in that branch of philology which he made his special study.

In the fall of 1826, when in his fifteenth year, he was taken to Harrisburg, and placed under the care of Dr. John Miller Keagy, who, having relinquished the practice of medicine, opened, at this time, a classical school, taking a few attendants, as boarders, into his family; among them young Haldeman and Andrew G. Curtin. Haldeman remained with Dr. Keagy for two years, and the intimate relations thus begun between teacher and pupil were cherished and preserved during the remaining brief years of the teacher's life; while the pupil tenderly showed his appreciation for the character and ability of his early friend, by several tributes to his memory, preserved respectively in Mombert's *History of Lancaster County, Pa.*, 1869; Barnard's *Journal of Education*, 1871; and the *Pennsylvania School Journal*, 1875. He speaks of him as a "great teacher," and says, "besides the classical languages, Dr. Keagy knew Hebrew, German and French. He had a taste for the natural sciences, and, in the absence of class-books, he taught orally in an excellent conversational style." From Dr. Keagy's school, young Haldeman entered Dickinson College, Carlisle, Pennsylvania, where his fondness for the natural sciences was fostered and advanced by his intercourse with the highly accomplished Professor Henry D. Rogers, one of the faculty.

Feeling trammelled, however, by the routine progress of a college course, he left Carlisle at the close of his second year and

returned to his home. Here he spasmodically assisted his father in the saw-milling business, but he found this less to his taste even than college life had been. Restraint of any kind seemed unbearable, as it was intolerable, to his active mind; he felt that he must follow the bias of his own inclination, or stand still. With this nature and a mind so organized, it is fortunate that the broad acres of science attracted him, for here was a field open on every side, where he could roam and burrow and plough as he would. He eagerly availed himself of the favorable opportunities for the observations of nature afforded him by the situation and surroundings of his paternal home. From an itinerant Methodist preacher he had early acquired some knowledge of the method of preparing zoological specimens, and at once exercised his art upon rabbits, possums, muskrats and other animals, which he stuffed and placed in his amateur collection. With a view also of preparing himself more completely for the study of the natural sciences, he attended a course of lectures at the Medical Department of the University of Pennsylvania, during the winter of 1833-34, but without any design of becoming a physician.

In 1835, Mr. Haldeman was married, by the Rev. H. B. Shaffner, to Miss Mary A. Hough, of Bainbridge, Pa., a direct lineal descendant of "John Hough, yeoman of Hough, County Chester, England, and Hanna his wife, who arrived in the river Delaware in the 9th mo., 1683, in the ship 'Friendship,' master, Robert Crossman." This lady was in every way fitted to be the helpmeet to a man of Dr. Haldeman's temperament, and it is a pleasure, as well as our privilege, to acknowledge the indebtedness we are under to Mrs. Haldeman, for the generous aid she has given us in the preparation of this memoir. Shortly after his marriage, Dr. Haldeman removed to Chickies, Pa., and took up his residence in the spacious mansion which he subsequently occupied through life, and which he named Chicquesalunga, the Indian name of the place. Here, later, he was joined by two brothers, Dr. Edwin and Paris Haldeman, and the three associated together in the manufacture of iron. As might be expected, Dr. Haldeman did not personally take any active management of the business during the many years of its continuance, but devoted himself to its theoretical advantage, where his chemical knowledge became of marked use. In this connection, he wrote for a number of *Silliman's Journal* a paper on the "Con-

struction of Furnaces to Smelt Iron with Anthracite," and in another gave "The Result of Smelting Iron with Anthracite," while, in 1855, he published a revised edition of *Taylor's Statistics of Coal*.

The year of his marriage, Dr. Haldeman also made his first appearance as an author, contributing to the *Lancaster Journal* an article in refutation of "Locke's Moon Hoax." To understand the true importance of this subject, we must step back nearly half a century and look at the question, as it first presented itself for consideration, without the help of subsequent development. It will be remembered that Richard Adams Locke, the editor of the *New York Sun*, published in the columns of that daily paper, in several successive issues, in August and September, 1835, the "Extraordinary Discoveries in the Moon by Sir John Herschell at the Cape of Good Hope," purporting to be copied from a "Supplement to the Edinburgh Journal of Science," in which it was pretended that, with a telescope twenty-four feet in diameter, animals had been observed moving in the moon. It can readily be imagined the intense excitement the report of such a wonderful discovery would universally create, and the report was written with such infinite ability, and couched in language so alluring, that it was well calculated to deceive an unsuspecting public. The press all over the country teemed with communications for and against the truth of the discovery, and the demand for the original report became so great, that the proprietors of the journal had an edition of sixty thousand, published in pamphlet form, which was sold off in less than a month. The following extract will give an idea of Dr. Haldeman's handling of the subject, and shows the searching scrutiny he from the first brought to bear upon the investigation of scientific subjects: "The magnifying power of the new telescope is said to be 42,000 times, and capable of distinguishing objects of a few inches in diameter on the lunar surface. Now this power is much too great for an instrument twenty-four feet in diameter, and still not great enough to distinguish objects of *eighteen* inches. The unassisted eye, when viewing the moon, can distinguish a spot of about seventy miles, and of course with a telescope magnifying seventy times, one mile of lunar surface would just be visible. According to the rule for calculating the power of telescopes, it would require a magnifying power of 37,000 to distinguish ten feet of lunar surface, and a lens to produce this power could not be less than *sixty feet* in diameter,

with a focal distance of three hundred feet. From this we may judge to what an extent the powers of a twenty-four foot diameter telescope have been overrated."

He now yearned for that opportunity for investigation which his amateur researches and explorations in several departments of natural science, had given the foretaste; and, upon making his wishes known to his old preceptor, Prof. Rogers, then in charge of the geological surveys of New Jersey and Pennsylvania, he was appointed, in 1836, an assistant in the former, and the following year was transferred to a similar position in the latter. His field of operation was that part of the State lying between the Blue Mountain and the South Mountain, from the Delaware to the Maryland line; the most important division in the State, owing to the intricacy of the geology of the section. While engaged in this occupation, he discovered the *Scolithus linearis*, a new genus and species of fossil plant, and the most ancient organic remains found in Pennsylvania, upon which he published a monograph in 1840. During his explorations, being in the vicinity of Hummelstown, he recollected the extravagant description given in Guthrie's *Geography*, which had been given to him when a boy by his Grandfather Haldeman, who was a subscriber to Carey's first American edition of 1794, of the cave on the Swatara. Upon visiting the place, he discovered the main cave, previously unknown, by climbing to a small hole, into which he crept, and found a descent, where a rope was required to reach the floor. In the apartment thus entered for the first time, every delicate stalactite was perfect; there was not a footprint on the soft clay floor, and the bones of bats were the only signs of prior occupants.

As he has, himself, said, "I collected shells on the banks of the Susquehanna long before I knew the meaning of genus and species;" so his first important treatise was in the attractive department of conchology. In July, 1840, he issued the first number of his *Freshwater Univalve Mollusca of the United States*, which was completed in nine parts, the final number not appearing until 1866, although the title-page bears the imprint, 1845, when the text and plates were ready for the press. This monograph was well received, and the *Revue Zoologique* of Paris commended it as "very well done in a scientific point of view, and perfectly executed in regard to the plates and typography." The correctness of this criticism, upon

the forty plates at least, can well be appreciated when we state that they were all engraved by Alexander Lawson, who produced the beautiful plates for Wilson's *Ornithology*, from drawings made by his accomplished daughter, Miss Helen A. Lawson, who also colored the illustrations from the natural objects. The complete volume has for embellishment, beside those necessarily belonging to the text, a portrait of the author and a view of his home, Chicquesalunga. As may readily be conceived from the desultory manner of publication, this work complete has become exceedingly difficult to obtain, and copies have brought, it is reported, as high as twenty-five and thirty dollars. While he was issuing this work, he projected another serial, to which he gave the general title of *Zoological Contributions*. Three numbers only were issued; in 1842, *On some American Species of Hydrachnidæ*; in 1843, *On the Impropriety of Using Vulgar Names in Zoology*, and in 1844, *On the Arrangement of Insect Cabinets*, with a view to indicate the geographical position of the species by colored labels, a plan which, we believe, has been universally adopted.

From his first appearance as a writer upon natural history, Dr. Haldeman seems never to have been idle, and Agassiz, in his *Bibliographia Zoologica et Geologica*, 1852, enumerates no less than seventy-three separate titles from his pen as having appeared up to that date. The majority of these papers were published in the *Journal* or the *Proceedings* of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia; *The Boston Journal of Natural History*; *Silliman's Journal of Arts and Sciences*; *The Transactions or the Proceedings* of the American Philosophical Society; *The American Journal of Agriculture*, and the *Proceedings* of the American Association for the Advancement of Science; and are principally upon one or the other of his, up to that time, favorite subjects,—entomology or conchology. In addition to these, however, he wrote for Trego's *Geography of Pennsylvania*, 1843, outlines of the *zoology* of the State, covering the ground, in so short a space, very fully; for Rupp's *History of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania*, 1844, a sketch of the *natural history*, including the geology, of the county; for Dr. Chenu's magnificent folio, *Illustrations Conchyliologiques*, Paris, 1847, a *Monographie du genre Leptaxis*, with one hundred and seventy colored figures, and for the American edition of Heck's *Iconographic Encyclopædia*, 1851, edited by the present able

Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, Professor Spencer F Baird, *Zoology of the Invertebrate Animals*.

Beside the investigations and discoveries in the natural sciences by Dr. Haldeman, that have already been mentioned, he was the first to record that the peregrine falcon nests in rocks, as in Europe, and not in trees, as Wilson and others had supposed; and also that the American eagle is a fishing eagle, and, when he cannot rob the fish-hawk, will dive after the fish for himself. These two observations he had made when yet quite young, as he had secured young falcon from the nest in the cliff (Chickies Rock,) which rises behind his late residence, and from his father's house had watched the manœuvres of an eagle who had a nest in a large buttonwood tree, on an island about a mile distant. He also found and described a new species of *trilobite* in Pennsylvania, which he presented to his friend, the distinguished palæontologist of New York, Professor James Hall, who named it, in honor of the discoverer, *Proetus Haldemani*.

Dr. Haldeman very early took a deep interest in the languages of the North American Indians, and, as an aid to the study of ethnology, he now devoted his attention to the science of language in general; and doubtless it will be as a learned and accurate philologist that his labors will be best remembered. His investigations in this most interesting study were not directed so much to the origin and source of language, as to rendering it facile of acquirement and expression—his specialty being the notation of the elementary sounds uttered by the human voice in speech, thus reaching the form of language, which is merely the peculiar method of uniting thought with sound. He had carefully considered the phoneticism, or manner of pronunciation, of several of the Indian tribal languages, before committing his views to print, and so thoroughly had he done this, that his first noticeable contribution to the science of philology was accepted for publication in the Proceedings of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, at Boston, for October, 1849. It was entitled "Some Points in Linguistic Ethnology, with Illustrations Chiefly from the Aboriginal Languages of North America," and had for its basis the recently published *Essentials of Phonetics, containing the Theory of a Universal Alphabet*, by the well-known phonologist, Alexander John Ellis, of Trinity College, Cambridge. Dr. Haldeman's paper was prepared with

much judgment and showed the result of his long, careful study of the sounds of the human voice, and which he brought to bear with great pungency upon the theories advanced by Mr. Ellis. In the course of his inquiries into the phonetic peculiarities of the native Indian languages, Dr. Haldeman frequently found himself at a loss to record his results, from the want of a proper alphabet, and, resolving to use the Latin alphabet strictly according to its Latin signification, he determined first to carefully investigate its fitness for the purpose by ascertaining the correct ancient pronunciation. This special inquiry resulted in the publication of his *Elements of Latin Pronunciation*, 1851, which received a warm and universal welcome, both at home and abroad, and appeared in a second edition twenty-two years later. This was followed, in 1853, by *Investigation of the Power of the Greek Z, by Means of Phonetic Laws*, and, in 1856, by a monograph *On the Relations between Chinese and the Indo-European Languages*, and a report to the American Association for the Advancement of Science *On the Present State of our Knowledge of Linguistic Ethnology*, in which he specially points out the unphilosophic principles of Professor Lepsius's lately published *Standard Alphabet for Reducing Unwritten Languages and Foreign Graphic Systems to a Uniform Orthography in European Letters*.

The studies which resulted in the preceding publications, together with his lectures on the *Mechanism of Speech*, before the Smithsonian Institution, prepared Dr. Haldeman to compete for the prize of £100 offered by Sir Walter Trevelyan, President of the Phonetic Society of Great Britain, for the best essay "On a Reform in the Spelling of the English Language, to contain among other features an Analysis of the System of Articulate Sounds—an Exposition of those occurring in English—and an Alphabetic Notation, in which as few new types as possible should be admitted." There were eighteen essays submitted in competition, all by learned European philologists, excepting Dr. Haldeman; and none of them, in the opinion of the judges appointed to decide upon their merits, came up fully to the conditions of the offer. But the judges specially commended the essay with the motto, "*Fiat justitia, ruat cælum*;" and the founder of the prize, himself an accomplished philologist, decided to give half the amount to the writer of this essay and the balance on his undertaking to revise, complete and publish it. The

commended essay was the work of the subject of this notice, and, under date of December 3, 1855, he wrote "To the Adjudicators upon the Essays placed in competition for the Trevelyan Prizes:" "As I accede to the desire of the learned and noble donor that my competing essay should be revised, completed and published, I am desirous of having notes and suggestions from any of you, to enable me to form an idea of the principles upon which you would have liked to see such an essay formed." To prepare himself more thoroughly for the work, Dr. Haldeman made a four months' tour on the Continent; "searching for phonetic material and confirming or correcting former impressions." He returned home in July, 1859, and immediately prepared his prize essay for the press, which appeared in the spring of 1860, with the title *Analytic Orthography: an Investigation of the Sounds of the Voice and their Alphabetic Notation; including the Mechanism of Speech and its Bearing upon Etymology*. In forwarding the presentation copies to the donor and adjudicators, he writes: "My notation being based on more rigid principles than the alphabets hitherto proposed, will probably be viewed with as much distrust by those who have heterotypic prejudices, as the gait of a European woman would be regarded by a Chinese lady. But whatever merit may be conceded to the general treatment of the Essay, I assure you that as much consideration has been given to the notation as to the general subject; so that if the reader has reason to believe me wrong on this point, he has a just ground to suspect the validity of the entire system; and contrariwise, in proceeding in the proper order from the system to the notation."

Dr. Haldeman, in this treatise, lays down six canons of notation, as the basis of a true phonetic orthography: I. "Every simple sound or element should have a single letter to represent it;" II. "No letter should represent more than one sound;" III. "Sounds made by one contact of the organs of speech are not to be represented by a letter made to represent a sound belonging to a different contact;" IV. "The group of letters representing a distinct word, is to be separated by spacing from preceding and succeeding groups and the order of Latin typography is to be preserved;" V. "The Latin alphabet should be the basis, each letter being used in its Latin sense and restricted to the sound it was made for;" VI. "When a sound unknown to Latin has arisen,

it should be provided with a new or modified character." The importance of phonology and the necessity for a philosophical and scientific basis, for the construction of a general alphabet to record an unwritten language, rather than leave it to the vagaries of each individual who may be called upon to write it for the first time, will be admitted at once upon reflecting that all language is in its normal state unwritten, and has to be first expressed in some characters which will, as nearly as possible, represent the normal sound. The first five rules laid down by Dr. Haldeman seem well calculated to assist in overcoming many of the impediments presented to those endeavoring to record unwritten tongues, but they present the common difficulty, found in most of the similar systems, in requiring too varied a knowledge and too great nicety for general practical use. Dr. Haldeman's sixth rule, however, is open, not only to the serious objection of uncertainty, but also to the far greater one of introducing new characters into the alphabet, when none but Roman letters should be used. The attempted introduction of new characters into our written language by the so-called "spelling reformers," will be one of the principal hindrances to the acceptance of certain modifications in spelling, which could and should be made. But, of this subject, more anon.

During the next five years following the publication of the Trevelyan Prize Essay, Dr. Haldeman was not idly resting on the laurels he had won, although in this period nothing of importance proceeded from his pen. But he was at work, hard at work, and in 1865 he published what is probably the most generally useful of all his philological works,—*Affixes; in their Origin and Application exhibiting the Etymologic Structure of English Words*, a revised edition of which appeared in 1871. The labor of preparing such a book as this must have been simply enormous; and if Dr. Haldeman is correct, that there are not three hundred roots in any language, the value and importance of a knowledge of the affixes—prefixes and suffixes,—which give form and meaning to the whole body of English words, can readily be seen and appreciated, as the only true means of correctly understanding a language is to trace all words to their fountain source, the original derivation. This work was earnestly welcomed by the most competent authorities in Europe and in this country. A writer in the *Contemporary Review* says of it: "Mr. Haldeman has compressed in an elegantly printed octavo volume

a collection more rational, complete and exhaustive of the component parts of our language than we have had any good right to hope for within the present century."

When the formation of an American Philological Association was suggested, Dr. Haldeman, as might be expected, was foremost in the ranks of the founders, being enrolled at the first meeting, held, in July, 1869, at Poughkeepsie, N. Y. From this time until his death, he was most active in its proceedings, being First Vice-President 1874-1876 and President 1876-77. To its published volumes of Transactions, he contributed many papers, the first being on the "German Vernacular of Pennsylvania." This curiously interesting language he afterwards made the subject of extended examination, at the request of the Philological Society of London, the result appearing in 1872, with the title *Pennsylvania Dutch: a Dialect of South German with an impression of English*. Dr. Haldeman's last published philological work, *Outlines of Etymology*, was issued in 1877, in the preface to which he states his object to be "to teach etymology as other sciences are taught." An elaborate review of this volume will be found in the PENN MONTHLY for March, 1878. Dr. Haldeman was one of the earliest movers for spelling reform in this country. "He was a member in 1875," writes Professor F. A. March, of Lafayette College, "of the first committee raised by the American Philological Association to consider the reform of English spelling. He presided at the 'International Convention in behalf of the Amendment of English Orthography' held at Philadelphia in July, 1876, and took a leading part in shaping its proceedings. At this Convention the Spelling Reform Association was organized, and Dr. Haldeman was one of the Vice Presidents. He was also one of the Committee on the alfabet and on new spelling. He was a regular attendant at all accessible meetings of the Association, often presiding, always contributing papers, and making the discussions lively by constant timely comment, lerned, trenchant and mirth-provoking. He also contributed freely with pen and money to the advancement of the cause in every direction. His address to the American Philological Association at the close of his presidency of that Association in 1877, was devoted mainly to this reform. Several of his papers are printed in the Proceedings and Bulletins of the Spelling Reform Association. He was strongly in favor of pushing for the thoro adoption of the Continental values of our

letters." That some change in the present cumbrous system of spelling is desirable, there can be no doubt. But how is it to be accomplished? To be universally accepted, it must be based upon some immutable standard. But what shall that standard be? If any rule of pronunciation could be absolutely fixed, then that the spelling should follow the sounds of the voice in correctly uttering words, would seem the most rational and wise. But is this phonetic method practicable? It seems to us that there are two great stumbling-blocks in the way of introducing phonetic spelling for popular and general use. It takes a very delicate and carefully trained ear to discriminate nicely all the varying and distinct sounds the human voice is capable of making; and, even although the ear may detect them, the voice, from the very nature of the vocal organs, cannot always reproduce them. This undeniable fact, among adults at least, produces a diversity of pronunciation. Especially is this noticeable in the different vowel sounds and can readily be observed in adult attempts to study a foreign tongue. If such then is the case, as we contend, the phonetic method would lack uniformity, without which quality it can never become universal, for it would be wanting in that great requisite, stability. The next objection is more potent even than the last. It is the one raised to Dr. Haldeman's sixth rule. If all other difficulties are overcome "Spelling Reform," it seems to us, can never become a success as long as one of its requirements is a change in the form of the familiar characters of our alphabet, which has stood such good service so many hundred years. It is not only a change, a superadded diacritical mark, but it is the addition of some dozen new characters that is proposed, when a cutting down of the number of the old ones would seem wiser. The reform that would soon commend itself to the English-speaking peoples, would be the dropping of all silent letters where they appear in words now uniformly and universally pronounced without their aid. This would be a conservative reform, and one that could not meet with reasonable opposition. The importance of the subject and the deep interest taken in it by Dr. Haldeman, must be our excuse for this brief digression.

Dr. Haldeman was always much interested in education, and made a constant crusade against the erroneous statements so often present in educational literature, exposing them in print and from the rostrum. On one occasion, at a meeting of educators at Altoona,

Pa., some one present recommended Harper's *Willson's Readers*, when Dr. Haldeman, off-hand, made some remarks pointing out their general inaccuracy. Subsequently, he published *Notes on Harper's Willson's Readers*, (1870,) a most scathing review designed to show the injurious effects of placing such inexact matter in the hands of the young—it being much worse to teach them wrong than not to teach them at all. Of a similar character was his *Quackery in American Literature* and *American Dictionaries*, both of which originally appeared in the *Southern Review*, to which he was a constant contributor. As a relaxation from severe mental strain, Dr. Haldeman, in 1864, daintily printed, in a limited edition, *Tours of a Chess Knight*, which was designed to show how to perform by dictation, and without seeing the chess-board, the problem of the Knight's Tour, in which a knight passes over the board, touching each spot but once. It contains one hundred and fourteen diagrams and is supplemented by a *Bibliography of the Chess Knight's Tour*, embracing sixty titles with explanatory notes. This booklet is inscribed with much propriety "To George Allen, author of the Life of Philidor," for whose unique chess-library a single copy was printed on superior Dutch writing-paper, which was afterwards placed in the hands of those masters of the bibliopegic art, Messrs. Pawson and Nicholson, of Philadelphia, who bound it superbly in the style of Grolier. In 1868, Dr. Haldeman published his amusing *Rhymes of the Poets by Felix Ago*, which, although in the line of his phonological studies, was really thrown off as a pastime. It consists of specimens of false rhymes from one hundred and fourteen prominent writers, of the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries, and some of the examples thus brought together are truly ludicrous. For recreation, he tried his own hand at versification, and he has left in manuscript two lengthy mock-heroic poems,—*Flight of the Fishes* and *Rat and River: a Tale of the Ohio*,—both of them written in the doggerel style.

Although always interested in archæology, Dr. Haldeman only became actively engaged in the study during the latter part of the year 1875. Having been ordered to take exercise for his health, he carried out an intention long contemplated of digging for Indian relics in what is now known as the Chickies Rock retreat. Here, in a shallow cave formed by the anticlinal axis of the rock, within the grounds of his own residence, he found the interesting

collection which he presented to the American Philosophical Society, and fully described in a paper read before that body June 21, 1878. This monograph, *On the Contents of a Rock Retreat in South Eastern Pennsylvania*, has been published by the Society since Dr. Haldeman's death, with fifteen large quarto plates. His remaining archæological contributions are *On a Polychrome Bead from Florida*, in the Smithsonian Report for 1877; *Gleanings*, in the *American Antiquarian* for July, 1878; *On Unsymmetric Arrow-heads and Allied Forms*, in the *American Naturalist* for May, 1879; and *Stone Axes from British Guiana and Aboriginal Pottery*, in the Proceedings of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, 1880.

From the preceding pages, it will be seen what a busy, active, earnest life Dr. Haldeman led from the very opening of his career; and yet the story is only half told. He was chosen Professor of Zoology in the Franklin Institute, Philadelphia, in 1842; Chemist and Geologist to the Pennsylvania State Agricultural Society, 1852; occupied the Chair of Natural History in the University of Pennsylvania 1850 to 1853, and the same position in Delaware College, Newark, 1855 to 1858. When it was thought desirable, in 1869, to provide a Chair of Comparative Philology in the University of Pennsylvania, Professor Haldeman was immediately chosen to fill it, and in 1876 the University conferred upon him the degree of Doctor of Laws. In addition to the duties entailed by these several professorships, he was an active member of many learned societies, as their publications fully attest, and he was complimented by honorary membership in a number of scientific bodies, both in this country and in Europe. His published writings alone number over one hundred separate titles and these even do not show the whole amount of his literary work. He assisted in the preparation for the press of Lynch's *Dead Sea Expedition*, was for some time editor of the *Pennsylvania Farmer's Journal*, and edited the department of Comparative Philology and Linguistics in Johnson's *New Universal Encyclopædia*, at the same time writing some score of articles for its pages. To him often were submitted also by the Smithsonian Institution, papers for examination and his opinion upon the expediency of their publication; and he has left behind him in manuscript two complete philological works,—one on *Word-Building*, now in press, and the other on *English Prosody*, which it is contemplated to publish hereafter.

Not only did Professor Haldeman freely devote his entire time to the investigation and development of his favorite studies, but he was equally generous with his money and collections in aiding others. To the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia, he presented the original shells figured in his *Freshwater Univalve Mollusca*, together with the remainder of the edition of the work, while, to the Delessert-Lamarck Collection of Paris, he presented those figured in his French work on the genus *Leptoxis*. Since his death, to carry out his wishes, his large collection of aboriginal remains has been distributed among the Academy of Natural Sciences, the Smithsonian Institution, the Museum of Natural History, Central Park, New York, and the Linnæan Society of Lancaster, Pa., while his annotated dictionaries have been deposited with the Library Company of Philadelphia.

Dr. Haldeman made six visits abroad for purposes of recreation and study, travelling in England, Ireland, Wales, and on the Continent. He was full of anecdote and an excellent story-teller, and he would relate with great relish how, at a *bal d'opera* in Paris, under a mask, he talked with a Russian savant in all the principal European languages. His interlocutor, in vain attempting to guess his nationality, at last informed him that he must be a Russian, but with sarcastic incredulity; whereupon, Dr. Haldeman repeated a verse in *Russ*, that made the other gasp with wonder when he was told that he was conversing with an American. He also travelled through most of the United States, often making extended tours, in his own conveyance, for the purposes of observation and adding to his collections of natural history. Dr. Haldeman was fond of intercourse with his fellow-men and very generally availed himself of the opportunities offered by the annual meetings of the learned bodies with which he was associated, to meet his co-laborers in the various departments of science. It was on returning from one of these reunions that he was struck with the illness that proved his last. He had been in attendance at the meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, held in Boston towards the end of last August, where he read the two archæological papers before mentioned. On returning home, he complained of physical prostration, but could not be induced to lay all work aside and take the called-for rest. At last he succumbed and contented to remain in bed, but it was too late. This was on the

morning of Friday, September 10th, 1880, and in the evening, at seven o'clock, he suddenly passed away. His death was occasioned by heart disease, to which he was hereditarily predisposed, and he died in communion with the Roman Catholic Church, having united himself with that sect late in life, after much consideration of the subject.

Dr. Haldeman was a wonderfully practical man for a student, and, owing no doubt to the catholicity of his studies, had none of the narrowness so common among scientists. He delighted in communicating his varied stores of learning, either verbally or by letter, to the numerous applicants who sought from him light on hidden mysteries in science, and was possessed of an inexhaustible fund of quaint and comical out-of-the-way things, which he related in a manner as dry and humorous as the things themselves. He loved a joke, and the writer remembers to have seen an envelope sent by him through the mail, to the Collins Printing House of this city, directed to "Jayne's *Hair Expectorant* Street," with a bottle drawn between "Jayne's" and "Street," and some of the letters otherwise comically treated. He was free from all jealousies himself and seems to have been equally fortunate in not engendering jealousy in others;—thus he had warm friends and admirers among his scientific brethren, even although they may have differed with him on scientific topics. He was an accomplished linguist and a sound and thorough worker in every field he ploughed, the great Agassiz saying of him: "That man Haldeman has an idea behind every word he utters." We will conclude this memoir, in which we have endeavored to correctly portray the life and studies of one of our foremost students, by giving an appreciation of his philological acquirements from the pen of his friend, Professor March: "Professor Haldeman was in early life and by his mental constitution a scientist, and he took hold of the facts of speech in that spirit. He had a delicate ear and flexible organs of speech, and could pronounce with ease the most unutterable savage vocables. His scientific habit enabled him to watch and describe the movements of the organs in producing all sorts of sounds, and to give the physical processes, or causes, of the changes in the sounds of words from age to age. He devoted much study to these subjects, seeking living speakers of every nation and tribe, and imitating and recording their peculiarities. He applied his knowledge of the laws of

letter-change to etymology—chiefly, so far as I know, to the derivation of English words and affixes. His text books on that subject are full of ingenious observation and careful scientific deduction.

“He was also a great reader of old English books in their early editions, and he treasured in his memory the curiosities of spelling and pronunciation, the rimes and puns, and the like, which he found there.

“He busied himself also with the Pennsylvania Dutch, as it is called, and traced it to its sources in Europe. He read largely the German works on the science of language; but he was an independent observer, and more likely to be biased by his critical temper than by absorption in any systems.

“He was a leader in these branches of study, and perhaps the most active promoter in America of the use in our schools of the ancient method of pronouncing Latin and Greek. He will be missed by every one at the gatherings he so long enlivened and enlightened. We shall not look upon his like again.”

CHARLES HENRY HART.

PRIMARY ELECTIONS—REFORM IN THE DELEGATE
SYSTEM OF NOMINATIONS.

A Government is said to be republican when the people elect their own rulers. Officers holding public trusts should be placed in power by the will of the majority. By the casting of his ballot, the citizen delegates to another the right to frame and administer laws which affect the freedom of his actions, his dominion over his possessions, and the relations between his Government and foreign nations. In a free Government, where the people elect their own rulers, a majority of the predominant political party should obtain the nomination and election to office of the candidate who is the real expression of their will. When, through the machinations of ingenious and unprincipled men, a system has been established by which the majority can be prevented from nominating, and therefore from electing, those individuals who are their choice, the liberty of the people is invaded by those persons who have accomplished a perversion of the elective franchise. That this result has been effected in our own country, is beyond question. It is universally conceded that a majority of either party is not able to place in nomination for office the candidates of their choice, if opposed by the political bosses,—men who, by their control of the political machinery in both the Republican and Democratic parties, place in nomination candidates who are not the choice of the majority, and fasten on the people the support of unprincipled office-holders, who lead a life of comparative ease, and fatten on the funds gleaned from the tax-payers. These men have no conscience in the execution of their public trusts. Political life to them is simply the science of keeping themselves, and those with whom they divide the spoils, in power; and keeping out of power all those whose purity of character would lead to an exposition of their own crookedness. As they rely on the money that can be made out of public office for their support, the management of nominations is their business. To accomplish their end, it is necessary that, in the nomination of candidates, a very small body of voters, acting in concert, should be able to control the suffrage of a vast majority. This is accomplished through the method used by both political parties for packing nominating conventions.

The present method of placing candidates in nomination by the election of delegates to express the will of each election precinct, is open to the very serious objection that, even if the votes be properly counted, (which is seldom the case,) the voters have no guarantee that the delegate elected to represent them at the nominating convention will vote for the candidate of their choice. As very few citizens are possessed of any information on the subject of primary elections, it may be well to give a brief account of what they are, and how they are conducted.

The primaries are the elections held by the Republican and Democratic parties for the purpose of nominating candidates. Prior to the general elections, in each election division, at a stated time fixed by the rules of the respective parties, delegates are voted for, who are sent to conventions, where they give the vote of their division in favor of the candidate who is the choice of those they represent. To make a perfectly clear explanation, suppose, in a ward of the city which is strongly Republican, a member of Common Councils is to be chosen; and suppose the ward in which this vacancy exists contain fifteen divisions, each containing about 250 voters. At the Republican primary election held for nominating a candidate for this position, each division would elect a delegate to a council convention; and a majority of the fifteen delegates thus elected would determine the nomination. If the public officer to be chosen represents a larger election district,—as, for instance, a Member of Congress,—the delegates elected from each election division, instead of having a direct vote on the nomination, elect other delegates, who represent them in the convention representing the election district entitled to the nomination. Of course, if the ward or district making the nomination has a strong party majority, the candidate who can obtain the votes of a sufficient number of delegates, is secure of the office for which he is an aspirant.

In Philadelphia, these elections are held twice a year,—in the months of September and January, about six weeks prior to the general elections in November and February. There is no law which requires that notice shall be given to voters by publication or otherwise, so that, in point of fact, in all election districts in which there is a party majority, nomination is equivalent to election, and a public officer is chosen without the large majority of voters being aware of what has taken place.

These elections are entirely managed by probably not more than half a dozen individuals, who undertake the labor, on what they term, and a great many persons are led to believe, purely patriotic principles; but a very little investigation would show that the crowd who stand around the polls and attempt to influence the voting, have a very material interest in the result, and that, with very few exceptions, they are "employed" in some public department, and do the bidding of some political boss, who, in turn, owes his place to some public functionary of greater dignity, to whom he is also subject. The leading worker in a division is generally a member of the ward executive committee of the party to which he belongs. He has great influence in the choice of delegates, but, as he owes his place in the executive committee to the support of the "workers" in the division, it is necessary for him to keep them in good humor by an impartial distribution of political favors. The officers who conduct the primaries are a judge and two inspectors, who are chosen at the primary election held in September, to hold office for the succeeding year. A few days prior to the holding of the primary election, a meeting of the division association (as the league of party workers which exists in each voting precinct is called,) is held, and the persons to be placed on the ticket as delegates to the different nominating conventions determined upon, according to the views of the political "boss" who has most office-holders dependent on him in the division. In many cases, where it is deemed important, the delegates to nominating conventions are instructed simply to have themselves elected delegates from their divisions, and, when they are chosen by the people, they will then receive from the party headquarters instructions for whom to cast their vote.

I know, of my own knowledge, of a plot having been formed by the "ring" to defeat in this way the nomination of a gentleman who had rendered valuable service in the cause of reform legislation. Orders were issued from the headquarters of the various departments, to the employés of the public, to elect in each division of the ward delegates to the nominating convention. The delegates, to obtain their election, were to feign to represent the most popular candidate, but, once arrived in convention, they were to receive instructions from their political "bosses" as to the candidate for whom they were to cast their vote. In the instance I have related,

the plan was perfected, but an aroused public opinion in the way of reform, and the danger of the popular man running as an independent candidate, caused a halt in the proceedings; and this political still-hunt was given up.

This is merely an instance of the way in which *political bosses* make use of the system of *nominations by delegates* to defeat candidates dangerous to the "ring." Any political worker who showed an inclination to rebel against the orders of his chief, would be *pulled*—and *pulled* is a word of political parlance which means that a man, paid by public funds to deliver your letters or guard your property, has been told, by an officer holding a high public trust, that he is to *steal your vote*, under penalty of losing his *daily bread*. "I can't vote; I want to, but, if I do, I have been told I would lose my situation." This one hears, even in the most trivial political contest; and I have heard men so situated bitterly lament the shame of the political bondage in which they were held, but, knowing their necessities, I could not ask them to throw off their fetters, and lose their living. But it is high time for the American people to arise in their might, and show these political "bosses," who are undermining our free institutions, that those whom the *people pay, represent the people*; that those who can best serve the public, the public are entitled to have *employed*, and that those who can prove themselves, in fair competition, best *fitted*, are entitled to the place, their conscience not bound by any shackles. But this must be brought about by "Civil Service Reform legislation," necessary, in my opinion, to preserve our free institutions, and which should proceed hand-in-hand with a reform in the method of filling the elective offices.

Where there are few office-holders, and the political workers feel they do not receive their due share of the spoils, the delegates are perfectly venal, and I have known a delegate to quietly announce to a candidate that the party had done very little for him, and his vote was for the man who gave most money for it.

In addition to all these disadvantages, the nominating conventions for lesser offices are generally conducted in such a riotous manner, that it would be very difficult to get citizens in whom the public could repose confidence to act as delegates, if they could be elected. But the election of delegates opposed by the party leaders would be impossible, as they would be opposed by the party workers

in each division, who know the residence and politics of each voter, and would take care to pledge their votes in advance, and see that each vote under their influence was cast, and who make it their business to cultivate a large acquaintance among the more ignorant and unprincipled voters, who cast their ballots as they are requested by the person who first solicits them.

A citizens' delegate, if he did receive a plurality of votes, would then have to run the gauntlet of the technicalities of the party rules which would be urged against him.

So that, by the present system of nomination for office, the voter, supposed to be a free citizen, exercising his dearest privilege, that of designating his choice of those who shall have dominion over his person or property, is placed in this ridiculous position: his vote, and the votes of other citizens, are tied up in packages, and delivered, by the delegates who represent a vote of a division, according to the orders of the political "bosses," without a remedy for the disfranchised voters, unless they can prove corrupt solicitation. Nor does the evil end here; for, according to our system, the minor officers elect those who fill more responsible positions. The Legislators elect Senators. The Common Councils fill numerous municipal offices. The judges elect the prothonotary of the courts. So that there is a mutual dependence on each other for political existence of the greater and lesser office-holders. It is very evident that the division worker, who bears the labor at the polls, and personally works up the votes, cannot afford to go unrewarded, and it is equally evident that the office-holder, who is the political patron of the division worker, cannot allow his retainer to be independent. So that persons in the positions of higher trust are continually tempted to make positions they can fill with their retainers, and the political workers, of course, are most zealous in the cause of those who best reward their supporters at the expense of the public. Thus has politics degenerated into a trade; and the study of the office-holder is to strengthen his cause with the machine, to whom he does owe his election, instead of with the people, to whom he should owe it.

The corner-stone of this whole system, which has given rise to so much political corruption, is the principle of delegate conventions for the purpose of making nominations. It may be necessary to express the will of very large numbers of voters through a

system of delegates elected to represent election districts; but, in the nomination of a candidate for an office which is in the gift of a ward of a city, or of a small district, in which each voter can thoroughly inform himself of the merits of all aspirants for public honors, a delegation of power is not requisite for convenience, and is pernicious to the public good. The voter, in simply voting for a division delegate, loses sight of the important duty he is to fulfil in becoming an elector of one who is to be the holder of an important public trust, and who is to be also the elector of others holding positions of greater responsibility than himself. If the voters at all primaries in which ward offices are to be filled, should be allowed to vote directly for the candidate, they would feel the responsibility of investigating the merits of their candidate, and have some assurance that their votes could not be thrown out through the technicalities of party rules as to the election of delegates, or by the corruption of delegates themselves. And any citizen, able to command sufficient patronage, could place himself in nomination without being subject to the domination of political bosses.

To the objection that, by having a direct vote for the candidate, there would be a large scattering vote, and that no candidate would receive a majority vote on first ballot, and that a second ballot could not be taken, I would reply that the delegates, in making a second choice, cannot pretend to represent the wishes of their constituents. The will of the voters would be as well expressed by placing the candidate who received the largest number of votes in nomination for the office to be filled. By this modification of the system of delegate elections, the people would be unfettered in their choice, and responsible for the election of incompetent officers, while a competition, in which each aspirant would have to rely upon his own merits, would be opened to all. Thus, the lesser political offices would be filled by men who partly represent the will of the people, and who feel that they are responsible to them for the proper conduct of their office, and not to the "rounders," or division workers.*

If this could be effected, and the source of political power made pure, the highest offices of State would be filled by men of

* I believe a system somewhat similar to this has been successfully tried in Crawford County, Pennsylvania.

more distinguished integrity. In order to effect any reform, more effective legislation is necessary for protection against the frauds that are now committed with such impunity by the election officers at primaries. The recent act of the Pennsylvania Legislature only applies to corrupt solicitation. The election officers of the primary elections should be subject to the same penalties for malfeasance as have been enacted against the officers who conduct the general elections. They should not be mere volunteers, who fulfil the laborious task of counting votes for the sake of making a start in political life, but should be paid officials, receiving their remuneration from the public funds, and liable to removal and punishment for dereliction of duty. The plan I would suggest is that the inspectors of election should be regularly elected at the general elections, and count the votes at all elections, primary and general; be obliged to enter bond, and subject to severe penalties; and that each party should select a judge of election to enforce the party rules as to the qualification of voters. The judge might very well be a volunteer officer, as his decisions would be known at the time they were made, and would be simply the enforcement of party regulations. But the counters of votes have simply a ministerial duty to perform, and should be held to the strictest accountability, and made directly responsible to the courts.

In addition to these changes, I would not permit any one to enter the room where the ballots are received, except the regular election officers. The admission of others causes confusion, and increases the opportunities of perpetrating fraud. The election officers should be watched by competent window-book men, and police officers should be stationed near the polls, to see that the election officers and voters are not interfered with by the crowd.

If steps be taken in the direction suggested for the reform of the system of placing candidates in nomination for the elective offices, a most important movement could be made by the best element in both political parties to advance hand-in-hand with Civil Service Reform legislation, adopting competitive test examinations as a test of qualification for those places now filled by the appointment of officers elected by the people.

EDWARD FENNO HOFFMAN.

UNIVERSITY ITEMS.

THE UNIVERSITY CLUB OF PHILADELPHIA.

TOWARD the close of the year 1874, the Board of Managers of the Society of the Alumni of the University of Pennsylvania appointed a committee to consider the question of a Centennial Alumni Celebration. This committee consisted of Jno. Neill, M. D., chairman; Rev. James W. Robins, D. D., Jno. B. Gest, Esq., Jos. G. Rosengarten, Esq., and I. Minis Hays, M. D., with Messrs. Jos. de F. Junkin and L. F. Benson as secretaries. On January 21st, 1875, a circular was issued and addressed to all the prominent college men in the city. The circular stated that the committee had been authorized to add to their number such "Alumni of the various Departments of the University as might take an interest in the subject, the Alumni Associations of Colleges organized in Philadelphia, and all graduates resident in the city." It then invited the gentlemen to whom it was addressed to meet the committee in the Chapel of the University on January 26th, 1875. At a meeting of this augmented committee, Henry Armitt Brown, Esq., Mr. Thomas and Col. Nevin were appointed a committee to prepare and report a plan for the formation of an association of Alumni resident in Philadelphia. The labors of this committee of three resulted finally in the organization of the "Permanent Alumni Committee," with Dr. Neill as chairman. This Permanent Committee maintained an active existence during the celebration of the Centennial, and entertained many of the distinguished men at that time visiting our city.

With the members of this committee originated the idea of forming in this city a permanent organization or club of college men. Various suggestions were advanced and informally discussed. No conclusion was reached, however, and, in consequence, no positive movement ever made in the matter.

With the termination of the Centennial, came the gradual disintegration of the committee. All interest in the subject seemed to die out. Especially was this the case with the Alumni. The subject had been suggested, it had been discussed, and nothing had come of it. Certainly it looked as though nothing ever would. But the men who were then in college had heard of the matter and

with them it seemed to take deep root. Of course, they were unable to accomplish anything more than just to keep the subject alive. As evidence of this, we find the Prophet of the Class of 1879 publicly referring to a University Club. He pictures his class's twentieth annual class-supper, which is being celebrated at what he styles the "United Universities," and (in a parenthesis,) stoutly maintains that there *will* be a "United Universities" in 1899.

For a year and a half more, nothing was done. The feeling among the men who had graduated since the Centennial, in favor of such an organization, however, grew stronger and stronger. At length, on December 16th, 1880, the Board of Managers of the Society of the Alumni appointed a committee of five to investigate the feasibility of establishing such a club in this city. They were empowered to add to their number four additional members, each a representative of some different college, to collect names and subscriptions, and were instructed to report to the Society at its meeting last June. It was with great difficulty that five gentlemen could be induced to serve on the committee. Among the older members, this was especially the case. To them the project seemed a hopeless one—although they were united in the belief that, if such a club *could* be organized, it would be a "good thing." After considerable time spent in searching for suitable men who were *willing* to accept such a position, the following committee was appointed: John Neill, Esq., chairman; John C. Sims, Jr., Esq., John Rodman Paul, Esq., Henry Budd, Jr., Esq., and Effingham B. Morris, Esq. The committee met almost immediately after their appointment, and selected the following gentlemen to serve with them: G. C. Purves, Esq., of Yale; Henry H. Brown, Esq., of Harvard; Josiah R. Adams, Esq., of Princeton; and William A. Platt, Esq., of Trinity.

Thus completed, the committee at once proceeded to investigate how great a demand there was for such a club, and what would probably be the success of an effort to organize such an one.

The plan adopted was to select some prominent member of each class that had graduated from the University since 1850, and to send to him a list of the graduates of his class, with their addresses, together with a circular requesting him to find out how many of his class, whether they had graduated or not, were desirous of joining

a club that it was intended should be somewhat similar to the Oxford and Cambridge Club of London. It was proposed that the expense should be slight. The representatives of other colleges were to canvass their entire resident Alumni with a similar intent. In a comparatively short space of time, the committee received one hundred and thirteen applications for membership. This was decidedly encouraging. But one hundred and thirteen men was too large a number to bring together for the purpose of discussing the details of such a proposed organization.

The committee, therefore, consulted with Doctor John H. Packard and Provost Pepper. Both of them seemed well pleased with the idea of such a club, and it was decided to select a committee, of about twenty-five from the prominent college men of the city, call them together, and with them determine upon some plan of procedure. This committee, as finally made up, consisted of the following gentlemen: Charles Platt, Esq., chairman; Josiah R. Adams, Esq., Richard L. Ashhurst, Esq., Alfred G. Baker, Esq., George Biddle, Esq., George Tucker Bispham, Esq., Beauveau Borie, Esq., Henry H. Brown, Esq., Henry Budd, Jr., Esq., Brinton Coxe, Esq., C. C. Harrison, Esq., Samuel S. Hollingsworth, Esq., Samuel B. Huey, Esq., William McMichael, Esq., E. Coppée Mitchell, Esq., Hon. James T. Mitchell, Effingham B. Morris, Esq., John H. Packard, M. D., John Rodman Paul, Esq., William Pepper, M. D., William R. Philler, Esq., William A. Platt, Esq., G. C. Purves, Esq., Fairman Rogers, Esq., J. G. Rosengarten, Esq., John C. Sims, Jr., Esq., Samuel Wagner, Esq., Charles F. Ziegler, Esq., and John Neill, Esq., secretary.

The first meeting was held on March 23d, 1881. After a general discussion as to the feasibility of the scheme, it was resolved "that it is the sense of this meeting that a University Club be formed," and also "that a sub-committee be appointed to draw up a plan for the formation of such a Club."

This sub-committee having met and decided upon the general character of the plan, presented their report to the general committee. The items of the report were taken up *seriatim*, and adopted in the following form:—

1st. The Club is instituted for the purpose of promoting intercourse and friendship between University graduates, and of advancing the interests of liberal education.

2d. No person shall be eligible to election in the Club, except those who have degrees in courses of at least five years' standing, or honorary degrees, of certain colleges to be specified.

3d. There shall be a moderate restaurant.

4th. There shall be no card-playing allowed on the premises.

5th. There shall be Club-nights once a week between November 1st and May 1st, and during the summer months at such times as the Board of Governors may decide upon.

6th. There shall be an entrance fee of \$25.00; the annual dues shall be \$15.00.

7th. The corporators shall pay an entrance fee of \$10.00.

The sub-committee was then reappointed to select by unanimous vote the gentlemen who were to constitute the Corporators of the Club. This duty proved a delicate as well as an onerous one. After many meetings, however, they compiled a list of about five hundred and fifty names. To each of these a circular was sent, stating the objects and general plan upon which it was proposed to establish the Club, and requesting the recipient to become a Corporator. A postal card was enclosed for reply. So great was the success of this circular, that within less than a month nearly three hundred names had been secured.

On July 8th, 1881, the Corporators were called together at a meeting held at the Board of Trade Rooms, in the Mercantile Library Building. They there resolved themselves into the "University Club of Philadelphia." The plan suggested in the circular was adopted, with some unimportant corrections, and the following officers elected:—

President—Rt. Rev. William Bacon Stevens, Dartmouth. Vice-Presidents—William Pepper, M. D., University of Pennsylvania; Saml. C. Perkins, Esq., Yale; Hon. Benj. Harris Brewster, Princeton; Hon. Jas. T. Mitchell, Harvard. Secretary—Jno. Neill, Esq., University of Pennsylvania. Treasurer—G. C. Purves, Esq., Yale.

Board of Governors—Alfred G. Baker, Esq., Edwin N. Benson, Esq., H. Laussat Geyelin, Esq., Wm. McMichael, Esq., Henry C. Olmsted, Esq., Jno. H. Packard, M. D., Charles Platt, Esq., Rev. James W. Robins, D. D., Fairman Rogers, Esq., Walter George Smith, Esq., William Wynne Wister, Jr., Esq., William F. Norris, M. D., University of Pennsylvania; Robert S. Davis, Esq., J. Heatly Dulles, Esq., Hon. Wayne MacVeagh, S. Davis Page, Esq., Robt.

N. Willson, Esq., Yale; Hon. Geo. H. Boker, Richard M. Cadwalader, Esq., Saml. B. Huey, Esq., Charles H. Matthews, Esq., Lucius H. Warren, Esq., Princeton; Saml. M. Felton, Esq., Horace Howard Furness, Esq., James Starr, Esq., Harvard.

A committee was appointed to procure a charter and prepare by-laws for the Club.

The Board of Governors has met and appointed, temporarily, committees to select a site for the Club, to receive endowments, and to receive applications for membership.

At present writing, the list of members includes three hundred and fifteen names.

Such is a brief account of the history, organization and purposes of the University Club of Philadelphia. Although confronted at the start with many obstacles, the plan and purposes of the Club had but to be fully known in order to win success. This success, I am sure all will be glad to know, a list of three hundred and fifteen corporators,—representing, as they do, the highest professional, political and mercantile positions,—fully assures. J. N.

In addition to the degrees reported as conferred at the Commencement on June 15th, that of Doctor of Dental Surgery was conferred upon Manuel B. Trelles, of Cuba.

Dr. Charles T. Hunter (Med. Dept. 1868,) has been appointed Demonstrator of Anatomy in the Medical Department, vice Dr. H. Lenox Hodge, deceased.

Dr. J. William White (Med. Dept. 1871,) has been appointed Demonstrator of Surgery in the Medical Department, vice Dr. C. T. Hunter, transferred to Anatomy.

The following list of Philadelphians away from home at college, teaches some important lessons:—

At Amherst, 2; Boston Institute of Technology, 3; Franklin and Marshall, 1; Hamilton, 1; Harvard, 23; Haverford, 12; Johns Hopkins, 1; Lafayette, 7; Lehigh, 4; Princeton, 20; Racine, 1; Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute, 5; Swarthmore, 28; Trinity, 3; Vermont University, 1; Wesleyan, 6; Yale, 14; at 12 other colleges, 0; at 29 colleges, 132 students; subtract women, 13; at 29 colleges, 119

young men, residents of Philadelphia, who are being educated away from home. In reading the list, we must remember that Amherst, Hamilton, Haverford, Lafayette, Lehigh, Princeton, Racine, Swarthmore, Trinity, and Wesleyan University, are, in the strictest sense of the words, *denominational* colleges. Not that they all compel attendance upon particular forms of religious services, though some of them do, but that they maintain a positive influence in the direction of the denominational views their ecclesiastical connections represent, and that a weighty motive in the minds of the Philadelphians who send their sons to these institutions is that they are denominational in character. If any one doubts the existence of such a feeling, let him consider the case of that University trustee (now happily resigned,) who persuaded a wealthy Philadelphian to give \$20,000 to Lafayette, because it was a Presbyterian college. We are not criticising the sentiment, be it observed; only noting it as real.*

Now, what are the inferences from these figures? *First*, let us add, to the 119 boys away from home, the 248 Philadelphians registered in 1880-81 in the collegiate departments of the University,† making 367 Philadelphians getting a college education. Amazing fact! With a population of 800,000, Philadelphia affords the higher education to 367 young men. Many a small town in New England—many a small town in Pennsylvania,—does better in proportion. *Secondly*, Philadelphians do not largely send their boys away from the University, except for denominational reasons. The colleges specially named above as denominational colleges educate 71 (84,—13 women,) out of the 119 young men who are away from Philadelphia at college; and, while it would be rash to say that denominational influences have carried them all away, yet it is gratifying to University men to find the majority of all the cases in such institutions. In many of these cases, too, scholarships provided for the preparation of candidates for the ministry doubtless decoy Philadelphians from home. Taking all the cases, however, the University has about 67.5 per cent. (or more than two-thirds,)

* We are unable, as we write, to find the catalogues of the leading Roman Catholic colleges. Philadelphia is always represented in them to a small extent; but, on the other hand, many Roman Catholics come to the University, or are educated at the Christian Brothers' College, Juniper and Filbert Streets.

† 287—39 non-residents.

of all Philadelphians receiving a college course. Other motives, too, no doubt, decide in other cases ; so that we may infer the existence among Philadelphians of an almost universal confidence in the instruction offered at the University. This instruction, it is hoped, will ever keep pace with the wants of the times ; but the facts here brought forward ought to stop the mouths of the grumblers.

They ought, also, it seems to us, to set every lover of our city—especially, every lover of the University,—to do what he can to bring on the time when the University will have, as it ought to have, at least 1000 undergraduate students—one, that is, for each 800 of her population. Surely, a wealthy and cultivated place ought to be infusing this much leaven into the mass of ignorance and vice that is inevitably found in a large city.

Dr. Caspar René Gregory (A. B. and A. M., University, '64 and '67 ; Ph. D., Leipzig, '76 ;) is now resident in Leipzig, engaged in preparing in Latin the *Prolegomena* to a new edition of *Tischendorf's Greek Testament*. One hundred and forty-four pages are in type, and it is supposed the work may reach seven hundred or eight hundred pages. Dr. Ezra Abbott gives an account of it in the *Harvard Register* for June. The selection in Germany of a Philadelphian and a University man to do this work, reflects credit on both Philadelphia and the University.

Dr. Gregory is the oldest son of Dr. Henry D. Gregory, (a Philadelphian by birth, and for many years engaged here in preparing students for the University,) and has passed his whole life, since graduating from the University, in literary work. His other labors have been on Dr. Hodge's *Systematic Theology* ; translations for the *Bibliotheca Sacra* ; two original papers,—*The Conservative Reformation and its Theology*, and *Tischendorf* ; a translation of Dr. Luthardt's *St. John the Author of the Fourth Gospel*, with an original appendix of 82 pages, and of the same author's *Commentary on St. John's Gospel*, three volumes ; the *Bibliography* in the *Theologische Literaturzeitung*, etc.

Dr. M. W. Easton has been reappointed Instructor in French and Elocution in the Department of Arts. The other instructorships have not yet been filled.

The Wharton School Faculty has been enlarged by the appointment of Professor S. P. Sadtler, Ph.D., to give instruction in the Applications of Organic Chemistry to Manufactures, and of Professor Wm. D. Marks, Ph.B., C.E., as Instructor in Mercantile Practice. A number of applications for information as to the School have been received by the Secretary, and, to all appearances, the first class will be respectable in numbers.

The ninth fasciculus of Professor Duhring's *Atlas of Skin Diseases*, completing the work, has just been published. The series is one which is highly creditable to American Medicine, and and which is a monument of patience and perseverance on the part of the author. No one who has not undertaken the reproduction of a picture by chromolithography, can form any idea of the difficulties attendant upon such work in this country, where the highest ordinary work of the lithographer is the production of a gaudy advertisement-card. In Europe, Government aid is counted upon for the accomplishment of such an enterprise. Here, the author must carry out his undertaking at his own risk, expecting no pecuniary gain, and counting himself fortunate if he gets off with only moderate loss. An Italian translation of Professor Duhring's treatise on diseases of the skin has been projected, and is now being made, with the consent of the author.

On June 28th and 29th, the fourth of the series of annual cricket matches between the graduate elevens of the University and Haverford College was played on the grounds of the Germantown Cricket Club at Nicetown. In the first two contests of the series, the University men were defeated; in the third, they were victorious; and this year, notwithstanding the absence of two of the best players,—Mr. Walter Clark and Mr. Law,—they again proved too strong for their opponents. In this match, the display of cricket on the part of the "Varsity" was very praiseworthy, the men working well together, and in several instances, especially when in the field, showing exceptionally fine play.

Too much cannot be said in approval of the increased attention that has within the past few years been paid by our college men to out-door sports, and particularly to cricket, which is pre-eminently a gentleman's game. The inter-collegiate boat-race is looked

upon as an important event in Philadelphia, and the knowledge of this fact encourages our oarsmen during the period of training, while the crowds that gather on race-day stimulate them to put forth their best efforts in the final struggle. Now, an equal amount of encouragement is certainly due the cricketers, and it is to be hoped that the interest displayed in the inter-collegiate matches will increase, and that the number of spectators will never again be so small as at the late match. The presence of sympathetic faces, a few hearty rounds of applause, and an occasional ringing college call, will do more to insure the continuance of the success of our knights of the willow, than numberless individual good wishes expressed in the counting-house or club, at a distance from the field of contest.

BRIEF MENTION.

ON the second of July, the country was startled by the report that the President had been wounded by an assassin. In the large cities, anxious crowds gathered at the newspaper offices to scan with eager eyes the bulletins that told the story of the murderous attempt, and pictured only too clearly the critical condition of the President, and, throughout the land, wherever the telegraph could throb its messages of faint hope and threatening despair, a common sympathy made all men one. The brave wife, who, forgetting the President, thought only of her wounded husband, left the seaside, where she was slowly regaining health and strength after a long illness, and the heart of the country went with her in her hurried journey to his bedside.

Putting aside conflicting sectional interests and political differences, the East, the West, the North and the South, Democrats and Republicans, Administration and Anti-Administration partisans, all joined in detestation and condemnation of the crime and the criminal, in sympathy with the sufferer, and in earnest hopes and prayers that his life might be spared, and that the country might be saved from the perils which would follow his loss. From over the sea, there came from the rulers and the peoples of all civilized lands messages of sympathy and condolence. Day after day and night after night slowly passed away, and with each rising sun hope grew stronger, until at last the crisis was past, and, thanks to skilful surgical attendance, and no less to his own sound health and calm courage, the President's convalescence seemed to be assured.

It is clear that the attempted assassination was not the result of any conspiracy, but was an individual attempt to wreak vengeance for the failure to reward the supposed partisan services of the assassin by appointment to public office. The assassin was, of course, insane in the sense that all criminals are insane; but whether he was so insane as to relieve him from legal responsibility for his murderous act, must be determined in the proper way when he comes to be tried for his crime. That he will be tried according to law, is certain. Neither the President, nor the trained and accomplished lawyer who is at the head of the Department of

Justice, will permit the pressure of popular indignation, or any less worthy cause, to disturb the course of even-handed justice.

The bullet, that was aimed to kill, has given the President new life. Before the shot was fired, Mr. Garfield, while President of the United States, was the leader of only a part of one political party. Now he is, and, if he rightly shapes his policy, he will remain, the leader of the whole country. The press, without regard to party affiliation, has been quick to point the obvious moral of the occurrence. Guiteau's crime is the result of the "spoils system," and that system must be abolished which renders it possible that a man, neither mentally nor morally competent to administer any trust, public or private, can by party services acquire any claim to public office. For the irresponsible exercise of executive discretion in appointments to office, for the maintenance of personal or partisan fealty as the standard of fitness, and for the uncertain tenure at the will of political superiors, must be substituted an uniform system, under which every citizen shall have the right of offering himself for competitive examination for any vacant office not of a representative political character, with the certainty of an appointment on probation for a limited period, if the examination shall prove that he, of all the applicants, is theoretically the best qualified for the office; that probationary service, if satisfactory, to be followed by an appointment for the secure tenure of good behavior, with freedom from political assessment.

The country is not only ready for this reform; it demands it. Will the President lead in its accomplishment? If he will, success is assured. A few years since, a Member said, on the floor of Congress: "In this direction is the true line of statesmanship, the true path of economy. Let us take this great subject in hand, and it can be settled in a few weeks." That Member of Congress was James A. Garfield.

C. S. P.

Of Dean Stanley, as to his personal history, it is needless to speak in detail, seeing that so much has been given to the public concerning him since the sad news came of his death. He had a great place in the hearts of his countrymen, and, indeed, wherever our English tongue is spoken, he was held in affectionate regard. Absolutely independent as he was in thought and opinion, and often on that account offending those who advocated earnestly what they

regarded as the only truth, he never forfeited in any real sense the love and respect of the leaders of thought of his time. Men saw in him one who never was weary in writing and speaking on high and worthy themes. Not a line of his varied writing but was excellent in its aim, and stimulating to the best thought in others. He was an example, moreover, of the successful resistance of the enervating influence of Court favor. For many years, he was, one might say, a chief favorite of the Queen. Married to one who had been for long a close attendant upon the Sovereign, he had this further temptation to a merely idle and luxurious life. But work was the law of his being, and work in the best of causes. It would have been strange if he had not been distinguished and high-minded, seeing that his mother—the *Catherine Stanley of The Memorials of a Quiet Life*,—was of so serene and lofty a spirit. His father, too, the Bishop of Norwich, was indefatigable in work, and zealous in every way in the discharge of duty. To family influence such as this succeeded the five years' training of that Englishman who first in these latter times raised the art of teaching to a high and noble calling. Dr. Arnold was in a sense the creator of Stanley, while, in a remarkable way, it was given to Stanley almost to create and set forth Arnold. The peculiar merit and achievement of the master became known to men chiefly by the setting forth of the pupil. The years which have followed the publication of the memoir have but strengthened the hold of Arnold on the hearts of men, and it is Arnold as Stanley set him forth.

The sudden taking out of life of so gifted a man as Dean Stanley causes a solemnity of feeling which seems to give clearer vision than was possible in the heat and strife of discussion. We can well ask ourselves whether one who always stood for the "liberty of prophesying," was not of high use in preventing narrowness of opinion, and withstanding the claim of any sect of men to the exclusive possession of truth. Dean Stanley may now and again have seemed to verge on latitudinarianism; but he was a perpetual check on the too great tendency of these latter times towards that which is sentimental in religion. No man could ever question his absolute devotion to the highest morality, or his eager furthering of every effort to advance religious knowledge. I have heard from the member of the Revision Committee who represented the Society of Friends, that Dean Stanley, on

his visit to that body at one of their sittings in New York, charmed every one by his eager effort to meet the especial view of truth which one or another of the Committee whom he especially addressed was understood to embody and set forth.

Surely, the memory of so good a man, and of one of such unwearied diligence, will be a possession to us all. It will moderate polemical and party contention, and lead us to searching inquiries as to the reality of our own hold on essential truth. Of the kindness of heart of Dean Stanley, some of us can speak personally, and of his watchful thought to give pleasure, full though his life was of manifold activities. His death is in every sense a shock and sorrow. The popular instinct can be relied on in its summing up of the character of men, and long ago it was settled by this tribunal that here was one who never wearied in well-doing. Doubtless there are some who have been foremost in opposing views which this gifted man has set forth, who will be slow to admit fully what has here been said; but, with regard to questionings such as these, there comes the consoling thought that "Adversaries agree together directly they are dead, if they have lived and walked in the Holy Ghost." E. Y.

All thoughtful men who are not slaves to party politics, agree in the desirability of that reform in the civil service whose main points are:

First. The original entry of the appointee into the public service under a system which shall exclude patronage and favoritism, thereby giving the Government for its service unrestricted freedom of choice among all its citizens, and vesting in every citizen an equal right of entry into the public service on proof of his fitness therefor.

Second. The tenure of office during good behavior, without liability to removal for political reasons, or assessment for political purposes, and with a prohibition of active participation in partisan politics.

Of these two points, the second is practically the more important. For, if, at any time, the then incumbents of public offices be rendered independent by the substitution of the secure

tenure for good behavior, for the uncertain tenure at the will of their political superiors, and by the prohibition of their own political activity, and of political assessments upon them, the more serious of the evils of the present system will disappear. The efficient and economical administration of public business will be promoted by the undivided attention which the officers can give to their public duties, and by the substitution of faithful official service for political work, as the standard of fitness for public office. The officers being irremovable, save for cause, there will be few vacancies to fill, and the appointing powers will be to a great extent relieved from the pressure of office-seekers, and the lesser prizes will be withdrawn from the political lottery. From all this must follow greater efficiency, with an improved tone, in the public service, and a purification of the politics of the country. Yet the first point, though relatively of less importance than the second, is of absolute importance. It is certainly right, especially under a Republican Government,—which in theory recognizes no aristocratic class, no hereditary incumbents of public offices and selfish appropriations of public revenues,—that all appointments to the public service should be made upon a system which opens to every citizen the way to public employment, and which enables the Government to select for its service those who are most competent. The framers of the Constitution of the United States, who were pre-eminently practical in their wisdom, and who always kept clearly in view the maxim that “the true test of a good Government is its aptitude and tendency to produce a good administration,” thought that they had attained the best results when they authorized Congress to vest the appointment of inferior offices “in the President alone, or in the courts of law, or in the heads of departments.” This Constitutional provision clearly enables Congress to create all inferior offices and to define the conditions of appointment to them. The debates of the convention which made the Constitution, and the comments of “the Federalists” upon their action, showed that it was never contemplated that appointments would be made upon any other consideration than that of the “intrinsic merits” of the candidate, much less that political services could make certain the appointment of an unfit man. How this theory differs from that which has been the practice of the

Government from the beginning of President Jackson's Administration to the present day, and how that perverted practice has made the perpetuity of our free institutions dependent upon a real reform of the civil service, every one now knows. But there can be no real and thorough reform which does not substitute for the arbitrary discretion of the appointing power a system which excludes favoritism, denies all influence to personal or partisan prejudices, and makes certain the appointment of the most fit man. Success in competitive examination is not a perfect test of competency for office, but such success, followed by satisfactory probationary service for an adequate time, is, to say the least of it, a better test than an appointment made by the President, or by the head of a department, upon the recommendations of Members of Congress or active local politicians. The experience of the English civil service, and the careful study of the subject by the American advocates of reform, has served to show that there is no other known practical system of admission into the public service, which so certainly excludes favoritism and patronage, gives the ablest man the best chance for the public service, and secures for the public service the ablest man, as the system of nomination on probation after success in competitive examination, followed by an appointment for good behavior, if the probationary service be satisfactory.

C. S. P.

Under a recent decision of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, the building and loan associations throughout the State have been held liable to taxation, under the general act taxing corporations other than foreign insurance companies, banks and saving institutions.

In response to a call for the statistics under which the taxation of one of these corporations should be adjusted, a return was made by the officers, giving the "actual cash value" of the capital stock as equivalent to the instalments actually paid thereupon.

The Auditor-General excepted to this valuation, and requested the officers of the association to send an amended return, in which,

in estimating the value of the stock, "all fines, interest and other profits" should be considered.

The following reply has been prepared and sent; and, as the subject is treated at length, covering the principles on which these institutions are organized and operated, it is deemed of sufficient public interest to be quoted in these pages.

The officers say:—There are three modes of valuing the stock of building associations, viz.: 1st. The instalments (or monthly dues,) paid in; 2d. These instalments, together with the undivided profits which have accrued since the issuance of the stock, as estimated by the "withdrawal" value; 3d. The foregoing two items, together with expected profits up to the conclusion of the series, as estimated in the annual reports, in which the assets in mortgages, etc., are valued at \$200 per share loaned upon, without deduction for premiums or payments made.

It is obvious that the last-named method is out of consideration. The second one is that which you apparently desire us to give. The first is that which we have already given, and for the following reasons:

The accrued profits in building associations are by agreement retained by the association and passed to the credit of the stockholder. When they, with paid instalments, amount to \$200 per share, they are divided to the stockholder, and his stock is taken at a price equal to the instalments paid.

These accrued profits are not placed, as in banking and other institutions, in a reserve or surplus fund, which cannot be lessened except by corporate action. They are not therefore *capital*; but constitute a call loan from the stockholders, which can be called on thirty days' notice, by giving up the stock at a value equal to the instalments paid.

It is true that a certain "cash value" of the stock is fixed by the association in naming a "withdrawal value." But this is purely arbitrary, and intended only to fix an equitable rate at which the retiring stockholder can avail of his profits up to date of retirement. It is not, however, true that such value is the "actual cash value" of the stock; for, if any considerable number of shares were withdrawn at one time, the association could not pay them, and would have to go into liquidation. Moreover, if this view is

urged, the building association is considered simply as a saving fund,—an institution expressly exempt from taxation.

It may be argued that, if the accrued profits are not to be considered capital stock, then they should be taxed as dividends made, but not declared.

But to this it may be answered that, by the nature of building associations, such profits are really upon paper only, until the assets are made available, and that, in order to estimate their true value at any time, the assets must be realized in cash. Not only so, but the actual cash value of the capital stock itself can be found only by ascertaining the value of its assets; in other words, the net amounts still due upon all mortgages or other securities held by the association, which is found by deducting from the cash loans made upon them, the instalments made, together with interest thereupon.

But, if these securities were placed upon the market for sale, they would not command par values, because investments which are to be paid off in monthly instalments are very undesirable. In this respect is seen the different conditions under which building associations invest their funds, as compared with banking institutions, etc., whose investments may be made in securities readily marketable at par.

It is contended, then, that the capital stock of a building association is not worth more than its assets will bring in the market, just as the taxable value of real estate is the amount it will sell for in open market, under fair conditions.

The officers of this association believe that its assets, if realized in cash, would not bring, by a considerable amount, their par value; and, as it is believed that the deduction would be at least as great as the amount of the accrued profits, the officers of the association consider that the valuation already made is, if anything, larger than circumstances should warrant.

In accordance, however, with your request, we send a supplemental statement, giving the values of the different series of stock and undivided profits accrued thereon for 1879 and 1880.

The following points are respectfully submitted for your consideration :

1st. That the Supreme Court has not fixed any mode of assessing the value of the stock of building associations.

2d. That their capital stock constitutes an immensely important interest, which is largely held by persons of small means ; and that they have proved extremely valuable to these persons (and to the community,) by promoting habits of thrift, and by enabling their stockholders either to purchase homes which otherwise would have been unattainable, or to save for a day of adversity.

For these reasons, it would seem to be a wise policy to make the conditions of taxation as lenient as possible, consistently with legal provisions. And, as a uniform standard must be adopted for all, it is hoped that this standard may be the one which, in the preceding observations, has been urged as an equitable one.

J. V. M.

NEW BOOKS.

THE LIBRARY. By Andrew Lang. With a Chapter on Modern English Illustrated Books, by Austin Dobson. London: Macmillan & Co. 1881. 12mo. Pp. xv., 178. Illustrations.

This prettily gotten-up volume is the eleventh issue of the "Art at Home Series," edited by the Rev. W. J. Loftie; but how it got into the series is the enigma, after one has finished its perusal. Following *The Drawing-Room*, *The Dining-Room*, *The Bed-Room and Boudoir*, one would expect to find *The Library* devoted to the situation, construction, decoration and furniture of the room designated by that generic name, with a few hints as to the arrangement of the books upon the shelves. Yet any one picking up the volume for this purpose will be disappointed, while the book-lover will find something much better awaiting him. *The Library* is essentially a book about books, and, with the exception of the closing chapter, which is the cream of the whole volume, treads very much in the pathway blazed by Hill-Burton in his delectable *Book-Hunter*, which appeared—it seems but as yesterday,—nearly a score of years ago. The library written about in these pages is not the immense hoard of books hidden away by a Heber or a Cardinal Mazarin; neither is it the apartment "where no one goes, and where the master of the house keeps his boots, an assortment of walking-sticks, the *Waverley Novels*, *Pearson on the Creed*, *Hume's Essays*, and a collection of sermons." Instead of these forgotten storehouses, we have the shelves of a single case presented to our view, where are spread before our covetous eyes the best works of the early printers and the later, more famous ones; choice specimens of binding from the rare collections of a Grolier, a De Thou, a Diane de Poitiers and a Madame Du Barry; vellum and *papier de Chine* copies of books nearly unique in any form, with a few select examples of the French "Little Masters," those delicious volumes, cherished chiefly for the dainty illustrations from the graceful pencil of a Gravelot, an Eisen, a Cochin, a Boucher and a Choffard.

That the French are the masters of all nations in everything that pertains to books as books, must be admitted, and Mr. Lang chooses most of his material and textual illustration from that side of the Channel. There we find the most accomplished bibliographers, the most devoted bibliophiles, the most erratic bibliomaniacs, the most expert bibliopoles, the truest printers and the best binders, so that it is a rich source to draw from; and the result is a very entertaining volume. The only part of Mr. Lang's book, however, that is really new, he states, in his prefatory note, was contributed by Mr. Loftie, the editor of the "Series," and is on "Early

Manuscripts and Illuminations," covering the opening twenty pages of Chapter III. This dissertation is learned, valuable and useful, and an excellent guide for the collector of these too often spurious creations. To us, we must confess that the most attractive feature of the volume is Mr. Dobson's chapter on "Modern English Illustrated Books," which is so fresh and varied and charming, that we are led to regret he was confined within such narrow limits, when the field was large enough for an entire volume. The illustrated books he writes about are those originally issued with plates to accompany the text for embellishment, upon which Stothard and Blake and Flaxman were early engaged, as Cruikshank, Doyle, Birket Foster and John Gilbert have been in later days. Several pages, too, are given to wood-cutting, beginning with the pioneer Berwick, and winding up with high commendation of the "new American school," as exhibited in *Scribner's*, and other of our periodicals. The fine artistic feeling shown by Mr. Dobson, in this chapter, makes us hope that we shall soon have occasion to welcome other contributions from his pen.

A MONOGRAPH ON PRIVATELY-ILLUSTRATED BOOKS. A PLEA FOR BIBLIOMANIA. By Daniel M. Tredwell. Brooklyn: Fred. Tredwell, 1881. 8vo. Pp. 161.

The illustrated books treated of by Mr. Tredwell in his essay, originally read before the Rembrandt Club of Brooklyn, N. Y., are of a very different kind from those considered by Mr. Dobson in *The Library*, just noticed. Mr. Tredwell gives much curious information about those volumes which come from the publisher without any plates, and are illustrated by the insertion of pertinent matter taken from other sources. He writes about a fraternity known as *Grangerites*, a sobriquet fastened upon them from the fact that the *Biographical History of England from Egbert the Great to the Reformation*, published in 1769, by the Rev. James Granger, Vicar of Shiplake, in Oxfordshire, was the first work specially designed for private illustration. Granger had a passion for portraits, and really compiled his *Biographical History* in order to have a convenient receptacle for those he had collected; and so generally prevalent did the rage become to illustrate his *History*, that many valuable works were outrageously mutilated to secure plates for insertion in it. A contemporary critic loudly complains of these mutilators and oftentimes depredators. He exclaims: "If this *goût* for prints and thieving continues, let private owners and public libraries look well to their books, for there will not remain a valuable book ungarbled by their connoisseuring villainy; for neither honesty nor oaths restrain them." Fortunately, in modern times, the agreeable and instructive

pastime of extra-illustrating favorite volumes may be indulged in without laying one's self open to such broad and grave charges.

Mr. Tredwell is, of course, an enthusiastic devotee to the subject-matter of his monograph. He is, himself, a private illustrator of books, and he tells us, in his own plain way, how the craze first affected him "nearly forty years ago," when "private illustrating was almost an unknown passion in this country." He then proceeds to initiate the uninitiated into the mysteries of private illustrating, and to explain the various processes, from selecting the plates, to having them squared and placed ready for the binder. As we feel quite sure that to many of our readers this subject of *private or extra illustrated books* will be a novelty, we extract Mr. Tredwell's account of how the mania originates and grows upon what it feeds on.

"Suppose we are in possession of a book privately printed, the edition being limited to one hundred and fifty, an octavo printed on Holland paper, and unbound, in sheets. It is a sketch of the life of Edward Everett. Before sending to the binder, it occurs to us that it would be interesting and enhance its value to have a faithful portrait of Edward Everett as a frontispiece,—a contribution from our own hands,—a testimonial of our regard for this accomplished gentleman and scholar. After a little search in print stores, we find one, a head and bust (very good,) engraved by Cheney. It does not, however, stand the test of our criticism, and we determine upon further search for another. We finally obtain one by Parker, and another by Jackman. We are by this time becoming interested in the pursuit, and beginning to feel that we are no longer amateurs in our knowledge of engravers and their works. We continue our search, and find another portrait by Pelton (a poor one); then another by Smith—the last a folio; then another fine impression of a beautiful unfinished portrait of Edward Everett in his youth, by Gilbert C. Stuart. So we go on getting prints, and acquiring knowledge of engravings and engravers, developing unconsciously an enthusiasm for our work, until we have twenty-seven engraved portraits of Edward Everett, illustrating his life from the age of sixteen to sixty. At this stage of our work, an old print collector calls upon us and politely allows us to look over his small collection. Fortunately, we find a print of the birth-place of Everett, and also one of his library; these, of course, we must have. We also find one of his uncle, T. H. Perkins, and a few of his contemporaneous literary friends, all mentioned in the text of our book; of course we want them, and we buy them. Our collection has now reached seventy-five prints in all, and has cost us about twenty-five dollars—an enormous sum for one book. This being our first experience, and not familiar with the perspective of the subject, we begin to suspect that ruin lurks in this book-illustrating, and we resolve upon carrying the folly no further. In another week, however, we have fairly recovered from the last extravagance, and, with the old passion revived and recruited, we enter more extensively the field of contemporaneous literary friends, poets and compatriots of our hero, and of persons mentioned and referred to in our book.

"Thus we go on, alternating between this alluring mania and our good resolves, until we have collected nearly five hundred prints, at an expense probably of one hundred and eighty dollars, many of which prints are too large, others too small, for our book. To reduce the first is a simple process—to extend the latter is our first real difficulty; but it must be overcome—they must all be brought to a uniform size with our book. For this service, we call to our aid the professional man—the inlayer,—of whom there are but three in this country worthy of mention. * * * We call upon one of these gentlemen with our prints, and lay our plans before him. He being busy, we are advised to call again; in the meantime, he will look over our collection and determine the best course to pursue. We call again, and out of our five hundred prints he has discarded three hundred as not of sufficient pertinency or worth as works of art to enhance either the beauty or value of our enterprise. We defer to his opinion,

and more than half our purchase is thrown out. Two years' more experience in the business, and we defer to the opinion of no man. He also advises us that it would not be in good taste to cut the large prints down to the size of the book, but that it would be better, leaf by leaf, to build the book up. There are some woodcuts of superior quality in the collection, taken from illustrated papers, magazines, etc., which it would be desirable to preserve; but they have printed matter on the back, rendering them inadmissible in their present state. He informs us that he is acquainted with a process by which he can split the sheets of newspaper and take the print (text,) from the back. Again, some of our prints are 'foxy'—that is, spotted, soiled, and must be cleaned to make first-class work; all of which we conclude to have done, and which entails an expense of about ninety dollars.

"The process mentioned of inlaying the text and prints may be briefly described as follows: First is the selection of paper of the proper quality and the size to which our book is to be extended. The leaves of the book being of uniform size, the inlaying of it, (that is, the text,) is, of course, a simple repetition of the operation as many times as there are leaves in the volume. Not so, however, with the prints; no two are probably of the same size or shape—square, oblong, round, oval, and some irregular; thus every print requires its special treatment. After the prints have been neatly cut down to their required shapes, then the outer edges are bevelled, the bevel extending about one-quarter of an inch upon the margin of the print. This is performed with a knife made for the purpose. An opening is then cut into the sheet of the size and shape of the print, making an allowance for a quarter of an inch lap on the inside, which is also bevelled to conform with the print. These outer edges are then fastened together with paste made of rice flour. Rice paste is considered more desirable, for the reason that it retains its whiteness when dry. They are then placed under gentle pressure until required for use. The splitting process is performed by pasting the sheet to be split between two pieces of stuff, and in separating the stuff one-half adheres to each side.

"In about six weeks we receive our book and prints, built up, extended, inlaid or cut down to a uniform large quarto. Nothing can exceed its beauty; to say that we are proud of it, does in no sense express our emotion; it is our realization of a grand ideal. Our prints must now be placed to the text and numbered, or paged, to guard against displacement in the binding process. * * * Having collated our prints and texts, we discover that we have too much material for one volume, and we determine upon having it bound in two. To this end, a new title-page becomes necessary for the additional volume. This can either be printed in *fac-simile* or made with a pen and ink by an expert. * * * Obtaining our title-page, our book is complete and ready for the binder."

Mr. Tredwell then descants upon the various styles of binding suitable to the volume to be preserved, and the several workmen capable of handling the precious tome, with a sly remark upon its probable cost, winding up his interesting description of the process with this peroration:

"Now, when we come to foot up, we find that in ready cash our little elementary folly has cost us just three hundred dollars, which is by no means an extraordinary sum. The question, therefore, arises: 'Is it worth it?' I think it is; for, mark you, we are to credit upon this account two years' pleasure in this refined pursuit, enlarging and expanding the mind, and leaving enduring traces of taste and character, with the entailment of no evil consequences, which would otherwise probably have been spent in greater follies, with none of its culture."

Having given so lengthy an extract from this essay, it is impossible to notice any of the important volumes specially described by Mr. Tredwell in the collections of several well-known gentlemen of New York and its vicinity. Yet one feature will strike all readers, and that is the seeming preference given by collectors to dramatic works for the purpose of extra-illustration. The extent

to which this illustrating can be carried, is boundless, and the prices that such works have brought, although probably in many instances below the original outlay, are rather astounding. In the celebrated Allan collection (1864), there was a copy of Irving's *Knickerbocker's History of New York*, enlarged to folio size, and extended by the insertion of two hundred and seventy-five illustrations, which was purchased by the late James Lenox for \$1250; and, at the sale of the equally famous Menzies library, (1876,) Irving's *Washington*, containing seventeen hundred inserted plates and autograph letters, was knocked down to Mr. Joseph W. Drexel for \$4080. These are mere sample bricks, but they show the nature of the whole structure. In leaving Mr. Tredwell's brochure, we must commend its very attractive appearance, but at the same time must call attention to the many errors of the press, and some of the text, that should be corrected in future editions.

CHRIST AND MODERN THOUGHT. [Boston Monday Lectures, 1880-81.] WITH A PRELIMINARY LECTURE ON THE METHODS OF MEETING MODERN UNBELIEF. By Joseph Cook. Boston: Roberts Brothers. 12mo. Pp. lvii and 315. Price, \$1.50.

When Mr. Joseph Cook determined to give up for a time his Monday lectures in Boston, it was thought best to have the series continued in the same spirit by eminent representatives of those Churches which call themselves "Evangelical." The first ten lectures thus delivered by clergymen and professors of note are included in this volume; and the title selected describes the general purpose and drift of the series. We cannot say that we have found the book so readable as one of Mr. Cook's volumes. We are far from any unqualified admiration of Mr. Cook. We think his philosophy often superficial, his science crammed for the occasion, and his conclusions crude. We have not found him ready to do justice to the opinions from which he dissents. But, with all these drawbacks, he is an attractive writer. He has the secret of nervous prose, and the way of putting his case, if not always philosophical, is always vigorous. Besides, he represents a cause which has been treated badly by both friends and enemies. His very impudence and assurance are charming, when one remembers the displays made of the same qualities by the popular representatives of Materialism, Positivism and Herbert Spencer-ism.

This new volume of course lacks the unity of treatment which characterizes each of Mr. Cook's. From Bishop Clark's lecture on "The Seen and the Unseen," to Mr. Dike's on "Divorce in New England," is something of a leap. And these are not the only two lectures connected by nothing except the binding of the book. Nor, again, are the topics treated in as fresh a way as they would be

under Mr. Cook's hand. Some are restatements of views already familiar to those who have read much in this line of literature. Dr. Mark Hopkins on "The Place of Conscience," Dr. McCosh on "Development," and Dr. John Cotton Smith on "The Theistic Basis of Evolution," are *crambe ter decocta*. The most original of all the lectures is the one which has least right to a place in the series. We mean Dr. Howard Crosby's "Calm View of Temperance." We agree far more with Dr. Crosby than with the swarm of hostile critics who assailed him after this lecture was delivered. But we believe he should have kept this lecture for some other occasion. This series was "set for the defence" of those principles as to which the Churches concerned are in unison. Dr. Crosby assailed a conviction now cherished by perhaps a majority of the members of those Churches, and sanctioned by the General Assembly of his own Church. This series of lectures was to serve as a continuation of those delivered in past years by Mr. Cook. Dr. Crosby's is an emphatic contradiction of all that Mr. Cook taught on this head.

After all these drawbacks have been allowed for, we must pronounce the book an able one and highly creditable to the judgment of the committee which selected the orators. And, of the ten lectures, we think that of Bishop Clark the best, although we fear that some "sound" critics will regard it as likely to "unsettle" the minds of orthodox readers.

THE LEGEND OF THOMAS DIDYMUS THE JEWISH SCEPTIC. By James Freeman Clarke, Author of "Ten Great Religions," "Self-Culture," etc. Boston: Lee & Shepard. 12mo. Pp. xiv, 448. Price, \$1.75.

Of the many attempts to retell the wonderful story of the Christian Gospel, that in the form of fiction is the most purely modern. The first, perhaps, was the *Messiah* of Klopstock, followed by the *Jewish Messiah* of Pfenninger; the *Julian, or Scenes in Judea*, of John Ware; a similar essay by Harriet Martineau in her Unitarian days; Strauss's *Helon's Wallfahrt*; Ingraham's *Prince of the House of David*; Dr. Abbott's *Philochristus*; Gen. Lew Wallace's *Ben Hur: A Tale of the Christ*; and many others. Dr. Clarke's *Legend of Thomas Didymus* comes into more exact comparison with Dr. Abbott's than with any other known to us. Neither of the two aim at what may be called a spectacular treatment of the subject. Both are based on full and careful preliminary studies of the state of religious parties in Judea; both are dominated by what may be called a theological rather than a literary interest. Both have the purpose to show that their estimates of what Christ was, furnishes the best light for a restatement of his history. Dr.

Abbott is an English Broad Churchman of the more negative type. He does not reject the view that Christ was a divine person; but he minimizes the miraculous elements of the story, and makes the story of the resurrection no more than a vision. Dr. Clarke rejects the view of Christ's nature accepted by the vast majority of Christendom. He is a Unitarian of the old school. Yet he frankly accepts the miraculous elements of the story, and especially the statement that Jesus died and rose again from the dead. He is so far a rationalist, however, as to believe that a few of the miracles existed only in the minds of the disciples, and were the refraction of those which were genuine. As to skill in narrative, Dr. Clark is by no means a tyro. But he is not Dr. Abbott's equal. His book does not draw us on from chapter to chapter, as does *Philochristus*. It has no passage of such power as that in which Dr. Abbott describes the question to the Apostles: "But whom say ye that I am?" Yet it is well written, and may help even those who cannot accept the author's view as to the central character, to comprehend and realize the events of the history.

The plan of the book is not so simple as that of *Philochristus*. Not only have we the view taken by "the doubting Apostle," but, intercalated with this, letters and journals by other persons who speak from other points of view. The narrative professes to be prepared for the Christians of the Malabar Coast, as is that of *Philochristus* for the Church of Lundinium.

On some points, we think Dr. Clarke has not got his history right. Was Rabbi Gamaliel a Pharisee? and were the Pharisees so sharply sundered by a definite organization from the rest of the people? Were they what we should now call a *religious order*? We think they correspond much better to a *religious party* of modern times. They grew out of a great religious revival which took place in the centuries before the Christian era. Their idea was, by their own excessive strictness, to make up for the religious and ceremonial laxity of the rest of the nation. And their relation to the Zealots, the most important fact in their history, both at this point and at the fall of the nation, neither Dr. Clarke nor Dr. Abbott brings into the proper light.

On one point, Dr. Clarke is wrong, but, as his book was written before this point was cleared up, he is not to be blamed. His account of the Therapeutæ, on pp. 97-9, is drawn of course from the tract on "The Contemplative Life," which is found among the writings of Philo of Alexandria. The latest investigations show (1) that Philo never wrote this tract; (2) that it is fiction with a purpose, probably from a Christian pen; (3) that no such body as the Therapeutæ ever existed in Egypt or anywhere else.

THE REPUBLIC OF GOD. An Institute of Theology. By Elisha Mulford, LL.D. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Pp. 261.

Dr. Mulford is a scholar of whom America and Pennsylvania have reason to be proud. His great book on *The Nation* has made him a reputation more than national, and has excited the hope that his pen is not to be devoted to writing for periodicals, but in the preparation of works of permanent merit. *The Republic of God* gratifies this hope, taking rank beside his former work as its equal and its complement.

Dr. Mulford calls his book an *institute* of theology. This we take to mean that it is designed as a first text-book for those who wish to begin an earnest study of the subject. It is not a primer; it is not an easy and popular manual of the subject. As the readers of *The Nation* know, our author is not easy reading, and the reason of this is not that he has written easily. It is because he is anxious to go to the bottom of his subject. He wants to fathom, appropriate, harmonize and complete the highest thinking on his subject. His quotations are worth the cost of his books, and his own writing is up to their level. He does not set out with the assumption that he has to begin the work *de novo*; he first masters what the best heads have thought on it. He does not take their results as excusing himself, and content himself with a loosely connected cento of opinions. He works up all he has learned into a texture which is his own.

As the masters at whose feet he has sat the longest, we should select three. They are Shakespeare, Hegel and Maurice. And with Maurice we may specify his two Scotch predecessors, McLeod Campbell and Thomas Erskine. In the first, or more philosophical, part of the book, Hegel is quoted on almost every page. In the latter, or more purely theological, part, this honor is accorded to Maurice. Of American writers, Dr. Hedge and Professor Bascom are the favorites.

Considering the work as a theological treatise, it might be described as an effort to systematize the teachings of Professor Maurice. Maurice himself hated systems and disliked systematizers. He used to say that he had a method, but no system; and in his *History of Moral and Metaphysical Philosophy* he never deigns to describe a writer's system, but always tries to extract from it his most vital thought. But all minds are not cast in his mould; and there are those who comprehend his thoughts best when they have come to see the relation of his thoughts to each other. And this may be done without encountering the danger which Maurice anticipates.

The method of Mr. Mulford's book is very different from that of such works generally. He does not start from the idea of human sinfulness, and derive the necessity of redemption, and prove

his position by quotations from books whose authority is first assumed, and then proven by external evidence. He starts from the idea of God. He finds in the self-revelation of God the life and the freedom of man, of families and of nations. He shows the congruity of Christian teaching with the highest reason and the purest ethical instincts of the race. And he finds in Christianity the highest and truest realization of all the blind hopes and passionate desires which men have embodied in their religions. He stands on positive Christian ground. He is even an orthodox Christian in the broader sense of that word. He closes his book with the Nicene Creed. He thinks, with Dr. Hedge, that the Council of Nice was one of the most important of the religious assemblies which have modified the world's spiritual history, in that it "declared the union of God with man," and swept away equally all false dualism and all pantheistic identification.

The devout and practical spirit of the book is notable. It could not be otherwise, having come from the school of Maurice. Ideas like that of the Second Advent and the Judgment, which are to most Christians little else than spectacular terrors of the future, he sees to stand in the closest relation to every-day life. No man can read and appropriate this book without finding life and duty a more real thing, and its moral and spiritual realities more awful.

We have given a very imperfect idea of what this book is; but we look to see it do great good in making our Christian thinking more Christian, more practical, and yet broader and more human.

AMERICAN NERVOUSNESS: ITS CAUSES AND CONSEQUENCES. A Supplement to Nervous Exhaustion (Neurasthenia). By George M. Beard, A. M., M. D. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1881. 12mo. Pp. 352.

The subject of this work is considered under five headings, namely, the nature and definition of nervousness; the signs of American nervousness; the causes of American nervousness; the longevity of brain-workers and the relation of age to work; and the physical future of the American people.

By the term "American nervousness," the author does not mean to imply, as might easily be supposed, that modern nervousness is peculiar to America, but that there are especial expressions of nervousness met with in our country alone, and that the relative frequency of nervousness, and of diseases arising from nervousness or lack of nerve-force, is very much greater in this than in any other land. The signs of this condition of affairs are to be found in the increased prevalency of the "nervous diathesis," in the occurrence of the state called trance, in the augmented susceptibility to stimulants and narcotics, in the liability to

disorders of the digestive and generative functions, and of vision, in the peculiarities of appearance, speech, dress, and so on. The predisposing causes are, first, civilization, with its attendant brain-work, worry and in-door life; second, climate; third, race, created in time by climate and environment; and finally, the nervous diathesis resulting from the combined influences of race and climate. The exciting causes are functional excess of any kind, as of the brain, the spine, or the digestive, the muscular and the reproductive systems. Using the writer's own words, the causes of American nervousness may be formulated thus: "Civilization in general + American civilization in particular (young and rapidly growing nation, with civil, religious and social liberty,) + exhausting climate, (extremes of heat and cold, and dryness,) + the nervous diathesis (itself a result of previously named factors,) + overwork or overworry, or excessive indulgence of appetites or passions—an attack of neurasthenia or nervous exhaustion." In the fourth chapter, numerous instances are cited to prove that brain-workers are long-lived, and in the last the comforting assurance is made that, although neurasthenia is on the increase in America, our people are not destined to complete and immediate overthrow; the renovating forces, of which the chief are an increase in wealth, with consequent leisure and freedom from worry, and a radical change in the system of education, being more powerful than those tending to destroy.

Dr. Beard's book is well worth careful reading, particularly the section on the longevity of brain-workers and the relation of age to work, which is by far the best. One can hardly rise from its perusal, however, with entire faith in the promise of a bright future for the American people held out in the last few pages. We are told that our nervousness depends upon our civilization, especially the elements of civil, religious and social liberty, and upon our climate, with its great and rapid changes in temperature and atmospheric humidity; that these factors develop a constitutional tendency to diseases of the nerve system, or a nervous diathesis, and are gradually developing a distinct American race, and that we are slowly Americanizing Europe. The asserted remedy is the growth of an aristocracy of wealth and education. But any decided alteration in our climate cannot be expected; a change in our system of civil, religious and social liberty is neither to be desired nor looked for; and, while our leisure class is daily increasing in numbers, there must always be a large body of individuals occupying a position between the very poor, on the one hand, and the very rich, on the other, and subject to the same moral and physical causes of nervousness that are efficient to-day. If we are Americanizing the English, with their different civil and religious institutions, their very marked and long standing class distinctions, and very different climate,—if we are Americanizing the Germans, and there

is in both countries an increase of neurasthenia,—it is hard to believe that we can de-Americanize America and banish American nervousness.

Some of the ideas expressed in regard to the necessity of change in our method of education are good, though the author goes too far when he would discard certain forms of knowledge because they may be of little direct use in active life. Thus, it is quite impossible to prove that "Shakespeare, drilled in modern gymnasia and universities, might have made a fair school-master, but would have kept the world out of 'Hamlet' and 'Othello';" or that Edison would have been less productive if less unschooled. All must admit the frivolity of such statements as the following: "Ignorance is power as well as joy, as even our knowledge takes its root in our lack of knowledge;" or, "I applaud the English because they boast of their ignorance of American geography; of what worth to them, of what worth to most of us, whether Montana be in California, or Alaska be or be not the capital of Arizona?" Why not disregard the existence of America altogether?

We think the word *ebriety*, indicating dypsomania, or the diseased condition in which there is an uncontrollable desire for alcoholic drink, might with advantage be substituted for *inebriety*, which occurs many times throughout the pages, and which is certainly not a correct word, although in very common use.

The arrangement of the subject-matter in paragraphs with appropriate headings, is a very convenient one, and everything has been done by the publishers to make this little book attractive to the reader.

COUNT AGENOR DE GASPARIN. From the French of M. Borel, translated by O. O. Howard, Brig. Gen., U. S. A. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

This is the record of a noble life. We confess that, from the tone of the translator's preface, we were prejudiced against the book, but, when we left the preface and began M. Borel's narrative, we found our prejudice disappearing, and a genuine interest in the subject arising. M. Borel tells very simply, and in some places very graphically, the story of De Gasparin, from his childhood up. He seems to have very early developed those traits of kindness and courtesy which distinguished his entire career, and which are not invariably the accompaniment of the life of a Protestant devotee. De Gasparin seems to have kept before his life always the desire to serve God and his fellow-men, and to have been under a deep sense of his own responsibility. Yet this sense rendered him in no way austere; and the same man who devoted so much time and thought to religious exhortations and conferences, played

joyously with children, knew Molière by heart, and recited to admiring audiences the works of that great dramatist. He was thoroughly manly, and did not hesitate to show his manliness in action; for, while we may be struck with the peculiarity of his praying for a sick cat, yet we are struck with admiration at his wresting from a brutal carter his whip with which he was belaboring his horse, and his throwing on a dunghill a blackguard, the terror of his village, who, in the presence of De Gasparin, struck a young girl. One may perhaps not altogether approve of some of his methods, may object to a layman's assuming many priestly offices, as, for instance, practically that of a spiritual director; but his large-hearted charity and grand munificence, — (he turned his whole house into a hospital for the wretched Frenchmen who, flying from the German arms, took refuge in Switzerland,)—and strong feeling of personal devotion, command our heartiest admiration. And this life M. Borel sets clearly and, we may say, lovingly before us. In the critical portions of the work, in speaking of the writings, many in number, of De Gasparin, M. Borel does not seem so successful. He leaves us with no very clear idea of the writings, except that he shows us that De Gasparin, as well as M. Borel himself, entirely misunderstood the principle upon which the war between the North and the South in this country was fought. We think also that he very much overestimates the effect which De Gasparin's writings on the American question produced here. To judge from M. Borel's statement, one would think that De Gasparin had raised the North from the slough of despair, and had set its feet upon the high road to victory, and had infused into it a spirit and courage otherwise dead and gone. We do not think that most Americans will think this a just estimate of the effect of those friendly writings.

The book, as a whole, is very profitable reading; and M. Borel, in presenting the life of his friend as an example to the youth of France, has done a good work, for no one reading the book attentively can help having impressed upon him, if not some new thought, at least a deeper significance of some old one.

RANDOM RAMBLES. By Louise Chandler Moulton Boston: Roberts Brothers. 12mo. Pp. 282.

This is a very delightful little volume. Perhaps its size and its daintiness help to make it more attractive; but it is impossible to close it without wishing that there were more of it, or, at least, that its fair writer would give us some more little books of the same kind. It is not a book of travels; if it were, it would probably be tiresome; but it is rather a series of bright and graceful pictures of impressions made upon the traveller by the places she saw and the people she met. The charm of the book is to be found in the

intelligence, good sense, and keen sense of humor, of the observer, which are seen shining all through its pages, and in the simple and unaffected way in which her impressions are recorded. The key-note is struck in the few words on the opening page: "I would have you glance with me at the picturesque aspects of Parliament Day, of a Roman Carnival, of English social life, of Italian living and French shopping,—and then turn to weightier volumes for fuller statements and wiser dissertations." Now, it is just these fuller statements and wiser "dissertations" which tend to make most books of travel tiresome, heavy, and altogether unenjoyable, save only in the case of the great travellers who work in the cause of science or of art, and of travellers like our own Washington Irving, whose "dissertations" are always filled with sound wisdom, and overflow with sparkling wit and quiet humor. The places and the people which we find pictured in these *Random Rambles* are mostly those to be met with in what we commonly call the "beaten track" of English and Continental travel, and it is therefore most creditable to the author of this little book that she has been able to draw from these generally familiar scenes so much material for entertainment and for quiet reflection. To those who have travelled over the same ground, there arises a feeling of gratitude to one who has succeeded so well in thus gathering up and putting into words the impressions of places and of people which so often are made upon intelligent travellers moving about Europe, with eyes open and minds alert; while, to those who have not gone over the same ground, there is found in the pages of this little book a series of truthful pictures of other lands, and a valuable addition to their store of information.

THE PRINCESS OF ALFRED TENNYSON. Re-cast as a drama. Boston: Lee & Shepard. 8vo. Pp. 62.

From the dedication of the volume, it would appear that this version of "The Princess," in the form of a drama, was originally written for private dramatic performance by ladies and gentlemen of Boston. In his preface, the writer tells us that, in the re-composition of the work, his aim has been to retain the language and style of Tennyson as far as possible, and only to take such liberties with the plot as have been experimentally found requisite in a private representation. In this he seems to have succeeded admirably. Indeed, it is surprising to find that the poem is susceptible of this treatment with so little departure from its original form and substance. The essentially dramatic character of the poem has made this possible, and the skilful treatment of the subject at the hands of one who is clearly an intelligent dramatic artist, has done the rest. It is a very useful addition to the literature of the day to have in this

form a poem which, whatever may be the difference of view among Tennyson's critics, has been recognized by the popular verdict as one of the greatest poems of the present day. Both by reason of the subjects of which it treats, and of the splendor of their treatment, this great poem has obtained a strong hold upon the minds and the affections of all English-speaking people, and probably it will retain its hold just so long as great poetic thoughts continue to stir the human heart, and great social questions continue to exercise the human mind.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

How Not to Teach; or 100 Things the Teacher Should Not Do. By William M. Giffin, Principal City Training School, Newark, N. J. Sw'd. 16mo. 31 Pp.

Baby Rue (Her Adventures and Misadventures, Her Friends and Her Enemies). Cloth. 12mo. Pp. 318. Price, \$1.00. Boston: Roberts Brother.

A Romance of the Nineteenth Century. By William H. Mallock. 16mo. Cloth, \$1.00; paper, 60 cents. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

Poems. By Oscar Wilde. Cloth. 12mo. 230 Pp. Price, \$1.25. Boston: Roberts Brothers. (Porter & Coates.)

THE
PENN MONTHLY.

SEPTEMBER, 1881.

A GLIMPSE INTO THE PAST.

WE all know what an antiquary is,—a crabbed, testy, bent, snuffy gentleman, well advanced in years, and wearing a wig and a brown suit of clothes,—with huge spectacles on his nose, purblind and half deaf, poring over old books at book-stalls, deciphering illegible inscriptions, reading long-winded “essays” before “learned societies,” making the whole business of his life the enthusiastic collecting and labelling with high-sounding names from a dead language, of small pieces of old iron, brass or copper, sometimes dilating at great length over broken pieces of crockery, or dishpans, or mouldering stones. The further distant the era in which his thoughts run is from the present time, the greater becomes his satisfaction. The genus “antiquary” is looked upon with pitying contempt as a harmless nuisance, a poor fribble, whose whole life is spent in unprofitable pursuits,—pursuits which are dull, dry, and uninteresting, and which can never by any accident have a relation to living issues. But that such is not the case, and that the popular notion is, as popular notions most usually are, thoroughly fallacious, we shall endeavor to show in the following article treating of a pursuit of absorbing interest.

Among all branches of archæology, there is none which will more richly repay the assiduity of the student than the one to which the consideration of the present article is devoted. We mean the pursuit of numismatics, a study whose paramount importance for the correct knowledge and appreciation of the antique world is becoming every day more and more apparent, and

more thoroughly appreciated,—frequently the true, (and sometimes the only,) key to the interpretation of all other branches of classical archæology. It is an absolute science that has passed through the regular gradations of existence. In its earliest life, facts were collected from which in later times theories were fabricated, and the superstructure of truth, free from error and uncertainty, was finally raised upon its present solid foundation.

The value of this pursuit as a most powerful adjunct and even incentive to archæological researches, and the rewards of pleasure which it affords to its followers, will form the subject of the following pages, our desire being to show those who regard such studies as being of a mere “dry as dust” nature, how much they are in error, and how much amusement and profit can be obtained from even so unpromising an occupation. There is a remarkable peculiarity about the devotion to **this** pursuit; it can be enjoyed both by the unlearned and the learned. The village storekeeper into whose hands comes a big copper cent of a date anterior to his birth, or, perhaps, of the very year in which that striking event took place, is often stimulated to find for it a mate, and soon possesses a modest collection of the coinage of foreign lands, as well as of that of his own home. The lad who is being educated fixes in his memory the dry succession of crowned heads, and the duration of their reigns by his cabinet of coins. In short, he who possesses a cabinet of coins holds within a small compass an encyclopædia of the world’s progress. He has there its history, geography, ethnology, architecture, linguistics, chronology, mythology, natural history,—and, indeed, there is scarcely any science relating to this mundane sphere and its inhabitants, which may not receive some accession of knowledge from a numismatic collection thoroughly studied out and appreciated. Many objects have been preserved to us, both in nature and art, which contemporary writers have passed over in silence and unnoticed, as being too familiar to be worthy of remark in the times in which they wrote, or have intentionally omitted as too trivial for their present purposes, not knowing that these small matters of everyday life were those most likely to engage the attention of posterity.

Upon a coin alone is preserved the sole resemblance of the theatre of Dionysius of Athens; upon a coin alone exists the effigy of the palace of Theodoric the Goth, at Verona; upon coins alone

is found the history of the kings of Bactria, the remotest of all the conquests of the great Alexander ; and the story of their recovery and interpretation is among the most interesting of the events of the present wonderful century. In the year 1808, a single coin found near the Caspian Sea and preserved in the cabinet of a Russian nobleman, embraced within itself our whole knowledge of that empire. Since then, the march of the British armies in the East has led to the discovery of many series of such pieces, from which the most important results have ensued. From them have been reconstructed many facts bearing on the history of Bactria, a country whose annals for a lengthy period had been entirely lost, while, as the coins themselves bore inscriptions both in Greek and in the Indian dialect of the region, they have been the means of restoring an extinct and forgotten language. As Pinkerton has well observed, " triumphal arches, temples, fountains, aqueducts, circi, theatres, hippodromes, palaces, basilicas, columns and obelisks, baths, seaports, pharoses, and such like, are often found in perfect preservation on medals, and there only."

To be brought face to face with the heroes and monarchs of the ancient world, to see them in their habit as they lived, to know the countries over which they bore rule, the sports and pastimes with which they amused themselves and their subjects, the wars they prosecuted and the victories which they won, we have but to open a cabinet of ancient coins. In a moment we are in a fairy land. At will we can transport ourselves back almost to the first eras of human life ; at will we can raise before our eyes a vision of the past, the long-spent past of centuries buried in the dust of ages, but as vivid and as ineffaceable as though it were of to-day. Coins and coinage betoken that the last steps have been taken by a community in its progress towards civilization. Rude indeed is the condition of a tribe whose daily wants are to be supplied by a barter of commodities. From actual value to a representation of value is a vast stride, only possible to a nation whose polished mind can evolve a life surrounded by art and its varied refinements. " The currency of a people is the index of the degree of civilization to which it has attained," and presents to us at one comprehensive view, in a manner more forcible than words could ever accomplish, the knowledge of its æsthetic perfection. " Documentary evidence may be altered in a thousand ways ; inscriptions may

be added to and fabricated long after the period to which they apparently belong. Art is, however, always expressive of some contemporaneous idea, and conveys it unaltered to the latest times. No monarch, however absolute, can make the art of his time other than the expression of the feeling of that age; nor can he make it better than the advancement of his people at that time can afford. Art is therefore always an intelligible contemporary, one which, when rightly read, cannot deceive, and tells its tale with a distinctness no writing can afford." * Could the magnificent medallions of Syracuse, two thousand years and more before the present day, have been the product of a barbarous, ignorant, degraded or unrefined nation? Could the brass coins of China have been issued by a cultivated, educated or artistic community? We feel intuitively how much is lacking to true civilization in any country where such meaningless abortions can circulate from hand to hand, from the peer to the peasant, from the king to the slave.

The pursuit of art-beauty must always argue intelligence, and may find a just direction in the study of coins. To the accomplished numismatist, Beauty reveals herself among the manifold perfections of ancient workmanship kindly preserved for us by the hand of Time. Modern art has never yet attained to the excellence of the ancients. Their models have been ours likewise, and for centuries we have striven and struggled on, following their footsteps, without ever once having been enabled to invent a new expression of artistic thought or to add a single improvement on those standard forms.

To enjoy to the full the pleasures of numismatics is peculiarly the province and the privilege of the scholar. To this study, so productive of valuable results, all knowledge must bear its portion and contribute its quota.

The man of letters, the antiquary, the linguist, can all enter within the purlieu of this fascinating pursuit. To them an inanimate piece of metal may recall the days when it was a living currency, passing from hand to hand as our money does now, a representative of absolute value;—its sight may transport them back to the shadowy time in the far distant misty past, when *other human beings, like ourselves*, in feelings and sensations, aims, objects and

* Ferguson.

actions, made the acquisition of such money their unceasing struggle, as we do now for the "Almighty Dollar," the possession of a store of such coins to constitute their wealth and happiness. Those who can realize all these things, those so highly gifted by nature and by education, hold within themselves a source of pleasure of which they can never be deprived. To such the great men of antiquity no longer present themselves as mere unmeaning lists of names; their deeds are not but empty things; the coins speak from the barathrum of centuries as the voices of *men* who lived and moved and had their being two thousand years ago; men who expressed their hopes and fears and aspirations in these forms that we now gaze upon and whose depths we try to fathom; standing face to face, as it were, with him who lived twenty centuries ago and saw these coins as they emanated from the officina of the mint, and examined their workmanship and studied their inscriptions as we do *now!* What he saw and felt, that can we also see and feel; and all that the man of pristine days could have gathered from these pieces of metal is our privilege likewise, if we will but give ourselves the trouble to study and to understand.

The earliest coins, the Darics of Persia, disclose the dawn of the history of the Eastern world. To a period eight hundred years before our era may these coins with safety be allotted, and recall to our minds the fabled wealth of the Orient, and the early and close connection between Hellas and the dwellers in Asia.

The singular silver coinage of Ægina, with the rude device of a tortoise, an emblem of the island floating upon the surface of the ocean, bearing on its reverse the formless punch-mark, so demonstrative of the first era of coinage, brings instantly to our recollection the busy trading marts of the Mediterranean, once resonant with the hum of colonies sent out from time to time from the overflow of the Phœnician hive.

On the coins of Corinth gallops gallantly the flying Pegasus; on Sicyon, flies the dove; the rose blooms on those of Rhodes; a heart beats for Cardia; the water-parsley grows on Selinus, and a pomegranate on Side; Arcadia shows the great god Pan; Chios, Smyrna and Amastris, Homer; Mitylene exhibits Sappho, and Megara, Euclid; Cnidos in Caria, the head of Aphrodite, a dull-browed figure, with thick, prominent lips, believed to have been copied after the famous statue by Praxiteles, once the glory and the pride of that city.

If we view the coins of Alexander the Great, we can trace almost step by step his successive conquests by the varying mint-mark, and history is once more corroborated by these uncared-for witnesses. Sometimes the conqueror's head appears under the guise of Hercules; sometimes the horned head recalls the boasted descent from Jupiter Ammon. This mighty monarch was the first who dared to place his effigy upon a coin. Before that time the types were gods, goddesses or heroes, and the great conqueror dared not trample upon conventionality, godlike and the son of a god though he was, so as to entirely displace the mythological and traditionary types.

The magnificent coinage of the Ptolemys, the descendants of the lieutenants of Alexander, evokes at once a vision of Alexandria, the metropolis of ancient philosophy and learning, the rival of Athens, the home of the world-renowned Library. Upon this series may be found the history of an unbroken line of Egyptian monarchs, from its origin in the Macedonian general, through a varying descent of valor and ability, to its downfall in Cleopatra, whose face as represented on her coins reveals none of that traditionary beauty which captivated successively the rulers of the Roman Empire, and for which, even at a matured age, Mark Antony, infatuated, gave up the whole world.

The mechanical execution of the coins themselves is almost unsurpassable; the gold pieces are the perfection of expression; even the bronzes bear on their reverses eagles, lifelike, and ready for flight, the most noble representation of the kingly bird of Jove that has ever been placed upon a nation's coinage.

Athens claims a passing glance, and there we discover, imperishably enshrined, the attributes of Pallas Athené, its tutelary goddess. The Parthenon and the proud fanes that once graced Hellas have crumbled into dust, long since scattered to the four winds of heaven,—the aqueducts are dried up, and, stone by stone, have been removed,—the very sites of the palaces of the mighty men who once trod the stage of glory are long forgotten; but this despised and rejected witness still survives to bear mute but unerring testimony to the truth which history has recorded of Greece.

With what contempt would that Athenian have been overwhelmed, if any such there had existed, while Attica was at the height of its power, and at the summit of its glory, when its arms were everywhere victorious, and its name respected even by the

barbarian,—as these proud citizens were wont to term the nations whose mother tongue was not the Greek, who dwelt outside of the charmed bounds of Hellenic civilization, while all the arts and sciences and refinements of the then known world were centred around the Athenian capitol,—with what withering scorn would such a prophet have been received, had he ventured to predict those events with which we are now so thoroughly and so sadly familiar! “Two thousand years shall scarce have passed away, and your cities, now so full of the scenes of busy life, the abodes of luxury and refinement, shall be howling wildernesses, heaps of dust and ruins, inhabited but by the wild denizens of the mountain and of the forest, or brooded in as gloomy dens of retreat by wandering bands of brutal, savage banditti; your palaces, monuments, statues, paintings, temples overthrown, and crumbled away into nothingness, and buried centuries deep in the sands of oblivion; your very existence and prowess made a matter of research and doubt; your histories disbelieved, your traditions sifted and explained away as fables; your very gods hated as demons, or condemned as impostors; and the most permanent attestation that shall remain of your chiefest glories, your arts and refinements and cultivated tastes, shall be these pieces of metal which you treat with such disdain,—with which on one day you free yourselves from the importunities of a beggar, and on the next purchase for yourselves your food, your lodging, your raiment,—with which you gain admittance to the theatres, to the stadia, to the baths,—by which you acquire the meanest necessaries of everyday life;—that upon these coins and upon these alone shall depend much of your future fame; that from that source shall history be restored and elucidated, the exploits of princes recorded, and the rise and fall of dynasties set forth, the buildings and images now so familiar to you be brought back from the dark shores of Lethe to the light of knowledge.”

Truly, no mad-house could have been found wherein the hideously disordered intellect of such a Cassandra would have received a treatment sufficiently harsh!

And yet all these changes have come to pass, and much knowledge of those ancient days, their art, manners, men, ideas, and cults, only remains to us through coins!

Leaving Grecian art, we pass to that of Rome, a mighty robber horde, whose aim for many a long year was but to establish itself firmly in the land its sword had won. The Romans were inferior to the Greeks in poetical genius; their coins seldom present the vivid relief or artistic spirit that is found on those of the Grecian cities and princes. But, in exchange, the Roman genius far surpassed them in fertility of allegory, and very much of what is commonly called their religion was nothing but allegory. The Roman series of coins is the most extended in the world; from the ponderous Roman Aes suggestive of the rule of Servius Tullius with his wise institutions, from the era of the (so-called) family coins recalling the traditionary heroes and gallant exploits of the free days of the Republic, we can follow an unbroken chain of coinage for nearly eighteen centuries. The valor of Horatius Cocles, the treachery of Tarpeia, the dream of Scylla, the monetary implements of the ancients, the perpetual dictatorship of Cæsar and the ides of March, live on these coins forever, imperishably shrined records of the events which they commemorate.

We can trace the rise and progress of the Roman Empire through its long centuries of weakness, rapine, and bloodshed, with its mutability of rulers and changes in civilization. We can see the loss of power from the Senate and from the people, and its accretion to their one Supreme Master. The wives and daughters of the Emperors, their sons and colleagues, are all found on their coins. What a portrait gallery! What a study for the ethnologist! We mark the weak mind of Caligula, and the surly visage of Nero; we can feel the gluttony of Vitellius, the dandyism of Otho, the harshness and severity of Galba, and the benignity of Titus; we can observe the beauty of Poppæa, and of Faustina. We see the big-bearded Antoninus, the Stoic philosopher; the evil-mindedness of Caracalla, the fratricide.

Far down the long line, through good and bad, and worse and worst rulers, oppressors and usurpers, down to the founding of the Eastern Empire, extend these noble "pledges of history," bearing, among other records of value, the celebration of the games in honor of the thousandth anniversary of the settlement of the City of Rome.

With the Christian emperors, the type of the coinage changed; symbols of the worship of Christ began to appear where gods

and goddesses and tutelary genii were wont to rule. But, although coins of Constantine the Great have been found which bear the emblems of his newly adopted faith, their genuineness has been, with good reason, much called in question. And the coins struck at his decease represent his deification in the same style as was customary in the good old orthodox pagan times.

The coinage of the Byzantine emperors soon become barbarous in the extreme, owing to the spread of Christian ideas, which lead to iconoclasm in art. Christianity introduced a hatred of the fine arts which had been employed in the service and the glorification of the heathen Pantheon. These arts, therefore, soon came to be considered profane, a fact explaining the rudeness of the later Roman coinage which otherwise would be a matter for wonderment. Rudest of lines and meaningless marks took the place of figures and emblems and the devices which had been usual on the coinage; the representations of the monarchs became stiff and conventional, losing entirely all individuality.

The sun of Roman civilization went down in blood; a pall of intellectual darkness was over the face of the earth. A glimmer of light soon manifested itself, and spread into a bright blaze as a beacon for the mind of man to follow. The dispersion of the knowledge which had been so long the exclusive property of the East, proved the day-dawn of the intellect of Western Europe. Men of learning, driven by their barbarian conquerors from Constantinople, settled in France and Italy. The glorious eras of Medicean civilization have often been described; they have never been equalled since in the generous rewards extended to learning, and the assiduous care with which it was preserved and fostered. Culture of literature and of the fine arts was diffused, and we now find the first outcroppings of numismatic science. Nobles and individuals began to vie with each other in rescuing and preserving zealously the coinage of antiquity, its most interesting and intelligent relic. Although at first the object was mainly to obtain the portraits of those who had been most conspicuous in the world's history, yet soon an intelligent attention was attracted towards the subject and learned treatises began to appear. The first work upon the science was written by a Spaniard, Antonio Augustino, and after publication was speedily translated into other languages. The great names of Strada, Lazius, Orsini, Occo and Goltz, are indelibly connected with the early

advances of the pursuit, and since their era many hundreds of others have become illustrious in numismatic history. Petrarch rendered himself no less conspicuous through his poetical talents than through his eager investigations of Roman history, literature and antiquities, and his eager assiduity in the collection of coins. The donation of coins made by him to the Emperor Charles IV., is as well known as the patriotic advice with which the gift was accompanied.

Alphonso, King of Arragon, caused to be brought to him the ancient coins which were from time to time discovered in Italy, and carried them in an ivory cabinet wherever he went, confessing that by their contemplation his soul was incited to great deeds.

Raphael, Rubens, Le Bruyn and other celebrated artists are said to have formed numismatic collections in order to study them; so exact and so delicate, so lofty in expression, so bold in relief, are the coinages of the ancient Greeks. We could fill unlimited space to prove that at the revival of letters the science partook of the general enthusiasm; but these few examples may suffice to show how great a pleasure and a profit the most illustrious derived from its pursuit.

Many were the uses to which the science was directed, and numerous the erroneous paths into which it was distorted during several centuries; to write them would be but to indite a history of human progress, slow, overwhelmed with doubts, struggling with uncertainties, until at last, emerging from chaos, darkness and confusion, through the sloughs of falsity, it reached the highlands of truth, where now so firmly is its seat established.

The very same century that witnessed the downfall of the Roman Empire and the extinction of the last vestiges of its existence, of the existence of that once so proud mistress of the whole habitable world, beheld the invention of printing and the discovery of America! Singular impressions are conveyed to our minds by this wonderful collocation of facts. Old ideas and feelings were being obliterated; the world had ripened to receive a new phase of existence. Long were the preparations by which the way for the change had been smoothed; arduous were the workings in the laboratory of nations, and violent the ebullitions in the caldron of Fate; the time had now arrived when the harvest should be gathered; and we, the fortunate dwellers in America, are privileged to

behold the newly-discovered art, here in the newly-discovered country, carried to that point of free perfection from whence the greatest benefit shall issue to all mankind.

But not alone with the coinage of the *ancient* world need our researches cease. The numismatics of the Middle Ages and even of more modern times present an interesting study, revealing the existence and prominence of many potentates and States now blotted out entirely from the view of the world or fallen upon evil times. The exarchate of Ravenna, the county of Bar, the dukedoms of Burgundy and of Lorraine, the kingdoms of Poland and Hungary, all were important seats of coinage once, whose very names have disappeared from the map; and it would be easy to furnish a much more extended list were this the proper occasion. Even the striking of satirical medals has led to wars between nations; but upon this topic, as well as upon the interest and value of modern coinage, we will not further dilate. In a short compass we have thus touched upon the most prominent features in the history of the inhabited globe, and a well-furnished cabinet can give rise to many reflections more thorough and more profound. Even the very names of coins may furnish interesting historical data. "The *guinea* was so called because coined from gold brought from the Guinea coast. The *byzant* was struck at Byzantium. The *sequin* or zechin was the successor of the coinage of Cyzicus. The *dollar*, originally the German *thaler*, took its name from the silver works in the *thal*, or valley, of Joachim. The *florin* was coined at Florence; the *mark* was a Venetian coin showing the winged lion of St. Marc. The *jane* of Chaucer and Spenser was issued at Genoa. The *franc* may be *nummus franciscus*, money of the Franks or French; the Dutch *guilder* may possibly take its name from Gulderland; a *ducat* is a coin issued by a duke, just as a *sovereign* is one issued by a king. The *tester* bore the king's head (*teste* or *tête*); the *penny* has been ascribed to the Keltic word *pen*, a head. A *shilling* (or *skilling*;) bore the device of a shield, and a *scudo* bore a scutum."

The antiquary's horizon is not bounded; he has before him at one glance that which has gone before and that which is; he seeks with as much energy and enthusiasm to raise the curtain that dims the distant past as the astrologer to tear aside the veil that hangs before the future; and who can say but that the revelation of that which has been may prove the precursor of that which is

to be? That the scenes which have transpired when the earth was young and full of her first joys in life, may not be again repeated in her decrepitude and old age? But the veil that covers the past has been often lifted by the endeavors of these painstaking, plodding enthusiasts, with results weird and attractive! The knowledge of the beginnings of human thought and art often forms a picture full of strong lights and shadows, of powerful effects. "The past is often presented in forms full of quaint and original features which impart a picturesque and striking character to such fitful glimpses of the romance of life in other ages as are thus revealed."

All objects of antiquity tend to give definiteness and certainty to our historic conceptions. When history is read, its prominent personages pass in review before our eyes as upon a stage, impalpable and indistinct as the shadowy forms from a magic lantern; but when we see the weapons wherewith they fought, the axes, arrow-heads and maces with which the antique battle was waged,—when we see the armor and dresses which those of a thousand years gone by were wont to wear,—the household vessels from which they ate or prepared their food, and the coins which passed through their hands,—our heart goes forth, soul to soul, heart to heart, and we know that they were no shadowy forms, but true realities.

Numerous and mighty are the pleasures of our pursuit—we hold the true arcana of the magic art. No enchantments do we need, no wand, no fumigations, no circle of grinning skulls! We possess another philosophy, one far more potent! We take into our hands an inanimate piece of metal. What a wonder! We utter no mighty words, but the curtain of time, which covers the yawning, unfathomable abyss of oblivion, has rolled back twenty centuries for our gratification! Two thousand years have stood still; the hand of Time has gone backward two thousand markings on the dial of eternity. We are conscious of double existence, one in the present, one in the past; the mind expands into the most distant eras. Eternity itself is no more!

A Cyclopean wall, an aged tree, a rock, objects possessing stability, to the ancients appeared to be the only things endowed with immortality and capable of perpetuating their remembrance. And yet where are they now? The story of the Spanish monk, that mournful tale of human weakness, is once more forcibly exemplified.

The actors in life's drama have all departed to their long homes, leaving but these slight tokens of their having ever existed. Fossils have been aptly styled "the medals of creation;" how truthfully may we reverse this saying, and designate coins as

THE FOSSILS OF HUMANITY!

HENRY PHILLIPS, JR.

CIMABUE AND GIOTTO. II.

II. GIOTTO.

ALL these men—Nicolo Pisano excepted—still worked on in the trammels of Byzantine art. The first painter of his age who threw them wholly off, and left them far behind him, was GIOTTO.

Open any common history not intended for the very profound, and there we still find Cimabue "lording it over painting's field," and placed at the head of a revolution in art with which, as an artist, he had very little to do,—but much as a man; for to him—to his quick perception and generous protection of talent in the lowly shepherd-boy,—we owe Giotto, than whom no single human being of whom we read had, in any particular department of science or art, a more immediate, wide and lasting influence. The total change in the direction and character of art must, in all human probability, have taken place sooner or later, since all the influences of that wonderful period of regeneration were tending toward it. Then did architecture struggle, as it were, from the Byzantine into the Gothic forms, like a mighty plant putting forth its rich foliage and shooting up towards heaven; then did the speech of the people—the vulgar tongues, as they were termed,—begin to assume their present structure, and become the medium through which beauty, and love, and action, and feeling and thought were to be uttered and immortalized; and then arose Giotto, the destined instrument through which his own beautiful art was to become, not a mere fashioner of idols, but one of the great interpreters of the human soul, with all of its infinity of feelings and faculties, and of human life in all its multifarious aspects. Giotto was the first painter who "held as it were the mirror up to nature." Cimabue's strongest claim to the gratitude of succeeding ages is that he bequeathed such a man to his native country and to the world.

About the year 1289, when Cimabue was already old and at the height of his fame, as he was riding in the valley of Vespignano, some fourteen miles from Florence, his attention was attracted by a boy who was herding sheep, and who, while his flock was feeding, seemed intently drawing on a smooth fragment of slate, with a piece of pointed stone, the figure of one of his sheep as it was

quietly grazing before him. Cimabue rode up to him, and, looking with astonishment at the performance of the untutored boy, asked him if he would go with him and learn; to which the boy replied, that he was right willing, if his father were content. The father, a herdsman of the valley, by name Bondone, being consulted, gladly consented to the wish of the noble stranger, and Giotto henceforth became the intimate and pupil of Cimabue.

This incident, which was first related by Lorenzo Ghiberti, the sculptor,—born 1378,—and since by Vasari and others, luckily **rests on evidence as satisfactory as can be given** for any events of a rude and distant age, and may well obtain our belief, as well as gratify our fancy; it has been the subject of many pictures, and the story is prettily introduced in Rogers' *Italy*.

Giotto was about twelve years old when taken into the house of Cimabue. For his instruction in those branches of polite learning necessary to an artist, his protector placed him under the tuition of Brunetto Latini, who was also the preceptor of Dante. When, at the age of twenty-six, Giotto lost his friend and master, he was already an accomplished man as well as a celebrated painter, and the influence of his large and original mind upon the later works of Cimabue is distinctly to be traced.

The first recorded performance of Giotto was a painting on the wall of the Palazzo dell' Podestà, of Florence, in which were introduced the portraits of Dante, Brunetto Latini, Corso Donati, and others. Vasari speaks of these works as the first successful attempts at portraiture in the history of modern art. They were soon afterwards plastered or whitewashed over during the triumph of the enemies of Dante; and for ages, though known to exist, they were lost and buried from sight. The hope of recovering these most interesting portraits had long been entertained, and various attempts had been made without success, till at length, in the year 1840, they were brought to light by the perseverance and enthusiasm of Signor Bezzi, an Italian gentleman. On comparing the head of Dante, painted when he was about thirty, prosperous and distinguished in his native city, with the later portraits of him when he was an exile, worn, wasted, embittered by misfortune and disappointment and wounded pride, the difference of expression is as touching as the identity in feature is indubitable.

The attention which, in his childhood, Giotto seems to have given to all natural forms and appearances, showed itself in his earlier pictures; he was the first to whom it occurred to group his personages into something like a situation, and to give to their attitudes and features the expression adapted to it. Thus, in a very early picture of the Annunciation, he gave to the Virgin a look of fear, and in another painted some time after, of the Presentation in the Temple, he made the Infant Christ shrink from the priest, and, turning, extend his little arms to his mother—the first attempt at that species of grace and *naïveté* of expression, afterwards carried to perfection by Raffaele. These and other works painted in his native city, so astonished his fellow-citizens, and all who saw them, by their beauty and novelty, that they seem to have wanted adequate words in which to express their delight and admiration, and insisted that the figures of Giotto so completely beguiled the senses that they were taken for realities.

In the Church of Santa Croce, Giotto painted a Coronation of the Virgin, still to be seen, with choirs of angels on either side. In the refectory he painted the Last Supper, also still remaining; a grand, solemn, and simple composition, which, in the endeavor to give variety of expression and attitude to a number of persons,—all seated, and all but two actuated by a similar feeling,—must still be regarded as extraordinary. In a chapel of the Church known as The Carmine, at Florence, he painted a series of pictures from the life of John the Baptist. These were destroyed by fire in 1771, but happily an English engraver named Patch, then studying at Florence, had previously made accurate drawings from them, which he engraved and published.

Pope Boniface VIII., hearing of his marvellous skill, invited him to Rome, and the story says that the messenger of His Holiness, wishing to have some proof that Giotto was indeed the man he was in search of desired to see a specimen of his excellence in his art; whereupon Giotto, taking up a sheet of paper, traced on it, with a single flourish of his hand, a circle so perfect that "it was a miracle to see," and seems to have at once converted the Pope to a belief in his superiority over all other painters. This story gave rise to the well-known Italian proverb, "*Piu tondo che l' O di Giotto,*"—rounder than the O of Giotto,—and is something like a story told of one of the Grecian painters. Giotto went to Rome, and

there executed many things which raised his fame higher and higher, and among them, for the ancient Basilica of St. Peter, the famous mosaic of the *Navicella*, or the *Barca*, as it is sometimes called. It represents a ship with the Disciples on a tempestuous sea. The winds, personified as demons, rage around it. Above are the Fathers of the Old Testament; on the right stands Christ, raising Peter from the waves. The subject has an allegorical significance, denoting the troubles and triumphs of the Church. This mosaic has often changed its situation, and has been restored again and again, till nothing of Giotto's work remains but the original composition. It is now in the vestibule of St. Peter's at Rome.

For the same Pope Boniface, Giotto painted the Institution of the Jubilee of 1300, which is still to be seen in the Lateran in Rome.

In Padua, Giotto painted the Chapel of the Arena with frescoes from the life of Christ and the Virgin in fifty square compartments. There is an exceeding grace and simplicity in some of the groups, particularly the marriage of the Virgin and Saint Joseph. At Padua, Giotto met his friend Dante, and the influence of one great genius on another is strongly exemplified in some of his succeeding works, and particularly in his next grand performance, the frescoes in the Church of Assisi. In the under church, and immediately over the tomb of Saint Francis, the painter represented the three vows of the Order,—Poverty, Chastity and Obedience,—and in the fourth compartment the Saint enthroned and glorified amidst the host of Heaven. The invention of the allegories under which Giotto has represented the vows of the Saint, his marriage with Poverty, Chastity seated in her rocky fortress, and Obedience with the curb and yoke, are ascribed by tradition to Dante.* Giotto also painted, in the Campo Santo at Pisa, the whole history of Job, of which only some fragments remain.

By the time Giotto had attained his thirtieth year, he had reached such hitherto unknown excellence in art, and his celebrity was so universal, that every city and every petty sovereign in Italy contended for the honor of his presence and his pencil, and tempted him with the promise of rich rewards. For the lords of Arezzo, of

* See the *Divina Commedia*. ("Paradiso," C. XI.)

Rimini, and of Ravenna, and for the Duke of Milan, he executed many works, now almost entirely obliterated. Castruccio Castrucani, the warlike tyrant of Lucca, also employed him; but how Giotto was induced to listen to the offers of this enemy of his country, is not explained. Perhaps Castruccio, as the head of the Ghibelline party in which Giotto had apparently enrolled himself, appeared in the light of a friend rather than an enemy. However this may be, a picture which Giotto painted for Castruccio, and in which he introduced the portrait of the tyrant, with a falcon on his fist, is still preserved in the Lyceum at Lucca. For Guido da Polente, the father of the hapless Francesco di Rimini, he painted the interior of a church; and for Malatesta di Rimini he painted the portrait of that prince in a bark, with his companions and a company of mariners, and among them, Vasari tells us, was the figure of a sailor, who, turning round with his hand before his face, is in the act of spitting into the sea, so life-like as to strike beholders with amazement. This has perished, but the figure of the thirsty man stooping to drink, in one of the frescoes at Assisi, still remains to show the kind of excellence through which Giotto excited such admiration in his contemporaries.

It is said, but this does not rest on very satisfactory evidence, that Giotto also visited Avignon with Pope Clement V., and painted there the portraits of Petrarch and Laura.

About the year 1327, King Robert of Naples, the father of Queen Joanna, wrote to his son, the Duke of Calabria, then at Florence, to send him, on any terms, the famous painter Giotto, who accordingly travelled to the Court of Naples, stopping on his way in several cities, where he left specimens of his skill. He also visited Orvieto for the purpose of viewing the sculpture with which the brothers Agostino and Agnolo were decorating the Cathedral, and not only bestowed on it high commendation, but obtained for the artists the praise and patronage they merited. There is at Gaeta a crucifixion painted by Giotto, either on his way to Naples or on his return, in which he introduced himself kneeling in an attitude of deep devotion and contrition at the foot of the cross. This introduction of portraiture into a subject so awful was another innovation, not so praiseworthy as some of his alterations. Giotto's feeling for truth and propriety of expression is particularly remarkable and commendable in the alteration of the dreadful but popular

subject of the crucifix. In the Byzantine school, the sole aim seems to have been to represent physical agony, and to render it, by every species of distortion and exaggeration, as terrible and as repulsive as possible. Giotto was the first to soften this awful and painful figure by an expression of divine resignation, and by greater attention to beauty of form. A crucifixion painted by him became the model for his scholars, and was multiplied by imitation through all Italy; so that a famous painter of crucifixions after the Greek fashion, Margaritone, who had been a friend and contemporary of Cimabue, confounded by the introduction of the new method of art, which he partly disdained and partly despaired to imitate, and old enough to hate innovations of all kinds, through vexation took to his bed, and so died.

On his arrival at Naples, Giotto was received by King Robert with great honor and rejoicing, and, being a monarch of singular accomplishments and fond of the society of learned and distinguished men, he soon found that Giotto was not merely a painter, but a man of the world, a man of various acquirements, whose general reputation for wit and vivacity was not unmerited. He would sometimes visit the painter at his work, and, while watching the rapid progress of his pencil, amused himself with the quaint good sense of his discourse. "If I were you, Giotto," said the King to him one very hot day, "I would leave off work, and rest myself," "And so would I, sire," replied the painter, "if I were *you!*" The King, in a playful mood, desired him to paint his kingdom, on which Giotto immediately sketched the figure of an ass with a heavy pack-saddle on his back, smelling with an eager air at another pack-saddle lying on the ground, on which were a crown and sceptre. By this emblem the satirical painter expressed the servility and fickleness of the Neapolitans, and the King at once understood the allusion.

While at Naples, Giotto painted in the Church of the Incoronati a series of frescoes representing the Seven Sacraments according to the Roman ritual. These still exist, and are among the most authentic and best preserved of his works. The Sacrament of Marriage contains many female figures, beautifully designed and grouped, with graceful heads and flowing draperies. This picture is traditionally said to represent the marriage of Joanna of Naples and Louis of Tarento; but Giotto died in 1336, and these famous espousals took place in 1347; thus a dry date will sometimes

confound a very pretty theory. In the Sacrament of Ordination there is a group of chanting-boys, in which the various expressions of the act of signing are given with that truth of imitation which made Giotto the wonder of his day. His paintings from the Apocalypse in the Church of Santa Chiara were whitewashed some two hundred and fifty years since, by a prior of the convent, because, in the opinion of this barbarian, *they made the church look dark!*

Giotto quitted Naples about the year 1328, and returned to his native city with increased wealth and fame. He still worked with unabated application, assisted by his pupils, for his school was now the most famous in Italy. Like most of the early Italian artists, he was an architect and sculptor, as well as a painter; and his last public work was the famous Campanile at Florence, founded in 1334, for which he made all the designs, and even executed with his own hands the models for the sculpture on the three lower divisions. According to Kugler, they form a regular series of subjects illustrating the development of human culture through religion and law. This tower is of a Græco-Araba-Gothic style, quadrangular, and built of black, white and red polished marble. Four of the statues which surround it are by Donatello, and the others by Nicolo Aretino, Andrea Pisano, Gittino and Luca della Robbia. When the Emperor Charles V. saw this elegant structure, he exclaimed that it ought to be "kept under glass." In the same allegorical taste, Giotto painted many pictures of the Virtues and Vices, ingeniously invented and rendered with great attention to natural and appropriate expression. In all of these the influence of the genius of Dante can be distinctly traced. A short time before his death, he was invited to Milan by Azzo Visconti. He executed some admirable frescoes in the ancient palace of the Dukes of Milan; but these have perished. Finally, having returned to Florence, he soon afterwards died,—“yielding up his soul to God in the year 1336; and having been,” says Vasari, “no less a good Christian than an excellent painter.” His remains were interred in the Church of Santa Maria dell' Fiore, where his master Cimabue had been laid thirty-five years before. Lorenzo de' Medici afterwards placed above his tomb an effigy in marble. Giotto left four sons and four daughters, none of whom, so far as history records, distinguished themselves in art or otherwise.

Before saying anything of the personal characteristics of Giotto, we must return to that revolution in art which originated with him—which seized at once on all imaginations, all sympathies; which Dante, Boccaccio and Petrarch have all commemorated in immortal verse, or as immortal prose; which, during a whole century, filled Italy and Sicily with disciples formed in the same school and penetrated with the same ideas. All that had been done in painting before Giotto, resolved itself into the imitation of certain existing models, their improvement to a certain point in style of execution; there was no new method; the Greek types were everywhere seen, more or less modified—a Madonna in the middle, with a couple of lank saints or angels stuck on each side, holding symbols; or with their names written over their heads, and texts of Scripture proceeding from their mouths; or at the most a few figures, placed in such a position relatively to each other as sufficed to make a story intelligible, and the arrangement generally traditional and arbitrary; such seems to have been the limit to which painting had advanced previous to 1280.

Giotto appeared; and, almost from the beginning of his career, he not only deviated from the practice of the older painters, but stood opposed to them. He not only improved—he changed; he placed himself on wholly new ground. He took up those principles which Nicolo Pisano had applied to sculpture, going to the same source,—to Nature, and to those remains of pure antique art which showed him how to look at Nature. His residence at Rome, while he was yet young and in all the first glowing development of his creative powers, must have had incalculable influence on his after works. Deficient to the end of his life in the knowledge of form, he was deficient in that kind of beauty which depends on form; but his feeling for grace and harmony in the expression of his heads and the arrangement of his groups was exquisite; and the longer he practiced his art, the more free and flowing became his lines. But, beyond grace and beyond beauty, he aimed at the expression of natural character and emotion, in order to render intelligible his newly-invented scenes of action and his religious allegories. A writer of his time speaks of it as something new and wonderful, that in Giotto's pictures "the personages who are in grief look melancholy, and those who are joyous look gay." For his heads he introduced a new type exactly reversing the Greek pattern—

long-shaped, half-shut eyes; a long straight nose, and a very short chin. The hands are rather delicately drawn, but he could not design the feet well, for which reason we generally find those of his men clothed in shoes or sandals wherever it is possible, and those of his women covered with flowing drapery. The management of his draperies is, indeed, particularly characteristic, distinguished by a certain lengthiness and narrowness in the folds, in which, however, there is much taste and simplicity, though in point of style as far from the antique as from the complicated meanness of the Byzantine models; and it is curious that this peculiar treatment of the drapery, these long perpendicular folds, correspond in character with the principles of Gothic architecture, and with its rose and declined. For the stiff wooden limbs and motionless figures of the Byzantine school, he substituted life, movement, and the *look*, at least, of flexibility. His notions of grouping and arrangement he seems to have taken from the ancient bassi-relievi; there is a statuesque grace and simplicity in his compositions which reminds us of them. His style of coloring and execution was, like all the rest, an innovation on received methods; his colors were lighter and more roseate than had ever been known; the fluid by which they were tempered more thin and easily managed; and his frescoes must have been skilfully executed to have stood so well as they have done. Their duration is, indeed, nothing compared to Egyptian remains; but the latter have been for ages covered up from light and air in a dry climate; those of Giotto have been exposed to all the vicissitudes of weather and of underground damp, have been whitewashed and in every way ill-treated, yet the fragments which remain have still a surprising freshness, and his distemper pictures are still wonderful. Beyond one or two in the Louvre and in the Berlin Gallery, none of his pictures can be found, except in his native country. Those who are curious may consult the engravings after Giotto in the plates to the *Storia della Pittura* of Rossini, in those of D'Agincourt's *Histoire de l'Art par les Monumens*, and in Ottley's *Early Italian School*.

Giotto's personal character and disposition had no small part in the revolution he effected. In the union of endowments which seldom meet together in the same individual,—extraordinary inventive and poetical genius, with sound, practical, energetic sense, and

untiring activity and industry,—Giotto resembled Rubens; and only this rare combination could have enabled him to fling off so completely all the fetters of the old style, and to have executed the amazing number of works which are with reason attributed to him. His character was as independent in other matters as in his own art. He seems to have had little reverence for received opinions about anything, and was singularly free from the superstitious enthusiasm of the times in which he lived, although he lent his powers in the direction of embodying that very superstition. Perhaps the very circumstance of his being employed in painting the interiors of churches and monasteries opened to his discerning and independent mind reflections which took away some of the respect for the mysteries they concealed. There is extant a poem of Giotto's entitled "A Song against Poverty," which becomes still more *piquant* in itself, and expressive of the peculiar turn of Giotto's mind, when we remember that he had painted the Glorification of Poverty as the Bride of Saint Francis; and that in those days songs in *praise* of poverty were as fashionable as devotion to Saint Francis, the "Patriarch of Poverty." Giotto was celebrated, too, for his joyous temper, for his witty and satirical repartees, and appears to have been as careful of his worldly goods as he was diligent in acquiring them. Boccaccio, in a cynical vein, thus describes Giotto's personal appearance, at the same time doing full justice to the extraordinary genius of the artist: "And seeing that through Giotto that art was restored to light which had been for many centuries buried, (through fault of those who, in painting, addressed themselves to please the eye of the vulgar, and not to content the understanding of the wise,) I esteem him worthy to be placed among those who have made famous and glorious this our city of Florence. Nevertheless, though so great a man in his art, he was but little in person, and ill-favored enough." This unceremonious description becomes more amusing when it is remembered that Boccaccio must have lived in personal intercourse with the painter, as did Petrarch and Dante. When Giotto died in 1336, his friend Dante had been dead three years, Petrarch was thirty-two, and Boccaccio twenty-three years of age. When Petrarch died in 1374, he left to his friend, Francesco da Carrara, Lord of Padua, a Madonna painted by Giotto, as a most precious legacy, "a wonderful piece of work, of which the ignorant might

overlook the beauties, but which the learned must regard with amazement." All writers who treat of the ancient glories of Florence,—Florence the beautiful,—Florence the free,—from Villani down to Sismondi, count Giotto in the roll of her greatest men. Antiquaries and connoisseurs in art search out and study the relics which remain to us, and recognize in them the dawn of that splendor which reached its zenith in the beginning of the sixteenth century ; while to the philosophic observer Giotto appears as one of those few Heaven-endowed beings whose development springs from a source within—one of those unconscious instruments in the hand of Providence who, in seeking their own profit and delight through the expression of their own faculties, make, unawares, a step forward in human culture, lend a new impulse to human aspirations, and, like the "bright morning star, day's harbinger," may be merged in the succeeding radiance, but never forgotten.

WILLIAM DE BEAUVOIR FRYER.

BEYOND THE SNOW LINE. I.

ON the rocky promontory which juts from the Valais Fiescherhorn towards the Aletsch Glacier, the largest ice river of the European mountain ranges, stands a stone hut erected for the protection of travellers. I reached this spot September 1, 1879, accompanied by Peter Egger, one of the best guides in Switzerland, and Fritz Roth, who did admirable service. It was my intention, after a short interval of rest, to set out with Egger the same night for the Finsteraarhorn, and, four and twenty hours after, accompanied by both, cross the Jungfrau.

Coming from Eggisshorn, we had entered the great Aletsch near the Märjelen See, into which the glacier sometimes casts milky blocks of ice, and wandered for several hours over its majestic surface. The hut is 2800 meters* above the level of the sea, in a spot towards which four large glacier-reservoirs extend horizontally. They come from the slopes of a chain of mountains which only separates to allow the passage of the Aletsch Glacier, and are surrounded by peaks like the Grünhorn, the Fiescherhorn, the Mönsch, the Jungfrau, and the Aletschhorn. Nothing is visible save ice and snow, interrupted here and there by rocky cliffs and ridges; a living creature seems like an intruder.

Night brought stormy weather. A violent wind had risen, black clouds swept across the sky, and lightning flashed in the southern horizon; at intervals, the thunder of an avalanche was heard. The moon rode high in the heavens, often veiled by the passing clouds, thus causing a perpetual alternation of light and shadow, which dispelled the monotony of the ice-world. Amid the rushing of the tempest, we reached the summit of the Finsteraarhorn the morning of September 2d. Soon after returning to the hut, a thunder-storm burst, and fair weather was again restored. During the following night, I emerged from the hut, prepared for another expedition, for night is the loyal helper of all great mountain ascensions. From the rock on which the hut rises, as if on a platform, the first glance beheld the whole vast panorama. The brilliancy of the landscape, illumined by the moon-beams, at first dazzled the eyes; far and wide stretched the glacier, surrounded by

* A meter is 39.37 inches.

the desolate white mountains; the stillness of death rested upon them, but the marvellous beauty of their forms, distinctly outlined against the black, starry sky, lent the scene the majesty of solitude—not the horror of desolation.

Amid such impressions, I descended with my guides to the glacier. We needed a good omen, for the excursion we had in view was toilsome,—the result uncertain. We intended to ascend the peak of the Jungfrau, towering in the background, and then descend on the opposite side,—the side which, from the beauty of its form, the brilliancy of its ice, and the roar of its avalanches, is familiar to nearly all travelers who visit the Wengern Alp. But the glaciers, falling in unusually steep declivities to desolate valleys, are more deeply cleft than others, often change the shape of their chasms in a very short time, and, always dangerous to traverse, sometimes forbid the passage of the boldest pedestrian. We came from Zermatt, and from our own observation knew nothing of the condition of the ice on the other side of the mountains. We had been warned of it; some Grindelwald guides, who slept in the hut with us the first night, said that the chasms in the glacier on the slope towards the Wengern Alp could no longer be crossed.

We first passed that portion of the wide ice-basin to which an insipid comparison has given the name *Place de la Concorde*. Here the great Aletsch Glacier unites with the Jungfrau Glacier and the ice-masses from the gap in the Grünhorn. The snow was firm, but not smooth; not a breath of air stirred; no cloud moved; a soft light illumined our silent walk. Nevertheless, it seemed long, like all nocturnal expeditions, even those whose peculiar loveliness can scarcely be equalled. Thought becomes monotonous, like impressions; and wishes for daybreak soon arise. The mountains slowly separated as we climbed steadily up the Jungfrau Glacier in a northwesterly direction. The chain of the Bernese Mountains rises from the glacier on both sides of the Jungfrau, like an iceberg from the Polar Sea; and, as the glacier itself is 3,000 meters above the level of the sea, the surrounding mountains do not seem so immensely lofty; they resemble a range of moderate height, with the characteristics of the most elevated. This fact attests the peculiarity of the landscape, whose quiet grandeur awakened no suspicion of the savage, terrible forms of the ice-masses on the opposite side.

When daylight came, with the intense cold that marks a cloudless morning in the highest mountain ranges, we were already far up the side of the Kranzberg, the name given the huge buttress that supports the Jungfrau on the east, whose highest peak towered above us, upheld by a sheer wall of rock. No path leads thither, but on the left rise the glacier-masses, across which the summit may be gained. At five o'clock,—sun-rise,—we were 3,400 meters above the level of the sea. Our walk had been an easy one; difficulties, in the sense of the great Alpine ascensions, were not worth mentioning. The glaciers, with regard to steepness and iciness, were in such a condition that practiced climbers could scale them with perfect security, without using the ice-axe to cut steps; vast yawning chasms might be easily avoided by passing around them. So the walk lacked the charm of peril which the mountain traveller often loves for itself. To make amends, we were granted most exquisite views of the region behind us, for the scene grew more and more grand, and, with the joy aroused by the sparkling light of the young day, the thoughts rested on the goal and the magnificent prospect to be expected.

At six o'clock, the character of the path changed. We had reached the crest of the huge ridge from which the lofty peak of the Jungfrau rises to a height of 4,167 meters. This ridge divides two totally different types of landscape, which contrast with each other as strikingly as the waveless surface of the ocean and its angry surges. Three lofty ridges intersect it,—the Löwinenthor, the Roththalsattel, and the Jungfraujoeh,—leading from the majestic expanse of the Aletsch Glacier into the narrow valleys, between whose cliffs the shattered masses of ice, just on the point of falling, are closely wedged. We reached the ridge near the Roththalsattel, and walked along the steep edge in a northerly direction. Below us, on the right, stretched the beautiful, glittering Jungfrau Glacier; at our left, the chasms of the notorious Roththal; before us was the rocky summit of the Jungfrau; in the background towered the Valais Mountains, with the Weisshorn, Dent-Blanche and Matterhorn; the Mischabel and Monte Rosa groups were clearly distinguishable from the Weismies and Fletschhorn on their left, and soon the Grand Combin and Mont Blanc appeared on the opposite side.

From the Roththalsattel, itself 3,850 meters high, the summit of the Jungfrau can be reached in an hour. The rocks over which the path leads would present no difficulties, so far as steepness is concerned, but in many places are so coated with ice that it requires great caution on the part of the climber. There is no occasion to fear the ice when it can be reached,—that is, when it is so compact that steps of suitable size can be cut; but the ice-coated rocks, with their thin, clear, smooth covering, do not allow this kind of treatment, and demand special sureness of foot, or—what must frequently supply its place,—exceptionally good guides.

After a walk of only five hours, the rocks were crossed, and we stood close beneath the summit. The snow ridge that still separated us from it could be scaled in three minutes, and on reaching this summit a new phase of our expedition began. First, however, we might allow ourselves to enjoy one hour's unclouded happiness on the top of the far-famed peak.

The few preceding weeks had granted me many similar hours. During this time, I climbed many mountains with almost unparalleled good fortune, and stood on the summits of Monte Rosa, the Matterhorn, the Breithorn, Dent-Blanche, Rimfischhorn, Weisshorn, yesterday on the Finsteraarhorn, to-day on the Jungfrau—and the chain was not yet exhausted. It seemed as if I had spent my whole life among these snow-clad peaks, and was destined to end it there.

The exercise of strength, maintained by constant practice, dispels the feeling of strangeness, even in the most savage regions. Wherever the eye may turn, familiar peaks always meet the gaze; the scene awakens no terror; nothing is felt save the majesty, the grandeur of creation. We behold it from a commanding standpoint, and in that elevated mood to which the soul tends when the body has been kept in a state of tension by hours of exertion and impending danger. Silence reigns; the lungs inhale deeper breaths of the purer air; the broad landscape beams in the light of a brighter sun against the deeper blue of the sky; we imagine we understand the language of the mountains, and vanished centuries speak to us.

I had spent one of these beautiful mornings on Monte Rosa. The still air and the greater brilliancy of the sunlight did not allow any sensation of cold. The transparency of the atmosphere

permitted the outlines of the most distant mountains to be distinguished, and certain landmarks, seen close at hand during former ascensions, could be noted from nineteen to twenty-two geographical miles away. But this fact does not constitute the peculiar charm of the views beheld from lofty mountains. If distant prospects were the only attraction, peaks like the Rhigi, Faulhorn, Piz Languard, etc., would afford almost as many as those whose summits glitter with eternal snows. There is a very different spell in the view close at hand. The highest mountains that are the goal of our ascensions are never isolated, but form part of a connecting range of peaks. We scale them, gaze at their mighty cliffs, their gleaming glaciers, their jagged masses of ice, the impassable bridges which, in the form of rocky ridges, are thrown from one summit to another, or the sharp snow-crusts that lie on the ridges like the curling surf on the seashore. This view, and the impressions it produces, we would seek in vain on a Rhigi. It is the same on the Jungfrau, where neither the distant mountains south of Mont Blanc, nor the Tyrolean Alps, can arrest the eye, but the immediate vicinity of the most exquisitely beautiful of all the beautiful Alpine ranges, the Bernese Mountains; besides these, only the giants of Zermatt, lying southward, but not far away, are conspicuous. If we look eastward towards the Aletsch, we see peaks whose names are familiar to every one, towering above each other like the steps of an amphitheatre. The Mönch is at the left, and the Gletscherhorn on the right; between them, the mighty mass of the Jungfrau, semi-circular in form, as if pushed out of shape by the ice-masses of the Aletsch Glacier. Far different is the view in the opposite direction, towards the Lauterbrunn Thal. Here, softer, more sudden tints prevail; the meadows and lake greet the eye, and human habitations appear. Everything seems close at hand,—one might shout across; but the apparent distance is deceptive, for only the abrupt fall of the mountain makes it possible. This is the cause of the steep cliffs, the chasms, the overhanging masses of ice, the destroying avalanches. Four supporting mountains, diverging from each other almost at right angles, here join the curved crest of the Jungfrau; short glacier valleys lie between them, all opening towards the Lauterbrunnerthal. On the nearest of these ridges rises the Silberhorn; at its right the Schneehorn; between them lies the Giessen Glacier, overlooked by the peak of

the Jungfrau ; on the other side of the Schneehorn ridge are the upper portions of the Guggi Glacier. If this is fixed in the mind, a clear idea of the walk now beginning may be formed.

A little before half-past nine o'clock, our hour expired, and we prepared to make the descent. The path down to the valley was as uncertain as usual, and I had reason to be anxious about the result. This only heightened the charm of the situation ; for, as we had all three traversed the mountains from boyhood, we anticipated something, and the excitement of the approaching struggle increased our strength.

In the shadow of the Jungfrau, we descended a field of ice directly towards the west. At first, there was so little danger that we intentionally slipped several times ; to be sure, not in a sitting posture,—which is very amusing, not tiresome, yet under some circumstances fatal,—but standing, with the knees slightly bent, using the ice-axe braced against the surface. Soon the slope became very steep and the snow more icy—two things that often happen at the same time. Egger went first, cutting steps, not exactly down the line of the steepest declivity, but in short curves, that at each turn required a considerable expenditure of skill. In itself, it is much easier to go down steps cut in a straight line down the shortest part of the slope ; that is the way they are hewn in ascending, and then in most cases all special difficulties of the descent are removed. But where, as in our case, the so-called “traversing” of a mountain is to be accomplished,—that is, a path followed leading from one side to the summit, and from the opposite side downward,—no steps for the descent are to be found ; they must be cut while standing in a stooping posture, often with an unsteady foothold, from above downward, a matter which sometimes proves so difficult that the attempt to keep a straight line is given up, and the steps are permitted to wind in serpentine curves. At last, we reached smooth ice, and then the rocks of the Silbergrat, the name given to the mass of rocks serving as a support to the lofty Silberhorn, 3,705 meters high. This ridge divides the territory of the Roththal on the left, from that of the Giessen Glacier on the right, and along this crest we were now to continue our walk.

Rock-climbing, such as only the wildest and loftiest portions of the high mountain ranges can offer, began in great style. The heart of the old mountaineer exults ; but the less experienced

traveller, to whom the mysteries of the world of stone and ice first begin to be revealed, is startled, and, in the dreams night brings after the toilsome day, blends confused images of smooth rocks that afford no support, deep chasms, encouraging shouts from the guides, occasional hanging by the rope, pieces of rock thundering further and further down into abysses,—a total want of connection with the rest of the world. Afterwards, when similar impressions have been frequently repeated, the powers of observation are sharpened, and reckless daring gives place to quiet consideration. The danger is enjoyed; that is, we are conscious that we have the power to meet it. In the pathless region which offers nothing but a jagged ridge, with glaciers far below on every side, and cliffs furrowed with gullies, this region, which, to an imagination excited by fear, must certainly appear diabolical, the sure foot and steady hand can find little projections to which they trust, while the unblenching eye measures the abyss. We feel the pleasure inspired by the exercise of every long-practiced art, and this state of mind become doubly able and ready to see surrounding objects as they are; memory afterwards transforms these impressions into a faithful narration.

The Silbergrat offered the obstacles peculiar to rocky ridges in general; namely, here and there very steep, almost perpendicular projections, which did not allow the pedestrian to keep on the summit. We were obliged to step on the sides, and clamber along them with great caution, though it cost no special loss of time. A practiced climber will rarely be seen watching his next step among the rocks; yet his attention is perpetually on the alert. Owing to the constant disintegration of the stone, no projection can be trusted without ceremony; each must first be tested by hand or foot. Hence, gentle movements are necessary; impetuous ones might be fearfully avenged, if the foot should slip, the hand lose its hold, or the rock give way. As we were climbing downward, double caution was needful. Faint-hearted people sit down, and increase the permissible four points of support supplied by the hands and feet, by an allowable fifth. This is as awkward as it is slow, and only pardonable when the traveller lacks strength to make the proper movement.

Our way required us to leave the Silbergrat at a suitable spot, and descend to the Giessen Glacier. After walking an hour and

a half, we reached the top of the ridge behind which towers the Silberhorn. This is called the Silberlücke, and is almost 460 meters lower than the Jungfrau, but 1,400 higher than the end of the Guggi Glacier we desired to reach. In the Silberlücke, the masses of ice from the north first reached the ridge, while the southern side, on the contrary, consists here also of naked cliffs. The limited extent of the view gives the scene a peculiar aspect. The ridge, towering up on both sides; close at hand, the white Silberhorn; in the opposite direction, the vast peak of the Jungfrau; towards Roththal, a steep rocky gorge losing itself in a desert of stone; towards the Giessen Glacier, a glimmering white cliff, cleft by a yawning chasm. Such were the surroundings of the Silberlücke.

The character of the walk here changed entirely. The rock-climbing ceased, and the reign of the snow-slopes, ice-chasms and blocks began. The direction altered; hitherto it had been westerly,—now it turned towards the north. First, however, we secured an assistant, which we found very unexpectedly on the Silberlücke, and which promised to be useful. It was an old ladder with fourteen rounds, that had been frozen in about five years before and remained half buried. Egger and Roth were obliged to work hard ere they could hew it out of the ice; then we pushed it over the ridge and let it slip down the glacier. It darted across the chasm in a graceful curve, and then lay far below, in the centre of the ice-masses which apparently extended at our feet. We followed the same path as the ladder, but somewhat more slowly. Our situation bore a certain resemblance to that of a man climbing from the fourth-story window of a house down into the street; but the affair looked more dangerous than it really was, for the cliff consisted of firm snow,—not ice.

Egger went first; I followed; then Roth. Each began by turning his back to the glacier below, kneeling, and letting himself hang by his hands, with his face towards the steep wall. A step made by kicking the snow with the heavy nailed shoe, afforded the first support, and then the descent was regular by placing the feet and hands in the holes thus excavated. It was partly owing to the excellent condition of the snow, that we accomplished the apparently difficult descent so easily. With hard ice, it might have been possible; but, as matters were, the feat required nothing but

confidence and skilful climbing. Only in case of a false step would danger be upon us; but it would then have been sudden and irremediable. The *bergschrunn*—the name given to the chasms in the ice which follow the base of steep cliffs,—yawned beneath us. We reached it safely, and found its upper edge at one point so much elevated by accumulations of snow, that a bold leap would easily carry us to the other side of this formidable obstacle. This favorable circumstance was of course utilized; one after another flew through the air, and soon all three were again united at the foot of the cliff. We now walked contentedly down the slightly sloping ice to our ladder. It was half-past eleven o'clock. This spot, which for a short time afforded so pleasant a change, is only a terrace-like step, 3,500 metres high, in the descent which, at the end of a few minutes, confronted us under a totally different aspect. The layer of ice, which covers the surface of the higher ranges of mountains, shows great differences. We see all the variations, from the hardest ice to powdery snow that may be blown away with the breath; we also see vast continuous expanses of snow, without the smallest rift, slight clefts in the icy surface, a regular system of cleavage, and chaotic heaps of ice; the latter occurs where the steep declivity below is broken by changes in the slope into terrace-like steps. But the scene which to-day confronts us in an apparently firm, unalterable form, changes with the lapse of time into other shapes; for a silent, almost imperceptible movement is constantly taking place in these masses, which closes the chasms, opens new ones, and causes the snow-flake that fell on the summit of Monte Rosa, to melt, after the lapse of centuries, as a particle of ice at the extreme end of the Gorner Glacier.

The rifts in the glaciers usually seem small in comparison with the chasms in the masses of ice lying above them, and one of these we now entered to reach the next lower terrace of the Giessen. Only a few weeks before, I had scaled the Zermatt Breithorn directly over its steep, ice-covered side,—nay, had become familiar with many similar spectacles; but the gulf through which we now endeavored to make our way seemed unsurpassed.

It is always extremely difficult to obtain any clear survey of the configuration of a large extent of ice; that is, to ascertain the trend of the chasms and the declivity of the unbroken surfaces. For this reason, it is often necessary to resort to guess-work, and in such

cases the special ability of an experienced guide is displayed. The possibility of farther progress exists, if the wide *crevasses* can be crossed or avoided. But the effort to pass around them is often baffled, because the gulfs either intersect each other like the veirs of a leaf, or run to a perhaps perpendicular wall of ice, and it becomes impossible to continue the walk. The snow-bridges, which lie over an abyss like the remains of a ruined arch, are very useful, but the aid becomes treacherous if the bridges break. The scene has a fairy-like aspect; a new world of enchantment, without ingress or egress, appears to open before the gaze. The white masses seem to be cut into giant cubes, distinctly showing the strata of the annual snow-falls; but the lines no longer run horizontally, but obliquely, apparently revealing the presence of some power that has shaken the mountains. The chasms often yawn fifty paces and even more; they can rarely be fathomed, because their width does not always remain the same; the sides slope, and loose masses of snow exclude the sight of the depths. The snow of these bridges, thawed by the sun, freezes again ere it can fall in drops, and stalactite formations of ice hang from the snow arches. Sometimes a moderately wide chasm extends the whole width of the mountain-side, but the edges are very rotten; the lower edge is far beneath the upper, on which rests an overhanging crust of snow, so that by a vertical leap the opposite side may be gained. We see the most peculiar forms, surfaces and lines, which can be compared with nothing, because the natural conditions of their origin are nowhere repeated. The delicate tints of this swiftly varying chaos increase the fairy-like impression. The wider levels are a snowy white; but the deeper we go, and the larger proportion of ice exists in the masses, the more blue blends with the white light; it shimmers in every crevice, and all the hues that meet the eye resolve themselves into white, varied by different shades of blue.

PAUL GUSSELDT.

(*Conclusion in October number.*)

PHILIP MASSINGER AND HIS PLAYS.

THE history of literature abounds with instances of authors, meritorious in themselves, neglected on account of the excellence of a close successor ; but perhaps no better example is afforded than is given by the Elizabethan dramatists.

In the Elizabethan era, there existed many bright geniuses who labored in the walks of the drama, who might well, did they stand alone, form the boast of the literature of any nation, but who, owing to the immense superiority of their great coeval, are almost, if not entirely, forgotten by the mass of readers, and are enjoyed but by a few critical or scholarly persons.

These dramatists are indeed stars shining in obscurity ; and amongst them are few whose light is more brilliant, the overpowering sun being removed, than that of Philip Massinger.

Critics may differ with regard to the exact position which Massinger occupies in a graded scale of dramatic authors,—each may have his favorite, whom he struggles to place in the foremost rank,—but, with the exception of Hazlitt, all agree in assigning him a high place,—one of the chief seats at the feast. Charles Lamb has treated him, perhaps, with less consideration than most critics ; Gifford has placed him above Ben Jonson ; and Hallam declares that, as a tragic writer, he is second only to Shakespeare. This is high praise, especially from such a critic as Hallam, and doubts of its justice may arise in our minds, even when it is backed by so great a name. For our own part, when we recollect the great scene in “Faustus,” where the doctor, his life’s thread almost spun out, abandoned by the fiend who has served, only to betray, him, awaits his end,—awaits the arrival of the demons who shall come to drag him away to everlasting torment,—while his friends are vainly praying for him in the adjoining chamber, almost against hope ; and he, giving full sway to a wild feeling of agony, mixed with the faintest ray of hope, which only heightens the acuteness of his misery, bursts out into that terrible soliloquy, begging for a delay of time, a chance for repentance ; then not even that, but for a restoration, after fearful punishment and years of torture, and finally, abandoning all hope, plunging into the depths of despair ; when we remember this, we must consider Massinger, in tragic power, inferior to poor Kit Marlowe.

But, whatever may be Massinger's relative place, his actual merit is great, undeniably great; and an attentive study of his works will amply repay the student of that glorious period of literature in which he wrote; and, to know them at all, it is necessary to study them, for in the present condition of the stage and popular taste no opportunity is given us of witnessing them, except one,—the "New Way to Pay Old Debts,"—in which the late Mr. Davenport achieved so enviable a reputation.

But "The New Way to Pay Old Debts" is not the best of Massinger's plays; there are others nobler in tone and more exalted in poetic sentiment; and those whose knowledge of the drama is confined to that acquired at the theatre, can form but a poor opinion of what Massinger is.

We shall not pretend here to discuss Massinger's plays in detail,—to take them up, as they deserve, one by one, and examine the structure and note the action of each; but shall merely take a general view of his life and works, and, performing the part of link-boy, endeavour to throw some little light upon the pathway leading to the enjoyment of his beauties.

First, then, let us look at Massinger himself; and if in so doing we find that his life was no unbroken course of prosperity, but that into it adversity and privation entered in no small degree, he will be an additional example of the theory—a favorite one with us,—that greatness is best acquired through suffering.

Philip Massinger was born, in the year 1584, at Salisbury, as would seem from a letter of the Earl of Pembroke to Raleigh, of gentle parents. Of his early education, not much is known, but, from the dedication of "A New Way to Pay Old Debts," and from the minute knowledge of household duties displayed in several of his dramas, as, for example, the "Bashful Lover," it has been conjectured that he was brought up as a page in the household of the Countess of Pembroke, at Wilton. This, however, though highly probable, is still but conjectural; and the first authentic information we obtain of him is that on Friday, the 14th day of May, 1602, "Philip Massinger, *generosi filii*," was entered at St. Albans, Oxford. There he conducted himself, we know not how. A host of critics, biographers, etc., have fought over this question, from which little good is to be extracted, and about which nothing is harder than to discover the truth; and little light is shed, little

assistance rendered, by the controversy ; for in it, as in all such debates, there is a tendency on the one side to magnify genius at the expense of application, and on the other to claim for the subject of discussion a union of all good qualities, and to superadd industry to genius. According to the one, Massinger neglected entirely the academic studies ; according to the other, he was a proficient in scholarship ; neither side produces extrinsic evidence, and, in the state of the evidence, we should decline to judge between them, being content to take what we may be able to know of any man's life, and to draw instruction from thence, and endeavoring to avoid the pernicious habit of building up a character to suit one's own ideas of what a certain man should be, and then arguing from that as from an ascertained fact.

Massinger left Oxford in 1606, without his degree. About the same time, his father died, and Massinger, thrown upon his own resources, suffered additional deprivation, in that his former patron, the Earl of Pembroke, now neglected him. To account for this latter occurrence, Gifford declares that Massinger had turned Roman Catholic, in which opinion Mr. Shaw agrees with him. This position is combated by a recent editor of Massinger, Lieut.-Col. Cunningham, and successfully, so far as it would account for the Earl's neglect ; but we do not think him equally successful in showing that our poet had not been and never was reconciled to Rome. On the contrary, there is evidence which would draw us to the opposite conclusion. Apart from the opinion of Gifford, to oppose whom, Cunningham admits, requires a bold man, there is intrinsic evidence. There runs through Massinger's works a spirit of, to give it the mildest name, regard for Roman sentiment and practice, at that day somewhat remarkable in any one not a professing Romanist, if we may receive the laws in force against members, and especially priests, of the Romish Church, as proof of the popular sentiment towards them. As instances of this regard, as we have called it, the "Virgin Martyr," one of his earliest productions, is in many respects a miracle play, and in the "Renegado" (produced in 1624,) the noblest character of all is a Romish priest,—nay, more, a Jesuit. On the whole, therefore, we do not argue one way or the other, only *non constat*, from Cunningham's successful argument as to his first position, that his second is established also.

Having left Oxford, the struggle of life began in earnest ; the bark had lain long enough in the dock-yard, and was now launched forth to cleave its way amidst the billows. Massinger went immediately to London, like most literary adventurers of that day, when the rewards of literary merit flowed from the court, desiring to be near the source of patronage, and in that great city, as he himself says, enlisted himself amongst "divers others whose necessitous fortunes made literature their profession ;" and a rare set these same "necessitous" men were. Beaumont, Fletcher, Jonson, Ford, Webster, Dekker, Chapman, Marston. Middleton, were either at work or were shortly to come upon the scene. The lives of many of these men were, themselves, romances as interesting as their plays ; indeed, could we only recover fuller particulars concerning them, I can hardly imagine a more interesting book than a collection of the biographies of the Elizabethan dramatists. Nay, we might be content with less ; and, when we think what stores of wit, humor, learning and poetry were lavished at the "Mermaid," it is a source of regret that there was no Boswell at that tavern as well as at the "Turk's Head." How almost invaluable such a book as Boswell's *Johnson* would be, with the dramatists for its subject ! What would we give for a well-authenticated conversation of Shakespeare ? But at that day such a book would have been an impossibility. The world did not truly recognize who its really great men were, and, taken up with the observance of ministers, soldiers and favorites, could spare but little attention to such poor chaff as players and poets.

The literary men of Massinger's time seem to have had a very hand-to-mouth existence, as a rule, for at least a great part of their careers, and to have led lives of a not very regular character. Dissipated, to a certain extent, they probably were, but yet by no means idle, as the works produced attest ; at times having scarcely enough money to buy them the necessary food or keep them out of prison ; again, revelling on the proceeds of a dedication, and spending the reward of long and arduous toil in short debauchery ; but withal, strange to say, preserving throughout their writings that high moral tone which, when contrasted with some portions of their lives, seems perfectly marvellous to us, and which can only be accounted for on the ground that they were men of strong natures, and able to abstract their minds from the transitory to the lasting,

and that, though they erred, their errors were the fruit of overpowering temptation, rendered more potent by previous suffering, and not the offspring of minds radically bad. Then, with regard to their works, these authors at times were the favorites of great men, and at others fell under the condemnation of the dramatic censor, which was a rather more serious matter in England than now. At the present day, it is true, the Lord Chamberlain may suppress an obnoxious portion, or, in a very rare case, prohibit the production of a play, as, some years ago, "Camille," and, more lately, "*La Vie Parisienne*," were prohibited; but in the Elizabethan time the production of the play was not only forbidden, but the authors might be thrown into prison or otherwise punished. Chapman, Ben Jonson, Marston and Dekker were imprisoned and sentenced to have their noses split for an attack on the Scotch in "Eastward Ho!" but this barbarous punishment, it is a relief to learn, was not inflicted.

The meagre accounts that we have of the Elizabethan poets fully bear out our assertion that their lives were checkered and would furnish in themselves material for many a romance. Take, for instance, Ben Jonson, the son of a clergyman, the pupil of Camden, then a bricklayer, next a soldier serving in Flanders, then an actor, and as such an utter failure; then we see him killing his adversary in a duel, and in prison on a charge of murder; in prison becoming a Roman Catholic; after his release, marrying, returning to the Anglican fold, and draining the whole chalice in token of his sincerity; then follows a course of prosperity, such as was vouchsafed to but few of his contemporary poets. There, if you please, is a comedy; but the lives of others would supply material for most touching dramas,—many for tragedies. Think of poor Marlowe, the creator of "Faustus" and the "Jew of Malta," dying in a tavern brawl, and only thirty years old!

The scene of Massinger's labors, the theatre of the Elizabethan age, has been so frequently described, with its partial roof, its absence of scenery, the gallants sitting upon the rush-strewn stage, that I will not reiterate what has been so often said, and we will return from our hero's associates to the man himself.

From the time of Massinger's leaving Oxford until the year 1621, we have but little information concerning him, except that in the interval he wrote twelve plays, (of which eight have unfortunately

perished,) and that during that time he fell into the same distress which befell so many of his associates, as is witnessed by an earnest appeal, signed by Massinger, Field and Daborne, and addressed to one "Philipp Hinchlow, Esquire," praying for a small loan to effect their release from prison. Sad, indeed, is it to think of three such spirits mewed up, and for a petty, trifling debt. Perhaps they made their cage their workshop, as others have done; perhaps the prison may have witnessed them writing plays, as Cervantes wrote his "Don Quixote," Ockley his "Saracens," and, stranger than all, the unknown barrister "Fleta," in prison. The appeal however, was not unanswered; the money was loaned and the captives were released, and we have no other record of like distress; but, as a further evidence of the straightened circumstances of one, or perhaps two, of the three, we have a bond signed by Massinger and Daborne, conditioned in the sum of three pounds, from which we may conjecture the state of the poet's circumstances, when he was obliged so carefully to secure his credit for so small a sum. The rest of Massinger's life seems to have been passed at hard work, without being characterized by any particularly noteworthy incident, always, of course, excepting the writing of plays. The authorities for this portion of his life are the office-book of the Master of Revels, wherein are registered the dates of production of his plays and the dedications of the plays themselves.

These dedications are written in an humble yet manly tone; there is nothing servile; there is some consciousness of worth manifested; but still we can see how necessary patronage was to him, as to others of his time; how necessary was the stamp of the patron's approbation (if, indeed, more substantial aid were not also needed, as I fear in many cases it was,) to enable the author to make a respectable appearance in the eyes of his contemporaries. The time had not yet come when the man of letters could emancipate himself from patronage, and, boldly putting himself upon his merits, appeal to the reading public at large. Samuel Johnson's letter to Lord Chesterfield had yet to be written. What a lesson is taught, what an historical revelation is afforded us, by the mere consideration of the different positions occupied by the author in the Elizabethan era, and at the present day; how, in the former case, it causes indignation to stir within us at the sight of a noble intellect dependent for recognition—nay,

almost for a subsistence,—upon an inferior more highly gifted with the world's goods. And yet we do wrong when we blame patrons, as some have sneered at Mæcenas ; for, although many of them did nourish men of letters simply to add to their own grandeur and importance, yet many of them were enlightened gentlemen, whose approbation was valuable in more senses than one. Of the latter class seem to have been the Earls of Montgomery and Pembroke, and Lord Mohun, by whose kindness the latter years of Massinger's life were cheered, while, in the dedication of the "Maid of Honour," Massinger thus expresses his gratitude to Sir Francis Foljambe and Sir Thomas Bland : "I heartily wish that the world may take notice, and from myself, that I had not up to this time subsisted, but that I was supported by your frequent courtesies and favors." He also possessed, in Sir Aston Cockayne, more than a patron—a friend. Massinger died in March, 1639, and was buried at the priory church of St. Saviour.

So much, then, as a brief notice of our author's life. Let us now consider briefly what he has left us; and, while his body has returned to the dust from which it originally came, and the exact place of his burial can no longer be pointed out, yet his spirit is still amongst us, and speaks to us from his pages whenever we turn to them, and speaks in tones that cause us to mourn that it no longer addresses us through living exponents from the stage. For, alas! the mighty geniuses of yore, with the exception of the one too great to be banished, have been exiled, and there are now no giants to take their places, but only a race of pigmies, whom we admire and praise if occasionally one reaches the height of the human form.

Massinger's plays are thirty-seven in number,—or, rather, we should say, *were*, for of that number only nineteen remain, viz. : "The Old Law," "The Virgin Martyr," "Unnatural Combat," "Duke of Milan," "Renegado," "Bondsman," "Parliament of Love," "Roman Actor," "Great Duke of Florence," "Maid of Honour," "The Picture," "Emperor of the East," "Believe As You List," "Fatal Dowry," "New Way To Pay Old Debts," "City Madam," "Guardian," "A Very Woman," and "The Bashful Lover."

The remaining eighteen plays have perished. It is sad to think how many works of genius have been lost to the world. Of the

orations of Hyperides, esteemed by his contemporaries the most brilliant of speakers, scarce a specimen remains. Of Livy, we possess but fragments: the connecting links are gone. The amount of learning destroyed in the Alexandrian flames, it will ever be impossible to estimate; but the majority of the lost works of Massinger perished in a way peculiarly base and ignoble. They whose object and end it was to minister to the mind and fill it with noble thoughts and images, were compelled to minister to that part of us, far lower, indeed, but which has been declared, upon good authority, to be the nearest way to the heart,—namely, the stomach. It came about in this wise. There was a certain man named John Warburton, (whom, although rejoicing in the appendages F. R. S., and F. S. A., Lieut.-Col. Cunningham does not hesitate to style “a vulgar, illiterate, sordid and unprincipled ex-exciseman,”) who had a passion for collecting old English dramas. In the course of his life, he became possessed of fifty-five old plays in manuscript, including the following works of Massinger: “The Forced Lady,” “Noble Choice,” “Wandering Lovers,” “Philenzo and Hypolita,” “Antonio and Vallia,” “The Tyrant,” “Fast and Welcome,” “The Woman’s Plot,” “Believe As You List,” (fortunately not the only copy,) “Spanish Viceroy,” and “Minerva’s Sacrifice.” So far, so good. Here was a rare store to repay its owner’s industry. But, alas! Mr. Warburton had a cook. Now, there is nothing so very remarkable in this fact,—Mr. Warburton very probably liked good dinners, and must of necessity have some one to cook them for him,—but this was no ordinary cook, for Mr. Warburton, whether from economical reasons or not, we are uninformed, employed this same person in the not very congenial office of librarian. Now, our own idea is that a gentleman of literary tastes ought to be his own librarian, if he possibly can. But let that go. Anyone, certainly, should be very careful as to the sort of person he would allow to have access to such a valuable collection of manuscripts as we have above alluded to. Now, it so happened that Mr. Warburton, disregarding the terrors of night-mare, was fond of pastry. His cook conceived it necessary to use paper in preparing it; but, perhaps because she had no paper at hand in the kitchen, in her capacity of cook, she went to herself as librarian, and received sundry pages of manuscripts from the old dramatists, who were piled up in a heap. These inroads, once begun, were continued. Mr.

Warburton liked pies; his cook made them, and used the "trumpery stuff" from the old paper-heap in their manufacture. Thus did John Warburton eat up fifty-two old dramas. Think what he had eaten! Think what agonizing nights he must have passed! How he must, sleepless, have tossed about upon his pillow, turning now to this side, now to that, in the vain endeavor to obtain repose! How cold drops of sweat must have hung upon his terrified brow! How all the beings thus ruthlessly swept out of existence—for the poet's creations have a real existence, a genuine being,—resolved in vengeance to haunt their destroyer,—kings, tyrants, lovers, gallant knights, gentle ladies,—nay, whole armies,—all approaching with indignant mien, and upbraiding with their loss, their devourer. Think, too, of the richness, the reckless extravagance, of the Warburton repasts! Vitellius' banquets and Cleopatra's pearl draught are not to be mentioned in comparison. So perished these plays.

I propose, now, in pursuance of my original plan, to take a hasty glance at some of the main characteristics of Massinger's works, for it would be impossible, in a paper like the present, to give any fair or extended criticism of his plays in detail. Before looking at his delineation of character, we may turn for a short time to the consideration of his plots. Massinger's plots are by no means simple in their construction, but they are rarely so involved as to endanger dramatic unity. In some of the plays, however, the sub-plot assumes striking proportions, as, in the "Bashful Lover," the love of *Alonso* and *Maria*, or, rather, the beautiful, womanly forgiveness of the latter, is almost as interesting, and commands our sympathies as much, as the fortunes of the hero and heroine; and, in another play, "The Virgin Martyr," the connection of the sub-plot with the main is so slight that it could have been omitted, not only without injury to the play, but with positive advantage. Massinger's plots generally require a comparatively large number of characters to properly develop them, and this, we may remark, seems to be common to most of the older dramatists; the fashion of reducing to the utmost limit the number of persons having a direct connection with the plot, is, in the English drama, of modern prevalence, (though we should notice that the earliest English play, "Ralph Roister Doister," has but a small list of *dramatis personæ*.) and for what reason, it is hard to say. Probably because the rules of criticism, under French influence, are tending

more strictly to a formal observance of the canon which enjoins unity of action, so that authors are becoming careful to leave no opening for an attack on that score. But our old writers—the creators, so to speak, of our drama,—wrote with very little regard for critical rules; they were not always referring to measure and plumb-line; they did not care how they appeared to infringe upon rules and to violate the unities; they went on in the wild, wayward course of genius, and they did actually often, time upon time, disregard and utterly neglect the unities of time and place,—those merely artificial restrictions whose rigid observance has frequently marred a beautiful play; but the true, serviceable, essential unity, that of action, they rarely, if ever, in fact, violated; they only, at times, appeared to. Sub-plots they wrote, and beautiful ones, important ones; but they were still sub-plots; they were subordinated to the main plot; they worked in with it and strengthened it, although it must be confessed the connection is sometimes a little hard to be discovered.

Massinger's plots are laid in almost all parts of the world, though Italy seems to have been his favorite spot. They abound in incident, and the poet by no means bears in mind "*Ne pueros coram populo Medea trucidet*," for many very horrible things are presented before the eyes of the spectator; for example, in "The Virgin Martyr," *Theophilus* kills his two daughters, and *Dorothea* and *Theophilus* are tortured on the stage; in the "Unnatural Combat," *Malefort* is struck dead by lightning. But he does regard "*Nec deus intersit; nisi dignus vindice nodus incidet*:" for, though he brings an angel upon the stage in "The Virgin Martyr," it is to support a holy maiden, exposed to dire torment, and, if *Malefort* is struck dead by lightning, he has poisoned his wife and killed his son, and yet stands in no danger of human punishment.

In the development of his plots, Massinger displays great art. You are not able to see the end from the very beginning; he does not fall into the error of so disposing his characters at the outset that the spectator knows at once what their relations must be at the fall of the curtain, but keeps his audience, as it were, in suspense for a considerable time; in some instances, the opening hardly giving a hint of the termination; the true nature of the characters even, sometimes, not being at once foreshadowed; and yet, when it is fully revealed, we perceive the consistency of the

whole. As an instance of this artistic development of plot and of sustentation of interest, let us take "The Fatal Dowry." At the beginning, when we see the noble *Charolois* mourning for his father, and pursued by his creditors, pressing his petition and being contemptuously rebuffed, would we ever imagine that upon him is to be bestowed the hand of the fair *Beaumelle*, and, further, that that very bestowal is to be the source from which are to spring the deepest, blackest misfortunes, death and dishonor, the innocent overwhelmed in one general destruction with the guilty, through the criminal levity of the beautiful woman, trained by a learned father with all possible care? And yet, when we have read, or seen and considered, we recognize the naturalness of the development.

In the same way, the individual characters are frequently developed. The spirit of the character is frequently only hinted at at the outset; for instance, *Luke*, in the "City Madam," a most thorough-paced scoundrel, as we eventually find him, at first appears as the humble, useful drudge, the oppressed meek man, leading a life of humility and toil, in atonement for his early juvenile excesses, and yet even at this stage we see proceeding from him quiet suggestions of vice which, when the external restraints have been removed, appal us by their enormity. The same may be said with regard to *Francisco* in the "Duke of Milan," a second *Iago*; for like *Iago*, he is "honest":

" Then this is but a trial
To purchase thee, if it were possible,
A nearer place in my affection, but
I know thee honest."

Sforza almost apologizes for permitting the bare idea of possible failure on *Francisco's* part to enter his mind. *Francisco* is his friend, his very heart's brother, trusted in everything, and he seems to all worthy of the trust; and yet *Francisco's* whole life is one steady progress towards revenge upon *Sforza*, and a revenge horrible in itself and fearful in its details; and, when the man's black character at last stands out before us, fully portrayed, we then recognize how all which seemed good and fair was in reality the deepest treachery.

A prominent feature of Massinger's writings is the great amount of manly tenderness with which the poet has endowed many of

his characters,—an almost feminine delicacy joined to the most manly attributes. This is well shown in such characters as *Charoions* and *Hortensio*, especially in the latter. *Hortensio* is an embodiment of gentleness and courage, each in the highest degree of modesty, for, with all his love, he shrinks in conscious inferiority from the woman he adores, an example of true self-sacrificing love of a most exquisite kind. He loves, deeply, passionately; his lady is his one thought, his constant dream; and yet, when he and his rival, no contemptible one, are contending in the service of that lady, each striving to gain her favor by exertions in her cause, *Hortensio* does not hesitate to spur on and stimulate his rival, because thereby his lady will be served, though at most dear cost to himself, her lover :

“ Fight bravely, Prince Uberti; there's no way else
To the fair Matilda's favor.”

And when, afterwards, when her love has been given to him, and his labors and devotion seem about to be rewarded, his happiness is again threatened, and made to hang trembling in the balance by the proffered alliance of the great *Lorenzo*, in the support of which considerations of political advantage, as well as of her personal grandeur, are presented, see how the lover, on the point of attaining his highest joy, advises his dearly loved one :

“ He that loves
His mistress truly, should prefer her honor
And peace of mind, above the gluttony of
His rav'nous appetite; he should affect her
But with a fit restraint, and not take from her
To give himself; he should make it the height
Of his ambition, if it lie in
His stretched-out nerves to effect it, though she fly in
An eminent place, to add strength to her wings,
And mount her higher, though he fall himself
Into the bottomless abyss! or else
The services he offers are not real,
But counterfeit.
That I stand bound in duty,
(Though in the act I take my last farewell
Of comfort in this life,) to sit down willingly
And make my suit no farther. I confess,
While you were in danger, and Heaven's mercy made me
Its instrument to preserve you, (which your goodness
Prized far above the merit,) I was bold
'To feed my starved affection with false hopes
I might be worthy of you.

But when the Duke of Florence
 Put in his plea, in my consideration,
 Weighing well what he is, as you must grant him,
 A man of men in arms, and, those put off,
 The great example for a kingly courtier
 To imitate; annex to these his wealth,
 Of such a large extent as other monarchs
 Call him the king of coin; and, what's above all,
 His lawful love, with all the happiness
 This life can fancy, from him flowing to you,—
 The true affection which I have, ever borne you
 Does not alone command me to desist,
 But as a faithful counsellor to advise you
 To meet and welcome that felicity
 Which hastes to crown your virtues."

As might be expected after examining the foregoing characters, Massinger excels in the portraiture of women. His ideal of women seems to have been very high, and we meet upon his pages a series of heroines, charming, indeed. He presents to us women in many shapes and in many guises; but, while he does give us examples of unworthy ones, his tendency is decidedly to exalt the sex, and his virtuous portrayals are much more congenial than his vicious ones; he is more at home with Penelope than with Phryne or Tullia. As examples of his great skill in the portrayal of women, we have only to point to his *Dorothea*, that beautiful specimen of a saintly martyr; to *Camiola*, the *Maid of Honour*, who, willing to sacrifice all for her lover, proves her devotion to him by retirement, from the court in which she was so highly honored, to a convent,—since, the love of *Bertoldo* having been drawn away by the glitter of a crown, earth contains no charms sufficient to hold her to it,—and by her self-abnegation recalls *Bertoldo* to a sense of his duty and to the ranks of his knightly order; to the beautiful princess *Matilda*; and to that exquisite embodiment of hopeless love and forgiveness, *Maria*; to the faithful *Sophia*; while, on the other hand, we have in *Beaumelle* a creation made more repulsive on account of her personal beauty and accomplishments when we contrast them with the depraved underlying nature, than she would have been, had her form and intellect been in accordance with her moral condition; and, then, in the ladies in the "City Madam," we have specimens of the ordinarily weak nature ruined and made arrogant by unusual prosperity.

Massinger is also very successful in the treatment of a favorite species of character ; we mean the character which, with a rough exterior, possesses great warmth of heart and fidelity of affection ; a character somewhat like Shakespeare's *Lafeu* in the first two particulars, and like his *Adam* in the last. Of this class, Massinger's *Romont* is an admirable specimen. His villains are remarkably fine ; but of them we have spoken in another place. Massinger's comedy, in the ordinary acceptation of the word, is by no means equal to the pathetic portions of his plays, and is indeed unequal in itself, and rarely moves our laughter in the perusal, whatever it may have done when represented on the stage. It appears at its best in the "Old Law," and in the silly coxcombs who frequently figure in his plays. There is no approach to *Falstaff*, to *Parolles*, or to any one of the merry company we meet with on the pages of the great dramatist. Massinger's comedy is at times so disfigured by grossness,—of which very little appears in his serious passages, scarcely to be mentioned when one considers the time,—that it has been conjectured by some critics that he did not write the comical parts of his plays himself, but employed an assistant for that purpose ; but the conclusion does not follow from the premises ; for it may readily be that a poet, endowed with a superior tragic power, but deficient in comic ability, and conscious of that defect, might, from the tone current about him in the Elizabethan era, have mistaken the vulgarity which was commonly adjoined to the wit of that day, for the wit itself, and so, in writing in the endeavor to please and catch the popular ear, have presented simply, and we may add ignorantly, vulgarity and coarseness, under the impression that they constituted wit and humor. This having been done once, and the groundlings, who then, as now, made a large proportion of a theatrical audience, having been pleased, the author would be confirmed in his error, and the course would be continued in. This idea gathers strength in our mind when we discover that the "Old Law," in which occur the truly amusing characters of *Gnotho* the clown, and *Creon's* servants, with their wives, was written by Massinger in conjunction with Rowley and Middleton ; and Gifford says that his persuasion is "that the share of Massinger in this strange composition is not the most considerable of the three."

But, from whatever cause it arises, the fact is undeniably true that Massinger's comic ability was infinitely inferior to his tragic, and, worse than that, we find his comic passages frequently disfigured by grossness and vulgarity, which seems the more remarkable when we turn to his tragic, or even his simply serious, parts, and see with what purity and delicacy he has treated even rather questionable subjects.

In conclusion, Massinger may be regarded as a type, in one especial characteristic, of the age in which he lived. The characteristic alluded to is earnestness. Now, that the age acts upon the man, as well as the man upon the age, has become almost a truism, and needs no argument to enforce it; but in every age there are men who stand out as representatives in an eminent degree of its spirit. The age of Elizabeth was distinguished for its earnestness. It was shown in every department of human life,—shown in the voyages undertaken by Drake, Raleigh and Hawkins; it was shown in the uprising of the people on the approach of the Armada,—shown even in the spy system of Walsingham,—shown in the rigor of the religious persecutions, and shown, too, in the fortitude with which they were supported,—shown, as a final instance, in the literature of the day,— But stop! cries some one. Remember euphuism,—remember the careful balancing of words, the seeking after quaintness of expression or oddity of imagery. Well, we remember it; but, waiving the suggestion that there was a certain kind of earnestness exhibited in the very pursuit of oddity, in the very carefulness of balance, and the delight in antithesis,—as a rope-dancer is sometimes one of the most careful, earnest of men for the time being, though what he does is a trifle,—remember also that the euphuistic writings were not the main ones of the age. Turn where we will, and especially when we turn in the direction of the drama, we find the spirit of the age—earnestness,—stamped upon the national literature; and who more earnest than Massinger? The very “crabbedness and hardness” of which Hazlitt complains, is but earnestness, and it is delightful to read an author who is in earnest, who does not trifle and play with his subject as though it were a mere platform on which to exhibit the performer's skill, and who, by his earnestness, often produces the genuine effect at which all writers should aim,—the elevation of soul,—the enforcement of principle; while another produces only the effect of wonder at his

own skill,—a wonder which, when the first impressions of it have worn off, leaves the author who has created it far lower in the estimation of his readers than him who had not been so anxious for display, and thus fails, even in his far inferior object. What has given Carlyle such effect, cursed as he is with a bad style, and extravagant as he appears at times, but his earnestness? Do we not feel, when we have taken up Carlyle,—when we have waded and fought our way, as at times we must, through his involved sentences and strange phraseology, and have gained some knowledge of his meaning,—that this man is in earnest? And does he not force us to think, even after we have laid away the book upon the book-shelf, and imagine ourselves engaged with other things? Verily, he does; and he does all this because he is earnest. Now, if earnestness is so potent, even under disadvantages, how powerful should it be when joined with the graces of speech, kept in proper subordination to the main object, to great skill in development of plot, and to great knowledge of human nature, as is the case with our poet? I do not say Massinger is as earnest as Carlyle, who is one of the most earnest writers the world has seen, but that earnestness is a prominent characteristic of him,—I may say the most prominent; and also that in this characteristic he stands before us as a type of his age, and the worthy compeer of Drake, Raleigh, Campian, Leicester, and, as a writer, the compeer of Ben Jonson, of Ford, of Webster, of all the great dramatists of his day,—save always the greatest, grandest mind that has been given to the world of poesy.

HENRY BUDD, JR.

STENDHAL.

THE name of Stendhal, or Henri Beyle, while not exactly familiar to the reading world, is yet not altogether unknown, through the critical works of his distinguished disciple, M. Hippolyte Adolphe Taine, who has made brilliant use of the critical methods of his master.

To readers who have admired M. Taine's work in the fields of literature and art, it may be interesting to know something of the man from whom he borrowed much of what was best in his treatment and method. Nor may it be altogether out of place to cite more particularly some of the principles or methods of criticism which M. Taine owes to Beyle; take, for example, the principle of *milieu* as applied to the consideration of the artist and his work. It was Beyle who first called attention to the importance of studying the surrounding (*milieu*,) of place, time and historical development under which an artist creates. How brilliantly and ably M. Taine has utilized this in his *History of English Literature*, it boots not to speak, while some of his less known works, such as *Art in the Netherlands* and *Greece*, are more than amplifications of this principle of *milieu*, illustrating its application to the various subjects treated.

Stendhal's own life, indeed, was, strangely enough, a capital example of his principle and its working upon the individual. He was born in Grenôble, in the southwestern part of France, in 1783. He opened his eyes upon the verge of a whirlpool. It was the same year in which the independence of the United States was acknowledged; it was the year of Montgolfier's hot air balloon, and of D'Alembert's death. Politics, science and philosophy were in the ferment of change. In short, Europe, sick and feverish for two centuries and a half since the Reformation, was approaching the crisis of her disease, and already began to twitch and shudder with the premonitions of the awful convulsion that was to result in the recovery or death of the patient. Beyle was a child of the period, a true pupil of the revolution that has had so many and such distinguished scholars. It was the age of experiments; and Beyle became an experimenter in criticism, as others had been in politics and religion.

His early years were spent in the quiet retirement of Grenôble, hundreds of miles from the great world of Paris. We have in his biography a very pleasing though scanty picture of his life in the little provincial town, with its few actors, and its monotony broken only by the arrival of the lumbering yellow diligence from Paris. Having distinguished himself at the *Ecole Centrale* by taking all the prizes, he was, in consequence of his success, sent to Paris to enter the Polytechnic School there. He was sixteen years of age when he thus made his first appearance at the capital of France. But his intention of entering the Polytechnic was soon abandoned for more brilliant, or at least more lucrative, prospects. M. Pierre Daru, a friend of his family, to whom he bore letters of introduction, was appointed Secretary-General of War, and young Beyle received a clerkship in his department.

Like another and more famous critic,—Ruskin,—he had not been long in Paris before he tried his hand at painting under the teaching of M. Regnault. He had the good sense to soon discover, however, that he was not an artist, and discontinued his painting lessons. It is characteristic of his artistic sensibility that, during the time of his first stay in Paris, he greatly missed the mountains and woods near Grenôble. But more stirring matters than art, or regrets for the sylvan beauties of Grenôble, were soon to demand the youth's attention.

The Italian campaign of 1800 was just on the eve of beginning, and M. Daru, his patron, who had been very active in assisting Carnot, the Minister of War, in planning it, was detailed to accompany the French army. Napoleon crossed the Alps May 17, 1800, and entered Milan, amid the greatest rejoicing, June 18th. Beyle followed, and joined M. Daru in that city. It is impossible to imagine the effect on the excitable young man of the beautiful scenery of the plains of Lombardy, of the military glory, of the political enthusiasm that filled Italy on the arrival of the French. They were welcomed as the heralds of the golden age, the deliverers of an enslaved people. It was not simply a political revolution that Napoleon brought with him; it was a great moral revolution as well. All these things united with the new world of art and beauty which opened to him beyond the Alps to intoxicate his youthful soul as with new wine; for he was as enthusiastic a follower of the new ideas as he was exquisitely sensitive to artistic

impressions. It was at this time that he first heard the operas of Cimarosa, for whose music he conceived a passionate fondness. What a profound effect the scene which burst upon him at Milan produced, we may learn from his accurate description of it in his novel, *Chartreusc de Parme*.

Wearying of his clerical duties in the office of M. Daru, he joined the 6th Dragoon Regiment as quartermaster. His courage in action gained him a lieutenant's commission and placed him on the staff of Division-General Michaud. His life in Italy was full of adventure and pleasure. When, by the treaty of Amiens, peace was restored, he returned to Paris, employing his time in the study of English, Italian, and literature. He wrote a play,—he fell in love with a beautiful actress whom he followed to Marseilles; his was anything but a contemplative life. In 1806, he again attached himself to the army, under the auspices of his old patron, M. Daru, and was present at the battle of Jena. After Napoleon's triumphal entry into Berlin, which took place two weeks later, October 27th, 1806, he received an official appointment in Brunswick. He spent his time studying German philosophy and literature. During 1809–10, M. Beyle played his rôle in the great European drama, meeting the most powerful persons on the footing of equality, and even assisting in the delicate negotiations which preceded Napoleon's marriage with the Austrian Archduchess Marie Louise. He continued in the civil employment of the Government, and in constant association with the great and powerful, until he entered into active military life once more in the Prussian campaign of 1812. The preceding year of peace he employed in travel in Italy, to which he again returned in the autumn of 1813 to recruit his health, broken-down by his hardships in the retreat from Moscow. He stood loyal to the Emperor and the Imperial Government to the last, occupying himself with various employments. His fortunes fell with the Emperor's in 1814, but he bore it bravely, and betook himself for consolation to his favorite Italy. He reached Milan in August, 1814. He spent three delightful years in this city. It was during this time he wrote his *History of Painting in Italy*, a book which he always considered his chief title to literary fame. Here he met Byron, Mme. de Staël, David, Schlegel and Brougham. In 1817, he made a journey to Paris and to England, returning to Milan again before 1818. In 1821, he left Milan for

Paris, where his *History of Painting*, published in 1817, made him a kind reception. He occupied himself in various literary works here; he contributed to some English magazines, and attempted to found one of his own. In 1830, he was appointed consul of France at Trieste. The year following, he was sent to Civita Vecchia. Both of these cities were dry and uninteresting. He generally relieved the monotony of them by visits to Venice and Rome respectively. He held his position as consul at Civita Vecchia until his death, March 22, 1842, at Paris, whither he had gone to recruit his health.

M. Beyle lies buried at the cemetery of Montmartel, Paris, under a plain stone, which bears an inscription in Italian, according to his own directions. This inscription bears testimony, as had his life, to his strong attachment to Italy, declaring his love for his adopted country. In 1840, he had formally abdicated (such was his expression,) his title to the name of Frenchman, because the Government had acted contrary to his opinions on the Eastern question.

With this brief sketch of his life and experience, we shall be better able to understand his critical work. His life runs like an invisible scholium along the margins of his books. Side by side with every opinion, there dwelt a corresponding experience.

Bearing this in mind, we shall briefly recount all that entitles him to a place in the memory of posterity. Beyle was, as we have reiterated, a man of affairs, of the *grande monde*, and, when he came to a work of art, he came to it in this character, with no preconceived theories in accordance with which he felt constrained to regulate his criticism. He came to it naturally, as he came to a dinner or to a hunting party. He looked on a picture or heard an opera, as he looked at a house or a landscape, not as something altogether without the natural course of things, but as something strictly amenable to the laws of common sense and common feeling.

In his *History of Painting*, which approaches as nearly as any of his works to a systematic statement of his critical views, he constantly comes back to his great standard of criticism,—“Myself the author, and yourself the reader.” “I may be wrong,” he says, speaking of the early Italian painters; “but what I say about Cimabue, Giotto and Masaccio, I have really felt before their works.”

“The greatest gift you can bring to these works of art is a natural spirit. You ought to really feel what you feel.”

That this was his own way of regarding pictures, is abundantly shown by the foot-notes and the casual expressions strewn through his works. He put down his experience and feelings about pictures, warm and living, just as they came from his heart.

“To-day I have seen enough of Cimabue's paintings. I never want to see one again. I find them displeasing. But reflection tells me that without Cimabue we should never have had Andrea del Sarto; and I would go twenty leagues to see again the Madonna del Sacco.”

Again, a note at the foot of the chapter on the Sistine Chapel, informs us that it was written in the gallery of the Sistine Chapel, January 13th, 1807.

All this gives a life and reality to his opinions which are wanting to theoretical critics, if we may call them so. All his criticisms are concrete. He says,—such a picture pleases me, such an opera or such a song displeases me; and then he gives his reasons, such reasons as would occur to a man of *esprit*, to use his own expression, and stated clearly and concisely, as a cultivated man would place them before his friend. Such a method, besides the charm and power which abundant examples and illustrations always give an author over his readers, and besides the novelty of it, had this additional merit, that, whether the opinion expressed were right or wrong, it had a value of its own, as the truthful and real utterance of the feeling of a man of cultivation. His *Life of Rossini* and his *Lives of Haydn and Mozart* are chiefly made up of criticisms of individual works, rather than an enumeration of any distinct principles. Indeed, all of Stendhal's literary work partakes of a spasmodic and fragmentary character. He never depended for bread upon the labors of his pen, but rather took it up as an elegant relief from other work. Now and then, we come to an abstract statement of truth, as he conceived it, such as the following: “Beauty is the expression of the manner in which a man is accustomed to seek his happiness; the passions are the manner in which he accidentally chances to seek it. Now, the passions alter the moral tendencies and their physical expression. A passion is a new end in life, a new way of seeking happiness, which causes a man to forget all the others, to lose his usual character. To what extent,

then, can a man forget his own individual inclination (or passion,) to give himself up to the charms of sympathy? It is a fair question for Raphael or Poussin or Dominichino; but they are only able to give us an answer with their brushes. Common discourse falls into vagueness, the cruel sin of those who write of art."

He is much more apt, however, to seize upon some special work of art, and make of it a convenient peg upon which to hang his ideas. He does this often in the happiest way. Here is an instance from his *Life of Haydn*, which is at once an embodiment of some of his most important teaching, a good illustration of his best critical manner, and in itself a very keen piece of criticism. He is criticising Haydn's music, and trying to account for the comparative lack of touching melodies in it.

"Haydn did not rise to the beauty of melody of these celebrated men (Pergolese, Scarlatti, Cimarosa, Mozart). We must acknowledge that in this kind of music (melody,) he has been surpassed by his contemporaries, and even by his successors. You who love to seek in the souls of artists the causes, the qualities, of their works, will perhaps understand my notion of Haydn. We cannot refuse him a vast imagination, forcibly and supremely creative, but he was probably not so well furnished with sensibility; but for this, we should probably find more of song, more of love, more of dramatic music. This natural jollity, this characteristic joyousness of which I have spoken, will not allow of the approach of a certain tender sadness to this happy, calm soul. Now, in order to be able to appreciate dramatic music, one must be able to say, with the beautiful *Jessica*,

" 'I'm never merry when I hear sweet music.'

"One must be tender and a little sad to find some pleasure even in '*Cantatrice Villane*' or in '*Nemici Generasi*.' It is all very simple, if you are merry; your imagination has no need of being distracted from the images which occupy it.

"Another reason. To master the soul of the listener, Haydn's imagination had need to play the sovereign; once chain it down to the words (of a song), and you would not recognize it. It seems that written scenes bring him back too often to things of feeling. Haydn will have, then, always the first place among painters of landscape; he will be the Claude Lorraine of music, but he will

never have in the theatre, that is to say, in the music altogether, of the feelings, the place of Raphael.

“ You may say to me that he who holds this place was the merriest of men. Cimarosa was, certainly, merry enough in the world; is not that one's business there? But I shall be very sorry for my theory, if love or vengeance have never made him do something foolish, have never put him in the same ridiculous position. Did not one of his most lovable successors pass a whole night, in the month of January, in the saddest plight in the world, hoping that the merriest of singers would keep the promise she had made him? . . .

“ You see, my friend, my devotion to my saint does not drag me too far. I put the makers of symphonies among the landscape painters, and the makers of operas among the historical painters. Two or three times only has Haydn risen to this great style, and then he was Michael Angelo and Leonardo da Vinci.”

Expression in painting and sculpture, and the song in music, were, in Beyle's opinion, the very soul of their respective arts. He proposed in his ingenious and peculiar fashion to measure the rank of composers by their songs alone :

“ I have often thought that, if there was an academy of musicians in France, there would be a simple way of proving them; it would be to beg them to send to the academy ten lines of music without more. Mozart would write ‘ *Voi che sapete* ;’ Cimarosa ‘ *Da che il caso è disperato* ;’ Paisiello ‘ *Quelli là*.’ But what would Mr. — and Mr. — write? ”

There is something very vivid about such criticism as this; something real. We are no longer groping about vaguely in search of a theory buried under a rubbish of dry facts. Contrast Crowe and Cavalcasselle, or Kugler's *Hand-Book*, or Lübke's *History of Art*, with their long genealogies of painters, and their dry and barren lists of their works, embellished with technical details. Beyle, at one leap, jumped to the conclusion, as just and true as it was brilliant, that the object of music and painting was not to follow this master or that, but to rouse human feeling, to follow nature, and that whoever felt the one or comprehended the other, might speak intelligently upon them. The relief one feels in stepping from these dry books into his, shows the value of his work. He

took art out of the hands of pedants, and made it part of the great world of which he himself was a member.

The following exemplifies his doctrine of *milieu* as well as any extract can afford a glimpse of what pervades all his critical work—almost the only principle to which he consistently clings throughout. He is explaining the difference between ancient and modern beauty, and he takes the statue of Meleager, and lectures on it, under the title, "*The Agreeableness of the Ancients.*" "Let us follow Meleager to the home of Aspasine. He was there very agreeable; by his strength he shone in the games of the circus, and he was fond of talking of them. This made an interesting conversation among men whom love of life drew to these games. Each one recalled how he had seen one of his companions, in their last battle, fall, because he had thrown his javelin too far. . . . The citizen of Paris has heard the noise of cannon, he has seen his park ravaged, he has been obliged to put on a uniform. But it will require five or six centuries to bring this back again. At Athens, they feared it every five or six years. With the necessary difference in the cultivation of *esprit* and the difference in love, behold all antiquity explained. The beautiful statue of Meleager then had by its strength a thousand interesting things to say. If it appeared beautiful, it was because it was agreeable; if it appeared agreeable, it was because it was useful.

"For me, usefulness is amusing me, not defending me; and I see very well in the heavy cheeks of the Meleager that he has never said to his mistress: 'My dear friend, do not look so earnestly at that star. I cannot give it to you.'"

Could anything be more delicate? He has made clear to us, in a brief, vivid picture, the difference between ancient and modern times.

This way of looking upon works of art gave to his views and ideas an appearance of *bizarrecie* which they by no means deserved, and which they would not have received, had not the current ideas of art criticism been themselves unnatural. Art works were set apart from the rest of things subject to human ken. Did any unlearned man presume to express an opinion or a feeling, he was instantly stopped with, "It is a work of art," as though works of art were not intended for men, but only for critics. Beyle put all this aside. He walked up to a picture or to a statue, and the

question he asked himself was not, "What *ought* I to think of this?" or, "What place does this hold in the history of art?" but, simply, "What do I, Henri Beyle, think of it? How do I feel in looking at this painting? Does this opera make my heart beat? Does it make my eyes fill with tears?"

Beyle is constantly attacking the French subservience to rule in art, and their lack of any true and genuine enjoyment of works of art, through their anxiety to cultivate their taste, and to only enjoy what the best teachers approve. "A Frenchman does not applaud (at the opera,) but with a secret disquiet he fears he may be approving a poor thing. It is not until the third or fourth performance, when he has been well assured that this air is delicious, that he will dare to cry 'bravo,' putting the accent on the first syllable, to show that he knows Italian. See him say to his friend, on the night of a first performance, as he approaches him in the lobby, 'It is divine!' His mouth makes the assertion, but his eye asks the question. If his friend does not answer with another superlative, he is ready to dethrone his divinity. Thus, musical taste admits at Paris of no discussion; it is always good or bad. On the other side of the Alps, as each one is sure of his own feelings, the discussions upon music are infinite."

The principle of criticism which Beyle struck upon here, was a deeply true one,—a principle which had been almost entirely buried under a mass of technical rubbish that was only of secondary importance. Beyle was natural. He spoke of and treated works of art as he enjoyed and felt them. He had no theory. He did not bother himself with the quarrels of various schools,—idealistic and realistic, melodists and harmonists. He was cosmopolitan enough to appreciate what was good wherever he found it, and independent enough to enjoy whatever pleased himself. He paid strict attention to his own actual enjoyment, and gave an intelligent account of it. This was a far more valuable and far more important principle than that of *milieu*; and it is this naturalness that is Beyle's greatest gift to critical method.

It is this that gives his best criticism its keenness, and it is this that accounts, in part at least, for the disjointed, disconnected style which he pursues in his best works. His *History of Painting in Italy*, with nearly two hundred chapters, some of which are only four lines long, begins with some attempt at a meagre account of

the early Italian painters; but soon he takes to leaping here and there, from subject to subject, without any discoverable method. Now he tells an anecdote,—now he discusses a work of art; but there is no link between them, except his own passing fancy of the moment. A juster title for his *History* would be *Note-Book of an Art Student in Italy*, for most of his chapters seem to have been written upon their subjects just after a visit to some great work of art.

That his books lack system, that they are not at all comprehensive, and that they are often contradictory, it is scarcely necessary to add. But yet they have their own peculiar charm. The pictures he paints with an anecdote, an odd fact, or a *bizarre* comparison, seize upon the reader's attention as no bare exposition of theory or facts could. Speaking of the consolation a man may find for sorrow in art, he illustrates it aptly thus: "The nervous fluid has no more than a certain amount of energy to spend every day. If you use it in enjoying thirty beautiful pictures, you will not use it in bewailing the death of an adored mistress."

His books thus have always the prime merit of being entertaining. They are more,—they are often enigmatical and elliptical to a degree.

This peculiarity, which ran through his sentences as well as his books, was due to his method of living. He was a conversationalist and a diner-out, and doubtless he was as impatient of the long and careful elaboration which is necessary to smooth, connected writing, as most men of action. This had its effect on his style. Style is conversation; to write easily, one must talk. It is only in talking that one gets, or rather invents, those quick, graphic turns of thought that make style and idioms. Women write usually far better than men, and they are great talkers. Bookish men do not write good styles. De Quincy, perhaps, was an exception, but Lamb was a talker and a diner-out; so was Leigh Hunt; Addison was a snob, always aiming after high society, and seeking to keep himself there by his brilliant conversation. Steele and Burke, the great masters of English style, were all talkers and speakers. The French, the great nation of style, are also the great nation of talkers. So, Beyle was a wit and a man of the highest fashion. His style bears traces throughout of the habits and tricks of the talker. And this will account for the unhappy and disjointed

condition in which some of his sentences find themselves. This condition amounts at times almost to incoherence. Each one, like an unskilful skater, keeps holding out its hand to its neighbor, without being able to touch him, and is in imminent danger of falling to the earth, without producing any other effect than that of amusement on the mind of the reader.

But if we remember that Beyle is a conversationalist, and that he is conversing with us as silent partners, and that the gaps are made by the remarks which we are expected to utter, we shall find little trouble, or rather a positive pleasure, in filling up the gaps he has left. For example, a foot-note to his chapter on sympathy in the *History of Painting* reads: "The power of sympathy increases from century to century with civilization and *ennui*. The danger was too great in the retreat from Russia to have pity on any one."

It is only a pleasant exertion of intellectual energy to leap over this *hiatus* and to see in that terrible Russian retreat a picture of barbarism in general, where the danger to individual life is so great and constant as to swallow up every other feeling in the one instinct of self-preservation.

Beyle's method of criticism—natural, true, unbiased by any thought of what ought to be said,—had for the French a far greater freshness than for us English. To understand the value of his work, we must recall French fashions of thought on matters of art. No one has described them better than Beyle himself. Speaking of the vicious cultivation of taste which is brought about by books and critics, he says that "the first effect of taste is a love of exaggerating the pleasures of nature in order to make them more striking. This is a trick our French writers are much given to. Afterwards they perceive that to exaggerate nature is to lose its infinite variety and contrasts. This cultivated taste corrupts true natural taste and falsifies the beholder's feelings. You can say very piquant things to prove that bread is poison. In the same way, Rembrandt startled his beholders with an unnatural distribution of light in his pictures. But the moment the artist allows himself to exaggerate, he loses forever the possibility of being sublime. We see Raphael, Annibale Corraci and Titien express the most profound feeling because they respect those effects and proportions which they see in nature. M. Angelo de Carravage and Le Larroche, great painters in other

respects, one exaggerated his shadows, the other his color ; and thus they excluded themselves from the first rank."

This is a very brilliant criticism, and doubtless true in some degree ; but one cannot help asking whether M. Angelo himself was not guilty of as much exaggeration as the most affected of them all ; and yet none has ventured to question his title to the first rank.

As Beyle grew older, and as freedom from more active duties gave him leisure for contemplation, that happened which might have been expected by any one knowing the man and his circumstances. The keen critical faculty which had been in the hands of its owner so penetrating and so efficient an instrument for the investigation of the works and lives of others, began to turn its edge in the direction which is ever most interesting to the man himself. The knife, slipping in the hands of the cutter, instead of neatly dissecting the artist, began to explore Beyle's own inner life. Or perhaps it were better said that the knife which had been too long diverted to the dissecting of others, now returned to its truest and, for the operator, most interesting task of searching out and explaining to himself, himself. After having whetted its edge upon innumerable vile bodies by way of experiment, it now returned to the solution of that great and ancient problem which the Greeks first proposed to the world, and then left without solving,—“ Know thyself.”

For, after all, it is here (with himself,) that every man must begin as well as end his criticism ; it is by his own experience, and through himself, his sympathies, his tastes, his own ways of feeling and modes of thought, that a man is first enabled to play the critic over others. It is from an analysis of himself that he learns to analyze others. By discovering his own motives, he learns how to guess those of others. And then afterwards he learns, by analyzing others, to analyze himself more skilfully. And so we find Beyle seated on the steps of St. Pietro in Montorio, at Rome, watching the sun setting over campanile and dome as he had often seen it before, doubtless, in his youthful military days. As the darkness covers the scene, and the Roman mists begin to rise over the campagna, he becomes sad : “ In three months I shall be fifty. I ought to write my life.” These are the thoughts that occupy him.

This project of an autobiography was never carried out, except in a few fragmentary notes jotted down as the fancy took him, without system and almost without thought. From them we may see that he criticised himself as keenly as he did others. He had no more hesitation about submitting himself to his critical knife, than any other interesting object.

We find him speaking in this way of himself, for example: "To tell the truth, I am not at all sure that I have any talent to cause myself to be read. I find much pleasure at times in writing; that is all. If there is another world, I would be sure to go and see Montesquieu. If he said to me, 'My poor friend, you have no talent at all,' I should be vexed, but not all surprised. I often feel—what eye can see itself?"

"I ought to write my life. I would know then, perhaps, when it was finished, in two or three years, what I have been,—merry or sad, a clever fellow or a fool, a brave man or a coward; in fine, happy or unhappy."

"I have a lively sensibility, it is astonishing; it is that which makes me suffer. What an unhappiness this being different from others is! Either I am mute, and commonplace, and ungraceful, or I give myself up to the devil which inspires me and carries me away."

"My love for music has, perhaps, been my strongest passion and the most costly; it has lasted fifty years and is more vivid now than ever. How many leagues would I not go on foot, or how many days of imprisonment would I not undergo, to hear '*Don Giovanni*' or the '*Matrimonio Segreto!*' I know not anything else for which I would make this exertion."

"When I set myself to write, I do not think of my literary beau ideal; I am besieged by the ideas I want to put down."

"My sensibility has become too acute; that which only scratches others, wounds me deeply. Such I was in 1799, and such I still am in 1840. But I have acquired the art of concealing everything from the crowd under a veil of irony."

Such are a few out of the many detached expressions of personal feeling which we find scattered through his executor's biographical notice. They show him to have been a man of keen sensibility, and one upon whom works of art had a very vivid and strong effect. They

savor to an English understanding not a little of sickly egotism. The reader would receive a bad impression of Beyle from them were he not reminded constantly of Beyle's active and even, at times, heroic life.

Keen, however, as were his analytic faculties, and introspective as he sometimes became, let no one fancy that Beyle was a morbid recluse. On the contrary, he was a man pre-eminently of the *grand monde*,—a man of affairs, ready with his tongue and sword on all occasions. He was with Napoleon in his Russian campaign. He stepped out from his quarters to see the burning of Moscow, thinking that it was the *aurora borealis*. On the terrible retreat from Moscow, across the snow, it was through his dexterity that the army were supplied with three days' rations,—the only provisions they got until they reached the Beresina. This important service he performed at Orsha, a town half way between Moscow and the Polish frontier. Yet, with all his readiness, he was as absent-minded as a philosopher and as careless as a beggar. On this same expedition into Russia, he wore a coat upon which his sister had carefully sewn twenty and forty-franc gold pieces for buttons. These coins were covered with cloth, like ordinary buttons, so as to conceal their real value, in the hope that, should he be reduced to great straits for want of money, he might have recourse to them. On his return, his sister inquired if the device had been successful. Then, for the first time, he recalled the matter, and was obliged to confess that, the coat having become shabby, he had given it away to a waiter without a thought of its valuable buttons.

Again, during the campaign of 1809, he distinguished himself by his readiness and courage. He was left in charge of a little town whose garrison had been withdrawn. Scarcely had the troops left, when an insurrection broke out. The people proposed to kill the sick and burn the military stores. The few French officers present knew not which way to turn. But Beyle was equal to the occasion; he made every soldier in the hospital get up, and he armed them with such weapons as he could find. He formed them in a platoon,—cavalry, infantry, and artillerymen,—all in the monotonous hospital uniform, and with them he made a sally on the crowd. At the first charge, the crowd fled.

As a summary of Beyle's life and thought, we cannot do better than quote Lavater's saying, which we find in a foot-note of the *History of Painting*: "Simple eye that sees things as they are; that loses nothing; that adds nothing; how I love you! You are wisdom's self."

T. B. STORK.

UNIVERSITY ITEMS.

THE one hundred and twenty-seventh annual session of the Department of Arts,* and the tenth of the Towne Scientific School, will open on Thursday, September 15th, next, at ten o'clock A. M.

The September entrance examinations will begin on Thursday, the 8th of the month, at ten o'clock A. M., and continue till Wednesday the 14th. Circulars giving full particulars may be had upon application, by letter or in person, to Mr. John B. Webster, janitor, at the University. Candidates who were conditioned at the June examinations will appear for re-examination on the days and at the hours assigned to the subjects in which they failed to pass.

Other re-examinations—those of students in college who failed to pass for promotion,—will be held during the same week at hours appointed by the Faculty, and announced in special circulars to be had upon application to the janitor as above. These examinations will not be held at any other times than those set, except by special order of the Faculty, upon written application of the student, made before September 5th.

The promoters of the scheme for a fifth year in the Scientific School (making the general course two years, and the technological course three years long,) may congratulate themselves upon at least one result of their effort to lighten the burdens of the scientific students. *There has been no falling off in the number of applicants for admission.* This result, it was feared, might follow the lengthening of the course, although the minimum age for admission was reduced from sixteen to fifteen, and French was abandoned as a requirement for admission; and it is a source of no little congratulation that the fact proves as it does. Counting all applicants for full standing, the figures are sixty in 1881, fifty-three in 1880, forty-six in 1879, forty-seven in 1878, and forty-eight in 1877.

Further, *the age is generally maintained at sixteen or older*, in spite of the reduction of the minimum. The average age of the incoming class will certainly be within a few months of that of the last four, and may attain the standard of previous years.

* Reckoning from the incorporation in 1755. It is the one hundred and thirty-third, if the sessions of the Academy ought to be included.

Lastly, the lowering of the age-standard and the abandonment of French as a requirement for admission, has no doubt increased the number of public school boys competing for the Towne Scholarships. In 1877, twelve offered themselves; in 1878, eleven; in 1879, thirteen; in 1880, sixteen; and in 1881, twenty-four, an increase of fifty per cent. over last year, and of one hundred per cent. over 1877. Before 1877, the number was smaller, even, than twelve,—in one year nine, and another (we make the statement from memory,) seven. Of course, only ten can be admitted; but the prizes are more valuable the larger the number of competitors. And the more wide-spread the knowledge of the scholarships becomes among the scholars of our public schools and their parents, the sooner will that important step be taken by the Board of Education,—the step of founding a free Latin school, in which public scholars can be fitted for the Department of Arts. The merest village in New England has such a school, but Philadelphia is content to teach “the three R’s,” *plus* an unconscionable mass of rubbish, neither useful in itself nor disciplinary in its results upon the pupils’ minds.

The Preliminary Course in the Medical and Dental Departments will be opened on Monday, September 12th, at ten o’clock, with a lecture by Dr. Elliot Richardson on “Practical Obstetrics.” Other lectures will be delivered in the Preliminary Session by Professors Leidy, Agnew, Pepper, Wood, Goodell, Wormley, Ashhurst, Tyson, Norris, Duhring and Strawbridge, and Drs. Hunter, Nancrede, Mills, White, Curtin and Starr, in their respective departments.

The regular winter session of the one hundred and sixteenth annual course of the Medical Department and the third of the Dental Department will be opened on Monday, October 3d, at twelve o’clock, with an introductory address to the classes by Prof. D. Hayes Agnew, Professor of Surgery.

Prof. Ashhurst is now engaged in editing an *International Encyclopædia of Surgery*, to be published by Messrs. Wm. Wood & Co., of New York, and to consist of articles written by various eminent surgeons of France, Spain, Austria, Germany and Great Britain, as well as of our own country. The whole work will consist of six large octavo volumes, of which the first is expected to be issued in

the coming autumn. It will include those subjects which are considered as pertaining to general surgery, with special articles on operative, plastic, and minor surgery, and on amputation—the latter contributed by the editor himself. Other articles in the first volume will be written by Professors Stillé and Agnew, and Dr. Hunter, of the University; Dr. Brinton, of the Jefferson Medical College; Dr. Hunt, of the Pennsylvania Hospital; Professors Van Buren, Delafield, and Lewis Smith, of New York; Prof. Christopher Johnston, of Baltimore; Prof. Lyman, of Chicago; Surgeon-General Wales, of the U. S. Navy; Prof. Stricker, of Vienna; Prof. Verneuil, of Paris; Messrs. Butlin and Mansell-Moullin, of London, etc. The work will be illustrated with lithographs, both colored and plain, and with numerous original wood-cuts.

Mr. F. A. Genth, Jr., M. S., (1876,) has been appointed Assistant in Analytical Chemistry in the Scientific School, and Mr. Hermann A. Keller, B. S., (1881,) Assistant in Geology and Mining Engineering. The Instructor in Mechanics and the Assistant in Physics have not yet been appointed.

The Towne School is to have, this coming year, a department of Steam Engineering and Iron Shipbuilding, the instructor in charge to be an officer appointed by the United States Government under a recent law.

It cannot but be a matter of satisfaction with University men that, of the six surgeons in attendance upon President Garfield, four, including the consulting surgeons, Agnew and Hamilton, are graduates of the Medical Department of the University. Prof. Hamilton graduated in 1835, Prof. Agnew and Surgeon-General Barnes in 1838, and Dr. Woodward in 1853.

BRIEF MENTION.

THE CIVIL SERVICE REFORM CONFERENCE AT NEWPORT.

THE assembly which convened at Newport, R. I., on the 11th of August, 1881, to consult upon matters relating to Civil Service Reform, was noteworthy by reason of its numbers, the standing of those who composed it, and not only the business-like character, but also the entire harmony, of its proceedings.

The call for it emanated from the Executive Committee of the New York Association, and was in effect an invitation to the various Civil Service Reform Associations of the United States to send one or more delegates to attend "an informal conference" at Newport, to consult as to the best methods of securing unity of action in the cause which all have at heart, but which might be weakened by want of that unity.

The response to the call consisted in the presence of delegates from sixteen Associations, the number of delegates aggregating between sixty and seventy. There were represented the Associations of the following places: Baltimore, Boston, Brooklyn, Buffalo, Cambridge, Cleveland, Cincinnati, New York, Newport, Philadelphia, Pittsburg, Portsmouth, Providence, Springfield, Mass., St. Louis, and West Newton.

There was a fair amount of young blood in the assembly; but it is by no means true (as reported in a Philadelphia paper,) that, "with the exception of Curtis, Schurz, Eaton, Wheeler, and O. B. Potter, from New York; and Codman, Crocker, and one or two more from Massachusetts, the conference was made up of young men not long out of college." On the contrary, by far the greater number of delegates were men either in the prime of life, or those who, perhaps past the point of middle life, brought rich stores of experience and knowledge to infuse into the deliberations that wisdom which can be gained in no other way, and which was evidenced in the eminently practical character of the discussions and the proposed measures of reform. In the language of an editor who was present, "No time was wasted during the whole session in useless talk. It is doubtful whether any public convention, managed with all the skill of distinguished parliamentarians, and having its work all laid out for it beforehand, ever accomplished so much work in

so short a time as did this purely informal and almost impromptu conference, which, in no more than four hours, laid down a programme of reform which contains really everything needful to the deliverance of the country from the evils of patronage."

Not less remarkable was the harmony of the deliberations. It was, of course, the most natural thing in the world that, among so many men, and with reference to such a complicated matter as the reform of the civil service, there should be differences of opinion as to details. Such differences of view were manifested, and were very frankly expressed and discussed, but always with good temper and courtesy, and with the result of substantial agreement upon every important decision to which the conference came.

The time and place of holding the assembly was half-past two in the afternoon of Thursday, August 11th, at the Ocean House. On the morning of that day, it was found that a large number of delegates were in Newport, and an impromptu and entirely private meeting of those present was had, with a view of arranging definite subjects of discussion at the afternoon session, and so saving much valuable time, the practical wisdom of which was manifest throughout the whole of the proceedings.

At the time named in the call, the conference met in the afternoon, Mr. Geo. Wm. Curtis, of New York, being unanimously called to the chair, and Mr. Arthur Hobart, of Boston, appointed secretary:

The first subject for action was embodied in the following resolution:

"Resolved, That the bill introduced in the Senate by Mr. Pendleton of Ohio, provides a Constitutional, practical and effective measure for the remedy of the abuse known as the spoils system, and that the Associations represented in this conference will use every honorable means, in the press, on the platform, and by petition, to secure its passage by Congress."

After a full discussion, the resolution was adopted with entire unanimity.

It was next, and unanimously,

"Resolved, That we regard it as an important part of a system of competitive examinations that there should be local examinations at various points convenient for those who might wish to be examined from the different States,—these examinations, and the local board by

which they might be conducted, to be under the supervision of the National Civil Service Commissioner."

It is obvious that, if the course advocated by this resolution be carried out by the Civil Service Commission, two good results will follow: First, the opening more widely to properly qualified candidates the doors of the civil service than could possibly be done by requiring them to go to Washington to be examined, by securing a fairer rate of distribution of offices among the several States of the Union than now exists; and, secondly, while doing this, to secure at the same time absolute fairness and uniformity in the tests applied, by placing the entire authority to determine them in the hands of the Central Commission. This, therefore, is an eminently popular as well as practical measure.

The next resolution, when carried out, will secure unity of action, offensive and defensive, among the local Associations throughout the country. It was unanimously adopted, as follows:

"Resolved, That the several Civil Service Reform Associations here represented are invited to form a national organization, under the name of the National Civil Service Reform League; and that, for the purpose of securing a centre of correspondence and of facilitating such united action as circumstances may demand, the Executive Committee of the Civil Service Reform Association at New York is hereby authorized to act as a provisional Central Committee of said League, and that the Civil Service Reform Associations be requested to designate one person each, to be a member of said Central Committee."

Considerable discussion followed the introduction of the next resolution, which bore upon the subject of the formation of auxiliary associations, and provided for their formation in every Congressional district. It was finally adopted in the following form:

"Resolved, That we consider the organization of Civil Service Reform Associations auxiliary to the National League, in every Congressional district, highly desirable for the furtherance of our objects, and we request the existing Associations to employ their energies and influence to that end."

It was then unanimously

"Resolved, That the bill introduced in the House of Representatives of the United States by Mr. Willis of Kentucky, at the last session of Congress, provides practical and judicious measures for the remedy of the abuse known as assessments, and that the Associations

represented in this conference will use every honorable means in the press, on the platform, and by petition, to secure its passage by Congress."

The final subject for discussion was fixity of tenure of office in the case of all subordinate executive, and territorial judicial, offices. There was a decided difference of opinion as to various details, but, after a very full, frank, and earnest discussion, a resolution was unanimously adopted as follows :

"Resolved, That we are uncompromisingly opposed to arbitrary removals from office, as well as to all interference by Members of Congress with the exercise of the appointing power."

Without debate, it was resolved to assign to the new Central Committee the duty of issuing an address to the people of the United States.

Thus ended the work of the conference ; and the prediction is freely hazarded that it will tell for good upon the future of the service. In the language of the editor above quoted, "The thing which was needed was an agreement, an organization, a directing force for the energies which are now so willingly bent everywhere towards the accomplishment of reform. That agreement was reached, as far as agreement is possible, and wherever agreement is not practicable, an amicable agreement to disagree, which need not stand in the way of reform at all, was reached."

With these results, and in this spirit, final victory is assured. Those who had the privilege—for it was a privilege,—of being present at this conference, learned much by the comparison of views, and came away hopeful and strengthened for the conflict with the abuses, and with those who uphold them, which for so long have been cursing the country.

The most pleasant recollection of and great admiration for Mr. Curtis's courteous and able manner of presiding at the conference, will long remain with its members, who recognized in that, and in Mr. Schurz's ever-ready tact in harmonizing differences of opinion, two potent factors in the complete success of what some day will be the historic "Newport Conference." The impressive closing words of the chairman, as he proceeded to adjourn the conference without day, found a responsive echo in the hearts of all who heard him say, "As an old soldier in the cause, I must say I have never seen a moment when the triumph of reform appeared so near. I

believe that we have here to-day laid our hands to the foundation of the barbaric palace of corruption, and have begun to write the words ' *Mene, mene,*' upon its walls."

J. ANDREWS HARRIS.

A reform in the civil service of the country is desirable, not only that the business of the Government may be economically and efficiently transacted, but also that the politics of the country may be purified by the overthrow of the spoils system. Of course, the full accomplishment of either one of these objects secures the other. If the revenues of the Government be collected and disbursed upon business principles, and if the faithful and efficient performance of official duty be, without regard to the employes' political views or services, the condition of their tenure of office, those employes will have neither the time nor the inclination to do political work; and from this will result a purification of national, State and municipal politics. On the other hand, if the country shall declare that no longer to the victor shall belong the spoils, and that neither political influence nor services shall avail to secure public employment for an incompetent applicant, the then incumbents of the public offices, secure from dismissal, either for their own failure to render partisan services, or that they make room for some political favorite, will devote their whole time and energies to their official duties; and upon this must follow an improved administration of public affairs.

The object of Civil Service Reform being, therefore, a more efficient and economical administration of government, and the restoration of pristine political purity, it can be attained only by that system whose main points are the entry of the employes into the public service only by success in competitive examination, followed by satisfactory probationary service, and the employes' tenure of office, not for life, but during good behavior, with freedom from political assessments, and the prohibition of their partisan political activity. Neither the competitive examination nor the tenure of office during good behavior are in themselves ends. They are only means to the accomplishment of the great end of purifying the public service and the politics of the country; but they are each essential means. The reform cannot be thorough unless both means are used. The competitive examination is necessary in order that favoritism may

be excluded, and that the Government may have the largest possible freedom of selection for its service, and that every citizen may have the opportunity of serving the Government upon proof of his competency. The tenure for good behavior is equally necessary in order that the standard of the service be raised, and that the employés may be independent, and may, by long service, acquire that practical acquaintance with, and facility in, the performance of their duties, which no theoretical instruction can give them. No limited term of service will accomplish these ends. Why shall the tenure of office be different in the civil service from that which is the rule in the army and navy? Why should an efficient postmaster, collector of customs, or Treasury clerk, be liable to be dismissed at the end of four years, when a colonel in the army or captain in the navy grows old in the service? Is it not desirable that the civil service should be as truly a profession as the military or naval service? Our Government now conducts a business of great magnitude. Its employés are called upon to consider and decide a vast variety of questions whose right determination requires, upon the part of the officials who pass upon them, inflexible integrity, technical knowledge, and official experience. Take, as illustrations, the management of the public lands, the relations of the Government to the Indian tribes, the administration of the patent laws, the assessment and collection of duties on imports under a high protective tariff. Is it desirable that these questions should be—is it possible that they can be,—dealt with fairly and satisfactorily by untried men? In fact, in every department of the Government, there are a few of the employés who have grown old in the service, having been retained under successive Administrations in order that they might perform those official duties which require both knowledge and experience, and for which the political appointees were confessedly incompetent. How great would be the saving to the Government and to a tax-burdened people, if all efficient employés could be retained in necessary offices so long as they are efficient. There would be an enormous saving in salaries, for the number of officials could be greatly diminished, and the saving from that source would be more than sufficient to defray the expense of pensioning aged or infirm officials who have worn out their lives in the public service.

To make competitive examination the only door of entry into the public service, will be a great advance ; but the reform must not stop with that. The tenure of office during good behavior must also be established, for that is an essential pre-requisite to the purification of the politics of the country.

C. S. P.

NEW BOOKS.

POEMS. By Oscar Wilde. Boston : Roberts Brothers, 1881. Small 8vo. Pp. 230. Price, \$1.25.

It is not given to those of us who dwell in this trans-Atlantic Philistia to gaze spell-bound on the pictures of Maudie ; but Mr. Oscar Wilde has kindly yielded to the pressing entreaties of those angular and sharp-featured maidens to whom, seated on low stools, "clinging closely together, thinking of fair lilies," clad in sad-colored garments and with hand-clasped knees, he has read his verses ; and (aided by Messrs. Roberts Brothers,) he has thus brought within the reach of all the immortal "poesy" of Postlethwaite. What "too-venturous poesy," as Mr. Wilde characterizes his verses, may mean to him, we know not ; but, as interpreted by our understanding of his efforts, we should take it to be a diluted sort of verse feebly imitative at one time of Milton and Tennyson, and at another time of Robert Browning and Swinburne, with a substratum of twaddle seasoned with some blasphemy and more indecency, and garnished with a liberal sprinkling of classic names and with constantly recurring references to "asphodels," "shivering trees," and "shimmering skies."

Mr. Wilde fitly sings

" 'Tis I, 'tis I, whose soul is as the reed,
Which has no message of its own to play,
So pipes another's bidding."

One or two prosaic sonnets are after—very far after,—Milton. In some of his descriptive passages, he suggests, but very faintly, Robert Browning. Here and there is a simile which reminds one of Tennyson ; but it is not Tennyson at his best. In his fondness for classical allusions, he follows Swinburne, but, unlike Swinburne, he has failed to imbue himself with the spirit of Greek poetry, and he rivals Swinburne only as Mr. Mallock rivals those French writers whose indecency he has transferred to his pages, but whose wit he has been content to regard as inimitable.

Poetry means something more than form. Like good prose, it must have both form and substance ; but it differs from prose in that it must have, as the condition of and the excuse for its existence, ideas which cannot find adequate expression in prose. Tried by this test, Mr. Wilde's verses fall far short of poetry.

We are not Puritanical. We do not insist that the subjects of literature should be only those which can properly be the topics of general discussion among men and women of culture and refinement. On the contrary, we admit that there are social forces and individual passions which are important factors in modern

civilization, and which may very properly become subjects of artistic literary treatment, and which can be and ought to be discussed in such a spirit and in such a manner that the most modest reader will not be forced to blush. But we are far from admitting that sensuous descriptions of the gratification of merely animal passions—for such is in plain words the subject of much of Mr. Wilde's song,—ought to find a place in any literary work which appeals to the critical judgment of civilized countries. Morality apart, all men are now agreed that the chief distinction between barbarism and civilization is in the less or greater restraint that is put upon the gratification of individual passions.

There is an air of artificiality and unreality, too, about Mr. Wilde's passions and sorrows. He has that vague feeling that the world is going wrong which so generally arises in a very young man who, on the morning after a late supper, turns away from an untasted breakfast. His enthusiasm for humanity and liberty is that of the aristocratic radical who, riding in his well-appointed brougham, or looking from the window of an exclusive club, discourses upon the equality of men, and applauds those who die fighting at the barricades. His passion seems to have a merely physical basis, for of that pure love which finds adequate expression in the unselfish devotion of a life, he does not sing.

Mr. Wilde does not anywhere rise above the level of the college prize poem, nor does it seem to us that he gives any promise of future excellence when time and training shall have eliminated the faults of youth. He has not "climbed the higher heights unclimbed yet, seen the fuller air, the larger day," nor can we hope that from the "wildness" of his "wasted passion" he will strike "a better, clearer song." We fear that it must be true that Mr. Gilbert, when he sang "Hollow, hollow, hollow," was thinking of Mr. Wilde's poems. Yet it is but fair to say that there are here and there lines, and even stanzas, which, though they are not poetry of a high order, are free from the defects we have pointed out, and are turned with sufficient nicety and prettiness to constitute them tolerable *vers de société*. The opening stanzas of the "Garden of Eros" and the "Serenade" seem to us to be the best part of the book, and illustrate this phase of Mr. Wilde's muse.

Mr. Wilde sings sadly of

"the barren memory
Of unknissed kisses, and songs never sung."

How barren may be the memory of unknissed kisses, cannot, of course, be known to hard-hearted writers of reviews; but we feel sure that all who read Mr. Wilde's verses would rejoice if the assurance could be given them that Mr. Wilde would write no more such poems, and that they might have the barren memory of songs never to be sung by him.

A ROMANCE OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY. By William H. Mallock. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

Mr. Mallock delights in surprises, and seems to have chosen as his favorite pastime the pleasure of disappointing those whom he has led to fancy that he is championing their cause. In his *New Republic*, and in his *Is Life Worth Living?* he handled the Agnostics in a style more pointed than delicate; in his *New Paul and Virginia*, he even descended into coarseness—if not in language, at all events in the situations. But, as if regretting the violence of his attacks, or unwilling to enable the side that has, up to a certain point, been congratulating itself on having found a clever, brilliant advocate, to enjoy its triumph, he usually presents the counter-statement in *reductio ad absurdum*. The pious reader who has at the start laughed with him at Agnostics, Materialists and Positivists, finds in the end that Mr. Mallock has suggested a remedy for sickly doubt that many would regard as far worse than the disease he has pretended to combat. The impression left is that the author is laughing in his sleeve at both sides, and that, if there be any inference to be drawn from his writings, it is that the question, "What is truth?" is no nearer solution than before Mr. Mallock took it up. As an inevitable result, there is a sense of insincerity and flippancy, and a feeling that no cause is strengthened by his championship.

In his latest literary venture, *A Romance of the Nineteenth Century*, Mr. Mallock plays just such fantastic tricks in the domain of morals as he erstwhile amused himself with while treating of questions of faith. It may here be remarked that he dwells most lovingly on the type of character that has been so steeped in self-indulgence as to have become sated with life—men with an abundance of leisure, but no aim, and who, instead of busying themselves with doing the right, give themselves to maunderings about religion, in which sentiment and pseudo-philosophy are mixed in about equal proportions. In so far as these self-communings give voice to the doubts that many thinking men and women have passed through, or perhaps still dwell in, they possess a certain human interest. In the end, however, the record of such impressions becomes tiresome, and Mr. Mallock has, in the book before us, undoubtedly reached the point at which the reader becomes fatigued. Besides, there is a striking incongruity between the subject of religion and the character of the story itself.

There are books of which it has been said that "they leave a bad taste in the mouth." Of *A Romance of the Nineteenth Century*, it may be said that it is unsavory throughout. The critics who have found fault with Mr. Mallock because of his dealing with the unspeakable, may be answered that they have committed the error of losing sight of his object in writing his romance. If

he has succeeded in his intention, the work has, according to the canons of a certain school of criticism, justified itself.

And what may this intention have been? For ourselves, we can discover nothing beyond a super-serviceable desire to furnish the English public with the sort of highly-seasoned and unhealthy reading for which it has hitherto been obliged to resort to the writings of certain French authors. While we cannot deny that the task has been accomplished with a certain degree of cleverness, we can only regret that Mr. Mallock has employed his undoubted talent on work that, from the standpoint of good morals,—which is equally that of good sense,—was not worth doing.

BABY RUE. HER ADVENTURES AND MISADVENTURES, HER FRIENDS AND HER ENEMIES. Boston : Roberts Brothers. 8vo., pp. 318.

This is the latest edition to the second series of the "No Name" novels, and, like most of those which have gone before it, is a very readable book. It was a very happy thought of Messrs. Roberts Brothers to give us this series of novels; for not only is additional zest given to the reading of a story when the reader is curious to know who wrote it, but there is good service done to the cause of literature by thus "bringing out" authors whose work, submitted in this way to the public criticism, when once stamped with the approval of the reading public, secures for them a good place in the field of literary labor. Moreover, the publication of such a series of books helps to bring up the standard of novel-writing, and makes it much better than in the days of the yellow-covered novels, when so large a proportion of the works of fiction given to the public were the veriest trash. One peculiar charm of the "No Name" novels is that they are really light reading, in the best sense of the term; bright and clever stories, which are really entertaining because they are neither dull nor harrowing to the feelings of the reader. This is the kind of reading the American people need, especially in the summer season, as means of relaxation to over-taxed brains, and as helps to the rest of over-worked bodies. *Baby Rue* is just a book of this sort. It is cleverly written, and deals with characters and events, always of interest to American people, gathered from the military life on the Western frontier forty years ago; and it deals also to some extent with the "Indian Question,"—that very large question to which, in those forty years, we have been able to give so very small an answer. The principal hero of the story is Lieutenant Leszinsky, the lineal descendant of one of the princely houses of Warsaw, whose grandfather, the Count de Deux Ponts, came over to our country in 1777 with the Marquis de Lafayette, and cast his fortunes with the Continentals in the Revolutionary War. This Lieutenant Leszinsky marries the daughter of one of the oldest of the Virginia families, and Ruchiel, the *Baby Rue* whose name gives title to the book,

is their child. The incidents of the story arise on the Western frontier, where Leszinsky is ordered for duty, and present an interesting picture of life in those places and in those days, as well as delineations of the character of some of the noted Indian chiefs of that time. *Baby Rue*, though a little personage, has a very marked personality, in which the author seems to take delight in tracing the strong points of character inherited through many generations from King Stanislaus, her Polish ancestor of the eighteenth century. It is probable that the book will be very well received, and it certainly compares very favorably with the others of the series in which it is published.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

The American Jewish Pulpit. A collection of sermons by the most eminent American Rabbis. Cloth. 8vo. Pp. 242. Price \$2.00. Cincinnati: Bloch & Co.

The Mineral Resources of the Hocking Valley. By T. Sterry Hunt, L.L.D. 8vo. Swd. Pp. 151. Boston: S. E. Cassino.

A Digest of the Law of Bills of Exchange, Promissory Notes and Checks. By M. D. Chalmers, M. A.; rewritten and adapted to the law as it exists in the United States. By W. E. Benjamin, A. M. Sheep. 8vo. Pp. 328. Chicago: Callaghan & Co.

THE
PENN MONTHLY.

OCTOBER, 1881.

BEYOND THE SNOW LINE. II.

OUR ladder now came in use. It was the first time I had employed such a support, and merely from this point of view it was welcome to me. We crossed three or four chasms by its aid. I don't say we should otherwise have been compelled to turn back, though one is inclined to think, after using any special aid, that progress would have been impossible without it; for it is easier to believe in absolute necessity than admit our own incapability to cope with obstacles. For instance, many comparatively new to mountain climbing consider a rope indispensable in ascending the Matterhorn, while older travellers never use it.

A ladder which has lain five years on the Silberlücke lacks the desirable freshness of youth. Ours was bent by age, the rounds were loose, and one side was split. It was thrust into the snow-crust on the opposite side of the chasm as far as it would go; and then one after another went across, astride, the rope being held by those standing on the edge. This method of riding is more daring than elegant, and the situation is a peculiar one, as, half way across, you gaze down into the icy jaws. Egger cut steps from one ravine to the other, while Roth and I carried the ladder. Thus, after an hour's toil, we reached the next lowest plateau of the Giessen, and crossed it from the Silberhorn to the Schneehorn, at a height of 3,300 metres. That is, instead of following the glacier downward, we went diagonally across, and scaled the walls of the Silberlücke; it belongs to the buttress of the Jungfrau, already mentioned, which supports the Schneehorn. The crest of the ridge was gained without difficulty, the Schneehorn being at our left. •

Here we had a magnificent view of the Mönch, the Eiger and the Eigerjoch, while at our feet lay the Guggi Glacier, which we were to gain next. The descent bore some resemblance to that of the Silberlücke, only it was incomparably more difficult. Rarely have I made a bolder or more novel passage through the snow. The snow-crest on the ridge of rock overhung the Guggi; this was broken through at the point where we crossed, and then one after another let himself down. But, instead of climbing directly downward, we were obliged to go sideways to reach the rocks of the Schneehorn, and any progress of that kind on steep declivities is extremely perilous. Walking was out of the question. Each clung fast to the holes dug by his hands and feet, as if he wanted to embrace the wall; then the same movement was executed that follows the command, "close to the right," with the difference that the arms also took part in it. We therefore bore less resemblance to soldiers than to caged monkeys, that cling to the grating half way down and spring sideways. My hands suffered greatly from the cold, which increased the difficulty of climbing, for my gloves were torn. Below us lay the abyss. We worked with great energy, thrusting our hands and feet into the snow; and the rocks were gained in ten minutes.

It was just noon. Ten hours had passed since we left the hut on the Aletsch Glacier, and we did not yet know whether our expedition could be successfully accomplished. The real turning-point was farther down, in the precipice of the Guggi Glacier. Half an hour's tolerably easy climbing over rocks, and a leap across the chasm at the foot of the Schneehorn, brought us to a little plateau of ice, lying about 3,100 metres high, which we reached at twenty minutes of one o'clock. The rocky cliffs of the Schneehorn towered on the left; at the right, the ridge of the Jungfrau rose above the Mönch. We moved on, and reached the verge of a perpendicular wall of ice; descent was impossible. We passed along the edge; everywhere the same obstacle confronted us. We searched that portion of the ice nearer the Jungfrau, and still encountered chasms that could not be traversed. At last we succeeded in crossing a *bergschrunn*; but, when the other side was gained, a new abyss showed that we were again disappointed. So we were compelled to recross the chasm by climbing its overhanging side from the opposite direction, thus returning to our starting-point. Our

perplexity increased, and the footprints our anxious search in all directions had imprinted on the soft surface of the snow, eloquently proclaimed our utter helplessness. An hour passed, destroying all our hopes; and yet some decision must be made. The mass of ice that rose like a bastion from the lower basin was bordered on the left by a cliff, and near its foot appeared a gorge furrowed by an avalanche and filled with shattered blocks of ice. Below were hollows, somewhat resembling in shape those worn by water flowing through a clayey soil. We could look down to the bottom of ours, but were unable to see its direction or extent. True, the fallen blocks said without ceremony that terrible peril menaced the traveller; yet, on the other hand, to follow this ice-ravine might save us. What should we do? Return as we came and climb the Jungfrauoch? This was extremely precarious, for the pass, always difficult, must now be very dangerous. In both cases, we were confronted with the necessity of spending a night on the glacier and the consciousness of defeat.

As Egger, who, of course, saw the danger as well as I, would not take the responsibility of suggesting the ravine, I expressed a desire to try it. This at last ended the hesitation; for there are cases where the guides, mindful of their responsibility, cannot come to any decision, and gladly accept their employer's. Our hopes now rested on speedily cutting a way of escape with the axe.

We began the march at twenty minutes of two o'clock, while the sun shone fiercely on the white surface. The very first steps showed that we had to deal exclusively with hard, glittering ice, and that the blocks were too large to leap from one to another, as we spring from rock to rock in a morass. Thus, step after step was cut with the axe, each step costing twenty or thirty blows. As we advanced, the danger revealed itself more plainly. After about ten steps, we found ourselves within the gorge, on the right wall. The furrow traversed the whole mass of ice, sloping steeply upward, where it ended in a jagged wall of ice, whose shattered fragments lay beside us. Down below, it ran towards chasms and lost itself in frightful gulfs. Never had any human foot entered this place; no guide, not even the boldest, would have gone into this causeway of death,—not one would have undertaken such a responsibility. If the passage could have been swiftly made, a bold resolve might have been executed with fresh, eager courage; but the icy walls

along which we moved, fettered us, and a hasty, energetic act became a slow and painful progress. The path was so difficult in itself, that most men would have hesitated to follow it; for the steps on which we stood seemed like polished granite; but what was that compared with the result that might follow any break above? If I had had the slightest doubt of our situation, I could not fail to read in the troubled faces of my guides that our lives were no longer in our own keeping. But we neglected nothing that caution and experience commanded. The bluish wall of ice projected towards the interior of the gorge, and then curved back towards the glacier. We followed it obliquely, hoping thus to reach the glacier in some accessible place. Egger, always in advance, hewed the steps with savage energy. As no one could sustain another person here, the rope in itself was a mere empty delusion, but it afforded a support for Egger's terrible work, and we clung to the only remaining possibility of security. Roth hammered my glacier-axe into the ice with his own; and the rope was then wound around the handle of the axe thus driven in. He next made an unusually large hole, in order to gain the firmest possible footing for himself and keep the rope stretched, while Egger worked his way onward, foot by foot. In order to allow the rope as much length as possible between the two guides, I was now obliged to loosen it from my own person, by standing with both feet on the same step, unfastening the knot, letting the loop fall and be dragged out from under me—a very easy matter on level ground, but on a wet, glassy wall of ice not to be accomplished by everybody. In this way we did what men could do for each other in such a critical situation. No two could move at the same time, and, as not more than two steps could be cut per minute, I was often obliged to wait patiently several moments in the same spot. This bodily inaction stimulated the wild play of the excited imagination. I looked upward through the gully towards the towering ice-mountain, and scarcely had courage to think of its jagged surface. Some of those rough fragments clinging to the upper edge were already transparent, and the melting ice dripped from them in long streams. I thought that the beauty of the day had doubtless tempted to the Wengern Alp numerous visitors, who would be delighted with the thunder of the avalanches, and that I and the two companions of my fate had found ourselves on the right spot,

at the right time, to take part in the spectacle. I glanced downward to the place where we must fall, if even a single block should drop. A butterfly—they are often blown high up,—was fluttering about my feet along the icy wall, as if our peril had needed mockery. The minutes passed with derisive slowness; time grew longer with the increasing sense of powerlessness. If we were to perish, why did not the avalanche rush down on us at once? Fortunately, my turn to move came. I had to take the rope again and advance by the steps, which were cut very far apart; Roth followed; then the glacier-axe, so carefully hammered, needed to be drawn out and fastened again in another place,—things so difficult to accomplish under the existing circumstances, that all other dangers were momentarily forgotten. Thus, for sixty long minutes, death threatened us, while at the same time we were tortured by the uncertainty whether the passage through this ice-gorge would lead to safety. But it did. Our wall turned towards the right and joined the glacier, and at twenty minutes of three o'clock we were standing at the foot of the very declivity whose impassable nature had forced us into the gorge. We went on for half an hour longer, often threatened by falling masses of ice, and frequently slipping on slopes where steps would usually have been cut. At ten minutes past three, we stopped and shook hands with each other. We might well do so. No one had shown any trace of weakness, and each had done his duty in his own way.

We now stood for the first time at the upper edge of the real Guggi Glacier, whose vast *crevasses* gave us plenty of work, but only work which, in grateful memory of the peril just passed, we all performed gladly and willingly. At the end of the glacier, on the rocks of the right wall of the valley, stands a little hut, that we entered soon after four o'clock; it is 2,340 meters above the level of the sea. Here we left the region of the lofty mountain ranges, where we had remained forty-eight hours. I plucked the first flower I saw, and fancied I was dreaming when my foot pressed the first meadow. After resting half an hour on the Wengern Scheidegg, in full view of the Jungfrau, we again pursued our way in order to reach Grindelwald the same evening. . . .

Thus fortunately ended an expedition to which, during an anxious hour, I had expected a very different result. So deep were the impressions it produced, that, while writing the account, I feel

as if I were again in the midst of it; and, when I recall the long chain of my Alpine wanderings, which never lacked remarkable situations, I ask myself in surprise why this descent from the Jungfrau will not cease to haunt my memory. Not a hair of our heads were touched; we all escaped uninjured. But on that occasion circumstances occurred which invariably increase the exciting effects of danger till terror is aroused; namely, the consciousness that we ourselves have no means of influencing it, the impossibility of giving any other turn to the thoughts by rapid, energetic action, and, lastly, the torturing length of the time during which we were menaced. It is not the danger we dread, but being delivered up to it with our hands tied. A bold act allures us, and it is with this expectation that many a person crosses the snow line.

The number of those who now enter the highest parts of the loftiest mountains is comparatively large; but travellers cope with the obstacles to the task they have voluntarily undertaken in very different ways, and the execution of their plans is correspondingly diverse. Periodically comes the news of an accident; and family and friends wonder how a life so dear could be snatched from them in such a way. The same series of remarks is repeated; people lament, pity, and see in the accident nothing but the natural result of a perilous, much to be reprobated, business. The fact that it is an art which must be practiced for years, and requires special physical as well as intellectual powers, is wholly unknown to the great multitude. No one asks whether the accident might have been avoided; whether it was caused by human incompetency or an unavoidable event of nature.

After long years of experience, it therefore cannot fail to seem a desirable task to discuss the questions here involved, in a manner equally removed from attack and defence. This will be possible by limiting the task to the motives which cause travellers to enter these lofty mountain regions, and not entering into the subject of how far they may be justifiable. Therefore, the object is only to explain the relations in which man, with his limited powers, stands to the forces that reign in the upper regions; that is, to investigate the nature of the obstacles that confront the wanderer among these summits, and what are the means required to conquer them. These questions have nothing to do with the individual estimate of the subject. The answer is given in a sufficiently positive manner by the very nature of the loftiest mountain chains.

By mountain chains, we here mean only those of Central Europe ; that is, peaks rising so far above the snow line (about 2700 metres,) that above there is a wide region of eternal snow, and below extensive glaciers. The typical phenomena we note here are of course repeated on mountains like the Himalaya, the Andes, the Rocky Mountains, the Caucasian range, with such modifications as may result from their elevation, formation and geographical situation.

The obstacles that confront the intruder among these heights are determined by the steepness of the slopes, the sharpness of the ridges, the crumbling of the rocks, the composition of the layers of snow and ice, and the meteorological phenomena. Through these circumstances, entrance into this region becomes sometimes difficult, sometimes dangerous, sometimes both at once. If we think of every possible occurrence, we encounter a succession of perils against which our courage, strength and skill are almost valueless, and which might therefore be called absolute danger. In the first rank of these are falling avalanches and snow-slides,—that is, movements of large overhanging masses of snow down the steep slopes; next, ice-thaws, a phenomenon very similar to an avalanche, produced by the breaking and melting of compact masses of ice, that fall into the chasms; then the falling of rocks loosened from steep cliffs by the progress of disintegration, which, shattered by the descent, dash downward in countless fragments. Two other events may also be numbered among the absolute dangers,—one, the fall of snow bridges concealing chasms which often form after a recent snow storm, and the breaking of crusts of snow made by the wind on sharp ridges, and projecting over the precipice like a sill. Lastly, to this category belong thunder storms, with very violent electric discharges, as well as the sudden gathering of fog in pathless mountain deserts, long-continued cold, entailing very slow, cautious movements, or standing perfectly still, and a sudden acute attack of disease.

Against most of these perils, if actually attacked by them, we are defenceless; they often cause death, and are only distinguished by the different degrees of suffering which precede the release of the spirit. The avalanche falls and buries us alive; the snow-slide bears us resistlessly down to an abyss, as a boat is carried on by the ever-increasing force of the current to the whirlpool of the

waterfall; the terrible thunder of the ice-thaws foretells destruction; miracles must happen to secure deliverance; falling rocks wound or slay like the bursting of a shell.

The breaking of a snow-crust on the top of a lofty ridge gives rise to frightful catastrophes; the victims suddenly sink, as if the earth had opened under them, and in the fall usually meet death. A shorter plunge, but a more torturing death, threatens the wanderer who enters alone a riven, snow-covered glacier. The concealing snow-bridge breaks; the chasm receives the traveller; help from without might save him, but it is far away. He freezes before he starves, and the picture is the more terrible when we consider that the unhappy man is perhaps wedged motionless between the icy clamps.

The other perils mentioned have a somewhat different character, but possess one trait in common with the rest—they appear independently of our own acts. When mists suddenly gather in very high regions, even the best guides—these men will be discussed later,—are no longer able to find the way. If the fog remains a long time, there is danger that the bewildered travellers may strive for days to escape, and at last sink down exhausted; cold and hunger then perform the work of the executioner. Thunder storms are greatly dreaded, especially by the guides. It is a well-known fact that lightning often strikes, among lofty mountain ranges, the iron-shod alpenstocks; the so-called glacier-axes or ice-axes, which are indispensable, attract the electricity. The last of the long list of absolute dangers—cold and sudden attacks of illness,—will be again mentioned in another connection.

From the description of so many threatening perils, it might seem as if certain death awaited the intruder into these lofty regions, for I have not exaggerated one iota of the danger, and it would be an easy matter to adduce examples of each. But, as an offset to the greatness of the perils, stands by way of compensation the rarity of their occurrence and the shortness of their duration. Not that the events themselves are unusual, for the causes which produce them are continually in action. To make them dangerous, however, a human being must be on the spot where they occur. Certain perils are connected with certain times of the year and day; for instance, in midsummer, avalanches and snow-slides are little dreaded, while ice-thaws and falling rocks are very frequent, especially in the afternoon.

Though we can do nothing against these dangers when they really occur, experience may be very useful by giving timely warning. Therefore, old practiced Alpine climbers may need more courage to accomplish an enterprise than inexperienced ones; on the other hand, the former better understand how to secure safety. They perceive the places where avalanches, ice-thaws and falling rocks are threatening, and try to lessen the danger by hurrying rapidly over them and avoiding any useless delay. Treacherous snow-bridges reveal themselves to the suspicious glance, and their firmness is tested with the alpenstock before they are trusted. Where there are several companions, they fasten themselves together by a rope,—always an effectual safe-guard against falling into an ice-chasm, if only *one* is surprised. But this safe-guard usually fails, where the snow-crusts overhanging high ridges of rock give way; and therefore these are more dreaded than any others.

It is evident that, if fortune does not favor the bold, he may fall a victim, notwithstanding all his experience and skill, to the dangers described. If there were no other obstacles to conquer, entrance into the lofty mountain ranges would be a hazardous game where the chances of success are no greater than those of failure, but, in reality, besides the occurrence of the actual perils, there are the continual difficulties that beset the traveller from the nature of the territory. The steep or smooth slopes, the course of its ridges of rock, the thin covering of ice, the clefts or crumbling of the stone, render this region more difficult to traverse than that belonging to mountains of medium height; it therefore requires special skill to move over it with firmness. So long as this firmness lasts, there is no danger; but peril inexorably appears as soon as we are unequal to the difficulties. We then lose confidence, and fall, often without hope of deliverance, into the chasms. The experienced mountaineer, on the contrary, clings with cheerful composure to the steepest cliffs, walks firmly over the sharp ridges, and boldly treads the sloping ice in full view of the precipice. The ever-present danger is perpetually conquered, and this is exactly what constitutes the charm of practicing the art.

The sure step, supported where necessary by the skilful use of the hands and ice-axe, is the fundamental quality of the mountaineer; but to gain it, demands, besides natural talent, long years of practice, and it is a frequently proven error of human vanity that a

strong body can cope with the mountains without further training. Mountain climbing is an art in the same sense as riding. Both require a delicate touch and rapid, unconsciously correct action. Consider how much the region over which a mountain traveller passes, may vary, and that the same steadiness, the same firm tread, is always demanded. Where we have to deal with naked rock, we proceed according to the kind of stone, the height and appearance of disintegration.

The rock may present smooth surfaces, may offer convenient, firm points of support, or crumbly, loosely-adhering projections. Sometimes it is loaded with heaps of shattered fragments or loose pebbles that roll under the foot. Where there is a covering, it may consist of firm ice or freshly fallen snow, and between these two degrees every grade of ice formation is possible. Here we must make steps, sometimes by using the axe, sometimes by merely stamping the foot in walking. Special difficulties arise where the snow lies only a short time on the rocks, or where it melts, freezes again, and covers the stone with a thin, transparent layer of ice, or, finally, where it rests loosely on a surface of ice, giving the latter the appearance of a snow-field that may be easily traversed. Sometimes a hard crust forms over the soft snow and breaks under the foot, doubly increasing the labor of climbing. To these varieties is added the cracking of the upper surface. Between a smooth field of snow and the yawning chasms of the glaciers, there is a series of gradations. It must be added that the slope of the fields may change from nearly horizontal to perpendicular, and it requires two different degrees of skill to follow them upward or downward.

After this account, it will seem intelligible that only talent and long practice can make one equally able to cope with so many varieties of obstacles. But, when the art is once acquired, things may be done which to the ignorant would seem presumptuous. Perplexity rarely occurs, and the rapid movement is united with the swift glance at the next feature of the walk.

The smallest change in the bend of the ankle, the placing of the foot, the distribution of the weight resting on the heel, arch and ball, may determine the difference between standing and falling,—in the latter case between life and death. The pliancy of the body, and especially the elasticity of the knee-joints, which must play the part of strong springs, increases the firmness of the

tread ; sometimes one must make himself tall, sometimes short, let himself slip intentionally, or stop the movement with a jerk ; step, now heavily, now lightly ; practice all sorts of little arts, which each person must teach himself. In steep descents, there must be a certain stiffness of the back ; in climbing upward,—and here the majority fail,—not only the ball of the foot, but the heel, must be used as much as possible. Generally, a light, graceful gait is preferable to a heavy tread ; and it is no wonder ladies often do excellently in mountain climbing—so far as mere walking is concerned. This I can corroborate from my own observation ; for during the last few years I have made several difficult ascents with a lady, who climbed so cleverly and boldly,—even in the worst situations,—that old Galotte's words about women involuntarily occurred to my mind ; “ You are superior in almost every respect ; only Nature made a mistake in the clay, and used it too fine.

The most important matter now is to maintain this firm step among the difficulties that often exist. Walking itself causes a number of injurious effects that may all be attributed to over-exertion. The duration of the longer expeditions among our Alps is from twelve to twenty-two hours, in which time very frequently but short intervals of rest are allowed. Thus it requires a well-trained body to escape over-fatigue ; indeed, this training does not refer exclusively to the muscles, but also to the lungs. While resting or taking moderate exercise, a person in normal condition finds no difficulty in breathing at the top of Monte Rosa or Mont Blanc. But as soon as violent exertion is made near the snow line, the lungs are forced into far more powerful action than on lower ground, and one must learn to *breathe*, as well as *walk*, in this lofty region. Many a traveller sinks exhausted, not because strength fails him, but breath. The stomach, an organ that does not allow itself to be bribed, and against which no energy avails, sensitively reacts against any over-exertion of the muscles and lungs. As soon as it feels it is doing too much for its master, it revolts. What is called mountain-sickness,—so far as I know, this idea is not yet fully endorsed by the medical fraternity,—is probably the combined operation of the following results of over-fatigue,—weakness, want of breath, and indisposition. Sometimes giddiness ensues. I believe that any person may fall a victim to giddiness, if the causes—visible precipices, unsteady footing, forced inactivity and long delay

in one spot,—exist at the same time. The wearied traveller is undoubtedly more subject to giddiness than one in the full possession of his strength. All the previously mentioned consequences of over-exertion—whether they appear singly or together,—are so many attacks upon the steadiness of the tread; and, therefore, whoever climbs mountains must add to physical skill, endurance, strong lungs, and freedom from giddiness, in the ordinary sense of the word. Yet it may happen that, in spite of all these qualities, we shall succumb, for there is an enemy we can scarcely resist,—extreme cold. It makes us lose the mastery of ourselves,—the body no longer obeys the will, the mind sees everything in a desperate light; and many an expedition is thus utterly baffled. This danger is especially threatening where the ground will permit only very slow progress, or even demands frequent long-continued pauses. To accomplish a daring deed in extreme cold, requires a higher degree of courage than when the body is not suffering from a chill; the same thing is true of mountains, as of battles and saving lives.

But courage is a necessary quality of the mountaineer. Whoever is cowardly, is lost; for lack of confidence, like over-fatigue and cold, imperils firmness of tread. Practice and habit are of great service here, and confidence increases with skill. But courage is not fool-hardiness. Courage must go hand-in-hand with caution; that is, the resolution to remember every instant the sleeping danger of falling. Lack of caution, understanding the existing obstacle, is the Achilles' heel of less experienced, though excellent, mountaineers. It seems like fatality, that the greatest foes of caution are consciousness of power and blind confidence in skill. Experience does reverence to caution, and gives courage a keener edge. Even the old, practiced mountaineer may sometimes do things in defiance of caution; but he is aware of the fact, and does not act from undervaluing the peril, but because he is superstitious and relies upon a lucky result.

Much as each individual may develop the qualities by which the difficulties of scaling lofty peaks may be conquered and their absolute dangers foreseen, there are limits where man must lower his weapons. Certain portions of the highest mountain ranges are utterly inaccessible, and will remain so until the great process of disintegration has effected a total change. Therefore, an expedition

intended to reach a fixed goal requires the power of judging from a distance whether the difficulties of the road are unconquerable or not. This eye for mountain ranges, this power of judging their peculiarities, is a very rare quality; and yet without it the most skilful mountaineer is unsuccessful. Some few guides possess it to an amazing degree, and have thus made themselves famous. A thorough knowledge of mountain lore shows itself most strikingly where new peaks are to be scaled or passes traversed. Such expeditions are distinguished from those that have been frequently made by the greater uncertainty of the result. The decade from 1860 to 1870 was particularly fruitful in this respect; the places, especially in the Swiss Alps, that still remain unvisited are either very insignificant or present extraordinary difficulties. Even with this talent for finding the right way, a terrible danger threatens the traveller—the sudden rising of mist. In this case, a compass is valueless, for it only gives the direction, and there is no way of keeping it; the fog shrouds every landmark.

From the foregoing account, it would be supposed that the mountaineer makes his ascents alone. This never happens when the excursions are long or difficult. Even the most skilful Alpine wanderer cannot by himself secure the advantages obtained from mutual assistance. Apart from the plunge into some concealed abyss, there are portions of the way which tax the extreme limits of human power, and might cause the fall of the most experienced mountaineer. A single individual could not trust himself in these dangerous spots; but, where there are several companions, they fasten themselves together with a rope, and, while one crosses the treacherous place, the others stand still and let the rope slowly run out. Sometimes steep walls of ice are to be traversed, where the labor of cutting the necessary steps would be far beyond one man's power, and in climbing rocks mutual assistance is also absolutely needful.

In all these cases, those who ascend the mountains are supposed to be equally skilful, which, in reality, rarely occurs. The majority of the travellers who desire to enter the lofty ranges, possess only one requisite quality,—courage,—but have neither firmness of step nor experience. To make their way alone through the labyrinths of ice and rock, would be impossible, and, without sufficient confidence in their own skill, they would think many places impassable where the human foot could obtain a very firm support. Therefore,

these travellers must seek people whose assistance will supply what they themselves lack. These are the guides,—men who have grown up among the mountains, and, in proportion to the demand for their services, developed and trained their powers.

Good guides are as rare as good tenor singers,—and are spoiled in the same way. In return, they certainly accomplish some wonderful things. Wherever they may be, they always overlook the region and secure the road leading to the goal; they possess a firmness of step and skill in climbing which would not be expected from their plain, often clumsy appearance, and to the knowledge of danger unite the courage to conquer it. The younger ones are ambitious to win fame, and are most ready to go wherever people desire. When they are older,—perhaps, forty,—and their reputation is made, the temptation of money is the strongest motive; they willingly leave the most perillous enterprises to their younger, unmarried successors, but always retain their position and show their full power when danger threatens suddenly and unexpectedly. The responsibility of their profession is great; for, under all circumstances, they are expected to protect the travellers' lives, and, in fatal accidents are often unjustly blamed. They are perfectly right, therefore, to claim entire control of the party on entering the dangerous region; but, on the other hand, the best guides are always ready to consult with travellers on whose experience and skill they can rely.

To this little group is added the army of second-class guides,—people useful enough in their way, but who have none of the power of mastering obstacles possessed by guides of the first rank. They are only required to step firmly and be able to carry a burden. They often impose upon travellers but slightly acquainted with the exigencies of the situation, and this sometimes induces them to pretend to be more skilful than they really are. Fond of boasting, they give themselves airs and talk of bold deeds accomplished, without adding that they were then under the direction of a first-class guide. They also say, as a recommendation, that they are chamois-hunters, which in and of itself is no recommendation at all; for the chamois-hunter gains a very imperfect knowledge of the snow and ice formations of the upper mountain ranges, or the condition of the rocks more than 3,000 metres above the level of the sea, and an excellent chamois-hunter may be a very ordinary guide.

My admiration for the feats performed by the great guides has been repeatedly expressed in the chronicles of the Swiss Alpine Club. It is not owing to their characters, but their profession, if, in certain respects, they have forfeited our implicit confidence. Mutual rivalry, and too much willingness to enter into the wishes or weaknesses of many travellers, sometimes leads them to make statements which, under ordinary circumstances, could not be reconciled with their love of truth. Sometimes, with very honest faces, they totally deny the former exploits of others, in order to place their own successes in a brighter light, and even tell a traveller thirsting for action, who wants to strike out into new paths, that they have never before been trodden, making the falsehood so plausible, by the introduction of various little episodes, that one would need to have had dealings with negroes to doubt them.

Even the best guides cannot alone ensure the success of a difficult mountain expedition; the traveller must do his part; and, if not equal to such a feat, the undertaking will be a source of discomfort and weariness. Ignorance of the real nature of climbing among the loftiest mountain ranges is not exclusively to blame; it may be blended with a mistaken idea of his own powers, often fostered by the cupidity of unemployed second-class guides, who, if possible, persuade the foreigner that he is an excellent mountaineer, and moves like a chamois. When the sorely tried man returns from his toilsome pilgrimage, natural reserve prevents him from speaking frankly of his experiences, and he conceals the secret of his sufferings under the indifferent tone of the story. This, perhaps, leads other travellers, no better prepared, to undertake the same or a similar expedition, and a *circulus vitiosus* arises, which constantly gains new members.

Such occurrences would scarcely be possible if mountain-climbing were universally recognized as an art which, even where great natural talent exists, requires long practice. The superiority of the best guides consists in the fact that they grew up among the mountains, discovered at an early age whether they had a talent for conquering their dangers, and developed the gift during the season of youth. Therefore, every one who approaches mountains covered with eternal snow, as an ignorant stranger, should first test his strength by easy tasks. It would be best to make his excursions attended only by able guides. Imprudence may become crime

when a man pretends to be more skilful than he really is, induces one or more companions to share the expedition, and limits the number of guides. Then, if a single individual slips, all fastened by the same rope may be dragged to destruction. From my youth, I have invariably made all my dangerous expeditions alone, varying the number of guides according to the character of the excursion, sometimes taking two, sometimes three, but very frequently only one. If I have occasionally made an exception in later years, it was to accompany a friend to whom I might be useful, and on mountains I had already ascended.

It is an objectionable practice for more than four people to be fastened to the same rope; usually, three is the best number, but it may be limited to two with advantage. The terrible ascent on the Matterhorn in 1865, where one and the same rope bound seven persons, must remain a warning throughout all time. Whoever is unable to supply the place of a guide by his own firmness of tread, should always have two of these people with him; but a sure-footed person, who has known his guide for years, worked well with him, trusts him implicitly, and enjoys his entire confidence, often does better with this one man than with two.

The best Alpine traveller will probably never equal a first-class guide. The native will see the places where the mountain is still accessible, and those where danger threatens, sooner than the stranger; neither can the latter possess the tenacious endurance of a body accustomed to the rugged heights, and the peculiar firmness of tread created by the exercise of his profession, and the fact that the guide must be constantly prepared to render instant assistance if his employer slips. To make amends for these advantages, the traveller may possess a more extensive knowledge of mountain regions in general, together with a greater elasticity of an equally symmetrical body, a lighter tread, and more enthusiasm. The guide and traveller, if each is equally capable in his own way, will admirably complete each other, and accomplish more than two travellers alone, or two guides alone.

This closes the review of the obstacles the highest mountain ranges offer man, and the means required to conquer them. The motives that influence travellers remain untouched, for each must decide for himself whether the goal repays the trouble.

It is a very different matter to examine the causes which have led to a result so characteristic of our generation. The first impulse may be ascribed to scientific efforts; but these influences would have remained limited to the narrow circle of experts and engineer-geographers, if other motives had not been added. When the lists of membership of the various Alpine clubs are scanned, it can scarcely be supposed that theories about the glaciers, geographical surveys and geological investigations would have secured the permanence of these societies. The cultivation of Alpine climbing has, of course, indirectly benefited science, because investigations were made easier, and even laymen contributed much useful information; but the cause of the spread of interest in the loftiest mountain regions must be sought elsewhere. What interests men outside of their professions, may be explained in the simplest way. Our modes of life seek to force upon us a one-sidedness which in itself is unnatural; they destroy the balance that should exist between our mental and physical powers. The English nation alone has understood how to preserve this equilibrium, and their games, insufficiently valued on the Continent, are in the most flourishing condition at the present time. The other civilized nations tend towards a one-sidedness that may be momentarily advantageous, but contains the germ of degeneration. Hence, Germany may consider herself fortunate that her military regulations, at least, oppose this dangerous current. The consciousness of a mode of life that seeks only the development of the intellect, even at the cost of health, must show the necessity for an antidote. The mountain peaks offer the most desirable opportunities to remedy this deficiency, for threatening danger demands exertion, and requires equal activity of body, soul and mind. Corresponding with this is the feeling of satisfaction that follows when the exploit is performed, and which we can know in no other way. In the antagonism between what the student's life grants and withholds, I see the principal motive for Alpine sport. With this is interwoven the various objects which may influence different men. Chief of these is the gratification of the æsthetic need of the enjoyment of nature which is peculiar to our century, and has caused remarkable changes of opinion. The mountain landscape, whose awful desolation repelled our ancestors, now attracts us by its solemn beauty,—its august majesty. The scientific efforts alread

mentioned have their share, and so, also, do the influences of fashion, the love of imitation, and, above all, vanity. All these impulses produced the general desire for travel, and the development of our means of communication afforded the most potent assistance.

I believe many of the readers of this article are familiar with the Alps, and able to criticise the opinions here expressed. I have stated them because they forced themselves upon my attention as the abstraction of expeditions for whose characterization the passage of the Jungfrau was described.

During the last thirty years, the science of mountain-climbing, and, in connection therewith, the knowledge of the physiognomy of the highest mountain regions, have developed in a manner which is one of the characteristic traits of the age, and the reader will not disdain to acquaint himself with these results, even if disinclined to follow the rough path "beyond the snow line." Nay, he will gladly turn his attention thither, for, since Schiller wrote "Tell," and bequeathed it to the German nation, no German boy ever grew to manhood without feeling a longing to see the peaks covered with everlasting ice.

PAUL GÜSSFELDT.

TAXATION OF IMPORTS PRIOR TO 1812.

WHEN the Members of Congress assembled for the first time, poverty was written on more than one face as well as on the door of the public treasury. Even Washington, during the earlier days of his administration, was obliged to borrow money and pay heavy interest to maintain himself and his household. To supply the immediate wants of the Government, Hamilton negotiated several loans with the Bank of New York, and addressed a letter to the American bankers in Holland, asking for a provisional loan of three million florins. There was no law authorizing these loans, and they were speedily discharged; but the need of money was so great, that no one ever questioned the propriety of Hamilton's conduct in making them. In one of his earliest communications to the House, he declared that "obvious considerations dictate the propriety, in future cases, of making previous provision by law for such loans as the public exigencies may call for, defining their extent, and giving special authority to make them." Thus, he clearly recognized the impropriety of his action's furnishing a precedent either for himself or for subsequent Secretaries to borrow money without the authority of Congress.

The most pressing business of Congress, therefore, was to provide a revenue for the maintenance of the Government. Madison introduced a resolution for the establishment of an impost similar to the one discussed in the Congress of the Confederation in 1783. The bill imposed specific duties on a few enumerated articles of general consumption, and an *ad valorem* duty of five per cent. on others. A tonnage duty also was added, which gave a preference to American over foreign vessels, and discriminated in favor of those nations with which the United States "were in treaty."

Hamilton was opposed to framing any permanent bill, because Congress did not know enough about the subject to legislate wisely. He proposed, therefore, that a general *ad valorem* duty should be charged on all importations. Madison thought otherwise. He believed that Congress could safely go further toward a definitive solution of the question. There were others who urged the adoption of such a tariff as would encourage and protect home manufactures. The Members from Pennsylvania pressed this view with

considerable zeal; and they offered a resolution enumerating the articles, the manufacture of which they proposed the Government should "encourage and protect." Madison contended that it was the duty of Congress to protect national as well as local interests; and that the States, having surrendered the power of protection, had a right to expect it from the general Government. Various discriminatory duties were proposed, some avowedly prohibitory. During the discussion of the measure, petitions were presented from various quarters in favor of a revenue system, the chief object of which should be to foster "domestic industry."

The discrimination proposed by Madison in the tonnage duty caused an exciting debate. Some Members contended for a discrimination in favor of France, in requital for the debt of gratitude which America owed to her, and which ought not to be forgotten. There were those, however, who saw that the present situation required the maintenance of a perfect neutrality on the part of the American Government toward other nations. "Nations in treaty" could not supply all the shipping needed; hence, that of Great Britain would be required to transport our produce. Such a discrimination, therefore, would operate as a bounty to foreigners and as a tax on ourselves, and would be regarded as retaliatory. Great as was the debt of gratitude owing to France, the discrimination proposed was too heavy a charge to be borne by the American people in return for past favors.

Congress finally decided that, "whereas, it was necessary for the support of Government, for the discharge of the debts of the United States, and the encouragement and protection of manufactures, that duties be laid on goods, wares and merchandise imported," to levy specific as well as *ad valorem* duties, allowing drawbacks on goods exported within a year, and a discount of ten per cent. on goods imported in vessels which were owned entirely in the United States. To the ships of all foreign nations engaged in American commerce, an equal advantage was given. The measure was to continue in force until the end of the session of Congress held after the first day of June, 1796. Hamilton contended for the raising of "permanent funds" as the only basis for the adequate support of public credit.

This act was speedily followed by another which regulated the duties charged on all ships or vessels entering the ports of the

United States. A discrimination was made in the beginning in favor of American owners. They were required to pay only six cents per ton, and foreign owners fifty. On vessels owned partly in this country and in part abroad, a duty of thirty cents per ton was levied.

At the second session, higher rates, both specific and *ad valorem*, were substituted. The lowest *ad valorem* duty was five per cent., but it was not levied on so many articles. The free list was somewhat extended in those directions which were thought to be helpful to manufactures and agriculture. It was further declared that the duties thus levied should be continued until the debts and purposes for which they were appropriated were satisfied. Congress, however, reserved the right to substitute other duties or taxes of equal value.

The next year, the duties on imported spirits were increased from twenty to forty cents a gallon, and a tax was laid on spirits distilled at home. In consequence of the large outlay to protect the frontier, several of the duties were increased at the following session of Congress.

Thus, the duties grew heavier annually; yet, when the Government was six years old, the burden of taxation did not cause any dissatisfaction, unless, perhaps, the duty on salt was regarded as too great. Even that was not very keenly felt, and might have been deemed moderate, compared with the tax imposed by some Governments. Gallatin said it was higher in proportion to the value of the article than that paid on any other, and that, whatever impediment might exist in the way of its repeal from the difficulty of finding a substitute, it would be equally unjust and impolitic to raise it above the present rate. So far as the article was consumed by man, it was a species of poll tax, which fell alike on the poor and rich; when consumed by cattle, it was a tax on agriculture, and would prove pernicious if ever increased so high as to check its use.

Between 1789 and 1812, thirteen tariff laws were enacted, the general scope of which was to increase the duties as well as the number of dutiable articles. The increase was for the purpose of meeting the expenditures of the Government and the payment of the national indebtedness. But the protection of American industries was not ignored, as the history of the proceedings of Congress

clearly show. The subject, however, did not assume such importance in the debates of that body as it has subsequently acquired. One reason was because public sentiment was so strongly united. The reports of the committees of Congress and the subsequent debates thereon show very clearly that the protection of American industries from foreign competition was a principle very widely accepted. Wherever may lie the truth respecting Free Trade and Protection, as the subject is popularly termed, there is no question whatever that in the earlier history of the Republic the tide of public opinion set more strongly in the direction of Governmental protection than it does to-day. The atmosphere was heavily charged at that time with the idea of building up home industries.

Throughout the colonial period, the English Government had sought to restrain every form of domestic manufacture unfavorably affecting the manufacturing interests of the parent country. The jealousy of the English Government in this regard, and of its manufacturing classes, is a familiar fact of history. The colonists were permitted to plant, sow and reap, to live and labor for their happiness and prosperity, so long as they did not mar the peace and prospects of their English brethren across the ocean.

With the acknowledgment of independence by Great Britain, and the establishment of peace, blessed as that peace was, it could not efface all the wrongs of the past. The spirit which the English manufacturer and his Government had manifested toward America could not be speedily forgotten. The recollection of these things contributed very much in coloring the early tariff legislation of this country. We were more eager to manufacture and to wear homespun goods because of the treatment we had received from our English mother. The manufacturing of goods in the United States at that period was not a business merely of dollars and cents. Let anyone read the literature of the time, and he will find that home manufactures were encouraged, not solely to get them cheaper, either immediately or prospectively, but because revenge was sweet, even if purchased at considerable cost to the avenger.

In 1789, when the first tax on imports was imposed, there were several circumstances which favored the experiment of home manufacturing. The value of labor, provisions, fuel, rents and raw material, were much lower than they had been, and cotton machines

to some extent had been introduced; hemp had risen in Russia thirty or forty per cent., and this advance afforded a protection to the American cultivator of that product.

During the time of inconsiderate and unbounded adventure to this country, the American manufacturer had been often perplexed by injudicious importations of foreign goods, which were not only injurious to him, but unprofitable to importers. The losses in some cases were very heavy, especially on malt liquors, cordage, loaf sugar, steel, shoes and cabinet work. The ebbing of the tide, which turned after a brief period, relieved those who were manufacturing these things.

A strong desire for European manufactures and luxuries had spread after the close of the war. "Fortunately for us," says a writer, "we became sensible of our error. Ashamed of our folly, and alarmed at the danger we were in, a serious change was generally resolved on, and has generally taken place, as beneficial to home manufactures as our former habits were injurious. Buckskin breeches and gloves; home-made jeans and cottons; home-spun stockings of thread, cotton and worsted; American porter, beer, and cheese, and many other articles, have become fashionable in dress and familiar in diet,—and, in general, a greater simplicity and frugality has been introduced into our families."

The cause of this return to home productions and to greater simplicity of living and sharper economy, was not an outburst of patriotism, but an emptying of private purses,—the solid wherewith to make purchases. Imports of merchandise had greatly exceeded exports, and the balance could be liquidated only in specie. This was soon exhausted; credit did not exist, and the people could not do otherwise than curtail their purchases of foreign goods, whatever might be their wishes.

The destruction of our credit, therefore, was a blessing to the home manufacturer. Nor was the blessing of less consequence to "the landed gentlemen throughout the Union." "They now suddenly see," says a writer of that period, "that it is their interest to purchase home-made articles at a given price, rather than imported, because the foreign manufacturer calls not for their produce, either for provisions or raw materials, but the American manufacturer must necessarily consume both." Accordingly, a new movement was begun to extend American manufactures. The movement

became general. The literature of the day was full of appeals, addresses and resolutions, setting forth the duty of the people to encourage home industry.

Not only did this spirit permeate the people during the administrations of Washington and Adams; it continued for a long period, without any perceptible abatement. Memorials were presented to Congress from every quarter,—from gun manufacturers, bottlers, iron, copper, leather and twine manufacturers, the cultivators of hemp, the distillers of ardent spirits, and from other sources. Some of these memorials were very elaborate, like the memorial presented by the artisans and manufacturers of Philadelphia. They set forth at considerable length the reasons why a large number of articles, even of the first necessity, manufactured for the United States by foreign nations, were produced here less advantageously. Briefly stated, the reasons were,—foreign fashion, the overstocking of the American market with foreign goods. unjust competition with foreign manufacturers, the expense necessarily attending the commencement of complicated manufactures, and, lastly, duties injudiciously laid on raw materials or goods partially manufactured.

During the first and second sessions of the VIIth Congress, applications for protection rapidly multiplied. A report thereon was made by the Committee of Commerce and Manufactures. A history of the efforts to protect home industries was succinctly given. One mode of encouraging them had been to exempt imported raw materials from taxation. Consequently, wrought iron and unwrought burrs were thus admitted; so were the bristles of swine, the regulus of antimony, rags, saltpetre and sulphur. These exemptions were made for the purpose of aiding those who used these things in the manufacture of other commodities. Another mode of encouraging manufactures was “by laying higher or prohibitory duties on manufactured articles imported.” A third mode was withholding a drawback from articles of foreign manufacture subsequently exported. Such a policy was adopted with reference to loaf and refined sugar. A fourth mode of encouragement was the allowance of a drawback on domestic manufactures equal to the duty paid on the imported raw materials used in such manufactures. A drawback, therefore, was allowed on the re-exportation of sugar refined from the foreign material, and on rum distilled from molasses. A final mode of encouragement was the

bestowal of direct bounties, which were received by fishermen engaged in curing and exporting fish.

“From this view of the proceedings of Congress,” say the Committee, “it will appear that much has been done already to encourage the domestic industries of our citizens. That industry, under such aids as the Government by these means has given, at a time when population is so rapidly increasing, has caused useful arts and manufactures to rise up and thrive in almost every part of the country. Our works in wood, copper, hemp, leather and iron are really excellent and extensive; and, if we do not excel in the manufacture of the finer articles of cotton, silk, wool and the metals, we may felicitate ourselves that, by reason of the ease of gaining a subsistence and the high price of wages, our fellow-citizens born to happier destinies are not doomed to the wretchedness of a strict discipline of such manufactures.” The Committee continue in the following exulting strain: “Our citizens are distinguished for their ingenuity and skill. They have invented many expedients by machinery to shorten and cheapen labor. The machines for making wool and cotton cards, the machines for ginning cotton, the machines for cutting and heading nails, the machinery for elevating wheat, and for raising and stirring meal in mills, and the improvements in the manufacture of muskets,—class with all the most useful inventions with which the age has been adorned.”

The conclusions of the Committee were in harmony with their reasonings. The Secretary of the Treasury, complying with a resolution of Congress, had prepared a plan for levying new and more specific duties. This report formed the basis of the calculations of the Committee. They recommended that rags of linen, cotton, woolen and hempen cloths, bristles of swine, regulus of antimony, unwrought burr stones, saltpetre and the bark of the cork tree should be admitted without payment of a duty, though previously a duty of twelve and a half per cent. had been exacted. The duty on brushes and black bottles of twelve and a half per cent. was doubled; that on fur hats and plated ware was raised from fifteen to twenty per cent., and on stone ware, window glass and cannon ball from fifteen to twenty-five per cent. Foreign pickled and dried fish, on which a duty of twelve and a half per cent. *ad valorem* was levied, were to be subjected to a duty of \$1.50 per barrel for the

former and \$1.00 per quintal for the latter. A duty of three cents a pound on starch, and four cents a pound on hair powder and glue, was charged in lieu of the present duty of fifteen per cent. *ad valorem*. On calicoes and gunpowder the duty was raised from twelve and a half to fifteen per cent. The duties exacted on tarred cordage and cables of \$1.80 per hundred, and on untarred cordage \$2.25, were changed to two cents per pound on the former, and on the other half a cent more.

The report of the Committee was adopted. By so doing was signified the desire of Congress to encourage the development and growth of home industries—to continue that “sound policy” which, in the language of the preceding Committee of Commerce and Manufactures, pointed to the necessity of granting Governmental aid for the protection of such manufactures as were obviously capable of affording the United States an adequate supply of their several and respective objects, either by admitting free of duty the raw articles essential to their manufacture, and which could not be procured in the United States, or by imposing a higher duty than was paid on those articles to the manufacture whereof our citizens were incompetent.

It may be observed that, besides the protection thrown over the manufacturing interest by Congress during this period, the wars which raged in Europe affected it in a favorable manner. American commerce rode the waves of an unexpected and brilliant prosperity. As the United States was a neutral nation, she fattened on the miseries of the European nations, and her commerce increased with astonishing rapidity. She excited the envy and jealousy of the English Government, whose commerce was rapidly diminishing. To her this was the most bitter part of the cost to subdue Napoleon. Our manufactures flourished from the same cause, though not to a corresponding degree.

Notwithstanding these favoring circumstances, the early impediments with which American manufactures contended were very great. There was a lack of workmen, especially of those possessing much skill; wages usually were high, and machinery could not be easily procured. Foreign manufacturers were wide awake to the determination of keeping all machinery from the country that would enable us to manufacture at better advantage. In 1787, two carding and spinning machines which were in the possession

of a person in Philadelphia, and "which were calculated to save the labor of no less than one hundred and twenty workmen, daily," were purchased by the agency of a British artisan, packed in cases as common merchandise, and sent to Liverpool. The object of purchasing these machines was apparently to get them away. The hostility to American manufacturing was manifested in another way during the same period. Experiments were then rife for introducing the cotton plant into the country. Whether the English manufacturer at that early day foresaw the adaptation of the plant to the climate and soil, we do not know; but, with the vain hope of destroying its cultivation here, a considerable quantity of cotton seed was purchased and burned in Virginia by a British agent, in order, if possible, to arrest the injurious effects to the British manufacturer, of cotton raising and cotton manufacture in the United States. The same spirit continued for years, the irrefragable evidence whereof may be found in the history of the British treatment of Slater, who introduced machinery for making cotton goods, and whose praiseworthy efforts were rewarded by his English countrymen's attempting to destroy his life with various infernal contrivances.

At first, duties were both specific and *ad valorem*. Both kinds have been levied during the greater period of our history; but on several occasions the current has run more strongly toward one system than the other. Hamilton, in the last communication he ever made to the House, favored the contraction of the *ad valorem* system and the extension of specific duties. The reason for the change he declared was obvious. "It is to guard against evasions which infallibly happen, in a greater or less degree, where duties are high. It is impossible for the merchants of any country to have manifested more probity than those of the United States on this subject; and it is firmly believed that there never was one in which illicit practices to the disadvantage of the revenue have obtained so little hitherto as in this; yet it would be a delusive expectation, that, with duties as considerable as those which now exist, a disposition will not be experienced in some individuals who carry on our import trade, to evade the payment of them, and this to an extent sufficient to make it prudent to guard with circumspection and by every reasonable precaution against the success of such attempts." Hamilton offered to "digest the details of a

plan for this purpose ;" but, resigning shortly afterward, the bill was never drawn, and so the old system, constantly modified, was continued.

As soon as the tariff law was passed, it was necessary to provide for the collection of the duties imposed. The principal officers for collecting the revenues were divided into three classes,—collectors, naval officers and surveyors. The States were divided into districts, and some of the ports were designated as places where goods might be entered and delivered ; at other ports, there could be only a delivery of goods. To every district a collector was appointed ; to many of them a surveyor was added, but a naval officer was attached only to a few. At those ports where the three officers were appointed, it was the duty of the collector to receive all reports and other documents given to him by the commander of any vessel, and to make a record of them ; to receive the entry of all vessels and merchandise, with the invoices thereof ; to estimate the duties payable thereon, to receive the money paid for them, and to take the bonds for securing their payment ; to grant permits for the unloading and delivery of goods, and to employ proper persons as weighers, gaugers, measurers and inspectors at the several ports within his district. He was also to provide, at public expense and with the approval of the principal officers of the Treasury Department, storehouses for the safe keeping of goods.

The naval officer was required to receive copies of all manifests, to estimate and record the duties on each entry made with the collector, and to correct any error therein, before a permit to unload or deliver was granted. The duties of the surveyor were more extensive. He was required to superintend and direct all inspectors, weighers, measurers and gaugers, and the employment of the boats which might be provided for securing the collection of the revenue ; to place on board every vessel, as soon as it arrived, an inspector to rate the distilled spirits forming the cargo, and to ascertain whether the goods imported were conformable to the entries made of them. The surveyor was always the servant of the collector and naval officer. When a collector only was assigned to a port or district, as was the case generally, he performed the duties of naval officer and surveyor, and, when a collector and surveyor were assigned, the former performed the duties of naval officer. The collection of duties was to begin the fifteenth day of August, 1789, and on tonnage fifteen days afterward.

As the law for collecting them did not pass until July, it was impossible to appoint and commission all the revenue officers in time for them to put the law in operation on the day prescribed. The custom-houses were organized in the several States during the months of August and September, and in the interval a number of importations occurred. In some instances, duties were paid under State laws; in other cases, none were paid.

Hamilton considered that duties accrued on all importations after the day specified for their collection. A claim for them was made, with a view of getting a legal decision thereon. Nevertheless, he questioned the expediency of collecting duties on merchandise which had been thus imported. The enforcement of the claim, he thought, might be regarded rigorous, and in some cases injurious, especially when goods had been sold without reference to the duty. Besides, it would not be easy to ascertain what ought to be paid. His opinions were shared by Congress, and accordingly it was enacted that all duties which had accrued between the fifteenth of August and the time when each collector entered his office should be remitted, and, if anyone had paid duties to the Government during that period, restitution should be made.

In executing the law, collectors at first followed the regulations which had previously been adopted by the States. But Hamilton, notwithstanding the variety and difficulty of his labors, soon established a system of rules for their guidance. The collectors were required to render a weekly account of their receipts and expenditures to the Treasurer, to report the defects which should be discovered in executing the law, and to make full returns of the work of their offices. Bonds taken for duties, if not paid as stipulated, were to be put immediately in suit; indeed, "the most exact punctuality would be considered indispensable." "Resolutions," Hamilton added, "under State laws, may give an air of rigor to this instruction;" but he regarded its strict observance essential, "not only to the order of the finances, but even to the propriety of the indulgence which the law allowed of procrastinated terms of payment of duties." Indeed, very complete instructions were given to the collectors to guide them in performing their untried duties.

It was not expected that the law, prepared with so much necessary haste, would operate perfectly. Defects soon began to appear.

These were afterwards communicated to Congress by Hamilton. At the next session, most of the provisions were repealed; another law was passed, which continued in force until 1799, when a still more elaborate statute was enacted, which has served as the groundwork of all subsequent legislation.

For many years, Gallatin affirmed that, notwithstanding the gradual increase of duties, they were faithfully paid, and that the frauds so often committed on the fair trader and the public in countries where a large revenue was derived from customs, were comparatively few in the United States. The whole amount of fines and forfeitures incurred for a period of five years and a half for breaches of the revenue laws, which, during the same time, had yielded a net revenue of \$17,000,000, did not much exceed \$9,000. Tea, however, formed an exception, as the consumption for the years 1793 and 1794 was only one-half as great as for the two previous years. The temptation offered by the high duty and the small bulk of the article pointed out the true remedy, namely, a decrease of the duty.

At a later period, it was observed by a committee of Congress that the duties on wines had been so injudiciously laid as to produce a strong temptation to enter high-priced wines, which paid a very high duty, under the names of those of a low-price, paying a duty comparatively low. This fraud had been extensively practiced.

When the new Government had been in operation twenty years, a very interesting and instructive report was made concerning "the principles and practice" adopted by the Treasury Department in "mitigating or remitting" the fines, penalties and forfeitures incurred under the revenue laws. Congress had confided to the Secretary of the Treasury a very broad and delicate authority in the matter, which, happily, had been "used in a manner liberal and just." He was vested with power to mitigate or remit a fine, forfeiture or penalty, or to remove the disability, or any part thereof, if, in his opinion, it had been incurred without wilful negligence, or any intention of fraud, and to direct prosecutions to cease on such conditions as he deemed reasonable and just. To obtain the benefit of this law, however, it was necessary to have the facts in every case determined by a judge of a district court of the United States, who then transmitted the record to the Secretary of the Treasury for his decision.

In exercising his authority, Gallatin declared that, in deciding those cases to which the power of remitting in whole or in part applied, and in graduating the amount of penalty in those where it appeared improper to grant an unqualified remission, he had been invariably governed by the following principles. The first was enforcing the laws; the second, reducing the penalty to that amount, and requiring only that portion, which appeared sufficient for the purpose of preventing infractions; and the third was uniform rules of decision, so far as the diversity of cases rendered them practicable. In applying these principles to individual cases, several circumstances were considered,—the degree of negligence manifested by the party, the importance for the safety of the revenue of the particular provision which had been infringed, the encouragement due to the vigilance of the officers, and, when necessary for the purpose of checking illegal importations, the profit derived from the transaction. But the gain to the Treasury had never influenced him, or “even been thought of” in making a decision.

The number of cases decided by Gallatin was twelve hundred and ninety-seven. In ninety-two of these he decided there was an intention to defraud the Government, and no remission was granted. Absolute remission had been granted in eight hundred and eighty-eight cases, generally on payment of costs, and in three hundred and seventeen cases the fines had been mitigated. In about two-thirds of these nothing more had been inflicted than the payment of sums, generally inconsiderable, which were given to the custom-house officers. The expenses incurred in prosecuting for offences against the revenue laws considerably exceeded the amount actually recovered and paid into the Treasury. Those penalties, therefore, had not been a source of revenue.

Individuals were constantly applying to Congress for remission of duties in cases not provided by law, but in the collection of which it was urged some peculiar hardships would be sustained. In one case, a large amount of goods had been landed in New York, and a fire had occurred, destroying the warehouse and its contents. Applications were founded on a great variety of circumstances too numerous to describe. Not infrequently, when the Secretary had decided against an applicant for the remission of a fine or forfeiture, Congress was asked to grant relief. Cases of

this character were so numerous that the reader may be led to ask why was not a proper tribunal instituted for disposing of them, instead of dividing the power and responsibility between the Secretary of the Treasury and Congress? Surely, the creation of an adequate tribunal, composed of either existing officials or other individuals, would have relieved Congress and the Secretary of the Treasury from the performance of a duty which could have been more perfectly and satisfactorily performed by some other body.

Applications were often made to Congress to grant relief to those who had given bonds to secure the payment of duties. This was more especially the case with those who had become sureties. In another class of cases, the applicants sought to obtain a drawback. Such cases were very frequent.

In the beginning, Congress provided that all duties on imported merchandise, except brandy and geneva, which was re-exported, should be returned within a specified time. One per cent. of the duties, however, was retained to cover the expense of entering and storing such merchandise. In respect to salted fish and provisions, the law provided an allowance "in lieu of a drawback of the duties imposed on the importation of the salt employed and expended therein." A glaring defect in the law was soon discovered. A vessel arriving from a foreign port with a portion of her cargo destined for the United States, was obliged to pay duties on the whole, and even to land those articles which required weighing, measuring or gauging in order to ascertain the duties. Nor did the allowance of drawbacks obviate the difficulty. This was a very serious defect in the law, but, like other defects, could not be remedied until the next session of Congress, when the law was thoroughly revised.

The original design of the law for raising a revenue on imports was to tax consumption, and the allowance of a drawback was to favor trade. In his famous report on manufacturing, Hamilton recommended the exemption from duty of nearly all materials employed in manufactures. To this rule he observed there should be some exceptions. Three examples, illustrating three classes of exceptions, were given. In the first example, the material itself was extensively consumed, and consequently a fit and productive source of revenue. Such a commodity was molasses. It was "just that the consumers of it should pay a duty, as well as the

consumers of sugar." Another exception was that of a manufacture, the competition of which with a similar domestic article it was desirable to restrain. The manufacture itself partook of the nature of a raw material, and by a further process could be converted into a manufacture of a different kind, the introduction or growth of which it was desirable to encourage. Cottons and linens in their white state fell under this description. A duty on those imported was proper to promote the domestic manufacture of similar articles in the same state. A drawback of that duty was equally proper to encourage the printing and staining at home of those which are brought from abroad. When the first of those manufactures had attained sufficient maturity to furnish a full supply for the second, the utility of the drawback ceased. A third exception, he contended, should be made when the material itself was produced in sufficient abundance here to furnish a cheap and plentiful supply to the manufacturer requiring it. Hemp either did, or was soon expected to, exemplify a commodity of this class.

Hamilton further observed that, when duties on the materials of manufacture were not laid for the purpose of preventing competition with some domestic production, the same reasons which recommended, as a general rule, the exemption of those materials from duties, would recommend the allowance of a drawback in favor of the manufacturer. Accordingly, such drawbacks were familiar to countries which systematically pursued the business of manufactures, which furnished an argument for the observance of a similar policy in the United States, and the idea had been adopted by the laws of the Union in respect to salt and molasses. Hamilton believed that the same principle could be beneficially extended to other articles.

Several years afterwards, when more revenue was wanted, the Secretary of the Treasury, Wolcott, recommended a tax on drawbacks. The Committee of Ways and Means considered the expediency of the measure. War was then raging in Europe, and it was contended, on the one hand, that, if such a tax were laid, it would not rest on our commerce or merchants, but on foreign nations who were the consumers of the re-exported commodities. While the war continued, they would certainly be obliged to purchase them from America alone, and would be under the necessity of repaying the tax, in addition to the price which otherwise would be demanded.

To this reasoning it was answered that the whole argument rested on the supposition of our ability to effect two things, both of which were very uncertain, namely,—to monopolize the business of supplying the countries in question with East and West India and China commodities, and “to compel those commodities to touch first at our own ports before they were carried to the places where they were consumed.” For it was clear that if, by raising the price of the commodities, we should raise up competitors who could underbid us in the foreign markets, or should, by taxing them when they arrived at our own ports, lead our merchants to carry them directly from the places of their production to the places where they were consumed, without landing them in this country, in either case, the duty would be lost; in the first, by ruining altogether our trade, whereon the duty must depend, and in the second by turning the trade away from our own ports, where alone the duty could be collected. A duty of two and one-half per cent., which was the figure proposed, would amount to a large sum on a valuable cargo, and was a sufficient premium to tempt the avoiding of American ports. The Committee made no recommendation, but Congress tried the experiment. The duty imposed was two and one-half per cent., in addition to half that sum previously exacted for entering and storing such goods. But if the re-exportation occurred in foreign vessels which imported them, the drawback previously allowed was withheld.

Another defect early appeared in the law relating to this subject. Goods were entered into the United States, and then re-exported to a foreign port adjacent to the dominion of this country. As the drawback was allowed when they were taken away, and they could be easily returned after re-exportation without the payment of a duty, the Government was defrauded of the revenues to which it was fairly entitled. This defect was partially corrected by the law of 1799.

Manufacturers were constantly trying to obtain more favorable legislation in the way of drawbacks on imported dutiable merchandise used in the manufacture of other articles which they desired to export. Cordage was one of the things which secured much attention from Congress. In 1793 it had been exported in considerable quantities, but, later, a duty of twenty dollars per ton was levied on foreign hemp. Of course, the levying of so heavy a duty

on the raw material was a serious disadvantage to the American manufacturer. But it did not appear expedient to Congress, either to increase the duty on the imported article, or to discontinue the allowance of the drawback on the re-exportation of foreign manufactured cordage. Congress, therefore, devised another remedy, namely, the payment to American manufacturers of a certain sum on all cordage exported, as equivalent to the duty on hemp. The same remedy was applied to other things.

Still the cordage manufacturers were not satisfied. They wanted either a discontinuance of the drawback on foreign cordage when exported, or an allowance of a drawback on the exportation of home-made cordage equal to the duty imposed on hemp. There were two grave difficulties in the way of granting such relief. The first was the contravention of the general principle adopted by the Government of allowing drawbacks on the exportation of imports; the other difficulty was the distinguishing of cordage made of American hemp from that made of the foreign material. These objections were subsequently made to similar applications of soap and candle manufacturers.

Sugar refiners frequently applied to Congress for similar assistance, which was desired for the same reason, chiefly, as had been given by the cordage, soap, and other manufacturers. The duty collected from this source has always been so large as to warrant our describing the manner in which the Government allowed drawbacks whenever sugar was exported.

At first, a duty of two cents a pound was collected on sugar refined within the United States. A similar duty was allowed as a drawback, besides three cents a pound to cover the duties paid on importations. When this regulation was made, the duty on crude sugar was one cent and a half a pound. As two pounds of crude sugar were needed to make one pound of refined, three cents per pound were allowed on exporting the refined article, and to this were added the two cents per pound paid for the excise,—the duty and the excise thus making a drawback of five cents a pound allowed in the beginning. By subsequent statutes, the duties on imported sugar were increased, but there was a corresponding increase of drawback. When, however, the internal taxes were repealed in 1802, the drawback on refined sugar, then amounting to seven cents a pound, ceased.

Notwithstanding the repeal of these statutes, the refining of sugar in the United States was "not wholly unprotected." At one time, sugar candy or crystallized sugar could be imported from Asia, "not only so cheap as to vie with the West India brown, but even to be substituted, in many cases, for refined sugars in the markets of the United States." The merchants who could have bought great quantities of this "elegant form of sugar," were interrupted in their trade by the imposition of a duty of nine cents a pound, which three years afterwards was increased two cents and a half per pound more. "Thus, to protect the domestic refiners of sugar, the merchants who traded to the East Indies were prohibited from bringing sugar candy to the United States, and the citizens at home from consuming it, but at the enormous price paid for it as a dainty, a medicine, or a rarity."

Nor was Congress unmindful of "encouraging the domestic sugar refinery." By various acts, a duty amounting to nine cents a pound was imposed on foreign refined loaf sugar, and six and one-half cents per pound on all other refined sugars. In 1799, Congress refused to grant a drawback on the exportation of imported loaf and lump sugars refined abroad, and forbade the importation of it in vessels of less burthen than one hundred and twenty tons, and in parcels of less than six hundred pounds. These heavy duties effected an almost total prohibition of foreign refined sugars.

The domestic refiners, nevertheless, strenuously sought to obtain a drawback on the exportation of their own product. There were two difficulties in the way, springing from the acquisition of Louisiana. The first was that a large amount of sugar was prepared and exported annually from New Orleans and vicinity, and it was regarded as unreasonable to allow a drawback on sugar which had never paid a duty. The other difficulty was that a sugar refinery had been established at New Orleans, where others were likely to be established. To accomplish the object which the sugar refiners had in view, it was declared necessary to prohibit the importation of refined sugar from Louisiana; and, to avoid paying a drawback on sugar that had never paid duties, it would also be necessary to distinguish the sugars of Louisiana from those of foreign production.

The sugar refiners often renewed their demand, but in vain. Indeed, a report of the Committee on Commerce and Manufactures,

made during the session of 1805, shows that the current had set strongly against the sugar refiners.

Occasionally, Congress discovered that the duties were so high as to check importations. When cocoa, for example, was first taxed in 1789, the duty assessed was one cent per pound. It was afterward raised to two cents, and in 1799 the duty was doubled. The latter rate checked importations. The revenue received from the article when the duty was two cents per pound, was as great as when the duty was doubled. The increased duty, therefore, operated, say a committee who investigated the subject, "if not to discourage importation, to produce this effect by causing an export of it before manufactured." Another effect of the high rate of duty was to oppress unreasonably the manufacture of chocolate without benefiting in any way the public revenue.

ALBERT S. BOLLES.

THE AMERICAN INCUBUS.

ALTHOUGH intelligent men of all parties deplore the present condition of American politics, and assert the necessity for reforming the civil service, yet many persons who have had nothing to do with politics are unable to see why this point should be so strenuously urged as a *sine quâ non*, and think that there is an unreasonable hue and cry raised because a few hundred thousands or millions of dollars should be wasted or stolen, and some indefinite number of clerks be uncertain of retaining their positions. These persons read an article about "The Merit System," "Fixity of Tenure," or "Competitive Examinations," without comprehending the personal and local interest which it contains for them. They are not alarmed that we should "depart from the examples of our forefathers," and are not aware that the vote which they deposited on election day at the back window of a neighboring grog-shop, was arrested on its sovereign mission and placed under the table by an employé of the United States Government. If it be brought to their attention, they admit it is improper that this state of affairs should exist; but they look upon the whole matter as of infinitely less importance than the chance success of the wicked opposition; and they claim that, while these abuses may tend to demoralize Washington, (where they fancy the civil service resides,) yet the will of the people eventually prevails.

If the percentage which gave victory at any recent election be compared with the number of national, State, and municipal employés constituting the civil service of the section considered, it will usually be found that the latter, acting in concert, could control the result, even leaving out of consideration their organized facilities for cheating at the polls. Then let it be remembered that, while the disinterested voter probably succeeded in recording his vote for one of two undesirable candidates, yet he had no more chance to express his opinion in the selection of these two bad nominees, than if he had dwelt in Siam.

Does the quiet and respectable citizen who conscientiously votes at every election, suppose that the votes which he casts at primary elections are counted, unless he is one of so contemptible a minority of respectable voters that the various Government and city

employés—who are the assessors, judges, inspectors and guardians of the peace at his poll,—good-humoredly permit his feeble ballot to appear? These persons do this dirty work, not from choice; they would choose neither pocket-picking nor forgery as an amusement or a profession. Many of them commit few crimes, excepting political ones. They do these from the hard necessity of retaining their petty salaries, and would be as much rejoiced as the most zealous Civil Service Reformer, if this necessity were removed. Others of them think the salary easily earned by light, irregular, irresponsible labor, alternating with crimes against their country and fellow-citizens; whilst the older ones, having been battered about from one berth to another, do these things with the indifference come of long practice.

A certain example of the latter class now draws a salary from the State of Pennsylvania for performing certain services in a remote part of the State, and, dwelling comfortably in Philadelphia, he visits the scene of his imaginary labors on pay-day, and at other times makes himself useful in his ward, where he is regarded as a very capable judge of primary elections. He boasts that upon one occasion he suppressed all but twenty-three of the ninety votes cast, by holding the ballot which he thought should have been voted by the ninety persons, in the palm of his hand, and, accepting the injudicious one at the window, substituting the one for the other whilst placing it in the box. The feat is considered somewhat difficult, and it redounds greatly to the credit of the judge who demonstrates his proficiency in performing it, and will ensure this gentleman's retention in the civil service of Pennsylvania.

Occasionally, it has happened that some judge may have been elected the previous year who was opposed to the "machine," or who had become anti-"machine" during the year. This occurred, not very long since, in a certain locality in Philadelphia, when Lieutenant of Police ——— told one of the "boys" that he would furnish him with a blank certificate of election as judge of primary elections, signed and ready to fill up with the name of some trusty city employé; and, as the Lieutenant laughing remarked that there was "no honor in love, war or politics," he doubtless felt secure in his retention upon the force. Did he do this simply to oblige some "boss politician?" When, subsequently, he, as, is said, did every

police lieutenant in Philadelphia ordered his patrolmen, at roll-call, one morning, to *subscribe* a portion of their hard-earned wages toward a great corruption fund, and not to mention it to the reporters, did he do this from a disinterested desire to assist some hack politician? When he ordered the patrolmen to leave addresses and tickets at every house on their beats, was it party zeal that actuated him? When, upon the night of the election, a drunken negro (known as a "coon,") swaggered to and fro in the parlor of the station-house, (where the local politicians were receiving the returns,) flourishing a revolver in this very abode of the guardians of the peace, and relating his prowess in threatening to shoot another negro because he desired to vote for a candidate now very popular outside of political circles,—when a local "boss" called upon the "boys" to give "Jim" something for the work which he had done for the party,—and when this otherwise respectable policeman added his two silver dollars to the six with which the negro reeled away,—was it the party of progress and great moral ideas that he was assisting, or his lieutenantcy? If you had approached the station-house with some story of murder, or robbery, or terrible accident, this same man would have met you, not only with succor, but with kindly sympathy. Why was he converted into a criminal when politics approached? Because every station-house contained certain persons who attended to the politics of the division. They acted as brokers in the patronage, and as henchmen in executing the orders of their superiors in influencing primaries and elections. Every patrolman of the precinct might have lost his place at their request, and nearly all owed their appointments to the same. They were middle-men between "boss" and "boy." By obeying them alone in matters political, the policemen retained the positions by which they earned their daily bread.

It is to correct these evils that it is desired to appoint policemen on their merits alone, which would constitute Civil Service Reform in this branch of municipal government.

It is the same, and worse, in all the departments. Nearly every man who gains his living in the public service in Philadelphia,—whether he be a clerk or a book-keeper in any one of the numerous municipal and Federal offices, fireman, street cleaner or street paver, contractor or laborer for any of the departments, or even if he sell coal, provisions, or furniture, to a political club,—is, together with his relatives and associates, converted by necessity

into a more or less active member of an organized band for the suppression of the will of the people, and for doing the behests of a corrupt cabal. The ramifications of this system almost exceed belief. Some time ago, a man desired to run for a nomination who was objectionable to this cabal for the reason,—there is no use of mincing matters,—for the simple reason, that he was known to be *honest*; and a tradesman who was to have run as a delegate to the nominating convention in his behalf, and who had for a customer a once most respectable political club, was actually visited by some member or envoy of the club, and plainly told that, if he desired to continue his trade with the club, he must not run as a delegate for the obnoxious candidate; and he did not.

In another case, a man desiring a nomination thought proper to introduce himself to a statesman who he knew could allow his votes to appear, if he desired. The statesman (who had acquired a competency in a position paying no salary,) inquired the man's name, and upon hearing it replied, "Yes, I've heard of you, young man; you can't be elected." The young man explained that a majority of his constituents would vote for him, and asked why this would not secure his election; upon which the statesman remarked, "Because I say you can't; and when I say a man shall not be elected, no man ever was elected." The aspirant tried it, polled a majority, and was counted out.

These and hundreds of similar affairs occurred in Philadelphia. Our legislators in Councils, at Harrisburg, and in Washington, are, with a few notable exceptions, the product of such methods, and it can hardly be expected that any intelligent legislation will be supplied from such a source. Any scheme for reform, be it philanthropic or patriotic, is strangled in such an assemblage.

Do we desire proper financial legislation? Constitutional improvement in the method of electing the Executive? Repeal of delinquent tax laws? Economy in city government? A metropolitan police? We cannot obtain *consideration*, even, of these matters, until the trained mercenaries, who render our representatives defiantly indifferent to our appeals or expostulations, are removed from their support. The effect of the possession of this trained body of retainers is to render the ruler absolutely defiant towards the voter, and we can all remember in the last few years many instances of high-handed disregard of the people which

were thought too impudent for execution when first suggested, but which were consummated and have passed into history.

Occasionally, the "boss" overestimates his power, and meets with disaster, but nearly always he succeeds, and the sovereign citizen is left to acquiesce or grumble, as best pleases him. The persons whom we pay to do the government work furnish this fellow with the power to snap his fingers in our faces.

A man, holding a clerkship in the public service in Philadelphia supported for nomination a candidate obnoxious to the "machine," and a magistrate, who had been elected on the ticket of the opposite party, came to him, stating that a politician of the same party as the clerk had endeavored to borrow some roughs of the magistrate (who apparently kept a supply on hand,) for the purpose of making a personal assault upon the clerk on the day of the primary election. And, upon the clerk requesting him to make an affidavit to that effect, the justice of the peace refused, on the ground that the would-be borrower of roughs of the other political party was a friend of his, and that the information was merely between one "gentleman" and another.

Civil Service Reformers aim to render it unnecessary for a justice of the peace to retain a following of roughs.

The captain of plunder and ballot-box stuffing, known as a prominent boss politician, has no part in the detailed application of his tyranny. He merely orders an underling to see that a given section is properly managed, and is himself left at liberty to pursue his schemes undisturbed, unless called upon to remove some employé of the city or Government who has rebelled against the authority of this underling.

Civil Service Reformers wish to deprive this fellow of his power of removing,—to cut this Samson's hair.

The boss has but one fear,—mutiny among his serfs,—and his generalship consists in playing off their claims one against another, and uniting all in a co-partnership for the acquisition of spoils. This constitutes the statesmanship of most of our public men.

The same organization and facilities for rewarding and punishing extend to all the vast number of persons employed in any manner, (excepting the army and navy,) by the United States, the several States, and various municipalities throughout the land. From New York to California, from Maine to Texas, have the

tentacles of this devil-fish—the “machine”—encompassed the country and throttled the free suffrages of the people.

The number of employés and office-holders whose whole effort is to make the “machine” all-powerful, cannot be accurately estimated, but it is known that their votes are enough to secure a majority under any usual division of political parties, and that the conventions which nominate the usually unfit candidates, for one of whom we must vote, are composed almost exclusively of their number. The convention which nominated the last unsuccessful candidate for Mayor of Philadelphia, was composed of twenty-three policemen, four constables, nine members of City Councils, five police magistrates, eighty-six office-holders, ten tavern-keepers, and only thirty-five whose connection with the “ring” was not obvious. Is the political party under consideration composed of these elements in the proportion represented by this convention, and are over eighty per cent. of the Republican voters of Philadelphia either office-holders or tavern-keepers? An examination of the list of members of the city and ward committees will show a monotonous list of policemen, clerks, contractors, and coroner’s undertakers. How much voice has the taxpayer in all this? Where are the people who pay the money represented in the selection of those who are to appropriate and disburse it?

If these employés could keep their appointments otherwise, there would be few of them who would work so hard and run such risks to assist a local politician. Besides the subversion of the will of the people, what a source of demoralization to the nation the existence of such a class must be! When the magnitude of the evil is appreciated, and the depth of the abyss perceived, the differences between voters of opposite parties must be lost to sight, and, after sufficient agitation, the people will combine against the “bosses,” as the latter have long since combined against them.

In our larger cities, the union between the “bosses” of the opposite parties is nearly always in existence. The party supplying the larger number of the defenceless voters, pensions the opposition to avoid exposures. In New York, it is brought to such perfection that the police are assessed and the money placed in the hands of a trustee for division between the two parties. But, bad as it all is, it was once worse in England, but has been reformed

within the memory of the present generation, and there are signs which indicate an uprising of the supine public. The efficiency of the " machine " has already been somewhat impaired, and the grip of the " bosses " has lost some of its tenacity in many localities.

The recent national calamity has tended most strongly to call public attention to the subject. While that desperate act was probably the blind impulse of a man crazed in the effort to obtain an appointment in our rotten civil service, yet the people seem to have taken the view that the spoils system in politics, as prosecuted by men of acknowledged ability and intelligence, and occupying positions of prominence in political life, has borne its legitimate fruit when in a weaker intellect it led to the assassination of the Executive of the country. It will not be surprising to find some politicians who have fattened on the spoils system, adopting Civil Service Reform as a necessary measure of self-preservation ; and, indeed, it seems as if he will prove himself to be the shrewdest who will advance and champion the cause, and, perceiving the ground-swell of popular agitation, will mount the tide, to be borne aloft, rather than to be drowned in his hole.

THOMAS LEAMING.

TRANSLATIONS FROM GOETHE'S "FAUST."

THE DEDICATION.

"Ihr naht euch wieder, schwankende Gestalten."

Ye wavering Forms, again ye come around me,
 Ye Forms whose early glances met a troubled heart!
 Say, shall I try to hold you fast as ye surround me?
 Still does my soul from old illusions feel it cannot part?
 Ye crowd around! So must it be:—I own your sway
 As ye come stalking up from out the fog and mist;
 And, by the magic breath whose perfume marks your way
 O'ercome, my bosom heaves, as long ago, with youth's unrest.
 The images of early days your presence brings before
 My soul; and many lovely phantoms of the past
 Appear; while with them, like some old and half-forgotten lore,
 The tones of early love and friendship are heard again at last.
 Sorrow has joined the throng; I hear again the lamentation
 Which from the maze of life's confusing course, gains all its
 might,
 And summons back to memory fair hours of joy's intoxication,
 Whose blessings, once so prized, have vanished from my sight.
 Alas! they hear no more the measured cadence of my song—
 Those souls to whom I sang the first. I find myself alone:
 Dispersed is all of what was once a well-known friendly throng,
 And memory even fails to hear the earliest answering tone.
 Strangers are they,—the throng who listen to my singing now,—
 And even their applause but fills my saddened heart with fear.
 The friends who used to listen to my song with pleasure,—now,
 Alas, if living still, are scattered, wandering far from here!
 And now there fills my heart a long unfelt and ardent longing
 For that unseen and still and earnest spirit throng;
 And, with the unvoiced tones to Æol's dreamy harp belonging,
 Murmuring in wavering cadences, I give the world my song.
 Trembling has seized upon me; my tears are flowing in a cease-
 less stream:

My heart finds all its strength by softening weakness banished.
 What I possess I see as in the hazy distance of a dream,
 And only count as real the forms that long ago from me have
 vanished.

PRELUDE TO THE SECOND PART OF "FAUST."

[Scene: A pleasant locality. *Faust* lying on a flowery turf,
 weary, restlessly trying to sleep. Twilight. A spirit-circle moves
 hoveringly; charming little Forms.]

ARIEL.

(Song, accompanied by Æolian harps.)

When the spring-time rain of blossoms
 Over all things floating falls;
 When the fields' green carpet spreading
 Fills all eyes of earth-born men,
 Little Elfin spirit-greatness,
 Hastens where it help can bring,—
 Whether good, or whether evil,
 Man of sorrow pity claims.

Ye who this head surround in airy circle,
 Here show yourself in guise of noble elves,
 And gently soothe his heart's terrific struggle;
 Temptation's flaming bitter shafts take far away,
 And cleanse his soul from ruins life has wrought.
 Four are the rests which Night's dark season bringeth
 Now fill them up with kindly acts without delay;
 First lay his head upon the cooling pillow under,
 Then bathe him in the dew from Lethe's stream;
 Pliant are soon the limbs, convulsion—stiffened,
 When he, renewed in strength, doth rest till day.
 Fill up your round of fairest Elfin duty
 And give him back again to holy Light.

CHORUS.

(Singly, by twos and many, changing and together.)

When with tepid warmth the breezes
 Fill the green enclos'd plain,

Veils of mist and pleasant vapors
Cause the twilight here to fall ;
Whisper gently sweet contentment,
Rock the heart in child-like peace,
And the eyes of this one wearied
Close the gates of Day upon.

Night has here already fallen,
Solemnly the stars appear ;
Ample lights and little sparkles
Glisten near and gleam afar ;—
Glisten here, the sea their mirror,
Gleam on high in clearer night ;
Joy of deepest quiet sealing,
Rules the moon's magnificence.

Pass'd already are the hours ;
Vanish'd, too, are grief and joy ;
Have the foretaste ! Thou art healed ;
Trust the new-found light of day !
Vales grow verdant, swelling hillsides
Shadow-peace from bushes cast ;
And in waving silver billows
Moves the grain for harvest ripe.

Wish on wish to be attaining
Look at yonder brilliant scene ;
Gently thou art captive taken,
Sleep a veil is,—cast it off !
Pause no more to make the venture ;
When the crowd trails lingering on ,
All things can the noble one do
Who with wisdom quickly acts.

[A great commotion heralds the approach of the Sun.]

ARIEL.

Listen ! Hark ! The Hour's tempest
Sounding in the spirit-hearing
Brings the light of new-born Day.
Rocky doors creak, op'ning, clanging,

Phœbus' wheels roll on with crackling ;
 What a tumult brings the light !
 Drums are sounding, trumpets braying,
 Eye is blinded, ear confounded,—
 All, unheard, is silence here.
 Slip within the cups of flowers,
 Deeper, deeper, dwell there quiet,
 In the rocks, and under bowers ;
 If Light catch you, you are deaf !

FAUST.

Life's pulse with living force is freshly beating
 The airy twilight's mildness to be greeting ;
 Thou Earth this night on sure foundations resting
 Art at my feet with new-found motion breathing,
 Beginnest now with pleasure to surround me :
 Thou movest in me strong determination
 To strive henceforth to reach the highest being.
 The world lies now embrac'd in twilight's glimmer,
 The wood resounds with life of thousand voices,
 A wreath of mist is poured o'er all the valley ;
 Yet in the blue profound lies heaven's clearness,
 And twig and branches, fresh with life, are bursting
 From out the dark abyss where, hidden, they were sleeping ;
 And tint on tint from out the ground appeareth
 Where flow'r and leaf with trembling pearls are dripping :
 A Paradise appears in what surrounds me.
 Look up! The peaks of giant mountain summits
 Already herald forth the solemn brilliance ;
 They early may enjoy the lasting brightness
 Which later pours itself o'er us beneath them.
 And now on Alpine meads with verdure covered
 Is poured a newer glow and fresher clearness,
 And step by step it here below is speeding :
 It comes apace ! Alas! already blinded,
 I turn away, my eyes with anguish pierced.

And thus it is, whene'er a hopeful longing
 The highest aim to reach with loyal striving

Finds open wide the portals of fulfilment ;
But now there breaks from those eternal valleys
A flaming overflow,—we stand confounded :
The torch of life we wish to kindle with it,
A fire-sea pours around us,—what a fire !
Is't love ? Is't hate ? Which, glowing, wind around us,
With grief and joy, so vast in variation
That we to earth again must turn our vision
To veil us in Youth's earliest glow of feeling.
So let the sun be shining still behind me !
The waterfall, through rocky fissures roaring,
I gaze upon with still increasing rapture.
In thousand jets it leaps, forever falling,
And, as its thousand streams are overflowing,
High tossed in air the foamy spray is floating.
To splendid use this stormy rushing turning
The gorgeous bow is arched with constant shifting,
Now clear defined, now vanishing in vapor,
Still spreading round a fragrant, cooling shower !
That mirrors forth the sum of human effort.
Muse well on it ; you have a truthful picture :—
The tints of life in its reflected splendor !

JOHN ANDREWS HARRIS.

MODERN MUSIC.

IN seeking to determine the correct standard of modern music, a careful analogy should be drawn between this and the fine arts. Its peculiar and intimate connection with painting, sculpture, and more especially with poetry, must form our basis of good taste. According to Boethius, that talented Greek who wrote after the Augustine age, but three faculties are employed in the musical art,—one which is exercised in playing upon instruments, another that of the poet, which directs the composition of verses, and a third which judges of the former two. As to the first, the performance of instruments, it is evident that the artists obey as servants, and, as to poets, they are not led so much to verse by reason as by a certain instinct which we call genius. But that which assumes to itself the power of judging of these two, that can examine into rhythms, songs (melodies,) and their verse, as it is the exercise of reason and judgment, is most properly to be accounted music; and he only is a true musician who has the faculty of judging according to speculation and the approved ratios of sounds, of the modes, genera and rhythmi of melodies, and their various commixtures, and of the verses of the poets. That the supreme object of vocal music is to lend effect to the words which are sung, thereby adding force to our speech, is an opinion very prevalent. Music, however, is in itself so unquestionably perfect a science, and thoroughly independent as an art. It has a language strangely peculiar to itself, and a universal one, with no regard to any possible form of speech; not simply its vocabulary as an art, but through it we are enabled to transmit and express certain sentiments and emotions, and also of associating and grouping ideas. Thus, its intimate connection with rhetoric is very apparent. To those who are unfamiliar with elementary principles of music and musical composition, this comparison which we have drawn will be scarcely definite. The fundamental analogy between rhetoric and music is comparatively a simple one. In all sentences, the arrangement of words will depend considerably upon the thought of the writer, or a definite idea to which the words of the sentence must bear some relation. So, also, in a musical sentence, the arrangement of notes will depend very much upon the key-note, to which, again, all of the other notes

must have a relation. But we cannot safely assert that the key-note is analogous to thought. In language we have thought ; and it exists as well in music.

A musical thought cannot, in any case, depend upon one note or tone, but upon groups or phrases of notes ; as it is again in language. The combinations of notes in phrases are infinite and inexhaustible. We observe at the present day a marked distinction between *harmony* and *melody*. The latter term signifies a succession of single sounds or notes ; in reality, any tune or air, performed by voice or instrument, being called a melody. Helmholtz, that famous acoustician, remarks that melody is the essential basis of music ; and finely-developed music, in the shape of simple melody, existed for thousands of years, and still exists, in many civilized nations, without any harmony whatever. The term *harmony*, however, is applied to combinations of various notes which, when sounded together, produce a concordance. Hauptmann drew an excellent distinction between melody and harmony. He says melody conveys essentially the idea of motion ; harmony is consistent with the idea of *rest*. Melody must go on, or it is not complete melody. In harmony, the musical idea is complete, even though it stand still.

In the art of sculpture, it is self-evident that beauty does not consist in single, individual lines, whatever their course may be. Simplicity does not consist in the variations of a solitary line, which our eye must follow from one point to another, that we may recognize its bearings. This applies with still greater force to the art of painting. Here we are afforded a remarkably clear illustration of the value of full harmony in music. The beauty of a picture, when finished, consists mainly in a suitable variety of colors, well proportioned and properly blended. In the same manner does a perfect piece of music, a composition designed to produce the grandest effects of which music is capable, require a due employment of the nicer shades and colors of sound that are produced by an appropriate introduction of the delicate intervals of semitones, or, as we know them technically, *accidentals*. Such gradual variations of tone, when they occur frequently, constitute musical phrases, which are called, with a more strict reference to their effect than was implied in the original application of the term to a certain genus of ancient music, *chromatic*, or colored passages.

Rhythm is another constituent of good music, though its presence is wanting in some kinds of chanting. The Æolian harp, which we have so often placed in our windows on a winter night, being wholly dependent upon the unsteady breeze of the atmosphere for the various melodies produced, is entirely destitute of anything like a rhythmical succession of tones.

Modern chanting, particularly that which we hear in our churches where boy-choirs are used, shows a decided neglect of rhythm. The introduction of the element of time into music is of very antique date,—in all probability, as far back as music itself. Wherever sounds or tones are sustained, such as those produced by the voice, there will of course be some time or *duration*; and this duration must have some metrical division. The best modern examples of rhythmic division will be found in our marches and dance music. Indeed, there are some kinds of dances where it is an absolute necessity that the music should fit as closely as possible to the figures. It was the rhythm of the hammers that suggested to Haendel his air of the "Harmonious Blacksmith."

The rhythm of the waves during a perillous passage at sea suggested to Rubinstein the motives of his famous "Ocean Symphony," a work so descriptive of nature, that, when hearing it, one almost experiences sea-sickness. With reference to time, we must admit that the in-born feeling for regular periodical movement is unquestionably a very natural one, though almost all who have had any practical experience in music have found that it is far from being universal. There are a great many music-teachers who know, to their discomfort, that to get the *time* of music properly attended to is the hardest part of their task. Some pupils seem almost hopelessly incapable of ever appreciating time. The fact of their being wholly unconscious of these defects, after all the pains that have been taken by the teacher to instruct them, certainly shows that some mental organizations are totally lacking in the appreciation of rhythm.

It is, indeed, surprising to see how prevalent this natural deficiency is among professional musicians. It is, of course, not in the written compositions that we discover this; but in that which is usually regarded as a test of this sense, namely, *improvisation*. Men like Weber, Schumann, Mendelssohn, and many others, were eminent in this sort of thing. Many years ago, this style of playing

was very much cultivated, but has latterly fallen into disuse. Unfortunately, our organists now-a-days do little else than *extempore* work, thus neglecting the legitimate literature of the noble instrument. Of course, in the Anglican service, the opportunity for extemporaneous playing is very frequent, but it should not so shamelessly displace everything else. Pole, an eminent writer upon this subject, comments thus : " It is a curious fact that, in by far the greater majority of such cases, the performances one hears are *entirely destitute of time or rhythm*. They consist, usually, of harmonic combinations, sequences, and progressions, strung together in a totally amorphous way, without any attempt at division or measure of any kind. This is one of the strangest phenomena in practical music. The players are often known as excellent musicians, who, in performing written music, would keep their time with the most immaculate precision ; but, when they have to 'make music' on the spur of the moment, they seem entirely to forget that this necessary element of it has any existence ! " The only possible explanation is that in these persons the *natural* sense of measured movement is wanting, and that their attention to it in a general way is only a matter of artificial education. It is probable that they are, at the time, quite unaware of the defect, and would be greatly surprised if it were remarked that what they were playing had no claim to be called music in the modern sense of the word. Piano-forte players have less frequent opportunities for *extempore* display than organists ; but in regard to them the same remark will generally apply. Let any one listen attentively to a pianist, however great, who puts his fingers in an unpremeditated way on the keys ; and in nine cases out of ten it will at once be evident that no sense of time or rhythm can be present in the player's mind. Our instruments are tuned at the present day somewhat differently from those which were used at the time of Bach. The temperament of the organ or piano was so unsuccessfully adjusted, that there were one or two keys that were very offensive to the ear when played. Bach never wrote anything in A flat ; and but one piece in its relative minor. Bach had a habit of playing on the unequally tempered organ in its worst keys, to annoy Silbermann, a famous organ-builder of his day.

BURDETT MASON.

EARLY CHRISTIAN ART. I.

“THE idea of the beautiful,” to use M. Cousin’s formula, is the basis of all art, properly so-called ; but, considered absolutely, that is to say, only with respect to its effect upon the observer, every work of art implies something more than an attempt to realize the beautiful, since it is not only the reflection of an intellectual state intensified to emotion, and competent to cause like emotional states in others, but also an expression of the constructive power possessed by the intellect. In this regard, the result is valuable, as Hegel observes, “in the ratio as the thought is more deep and comprehensive, and in the ratio as it is more clearly expressed.” Nevertheless, beauty is the chief object, as well as the true inspiration, of the artist. The fact that conceptions of the beautiful have varied with the epochs in which they found an expression in plastic modes, is a psychological one, more particularly connected with the origin of the idea itself ; and the inquiry whether beauty be strictly impersonal in its nature, an innate endowment, or, like the other contents of mind, a derivation from experience, does not at present concern us. Regarded in its entirety, however, the human intellect, interpreted by its remains, of whatever character they may be, has exhibited no essential or generic changes at any period of its development that can now be ascertained ; its fundamental structure has been always the same, and the differences to which variations in ideal standards witness, are those of degree and not of kind. Like all other products of the intelligence, art obeys the laws of mental evolution, but, unlike the others, it may be said to have already attained consummate forms of expression which criticism is competent to pronounce upon.

All æsthetic studies must be prosecuted by one of two separated but correlated methods. The artistic result may be regarded as an accomplished fact, designed to produce certain effects by awakening emotions and rendering nascent ideas of the same general type as those to which it owed its origin ; or we may study it with reference to the elaboration of the design as determined by those specialties of the artist’s environment that give to this its peculiar and individual features. Neither of these methods can be counted upon for exact results, however, since the artist’s ideal

is imperfectly revealed in the feeling its embodiment produces, and its genesis remains entangled and obscured by the complexity of the phenomena that co-operated in its realization. History affords but an imperfect basis for art criticism, and plastic forms are but untrustworthy interpreters of the past. It is true, always, that the effects produced by the action of general causes upon large aggregates during long intervals, is absolute and invariable ; but, at any given era, they will be so inextricably intermixed with the influence of particular circumstances, and with results attributable to personal traits, as to evade scrutiny and escape analysis. It has come to pass, from the undefined and uncertain character of these departments of æsthetics,—both distinct, though related,—that, notwithstanding Winklemann, Lessing, Herder and Taine have defined their provinces, they are constantly confounded with each other ; and it is often forgotten that the artist is not only the proximate agent in regard to his work, instructed and inspired by whatever can contribute to its furtherance, but that he is (from whencesoever his power,) its creator also.

It is from a historic point of view that we must survey early Christian art, because,—to speak with exactness,—during the period when religious impressions were most vivid and most powerful, “Christianity,” as Didron declares, “had no art ;” everything meriting that name was of pagan origin, and retained its classic characteristics after adoption. A nimbus cannot change the Apollo into a figure of Christ, nor an aureole convert Venus Anadyomene into the Virgin ; yet, it is undoubtedly true that, apart from mere iconographical symbols, all the works belonging to the early Church are Greek !

“*Le bon pasteur des catacombes de Rome, copié de l'Aristée ou de l'Apollon Nomios, qui figurent dans la même pose sur les sarcophages païens, port encore la flûte de Pan au milieu des quatre saisons demi-nues. Sur les tombeaux Chrétiens du cimetière de Saint Calixte, Orphée charme les animaux ; ailleurs, le Christ en Jupiter-Pluton ; Marie en Proserpine, reçoivent les âmes que leur amène, en présence de trois Parques ; Mercure coiffé du pétase et portant en main la verge du psychopompe.*” This statement, from which no authority upon the subject dissents, and whose verity is placed beyond doubt by the fac-similes of the sculptures and paintings of the catacombs published by D'Agincourt, Didron, Bosio,

etc., has usually been stated either without comment or with an insufficient one. There *must* have been some cause, equally general and persistent, at work to prevent religious enthusiasm from expressing itself in forms essentially Christian when devotional feelings were intense, and the conditions for their manifestation remained as yet unaffected by the barbarism that followed Northern invasion. Naturally, a multiplicity of factors were co-operative in *producing the artistic sterility* of the first Christian age; but among these there are two that may be discriminated as including most of the minor ones. Of these, the first was peculiar to the temper and constitution of the primitive Church, while the other is attributable to the social and political condition of the empire at large.

An explanation of the former is found in the fact that the object of art in the first epoch of Christianity was not beauty at all, but "edification and instruction." From the beginning, it expressed itself in the spirit of Sixtus' dedication of the mosaics of Sta. Maria Maggiore,—"*Xistus episcopus plebi Dei*,"—and was addressed exclusively to the *people* of God. It was the *ἱερὰ ᾠδὴς*, the sacred way for the unlearned to those new Elusinia where the initiated revealed to their acolytes the secret of everlasting life. With far more truth than Knox's famous saying—"*Plebis est religionem reformare*,"—had in his day, might it have been asserted of primitive Christianity that it was the religion of the lowly and obscure, the faith of the common people.

The feelings religious art aimed to excite by presenting to the eye designs which the most ignorant could understand, were those of devotional fervor, not of æsthetic emotion; its object was not pleasure, but purification; it was intended to uplift the heart in the midst of disaster, and to bring consolation to the afflicted when all hope but in the mercy of God had fled! A horror of the demon-haunted emblems of that religion whose effigies surrounded them; the dread of falling into idolatry; a contempt for the body, as inclosing the evil principles inherent in matter, and the ascetic tendency so soon manifested in the Church,—all contributed to impress a suggestive and conventional character upon Christian art. Added to these influences were the powerful and ever-present feeling of personal insecurity, the constant need of preparation for confession or martyrdom, and the frequent severance of life's dearest ties. Hence, it was habitual in the believer

to regard life as but the precursor, the initiatory vigil that preceded death, and it became his daily endeavor to weaken its attachments. To so great an extent was this carried, that it was customary for Christians to count as their real birth-day that one upon which they took leave of the earth forever.

Accustomed to sorrow, and connecting his distress with the circumstances whence all the art he regarded as pure derived its subjects for its illustration, it followed inevitably that the æsthetic faculty remained in abeyance, and whatever of passion or inspiration the Christian possessed expressed itself in modes that stand far apart from those due to impressions of beauty. More than this, Paganism had already appropriated whatever of the beautiful lay within the grasp of human capacity, and had rendered its ideals in forms of unapproachable perfection. The believer might well turn from these lovely creations in despair, as much as repugnance, and in the hopelessness of rivalry occupy himself with thoughts which the heathen could not share—with contemplations of an ideal excellence in conduct, and with visions of the ineffable glories of heaven that were to be its reward. All objective realities grew dim and doubtful to minds absorbed in meditations like these. There could be no place for artistic feeling among men to whom light was but the shadow of God, and all the freshness and fairness of the earth no more than transitory and illusive suggestions of that other and unseen world, where all their hopes were garnered. Unless we assume that the profession of a supernaturally instituted religion conferred upon its proselytes a supernatural immunity from the influences the environment always exercises upon mankind, we must look to general circumstances for any explanation of the anomalous fact that so great, so radical and so sweeping a revolution as was wrought by Christianity during the first four centuries, produced nothing whatever in the way of art, and this, too, at a period when the necessity for representing whatever was worshipped was beginning to make itself felt among believers,—while yet classic culture remained unexpunged, and when the masterpieces of the past still stood undefaced around them.

The anti-naturalistic tendency of the Church has been already noticed, but, besides this and beyond her pale, there were causes that contributed in the highest degree towards æsthetic apathy.

Christian art had its origin in what Milman most appropriately calls "the age of obscurity." The ecclesiastical history of the first two centuries has always been the despair of scholars, both on account of the paucity of its records and their unsatisfactory character. This age "mumbleth something to the inquirer, but what it is he heareth not," and we must be content to decipher such lineaments as remain uneffaced, and reconstruct its lost features according to the measure of our ability.

Apart from religious considerations, and considered altogether as a historical question, the origin and early progress of Christianity present one of the most important of all possible problems in the scientific study of mental evolution. Schaff affirms that "the church is a human society, subject to the laws of history; to genesis, growth and development;" but those will search in vain who expect to find any work, of any age, that fulfils the requirements involved in this statement. Possibly, if Merivale had carried his original intention into effect, (an intention scarcely realized in the "Boyle Lectures,") many a blank that the conspicuous disregard of the historic method shown by ecclesiastical writers has left, might have been filled. As it is, the annals of this era are so doubtful and fragmentary, that many doctrines now regarded as fundamental find no justification in history, and so remain as dogmatic formulas, accepted or rejected by equally competent and sincere inquirers, according to the temper and predilections of their minds. What results may follow a thorough study of the Nitrian MSS., and how much light will be thrown upon this dark period by the inscriptions collected by Mommsen, De Rossi and Boëckh, cannot be certainly known; but at present anything like a clear view of what Balzac calls "*la tableau de la société moulée sur la vif, avec tout son bien et tout son mal,*" is impossible.

(Conclusion in November number.)

UNIVERSITY ITEMS.

THE Department of Arts and the Towne Scientific School opened this year with larger classes than ever before. The Seniors number 28 and 28* (respectively); the Juniors 38 and 40*; the Sophomores 40 and 40; and the Freshmen 43 and 51. A very much larger number of students were examined for admission, but some were found unprepared, and others (as always happens,) failed to appear when the term opened.

The Sophomores (T. S. S.) are in two divisions,—those who last year elected a five years' course, and those who then elected a four years' course. The former next year will be Sub-juniors and the latter Juniors. Thenceforward, the School will each year have five classes, two in which the instruction is general, and three in which it is chiefly special. The large five years' Freshmen class shows that the Trustees acted wisely in lengthening the course,—an important factor in the question whether to enter a boy at the Towne School being now out of the way, viz.: *Could he stand the severe work of the four years' course?* The work will henceforward be light enough for even a student of not robust health to do safely.

The instruction in history, while the John Welsh Professorship is vacant, is temporarily provided for. Dr. Krauth assumes the most important part of it for this half-year; and it is hoped that an instructor in history and English may be appointed, in order that both departments may be materially extended.

The "Sixth Course" in the Towne Scientific School, that of "Studies Preparatory to Medicine," has attracted a number of special students, in addition to the "regulars," who are candidates for a degree, and, doubtless, in the future, as it becomes better known, will draw a yet larger number.

In every way, indeed, the prospects of the Towne School and the Arts Department are good. Plans are in process of discussion for enlargements and extensions, and the near future will, undoubtedly, bring with it important steps that cannot but lead the University to yet higher ground.

* Including special students.

The following appointments have just been made in the Department of Arts and the Towne Scientific School: Mr. Carl Hering, as Instructor in Mechanics and Librarian; Mr. Lawrence B. Fletcher, A. M., Ph. D., (Johns Hopkins,) as Assistant in Physics; and Assistant Engineer Henry W. Spangler, U. S. N., as Instructor in Naval Architecture.

The Wharton School of Finance and Economy opens with a class of eight,—two regular students of the Sub-junior year and six special students. A large number of inquiries about the School have been received, and the class may, therefore, reasonably be expected to be larger.

The preliminary autumn courses in the Medical and Dental Departments also opened with increased classes, and the indications are that the first year classes in these departments will exceed those of last year.

The effect of the preliminary examination now exacted by these departments of all who do not present a degree in Arts or Sciences, or from some reputable high school, or the examining board of a county medical society, is working well in securing students of higher education, in every sense qualified to begin professional studies.

P. H. Hickman (B. S., 1873,) has been elected Professor of Mathematics at Racine College, Wisconsin, and entered upon his duties last month.

The introductory address of the session of 1881-82 of the Law Department will be delivered by William Henry Rawle, Esq., of Philadelphia, on Monday, October 3d, at 4.30 P. M., in the chapel of the University.

These introductory addresses for the past few years have formed an important and noteworthy feature of the Law Department exercises. Delivered, as they have been, by some of our most distinguished jurists and lawyers, both State and national, they have attracted the attention of the community and given to the opening exercises an importance they have long deserved. The position has become one of honor, and the choice of Mr. Rawle this year—a

year which gives promise of being one of the most successful in the history of the Department,—was but a recognition of his distinguished merit as a lawyer and a scholar.

The reputation and size of this department of the University has been steadily increasing, as year by year it has become to be admitted that the school system is the most thorough and systematic method of training for the bar. A department of one of our largest and best-known universities, situated in a city renowned for the elevated tone and learning of its legal profession, it is but reasonable to expect that its rapidly growing importance will soon give it rank second to none in the land.

There will be a meeting of the Faculty of the Law Department held this week, to determine upon a time for the re-examination of the gentlemen conditionally passed at the spring examinations, of whom in all there were some twenty odd.

The first regular lecture in the fall course will be delivered by Professor Mitchell on Tuesday, October 4th, at 4.30 P. M., in the lecture-room of the Department.

The race for the "challenge cup" offered by Mr. George W. Childs, for competition between crews of undergraduates from the University, Columbia and Princeton, was rowed this year upon the Schuylkill on July 5th, and was, we regret to say, a failure.

There were several contributory causes to this result. One, and perhaps the most potent, reason for the lack of spectators was the condition of the public spirits upon that sad Tuesday. Men were in no mood to witness a boat-race while the President hovered between life and death. In addition, however, it was generally understood that there was to be no race. The committee representing the three colleges had got to "loggerheads" over the "eligibility" of members of the crews, and the matter had been allowed to degenerate into a disgraceful wrangle in the newspapers.

Shortly stated, the facts are these: A majority of the Regatta Committee of the University insisted on retaining in the boat a member of the crew who in 1879 had hailed from the Department of Arts, in 1880 from the Law Department, and in 1881 from the Medical Department.

It was perfectly evident to everyone that these changes had been made simply to enable him to comply with the letter of Mr. Childs' qualifications for the contesting crews.

The gentleman's name does not appear upon the rolls of the Law Department in 1880, and he therefore had no right to a place in that crew. It was not surprising, therefore, that letters were received from both Columbia and Princeton, some months before the race this year, entering formal protests against his presence a third time from a third department of the University. On May 20, 1881, at a meeting in New York, Mr Gilpin, one of the graduate members of the Committee, gave an assurance that the gentleman in question would positively not row this year.

For some reason, however, he matriculated in the Medical Department within a week after this date, and was then announced as the stroke oar of the crew.

Immediate opposition was manifested, both by the other colleges and by older Alumni of the University who would have much preferred to see their *Alma Mater* lose the race without her crack oar, rather than win it at the loss of her fair name.

An article in the September number of the *University Magazine*, and, therefore, presumably giving voice to the opinion of the undergraduates, shows a very unfortunate misconception of the matter. It is sincerely to be regretted that such a low tone of morals should apparently be guiding the men to whom the University must look to gain her laurels in the race.

It is fortunate for the University that the *University Magazine* has a limited circulation among the well-wishers of the institution; otherwise, the opprobrious language with which it has seen fit to attack Mr. Patterson and Mr. Gilpin would recoil very heavily upon the editors of that sheet. Mr. Patterson and Mr. Gilpin are too well known, all the facts are too well known, and, we are sorry to add, the regret of all the Alumni is too well known, to need more than an assurance to the undergraduates, and to the powers that be in the boating circles of the University, that the actions of Mr. Patterson and Mr. Gilpin have received unqualified endorsement from the older Alumni.

For the credit of our *Alma Mater*, we hope that next year's crew will be selected with a greater eye to her honor than her chances of winning the race for the Childs Cup.

BRIEF MENTION.

ON the evening of the 19th of September, 1881, James A. Garfield, the President of the United States, died at Long Branch. Neither faithful and devoted nursing, skilful medical and surgical attendance, nor the hopes and prayers of a nation, could avail to save his life. And now the nation mourns as one man. From Maine to Texas, and from the Atlantic to the Pacific, each sex, every age, all creeds, and all political parties, unite in giving expression to a very real sorrow for the murdered President; and the rulers and the peoples of all civilized countries join with us in sympathy. We mourn not merely the President, the elected Chief Magistrate of our country,—a blow at whom was an assault upon our free institutions and a personal injury to every citizen of the Republic,—but we mourn also the man whose patient endurance during weary weeks of suffering, and whose resolute courage in the face of death, had rightly aroused popular enthusiasm. Standing by his open grave, we cannot enter upon an analysis of his character, for, in the awful shadow of his loss, criticism, even the most friendly, is hushed. Yet in Mr. Garfield's career there is much to challenge admiration and command respect,—his early struggles with adverse circumstances, his true and real self-education, his gallant and faithful service in the army, his Congressional career, where his force and courtesy in debate and his intellectual liberality and breadth of view won the respect of his political opponents, his scholarly culture, his advocacy of national questions upon grounds better and higher than those of mere political expediency, his firm resistance in his Presidential administration to Senatorial usurpation and dictation, and his efforts to effect a real and lasting reform of the civil service. Upon these elements of his career it is now a source both of pride and grief to dwell. Of pride, that the man whose public life presented these salient points rose in our day above the dreary level of American politics, and attained to the highest office in the gift of the people; of grief, that a career of such promise has been so suddenly, and, to all human view, so prematurely, cut off.

And this, to-day, is the bitterness of the national sorrow. We mourn, most of all, the President who would have risen from his

sick-bed chastened and purified by suffering and supported by a strength and fervor of popular sympathy that would have made him no longer the representative of one political party, but the leader of the whole people in a larger and better sense than any President of the United States has ever been. But it was not to be. And now the Vice-President has, in obedience to the law, become President. It is only under an absolute despotism, where the will of the monarch is the law of the land, that the death of a ruler and the accession of his successor necessarily involves a national convulsion. Even in a limited monarchy, the peaceful and orderly succession of rulers is expressed by the cry: "The King is dead! Long live the King!" Still more where, as in a republic, the power and duty of the Chief Magistrate extends only to the enforcement of the Constitution and the laws, and the administration of the government under them, the death of that officer, under whatever circumstances of sorrow, and the entry into office of his lawful successor, ought not to be in any sense a national crisis. The same popular vote which made Mr. Garfield President, cast upon Mr. Arthur the duty of assuming the Presidency in case of Mr. Garfield's death during his term of office. In their appeal for popular approval, they stood upon the same platform. President Arthur has entered upon the performance of the duties of his high office under circumstances of peculiar solemnity, whose true meaning he has not been slow to read. In his brief inaugural address he has in fitting terms referred to the leading principles of his great predecessor's administration, and he has said that which the country has been quick to hear,—that it will be his earnest endeavor to profit by Mr. Garfield's example and experience. In his administration of the government upon those principles, he ought to and will receive the obedience and support of all law-abiding citizens.

Yet the country, standing in the shadow of its great sorrow, may well ask itself the question: Why is it, that, within the narrow limits of less than half a human generation, it has twice befallen us that the President of this free republic has fallen before the pistol of an assassin? The answer is obvious. President Lincoln was a victim to the evil passions which the Civil War had excited. President Garfield was as truly a victim to the spoils system. A wretch, unfit for any trust, public or private, but shrewd enough to perceive that public offices were no longer regarded as sacred

trusts, but were treated as the spoils of political warfare, to be distributed among the victors as the rewards of partisan or personal services, disappointed in his demand for office, struck down the President, who to him was nothing better nor higher than the chief distributor of patronage. The country owes it to its own fair fame, and to its future peace and security, that there should never be another Guiteau; but the only way to make that certain is to destroy the system which made Guiteau's crime possible.

What the civil service of the country should be, can be briefly stated. Every citizen, whatever his birth, former nationality, religious creed, or political affiliations, should have an equal opportunity of offering himself for the service of the Government, and the Government should have an unrestricted liberty of choice among all of its citizens. The tenure of office should be during good behavior, and "good behavior" should be held to mean the faithful performance of duty to the Government, and not the rendering of partisan or personal service. To sum it up, in President Arthur's words: "The rules which should be applied to the management of the public service, should conform in the main to such as regulate the conduct of successful private business."

How different this is from the present condition of our civil service, we all know. The un-democratic, un-republican practice prevails of arbitrarily selecting the appointees from political or personal favorites. The tenure of office is at the pleasure of political superiors. The condition of retention is the performance of partisan or personal services. The employés are subject to political assessments. And from all this results political demoralization and corruption.

That this system is evil and must be reformed, has been officially found and declared by Presidents Grant, Hayes and Garfield.

President Lincoln's monument is the abolition of slavery. What nobler monument can we build to President Garfield than the reformation of the civil service and the restoration of political purity?
C. S. P.

James Starr died on the 2d of September last. Born in Philadelphia on the 19th of July, 1837, he was graduated at Harvard in 1859, and he studied law in the office and under the direction of the late Peter McCall, who was for many years one of the leaders

of the bar of Philadelphia. The polished courtesy of Mr. McCall manner was the expression of a pure and chivalrous nature, and his thorough and accurate knowledge of legal literature, history, and principles, made him an admirable preceptor. It is high but well deserved praise to say that Colonel Starr was a fitting representative of that school of legal and ethical instruction.

On the 6th of October, 1860, Colonel Starr was called to the bar; but his legal studies were soon interrupted by the war. No soldier ever drew sword with more enthusiasm. He had a deep and earnest conviction of the righteousness of the nation's cause, and he enlisted because, and only because, to him the call to arms was that of honor and duty. He first saw service in the three months' campaign of 1861, in the ranks of the 17th Pennsylvania Infantry. On the expiration of that enlistment, he was commissioned as captain in the 6th Pennsylvania Cavalry, and on the 14th of October, 1864, he was, as its major, honorably mustered out with his regiment. His brother officers well knew how largely he aided in securing for that gallant regiment its most creditable record. He was also, by special detail, attached to the staff of General Hooker at Chancellorville, and to that of General Meade at Gettysburg. In every capacity, whether as aid-de-camp, line officer, or commanding officer of his regiment, he deserved and received the willing obedience and respect of his subordinates and the approval and commendation of his superior officers. He was successively brevetted Lieutenant-Colonel and Colonel for "meritorious and gallant conduct," and he had the honor of receiving General Sheridan's thanks on the field of Huntley's Farm. Though constantly at the front, and actively participating in the dangers of cavalry service, he had the good fortune to escape injury, save in the Wilderness Campaign, where he was severely wounded.

Upon his return to the bar, he quietly settled down to the dull routine of professional study and work, and in the practice of his profession he exhibited the same qualities which had won his military distinction, and which, had he lived longer, would have established his professional reputation. Alike as a soldier and a lawyer, he was conspicuous for a high sense of honor, sound judgment, and earnest, faithful and thorough performance of duty. Nor did his profession absorb all his energies. He retained his

interest in military matters, and he put to practical use, in the re-organization of the State militia, the knowledge and experience which he had gained in active service. He took also a keen and lively interest in politics, and he labored faithfully in the cause of national and municipal reform.

And yet, withal, so modest was he, that but few people really knew him. During the war, when at home on the infrequent leaves of absence which his sense of duty would permit him to ask, he would never wear the military dress. Then, or after the peace, though he would talk with interest of the history of the war, and with enthusiasm of the military career or services of other, and often less distinguished, officers, no word would fall from his lips to indicate that he had ever done anything that merited honor. At the bar, with generous warmth, he praised others who were more fortunate, but not more deserving, and he requested that, after his death, that meeting of the Philadelphia bar which is usually held as a mark of respect to a lawyer dying in active practice, should be omitted.

What he was in less public relations of life—how faithful, devoted and true he was to those who were nearest and dearest to him,—cannot be told here. To them his loss is a sorrow beyond words.

In the days to come, to some of us there will be often times when we will grievously mourn for that encouraging companionship, that enthusiasm for truth and right, and that cool, clear judgment, which were always to be found in James Starr; and, as we think of him and of others who have gone before, there will recur to us those words of James Russell Lowell, in that noblest poem of our day, the "Harvard Commemoration Ode," where, speaking of those other sons of Harvard, who fell in the war, he says:

" Virtue treads paths that end not in the grave,
 No ban of endless night exiles the brave;
 And to the saner mind,
 We rather seem the dead that stayed behind.
 Blow, trumpets, all your exultation blow!
 For never shall their aureoled presence lack;
 I see them muster in a gleaming row,
 With ever-youthful brows that nobler show;
 We find in our dull road their shining track,
 In every nobler mood,

“ We feel the orient of their spirit glow,
 Part of our life's unalterable good,
 Of all our saintlier aspiration :
 They come transfigured back,
 Secure from change in their high-hearted ways,
 Beautiful evermore, and with the rays
 Of morn on their white shields of expectation.”

C. S. P.

The city of Philadelphia has, according to the census of 1880, a population of eight hundred and forty-six thousand nine hundred and eighty persons, of whom more than two hundred thousand are, in one capacity or another, employed in industrial labor. The capital invested in manufacturing business exceeds one hundred and eighty millions of dollars. There are more than one hundred and forty-five thousand dwelling-houses within the area of more than one hundred and twenty-seven square miles, which is comprised within the consolidated city. Intra-urban transit is of great practical importance to such a city. It is obvious that those means of public communication which were ample twenty or thirty years ago, may be inadequate now. The omnibus has yielded to the surface railway, with cars drawn by horse-power. Shall they, in their turn, yield to underground or elevated railways operated by steam-power ?

It has been in the past the great boast of our city that every workman could have his own roof over his head, and that those who are the bone and sinew of the community are not penned like cattle in tenement-houses, to the great detriment of their health and their morals, but have their own quiet, private homes. To this, much of the exceptional morality and prosperity of the city has been due. This system of homes began when Philadelphia was a village, and when its homes and places of business were concentrated within a small compass. But that Philadelphia is no longer a village, but is a great city, is conclusively shown by the facts and figures we have stated. In order that this system of homes should be preserved and maintained, and should not give way to tenement-houses, it is essential that there should be some means of rapid transit from the suburbs to the centre of the city, safer and more speedy, and less liable to be blockaded by snow in winter, or to be retarded by temporary obstructions of traffic at any time. It

needs no argument to show that, if there be an increase of the distance, that the man, laboring with hands or brains, can daily travel for a fixed cost and without impairment of his mental and bodily energies, and that, if there be an enlargement of the circle from which the merchant, the manufacturer and the shop-keeper draw their customers and their employés, there must result great benefit to the trade of the city, and a development and increase of its material prosperity. Therefore, on the part of employers and employés, there is a natural demand for more rapid transit.

The revenue of the city must now, and in the future, be raised by taxation. The Constitutional limit of its debt has been reached. We cannot now saddle posterity with the load of our extravagance. Each year must henceforth bear not only its own burden, but also a by no means light portion of the burden which past maladministration has laid upon our shoulders.

The taxable value of real property in the central wards is not rising, but falling, and, in order that the net proceeds of taxation may be kept up to their present figure, the taxable value of the outlying wards must be increased. This can only be done by increasing the real value, and to accomplish that we must bring those wards nearer to the centre. For that, rapid transit is our only resource. Again, the franchise of an intra-urban railroad for the transportation of passengers, or freight, or both, whether it be built underground, on the surface, or elevated, is a very valuable one. No such franchise will now be granted, save upon an adequate pecuniary consideration moving to the city, and with such reservations as will constitute the exercise of the franchise a subject of municipal taxation.

Rapid transit will, therefore, doubly aid the city's finances by increasing the taxable value of private property and by creating a new and productive subject of taxation.

Who are the objectors, and what are their objections?

First, there are those conservatives who object to everything that is new. There have always been such objectors in every country, and at every time, to every new improvement, however desirable and even indispensable it has afterwards seemed to be.

Stage-coaches, steam-railways, steam-ships, and street railways have each, in their turn, been objected to by those who predicted that public and private ills would follow their introduction and

operation ; but they have severally triumphed over those who opposed them. Within our day, in our own city, leading citizens, some of whom are now living, protested against the introduction of gas pipes into our streets and houses, and pointed out the destruction of life and property that would surely follow.

In the light of past experience, the fact that any proposed improvement is new, and that it is opposed either by conservative or interested objectors, cannot be regarded as necessarily fatal to it.

Next, the passenger railway companies object. Not unnaturally, they are selfish, and they do not like competition. Yet their franchises are not exclusive as against the State nor as against the State's grantees. Nor, on moral grounds, are those companies entitled to much consideration. They have not been considerate of the rights and just demands of the city and its citizens. They have, for from twenty to twenty-five years, been in the enjoyment of valuable franchises, for which they paid nothing to the State, and upon whose exercise they have been very lightly taxed. Lastly, the owners of property on any street over or under which the new road will pass, will object. If the road be elevated, they will insist that their houses will be deprived of light and air, be injuriously affected by noise, and that those houses will be diminished in value. The amount of injury by deprivation of light and air will, of course, depend upon the width of the street and the degree of proximity of the railway superstructure to the front of the houses on each side. In a very narrow street, there will be some injury in this way. In a wide street, such as Market Street, if the superstructure be in the middle of the street, the injury from that source will be very slight. As to the noise, it is to be said that the business streets of a great city are not secluded country lanes, whose silence is broken by the foot-fall of a passer-by. They are great arteries, where the tide of commerce surges and where the hum of traffic is ceaseless. Besides, most of the streets are now occupied by street railways, whose cars are not noiseless. The annoyance by noise, therefore, is not to be considered absolutely, but relatively to the additional quantity of noise made by the elevated railway teams passing over a street crowded with carriages, drays and passenger cars.

It is by no means certain that the apprehended depreciation in the value of properties on the line of streets occupied by elevated

railways will follow. In New York, the values of properties on wide streets (such as the Sixth Avenue,) have been, for business purposes, increased, not diminished, by the presence of the elevated railway.

Prior to the adoption of the Constitution of 1874, there would have been more force in the objection of depreciation in the value of property and injury to it by noise, and the diminution of its natural and necessary quantity of light and air, because there was then no remedy if a man's land were injured, but not actually taken, by a corporation in the exercise of its charter powers; but, under the just provisions of the Constitution of 1874, every corporation since then created or brought under its operation must make compensation for all the injuries which it causes by the construction of its road.

It is true that no man's property can be taken for a public use, save upon condition of making just compensation; but it is equally true that every man owns his property, subject to the right of eminent domain. Does not the safe and rapid transit of its citizens through the limits of the city demand the exercise of the right of eminent domain?

Every man whose property is taken or injured should be fully and fairly compensated; but no man, nor any set of men, should be allowed to selfishly obstruct, hinder or defeat this great public improvement.

It is, of course, essential that the charter powers of the corporation that is to build and operate the road should be ample for the accomplishment of its purpose, and yet not so ample as to infringe upon the just rights of the public, or to exempt it from proper governmental control; and it is equally essential that its officers should be experienced and intelligent railroad men, that in its construction and operation the lessons which the history of the elevated railways of New York teaches may be taken to heart, and that Philadelphia's rapid transit may be based upon the application of correct principles of railway management.

NEW BOOKS.

LIFE OF VOLTAIRE. By James Parton. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Company, 1881. 8vo. 2 vols. Pp. viii, 639+653. Illustrations.

The work before us is one of the unnecessary products of the press. A life of "the most extraordinary of Frenchmen, and one of the most extraordinary of human beings," as Mr. Parton, in his preface, very properly calls Voltaire, was not needed at the present time. If proof of this position is required, it will be found in the man's well-known life, and in Appendix I., at the end of the first volume of this biography, where is given a "list of publications relating to Voltaire and to his works, arranged according to the dates of publication, so far as known, and with their titles translated into English." This list contains *four hundred and twenty-eight* entries, the majority of which are, as might be expected from his life and character, antagonistic to the subject. From these works, the ten thousand published letters of Voltaire and the fifty thousand printed pages of his composition, Mr. Parton tells us, he has compiled his two-volume biography, which could easily have been comprised in one, had the vast amount of extraneous matter and the intrusive sensual details which have crept into the book been rigidly excluded.

François-Marie Arouet, who assumed, at the age of twenty-four, the name of Voltaire, by which alone history remembers him, was born at Paris, November 21, 1694, and there he died, May 30, 1778, in his eighty-fourth year. Of a fragile constitution from his birth, it was not expected that he would live to manhood; yet he cumbered the earth and annoyed his contemporaries for the best part of an eventful century. His father was a notary, a position of much importance in France, and destined this child, his youngest, for the bar. His mother died when he was seven, and neither parent seems to have exerted much influence in the formation of the child's character. This seems to have been left, strangely, to his god-father, the Abbé de Châteauneuf, a dissolute and impious priest, who early instilled into the mind of his ward those germs of immorality and unbelief which were carefully nurtured through youth to decrepit age. This training was not calculated to be overcome or neutralized by his education at the Jesuit College of Louis le Grand, where a youth of his precocious intellect could easily see through the insincerity of the teachings of the sect. The period of his youth, as will be recalled, was the epoch of the greatest religious intolerance and bigotry in France, when the Jesuits ruled the nation with that unscrupulous ardor which has to this day made the name the synonym for every unprincipled,

deceitful and crafty act. Voltaire's life was one of constant warring against the Jesuits and their influence. Yet who could be more thoroughly and entirely a Jesuit than he? What was his life, but a lie, from the beginning to the end? Here is the doctrine upon which he acted: "Lying is a vice only when it does harm; it is a very great virtue when it does good. Be, then, more virtuous than ever. It is necessary to lie like a devil; not timidly, not for a time, but boldly and always." (Vol. I., p. 339.) And what does the reader think is Mr. Parton's comment on this advice? "This we might accept, if he had only laid down an infallible rule, adapted to average human capacity, for distinguishing between lies that do good and lies that do harm." It may be difficult to answer the oft-asked problem, "What is truth?" But there certainly is no difficulty in determining that there is no moral difference *between lies that do good and lies that do harm.*

Voltaire was as debased a wretch as ever walked upon the earth; for he was possessed of intellect, education and intelligence, yet he degraded his manhood in almost every action of his life. He was a trifle in all things. He was a hypocrite of the worst stamp, and dared to do what the most vicious would have shrunk from. He loudly proclaimed his faith in the existence of God, but denied with equal vehemence the immortality of the soul. He professed belief in the church of his fathers, pretended to make confession, and then deliberately demanded and partook of the most holy sacrament, built a church and sought benefits from the Pope,—all at the very time that he was most strenuous in his efforts to break down religion and overthrow Christianity. He avowed his admiration for the marriage state; yet for sixteen years he lived in open and notorious disregard of it with Madame du Châtelet at her *château*. What good lesson can such a life teach, and what benefit can be derived from publishing anew its story? Is it that he was a great writer? True, he issued two hundred and sixty-five separate publications during his life, and his collected works were published in ninety-seven volumes, in 1834. But, while these writings exist, do they live? Certainly not. Excepting the *History of Charles XII.*, which is used, for the purity of its idiom, as a school-book for students of the French language, what work of Voltaire is familiar to the reading public of to-day? The reason for this is that he and his works are wholly of the past, never to be revived. The majority of his prose writings were mere ephemeral publications, suited for the day and hour when they appeared; and those that, from their subject, might claim recognition in matters of history are wholly unreliable, so untrue was he in all things. His plays, too, are of the past, and his poems are of mediocrity, and all of them are flavored with his effete views. There was very little originality in Voltaire, excepting his wit, which

was keen and merciless; and he is better known by his axioms and his epigrams than by anything else that escaped from his pen. He discovered nothing, he did nothing, he said nothing, that man is any the better for. He was essentially a dabbler; and such a vain dabbler was he, that he affected to despise all men of learning who were not dabblers, too. He advocated "a varied culture," and professed to undervalue the man of one talent. Thus, when he was endeavoring to comprehend Newton, he said he should have venerated him the more if he had written some *vaudevilles* for the London stage. (Vol. I., p. 363.)

Voltaire's mainspring of action was his overweening, insatiable vanity. It crops out everywhere,—in youth, manhood and old age. This fault of his hero, Mr. Parton does not conceal any more than he attempts to veil the more glaring and hideous defects of Voltaire's character and life. Neither does Mr. Parton appear openly as Voltaire's apologist. He rather tries to throw such a glamour around his life, that it shall imperceptibly appear as a halo, and doubtless many readers will think Voltaire a much-abused man when they have finished a perusal of these volumes. This biography is an entertaining and readable book, as all of Mr. Parton's writings are, for, being a professional book-maker, he early earned the facility of imparting this quality to all of his publications. It seems to us that the best criticism that can be expressed upon this work is the one given by the historian Prescott upon its subject's *History of Charles XII.*: "It bears much resemblance to the gossiping memoir-writing of the nation, with little regard to historic dignity. It has, however, the great requisite in a work meant to be popular,—that of interest." These words fit Mr. Parton's present work exactly.

As a literary composition, the work is singularly defective in many ways. The translation of the numerous French proverbs, and the rendering of Voltaire's epigrammatic verses into English prose, take away from both much of their "pith and marrow." Then, there are many inelegant phrases and jarring expressions, together with needless repetitions, the latter resulting alone from gross carelessness. Thus, on page 459, (Vol. I.,) we read: "The death of Cardinal de Fleury, January 29, 1743, had created a vacancy" in the French Academy, and, on the very next page, "The death of Cardinal de Fleury in January, 1743, made a chair vacant," etc. The chapters have the great merit of brevity, and are so arranged that one can be read satisfactorily by itself in a desultory and agreeable manner. Mr. Parton's own sentiment concerning Voltaire's *Ecrases l'Infâme*, can be deduced from his opinion on Victor Hugo's oration at the centenary of Voltaire's death. We all remember it. Mr. Parton calls it "the most Christian thing spoken on earth since the dying Christ said 'They know not what they do.'" .

The volumes are beautifully printed on good paper, and embellished with two portraits of Voltaire and other illustrations. In addition to the catalogue of publications on Voltaire, there is a chronological list of his works, so far as known, with the titles translated into English, which latter innovation we cannot approve, as the title of a book should always be given in its own language. To complete the usefulness of the work, a good index is appended.

BRIEF BUT COMPLETE HISTORY OF ENGLAND, FRANCE AND GERMANY, GIVING THE CONTEMPORANEOUS SOVEREIGNS, LITERARY CHARACTERS AND SOCIAL PROGRESS OF EACH CENTURY, FROM THE ROMAN CONQUEST TO THE PRESENT DAY. By Mary E. Kelly. Philadelphia: E. Claxton & Co., 1881.

Of late years, the old popular idea that the study of history is for the most part a committing to memory of names and dates, intermingled with a few dry facts, has been exploded, and the higher duty is recognized of making it the means of tracing the rise and fall of the individual, as well as of the nation. It is upon the private character of a people that the welfare of a nation must depend, and a derogation in the former must be followed by the consequent downfall of the latter. To the legislator and the jurist, the importance of such study cannot be overestimated; and, indeed, there is no one who may not feel the beneficial influence of it.

The proper study of man is mankind,—if we may be allowed to invert the aphorism,—and what better field can be found than that of true history, which includes not only the political complications, but, what is really of more importance, the gradual development of the social and literary life of mankind,—a fact which was so well recognized by Lord Macaulay? Not that names and dates are not well enough in their way, but that they should be accorded a secondary place. It is of far more importance that one should know the causes which led to the French Revolution, than that he should be able to state the exact year of the accession to the throne of Louis XVI.

Laboring under that most difficult of literary tasks,—the making of an interesting abstract of history,—Miss Kelly has kept the above facts clearly in view. Names and dates are at hand, it is true, but kept separate as far as possible from the text; and, while political occurrences are not neglected, social and literary progress is thrown into prominence. She has succeeded in condensing into a handy quarto volume of eighty-six pages the history of England, France and Germany, from the Roman conquest to the present day. There are three columns to a page, each column being devoted to a nation, so that at a glance the contemporaneous events may be seen which occur in the sister countries. As is to be expected in a condensation, the composition is a trifle broken in its

style, but all matters of importance seem to have been included, and are, so far as our examination goes, correctly stated. The work will be found very convenient, particularly as a book of ready reference, both for schools and families.

BENJAMIN'S CHALMERS' DIGEST OF THE LAW OF BILLS OF EXCHANGE, PROMISSORY NOTES AND CHECKS. By M. D. Chalmers, M. A., Barrister-at-Law. Rewritten and adapted to the Law as it exists in the United States, by W. B. Benjamin, A. M. Callaghan & Co., Chicago, 1881.

The student of law, or any student who aims at excellency, should keep in mind the time honored maxim, *melior est petere fontes quam sectari rivulos*. Not only will he who seeks the fountain-head and drinks of the clear water of leading principle, avoid swallowing much that is flat, stale and unprofitable, but he will the better learn to distinguish the streams that flow from the pure springs of knowledge, from the muddy surface-drainage of false or mistaken teachings.

Nevertheless, in the practical conduct of his profession, the lawyer is forced to be more or less familiar with the current of great masses of ever-changing modern decisions in a great variety of tribunals. The multiplication of *reports* of legal decisions has become a serious evil in the way of the systematic and orderly study of the law as a science. With the increase of commerce, trade and wealth, and the facilities for intercommunication among mankind, has grown up a complicated and almost endless variety of relationship between men in their dealings undreamed of in earlier days; and daily new questions arise which at first sight cannot easily be settled by reference to any well-admitted principle of law. Hence, the necessity for litigation and the ever-swelling flood of new decisions. It might be supposed that in self-defence the courts of each kingdom and commonwealth would be compelled to heed only their own statute laws and decisions, and to ignore all others. But as the markets of the civilized world are yearly bound closer by the spread of commerce and actual interchange of inhabitants, and business dealings between people of States widely distant become more frequent, it becomes more important, and there is a constant effort, to make the mercantile law of the different States and nations as uniform as possible. Hence, the decisions of learned tribunals in all great commercial and financial countries on novel points and questions are studied with interest in all others. To bring within reach of the practicing lawyer, and also (according to the American editor,) of the student, in a condensed and easily accessible form, as much as possible of the law of Great Britain, Continental Europe and the American States, in relation to negotiable paper, is the object of the work before us.

The book is divided into 286 short articles, each containing the condensed statement of a separate point. These are followed, when necessary in the opinion of the author, by explanations, notes and illustrations. Thus:

"ART. 71.—No person is liable as a party to a bill whose signature is not on it."

"ILLUSTRATIONS.

"I. A., who is agent for X., draws a bill in his own name upon B., payable to C. C. knows that A. is only an agent. A. alone is liable as the drawer of this bill. X. is not."

"NOTE.—Bills form an exception to the ordinary rule that, when a contract is made by an agent in his own name, evidence is admissible to charge the undisclosed principle, though not to discharge the agent, etc."

"Explanation 1.—The term person includes firm, company and corporation."

The foot-notes containing the authorities by which the propositions in the text are supported, contain many citations from the German Exchange Law and French Codes, as well as of English and American decisions. To quote from Mr. Chalmers' introduction: "When the subject matter of an article of this Digest is dealt with by the French *Code de Commerce*, or the *German General Exchange Law, 1849*, their respective provisions are compared. If they agree, a mere reference to the corresponding sections is given. If they differ, the points of difference are given in a note."

We think the work will be found of more value as a book of reference to the lawyer, than as a text-book to the student, for the reason that the conciseness on each point so valuable to the lawyer in the active preparation of a case, and necessary in a work of this scope, does not enchain the attention of the student as a more extended and argumentative style would do. To the student nothing could well be "drier" than 287 separate tersely stated articles of an average length of half a dozen lines in less than 277 pages, even when accompanied, as in this book, by numerous "illustrations." These illustrations are printed in smaller type than the main text,—a decided practical convenience. They are sometimes useful in explaining the author's meaning where the statement of the text is vague or careless. For example:

"ART. 210.—The drawee of a bill, as such, incurs no liability to the holder, and there is no privity of contract between them." This would appear like a truism (for, of course, one man cannot make another liable to a third person by directing him in writing to pay the latter a sum of money,) were it not for the illustration:

"A., having \$100 at his bankers'," (the italics are ours,) "draws a check on them for that sum in favor of C. The check is dishonored. C. has no remedy against the bankers."

The case in the illustration would very likely be a doubtful one to a person ignorant of the law.

A well-written introduction by the English author explains the plan and intention of the work, and discusses shortly the history of bills of exchange and the difference between the English and French theories of negotiable paper. According to Mr. Benjamin's preface to the American edition, "while in other particulars carrying out the plan of the author, the Articles, Explanations, etc., are statements of the law in America. The book has thus been thoroughly re-written, and the work of the editor incorporated with that of the author." Not having Mr. Chalmers' original work at hand, we can express no opinion on the wisdom of this unusual action, and treat the American edition as a new work.

The index is good—a matter of vital importance in the use of any work of the kind.

We think the book will be a very useful one to the active practitioner of mercantile law; and it would be by no means uninteresting to the man of business.

THE AMERICAN JEWISH PULPIT. A COLLECTION OF SERMONS BY THE MOST EMINENT AMERICAN RABBIS. Bloch & Co. 1881. Pp. 242.

In this little book, twenty-six sermons by Jewish Rabbis of our day are put together by an unnamed collector, without any discernible method. Naturally, no claim to completeness is, or can be, put forward. The orthodox section of the Church seems to be treated badly, even Leeser, Isaacs and Raphall being unrepresented, while the reform wing, though favored, may justly complain of the omission of Gottheil, Samuel Hirsch and Hübsch. Notwithstanding its imperfections, however, this book may be called a remarkable one. Many of us think that the Jewish Church is an institution whose beliefs and practices can be very well understood by a cursory reading of the Pentateuch, and the Synagogue is connected in our minds with the savor of rare incense, the waving of palms, and the gorgeous magnificence and mysterious sanctity of an Oriental priesthood. We have insensibly come to believe that, amid all the changes of humanity, the Jewish religion alone preserves its forms unchangeable. A true understanding of Jewish history, as it is to be learned from the Bible and the Talmud, would, of course, correct such superficial views. From these sources, the historians have been able to point out the rise and development of the Jewish idea, and have detected an orderly and steady progress toward higher conceptions, combined with a singular power in the Jewish people to rejuvenate themselves by assimilating these loftier conceptions from age to age.

These sermons, which range all the way from mediocrity to excellency, seem to be a call for the reconstruction of churches, for a fresh organization of religious forces and systems. Apparently abandoning as untenable the ancient contests about words and forms and rites, this young American Jewish Church hurls itself with all its power against the materialism and selfishness of the age. With almost prophetic earnestness, it cries that the old God of humanity still lives, and that the abstractions of science can never dethrone Him. Admitting the proper functions of reason, it claims place for the emotions and aspirations of man, as well as for his observation and his logic. In short, every sermon in the book seems to recognize that the old religions are on trial, that a revolution is impending, and that it is the duty of the oldest Church to lead the revolution in a proper channel, instead of waiting supinely to be engulfed by it.

Are these apprehensions well founded, or are they merely the outcome of timidity, or even an unconscious surrender to the spirit of infidelity?

If we look at the figures of the census, or the architecture of the churches, or the numbers of ecclesiastical gatherings, we might hope that all such fears are unfounded, or at least premature. But we must not forget, on the other hand, that the history of the Jewish Church is a history of the religious opinion of the civilized world; that it has, over and over again, given birth to religious movements which the superficial spirit of the times sneered at. The ancient worship of the high places, deep in the affections of the people and the court, was rooted out by the spirit of prophetism,—the mysterious force of temple sacrifices was transformed into Synagogue worship which remains to this day the recognized form of religious expression,—the arrogant and cultured heathenism of Rome fell before the new form of Judaism—Christianity,—the scattered Arabs and Moors yielded to another form of Judaism—Islam,—and the Christianity of the Middle Ages, drinking in new life at the ancient fountain of Jewish thought, made the Reformation possible.

Any general movement of American Judaism needs, therefore, to be studied closely, as the expression of a Church whose past history shows it to have an exceptional religious prevision. If this Church is in reality transforming itself so as to teach the widest humanitarianism, and to ignore and depreciate traditional dogmas and ceremonies, it behooves the more numerous Churches to examine whether such a movement means decay and death, or rejuvenation and new life. Should it prove to be the latter, this generation or the next may witness one more defeat of materialism and infidelity by the venerable mother religion of the civilized world.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

Brief but Complete History of England, France and Germany. By **Mary C. Kelly**. Cloth. 4to. Pp. 88. Price, \$1.50. Philadelphia: E. Claxton & Co.

Subjects and Questions Pertaining to Political Economy, Constitutional Law, etc. Swd. 12mo. Pp. 24. Price, 10 cents. New York: Society for Political Education. (Porter & Coates.)

Spain and the Spaniards. By **Edmundo de Amicis**; translated from the Italian by **Wilhelmina W. Cady**. Cloth. 12mo. Pp. 435. Price, \$2.00. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. (Porter & Coates.)

Sir John Franklin. By **A. H. Beesly**. (New Plutarch Series.) Cloth. 12mo. Pp. 238. Price, \$1.00. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. (Porter & Coates.)

THE
PENN MONTHLY.

NOVEMBER, 1881.

EARLY CHRISTIAN ART. II.

PARTLY from the defects of their authorities and partly from certain mental tendencies which are perhaps unavoidable, most of the clerical historians of the Church acquiesce in the opinion Döllinger expresses concerning the development of Christianity, though few have had the candor to acknowledge with the learned and able Catholic doctor how hopeless have been the attempts thus far made to give any coherent and rational account of the first ages of our religion and the influence of those secondary causes that contributed towards its development. Some outlines, however, of this "far time" remain unobliterated; we can still hear, if we listen intently, the stir of its greater events, and see before us the shades of the mighty, as they loom through "the mist of years."

In studying the salient characteristics of the later republic and the empire, one is struck with the profound sadness that pervades its best literature. Rome's representative men seem to have despaired both of the present and the future. While nothing of sentimentalism ever mingled with their despondency,—while they continued in a certain course of conduct and upheld the principles upon which it was based as beyond the reach of earthly contingencies,—they yet appear to have acted in the spirit of their legionaries, who, when unrelieved, died at their posts. The utter hopelessness of the age, whether expressed in bitter contrasts between its degeneracy and the strength and virtue of a more glorious past,—whether it was uttered in the language of satire, or conveyed in the formulas of those moral systems which taught the obligations of this, the

only life of which men could be sure,—the tendency towards regretful retrospection, and the feeling that disaster and ruin menaced their race, everywhere displays itself. In this, the aristocratic *literati* of the Ciceronian school and the great commoners of the Augustan age are alike, and, notwithstanding the reaction of the Spanish and Gallic periods, in this temper Roman literature continued until the end.

Despair is never an inspiration; it may sometimes issue in individual instances of heroic self-sacrifice, but commonly it is ineffectual and inert. To do greatly, men must believe and they must hope. Faith and anticipation are the familiar signs of strength, and nothing that we hold in grateful and reverential remembrance has ever been achieved without them!

The decline of Rome began before the advent of Christ, and her decadence was plain to every reflective mind. For a time, the empire assured political integrity, but socially the remedy failed. What had once been the Roman people, supreme in their *comitia*, was now a fierce and factious populace, composed of the offscourings of the earth. The middle class had mingled with the mob or merged in an aristocracy whom they further debased. With the loss of liberty and a general exclusion from public life, many national characteristics disappeared; ceasing to be active, men's faculties atrophied from disuse. More than this, those who saw a limit set to Rome's conquests, heard also the menace of the North and understood it!

Religion had then become a mere pageant, in which Jupiter Optimus Maximus was supplanted by the Cæsar and the Senate was sunk into the convenient instrument of his will. Can it be imagined that human nature should remain unaffected by these circumstances,—that the loss of tone, the increasing political venality and the unexampled corruption of manners did not produce their inevitable effects? We know that they did so, and that Christians not only possessed no immunity from these disastrous influences, but that on account of the attitude of the Church toward the State, as well as from its prevailing tendencies, they became intensified to the utmost. Nowhere, so much as in this society, was the distrust in human effort so great, the appreciation of human capacity so small, the interests that citizenship involves so readily and honestly set aside. Subsequently, the growth of the Christian community

diminished this separatism by the establishment of external relations of increasing complexity ; but the converts of the Apostles, the congregations of Clemens Romanus, and the disciples of Ignatius and Polycarp, were men apart from the interests of active life, who renounced its pleasures and occupations as far as it was possible to do so. The victories of the early Church were won by resignation to the evils she suffered from a world whose destruction was believed to be at hand. She gathered strength from all the circumstances of defeat, and wrought out her destiny in silence and patience, and in the midst of nameless tortures. How could a school of art arise among men who associated all that was most splendid and beautiful in their surroundings with feelings of aversion and sorrow ; who regarded its best works as the glorification of endowments and acquisitions it was their duty to depreciate, and as the expressions of a nature they knew to be inherently corrupt ? To those whose every hope was in the life which is to come, the charms and loveliness of a desperate and dying world could bring neither happiness nor inspiration. More than all this ; when the roar of the amphitheatre burst upon the Christian's ear, it imported him to bear in mind that to live was a loss, to die a gain ! It behooved those who awaited the coming of an apparitor and the summons, "*The lion awaits thee,*" to strengthen themselves in the conviction that the soul was everything, the body nothing—that the world and its ties were but hindrances to the spirit, which, though it might "sow in tears, should reap in joy." With what desperate earnestness must not such men have striven to free themselves from the ambitions, the interests and the attachments of life ; with what agonies of supplication for support and for a new heart must not revolting human nature have awaited the day of the spectacle ?

"Art confers upon the moment it represents, the steadfastness of eternity ;" and what moment in man's existence was it fitting that a Christian artist should commemorate ? The Church was too spiritual to permit delineations of heaven, and its mythology had not, as yet, been invented. The world's most striking incidents were connected with memories of trial, temptation and suffering, while, at the same time, enough of good taste yet survived to save artists from the mediæval barbarism of depicting scenes of torture and death. Having traced this rough outline of the first epoch, let us inquire what art in the catacombs really was.

The catacombs of Rome are subterranean excavations, similar to those of Alexandria, Naples, etc., formed by quarrying the stratum of pazzolana, or granular tufa, underlying the city, for the purpose of procuring building material. They are of great extent, and in part of unknown antiquity. Those which are most accessible are called after St. Callistus, St. Sebastian and St. Agnes, and they have furnished the greater part of the specimens of Christian art now preserved in the Lapidarian Gallery. The intricacy of their dark corridors, dimly lighted by shafts, and the danger to which the wells sunk in the floors exposed a stranger, suggested the catacombs as the most secure refuge that could be found in times of persecution; and so effectual were they as places of concealment, that edicts of Valerian and Gallienus made it a capital offence to resort there. Self-preservation exerted a stronger influence than imperial decrees, however; thousands found an asylum in these melancholy abodes, and worshipped in security in the various chapels that were excavated at the intersection of diverging galleries. Here, several of the early Popes—metropolitan bishops, then,—frequently held their courts, and from 235 to 252 A. D. they passed their entire pontificates in the catacombs. Rock's graphic account of St. Stephen's adventures, and St. Jerome's narrative of his own experiences, and of the deep impression the silence, gloom and mystery of these places made upon his mind, probably contain most of what could be said of the life of a Christian refugee in the labyrinths of subterranean Rome. It is impossible to say when they were first used as places of sepulture, because the most ancient designs and inscriptions made by the Christians are without dates. By the end of the second century, however, the custom of burying their dead in crypts hollowed out from the sides of the galleries had become common. Like the pagans, they held the relics of their departed in tender and solemn remembrance, believing that they should one day behold their forms again, not in that vague and unsubstantial likeness of the living assumed by the ghosts who thronged the fabled Hades, but as living bodies, quickened by the breath of God into real and immortal life. Cremation was not only a heathen rite, but one that necessarily attracted attention; therefore, to preserve their dead from desecration, they hid them in the dark recesses of the catacombs.

Roman law forbade interment in or about the city, upon hygienic grounds; but the innovation of the Cornelian family in using sarcophagi afforded an opportunity for compromise, and it is probable that the *cryptæ arcuariæ* of St. Callistus and the rest were imitations of the tombs of the Auruntii, the Sepulchra Scipionum, and the Columbarium of the freedmen of Livia.

The same feeling that impelled believers to secure the remains of a martyr from insult, would also urge them to perpetuate his memory; hence the inscriptions, designs and monuments that are ranged in the Lapidarian Gallery, opposite similar memorials of classic antiquity. But the spirit of these inscribed mementoes is as different as the symbols that accompany them. They have, indeed, but a single point in common, and that is the tendency, shown by both Christians and pagans alike, to divest death of its terrors. Certainly, this coincidence was due to widely different causes; nevertheless, here is an attestation of the historic fact that, in the primitive Church, before Northern superstition and effete Greek philosophy had affected her doctrine, we may look in vain for any trace of those horrors with which she afterward surrounded death. One might well suppose that some evidence of the trepidation and suffering inseparable from the profession of Christianity would be revealed in these emblems placed around the final resting-places of the faithful,—that the proselytes of a religion, whose first altar was a martyr's grave, would seek to preserve the memory of the constancy and triumph of the victims of persecution by allusions to the trials they had undergone. Such is not the case; the inscriptions of the second century are in accordance with the designs that accompany them, and neither display any trace of bitterness nor dread. In this regard, these artistic remains are truer exponents of the temper of the Christian community at large than the writings of the Fathers of the same period. While Tertullian was rejoicing in the hope of beholding from heaven the awful and endless agonies of hell, those epitaphs the bereaved placed above their lost ones exhibit in the highest degree the virtues upon which its founder declared that all Christianity must rest.

The Roman inscriptions reveal also the universal tendency of the age to divest death of all that was terrible. It was the last long sleep,—“*Zoticus hic ad dormiendum;*” both Tartarus and the Elysian Fields had alike passed away from the realm of the

realized and operative, into that limbo where so much of the ancient belief now lies. The "Eternal City" had forsaken her gods; her age of faith was over. Those consolations, once suggested by vivid realization of a natural trust that the just should in the hereafter be recompensed for all they failed to receive as their reward here, no longer confirmed the good in their virtues, or warned the vacillating and vicious of the consequences that attach to crime. The persons of their pantheon were but poetic fancies, and their dead were dead forever! During the continuance of that strange process by which religions slowly pass away, resignation replaced hope, and the Roman adorned the resting-place of his beloved with effigies that show how his heart instinctively turned to the only consolation within his reach, and how universal was the effort to relieve the pain of an eternal separation by believing that the departed were at peace. "After life's fitful fever, he sleeps well,"—this contains the very essence of all the best classic epitaphs. The symbols that adorn the sarcophagus uniformly suggest serenity, and were intended to give calmness in that "inevitable hour" whose coming should be expected with fortitude and whose arrival celebrated by sacrifices to Jupiter the Liberator. Upon the tomb they carved the festal wreath, as emblematic of pleasures as evanescent as its bloom; Bacchic dances, hunts and battle scenes, in which the very violence exhibited showed that human energy, directed to whatever pursuit, must soon be exhausted and come to an end. By these were banquets that ended in satiety and sleep—the winged genii of the seasons who warned man that the circle of his life was quickly run—the ripened cluster and full year, ready to fall at their appointed time, and the masks that brought to mind Petronius's words, that the world was but a stage, whereon "to strut and fret his hour, and then be seen no more." These were the symbols of that naturalism which is religion's oldest form, and whose development into a quasi-philosophical system expressed the only faith the Roman retained. The inscriptions which accompanied these emblems of human fragility were all in correspondence with their trust that death brought tranquillity, and that the grave was but a sleeping-place. Upon the slab that covered a friend, affection could place no kinder wish than that he might "rest in peace." Beneath the inverted torch, so soon extinguished, which was carved upon his daughter's tomb,

her father wrote "Sweetest Aurelia, sleep well." On other occasions, and in the spirit of that corrupted Epicureanism prevalent in Rome, an epitaph might resemble that which Claudius wrote for himself: "*Ti. Claudii Secundi. Hic secum habet omnia. Balnea, vinum, venus, corrumpunt corpora nostra, sed—vitam faciunt, B. V. V.*"

Passing by the Appian Way to the Basilica of St. Sebastian, we find the entrance to the catacombs of that name. Here the peasant from the Campania, the sailor from the quays below the Janiculum, the stranger and the slave, found depicted the easily understood emblems and illustrations of his new faith. Over the crypt was placed the tree of life, the olive branch of peace, the crown of martyrdom, the palm of victory. Here, where, if anywhere, it might have been expected that some evidence of an anticipated retribution upon their persecutors would have revealed the common instincts of human nature, the place of such devices was filled by delineations of the miracles of mercy. It is a fact conveying a deeper significance than all that has been since written about it, that this should have been the case—that, in lieu of the revengeful horrors that disgraced Christian art at a later period, Christ should have been represented, not as the avenger of His people, but as the "Good Shepherd," as conversing by the well with the woman of Samaria, protecting and forgiving the Magdalen, and calling back Lazarus from the dead. The dove of mercy and the winged spirit were present, and the crosses of the Resurrection and Passion were carved everywhere upon the walls of the catacombs; but no crucifix served as a *memento mori* of His death, or appealed to any beholder against those who offered the bitter chalice and mocked at the agonies of Calvary! Besides the paintings and sculptures referred to, there were many symbolical devices, either original or borrowed, in use among the Christians. To those already described, may be added the monogram of Christ, plain or inscribed, or the simple word "PAX," standing for "*In pace Domini dormit*,"—"He sleeps in the peace of the Lord." Sometimes, with what seems like a disregard of their just claims to be remembered, we find a dateless slab, with an inscription such as this, "*Marcella et Christi martyres, CCCCCL.*,"—"Marcella and five hundred and fifty martyrs of Christ." In other cases, what are evidently, from their position, the graves of those who had died for their faith,

remain perfectly blank, or the iconograph affords no information concerning their occupants. The lamb, the lion and the cross were the only *true* symbols of Christ ; but, as time went on and the influence of the East and increasing ignorance made itself more felt in Rome, these multiplied and assumed mystical meanings; all gradually became invested with magical powers, and were regarded as amulets or talismans. Thus, Christ was represented by a fish, because the Greek word for this, "ΙΧΘΥΣ," contained the letters of his title, "Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς Θεοῦ Υἱὸς Σωτῆρ"—"Jesus Christ, the Son of God, our Saviour." The peacock was similarly taken, because its flesh did not decay. In other instances, a contracted form of the Saviour's name is used, as the Latin "I. C." or Greek "X. C." When represented as the messenger of God, the cruciform nimbus has the inscribed words, "Ὁ ΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ ΤΗΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΗΣ ΒΟΥΛΗΣ"—"the angel of the great will;" and when, in His hypostatic union with the Father and Holy Spirit, Christ appears in the character of Creator and Preserver, the inscription is usually "the ancient of days"—"ὁ παλαιὸς τῶν ἡμερῶν."

The most common portraits of the catacombs are those of St. Peter and St. Paul, both of which are altogether conventional. No authentic picture of Christ exists, and the manner in which the present universally received likeness originated cannot be certainly discovered ; but, among the highest as well as the most orthodox authorities on Christian iconography, it is considered probable that we are indebted to the Gnostics for this, as well as for the first hymns and the earliest sacred music. It has already been said that the first epoch of the Church was not that in which doctrine was formed ; and, if further evidence of this fact were needed than is supplied by its religious literature, the extreme simplicity and uniform character of Christian art would attest its truth. Dogmatic theology was the outgrowth of those conflicting opinions which afterward distracted both the East and West, and all of these phases of belief have been recorded in the different modes by which artists represented polemical ideas. This was done with a fidelity which justifies the assertion that "*la religion d'un peuple, étant l'expression la plus complète de son individualité, est, en un sens, plus instructive que son histoire.*" Of course, the observation is defective because by implication religion is assumed not to be as much a historical fact as politics or commerce ; and in respect

of the early Church it fails because of the absence of any consensus of doctrinal opinion for several centuries after Christ. It might be added that during a long period art was as much the interpreter of the general faith as were the decrees of councils, and the meaning it conveyed much more commonly understood! Roman art was the expression of Roman opinion, and for a long time the city was the centre of religious discussion. Mather believes that Gnosticism was not so much a Christian heresy as a separate and complete system of religious philosophy. Be this as it may, its influence upon Christianity was great and lasting, and it introduced into religious art the refined symbolism of the Neo-Platonism upon which it was based.

With Origen commenced a school of allegorical commentators. Father after Father was occupied in detecting correspondences between religious symbols (especially the cross,) and natural objects that were quite as baseless as any of Swedenborg's fancies. Every popular theological hypothesis found at once an artistic expression, so that after the second century art finally ceased to be completely orthodox. It would form a curious chapter in the history of opinion to trace the revolt against authority through the only connected record now accessible,—that is to say, the comic art of the Middle Age,—and to see how it supplements the written remains of the time. It is not generally known, perhaps, that the purest and most noble artistic expression of religious feeling—a Gothic cathedral,—usually contains among the details of its ornamentation comments in caricature of the Church and its discipline, and various and keenly satirical illustrations of its doctrine and ritual. These represent an undercurrent in popular sentiment; they are the criticisms which have never been written,—the mental reservations not otherwise expressed.

From the condemnation of the Apocryphical Books by Gelasius I. to the time of the repeal of this sentence by Paul IV., *i.e.*, from the fifth to the sixteenth century, Popes, Saints and Fathers united in anathematizing them. Athanasius, Cyril, Tertullian and Augustine have taken up their testimony against them, but not more emphatically than Baronius, Bellarmine and Du Pin. Since religious art derived its subjects exclusively from Christian literature, it is evident that, during that period in which what was canonical had not been discriminated from apocryphal writings, there must

have been some contrast between artistic representations of liturgical formularies. But the *object* of religious art remained the same; it was not beauty the artist sought to create, but religious emotion; and, although genius must have expressed itself here as elsewhere, except in cases where the form is borrowed from classic models, it is useless to look for the beautiful, either in composition or design, before Europe awoke from the intellectual torpor of the Middle Age.

Besides the influence due to polemical differences, there was another cause at work to hamper æsthetic development, and one that has been common to all religions and operative in every era. The conservative spirit that accompanied each form of faith, and which, in the absence of revolutionary impressions, has, and will always, degenerate into conventionalism, contributed greatly to the delay of artistic advancement. If we compare the earlier portraits of Christ—the Gnostic *abraxes* and Christian *tessera*, tomb paintings and ancient mosaics,—with the illuminated MSS. and windows, cathedral sculptures, the capitals of Romanesque columns, and Gothic vaultings, it is impossible to avoid the conclusion that the rude and oftentimes grotesque art of the catacombs has been intentionally reproduced; probably, from an impression of its greater sanctity, just as the monstrous and impossible figures of the Asiatic gods still disfigure the beautiful temples of a more advanced age.

What remains to be said of Christian iconography will be contained in the following outline of the symbols and forms belonging to the central figures of Christianity,—the Trinity and the Virgin.

In the dearth of genius that is so conspicuous during the dark ages, no higher conception of artistic results than those possible of attainment by pictographic illustration or homilies in stone seems to have visited the instructors of the world. From the pontificate of Gregory the Great to that of Nicholas V., the supremacy of the Roman Church is unquestionable. For eight centuries, her clergy formed a caste as distinct from, and in many important particulars as antagonistic to, the laity, as if they had been set apart by a law of nature. "Their corporate spirit and laws, their education, rights, privileges and immunities, were all different." Their

whole theory of life being out of correspondence with progressive political systems, contention was inevitable ; but, in the midst of all vicissitudes, the ecclesiastical body maintained its intellectual pre-eminence,—Catholic priests were everywhere the historians, schoolmasters and professors, the jurists, philosophers and statesmen of Europe. All public archives were kept by them, and they alone could train men for any position that required more knowledge than was to be acquired in the tilt-yard and the camp. Paramount in every department where the mind could exert itself, the directors of all its emotional expressions, (since those who were not righteous *were* superstitious,) and this in an age when feeling universally overruled reflection, it has been charged against the Church that her guardianship of society should have produced better results, and asserted that, instead of self-laudation for having done so much, she should rather excuse herself for having done so little !

Such criticisms can have no weight, however, considered as apart from her claim to infallibility and Divine guidance and protection. From the historical standpoint, and regarded as an institution directed by human intelligence, the Catholic Church needs no advocate's plea in defence while the records of eighteen centuries remain to witness what she has done for humanity. Great as are the wrongs in which she has been either the agent or the accomplice ; vast as her aggressions against the rights, the liberty and the happiness of mankind have been,—these are the exceptions and not the rule ; the faults of an age, not the vices of a particular society ; and ignorance alone can urge them to the exclusion of those immeasurable benefits she has conferred on the world. It is most improbable that another organization will ever exercise an equal authority ; but, while the annals of the past contain no record of any institution with which she may be compared, they certainly testify to *this*,—that, although she shares her faults with every association which has ever held long-continued power, her glories are her own ! History preserves the story of her usurpations ; it would be well to recall in no sectarian spirit the recollection of her benefactions. They never have been, and perhaps they never can be, adequately described ; yet it is not too much to say that, for many ages, whatever was good was her gift,—whatever amelioration of their lot men experienced, was her work. We possess no fruit of

civilization whose seed was not sown by the only power then capable of intervening between the world and overwhelming barbarism, and against whom the tears that rise up in judgment are but as drops in the ocean of those her ministrations have wiped away.

All this is true, but it is not more true than the fact that no department of knowledge made any constant progress until it had been secularized. Of all the power the Church claims to possess in the persons of her saints over nature, and among all the miraculous suspensions and alterations of natural laws she attributes to their intercession, there was one miracle that she could not perform, and this was to produce any impression upon the established order of phenomena that makes each successive generation the organic and mental development of its predecessors. Failing in this, evolution took its appointed course, and, in considering Christian art in relation to the subjects before specified, we must continue to regard it from an exclusively historical point of view. Perhaps there is no more significant series of facts in the history of opinion, than those afforded by the modes in which the Supreme Being was delineated during different centuries. Every antique building—Didron remarks,—is a pictographic record of the distractions of the Church, and of the changes wrought in her by internal or extrinsic causes. Before the last vestiges of classic civilization became extinct, and Christendom had sunk into such depths of ignorance and superstition as none but those who have travelled in semi-barbarous countries can adequately conceive of, the Almighty was never *directly* represented. The reasons for this are found in the more abstract view of His nature taken by the early Christians, and the absence of that materialistic tendency—the natural and inevitable outgrowth of mediævalism,—which for a long period degraded religion into a system of fetichism. Besides this, there was the evident impossibility of delineating the Father otherwise than in the likeness of Jupiter,—the most godlike conception that the artistic imagination had thus far attained to. Finally, we may add to the causes contributing to prevent the representation of the First Person, the profound impression made by Neo-Platonism and its offspring, the Gnostic system, upon the speculative tenets of the early Church. The primacy attributed to the “Word” by St. John corresponded with the doctrines of these sects completely.

Notwithstanding the light thrown upon this subject by the invention of the term *hypostatic* to express the mystical junction of "three persons in one God," neither the decrees of the Council of Chalcedon, nor any exercise of human faculty, could overcome the insuperable difficulties this doctrine presented so soon as its realization was attempted. Certain three-headed monsters were indeed produced by way of illustrating it, but they met with little favor, and artistic delineations of the Godhead were afterwards in accordance with the peculiar functions attributed to its persons separately. This necessity involved, as we shall see hereafter, many remarkable variations in the modes of impersonation, all of which are valuable as indications of intellectual phases.

First in the historic order comes the "Divine hand," encircled by the nimbus of God, projecting from the clouds that concealed the rest of His person. This symbolism is less due to a sentiment of reverence than to the obvious impossibility of delineating a being whose attributes human intelligence is incompetent to conceive, and whose *direct* relation to the world must always remain inscrutable. Beyond this, Gnosticism had given its earliest artistic types to Christianity, and it is most probably to the influence it exercised that we must ascribe much of that marked neglect shown by artists to the First Person of the Trinity in the interval between the sixth and twelfth centuries. Partly, then, from a psychological cause, the impossibility of representing to themselves any likeness of the Almighty, and partly from the influence still exerted by heretical literature, whenever it was necessary, either from the character of the action or from the obligation imposed by the text, to portray the Father, the figure of the Son was substituted for Him. "*Dans la première, qui est antérieure au XIV. siècle, la figure du Père se confond avec celle du Fils. . . . Dans la seconde période, Jésus Christ perd sa force d'assimilation iconographique, et se laisse vaincre par son Père.*" It was not until the fourteenth century (as the same author observes), and principally in the fifteenth and sixteenth, that portraits of God the Father became usual. We see an illustration of the supremacy of emotion in a rude age over the intellectual faculties, in the fact that Christ, whom the people loved, was always represented as a youth, even while exercising the peculiar powers of "the ancient of days." Gradually, however, His face and figure

assumed that type which is now universally regarded as distinctive. The Trinity is doctrinally indivisible, and the Nicene Creed declares that all things were made by the "Word," so that representations of Jesus in the character of the Pantocrator, the Almighty, naturally became conventional in order that they might be characteristic, and He is depicted (although still young,) with the nimbus of God, the open gospel and the inscription, "*εγω εἰμι*"—"I am that I am,"—the whole being usually enclosed with an aureole.

Amid all the changes that the portraiture of Christ underwent, it is noticeable that His likeness was never intentionally heathenized; whereas, the Father frequently appears as the combatting Apollo, and in characters designed from the text of the Old Testament. Thus, in Italian miniatures and illuminations of the twelfth century, He often bears the sword and bow of a "mighty man of war," and is delineated as the "God of battles" who commanded Israel against His foes,—"*et missit sagittas suas, et dissipavit eos.*" During the Middle Ages, much importance was attached to the position of the figures in a painting or group of statuary, and in this instance, likewise, the Son constantly takes precedence, either as the representative of the First Person of the Trinity, or as exercising the powers of the Holy Spirit. Independently of the motives before referred to for attributing this pre-eminence to Christ, prevailing sentiment found its justification in the identity of the Father and Son so often stated by the Evangelists,—"*Ego et Pater unum sumus,*"—" *Qui videt me, videt eum qui missit me,*"—so that, when the text corroborated the teachings of the clergy and harmonized with the strong tendency of public feeling to the same end, this propensity to elevate the Son at the expense of the other persons of the Godhead became irresistible.

How faithful a record of changes in opinion art keeps, may be learned from the innovations in Christian iconography made during the twelfth century. Then the "Divine hand" was first supplemented by the face, and subsequently by the bust and entire figure of the Creator. These altered modes of representation corresponded with the gradually increasing materialism of the times. Didron, in fact, calls it "*the period of materialism,*" and, like all similar reactions, its natural tendency was towards extremes. Having delineated the Almighty as a majestic man, similar, but not same, with Christ, artists proceeded to adorn His figure with

the insignia of the highest temporal authority they knew of; thus, in Germany He appears with the imperial regalia, in France and Spain as a king, and in Italy like a pope. Henceforth, whenever the Father is represented as one of a group, His is the central figure, and in delineations of the Trinity the Son is placed upon His right, and is portrayed as being much the younger of the two. This naturalistic conception, this attempt to follow observed phenomena rather than speculative opinions, does not appear to have excited any apprehension of a revival of Arianism, and the natural relation of filiation between the First and Second Persons was expressed everywhere in Europe without ecclesiastical opposition. In brief, from the evidence furnished by Christian art, we may conclude that the reverence for the Father has progressively increased, not from any augmented religious sentiment in societies, because this has certainly not grown stronger, but altogether on account of an advance in mental development.

From the fifth to the ninth century, when the supremacy of the Church was absolute, He, in common with all other representations of a sacred character, bore the unmistakable impress of the monastic type. During the feudal period, another ideal was evolved, and at once stamped itself upon the portraiture of God. His pictures and statues in this age are all expressive of courage, pride, conscious power, and severity,—in short, of the qualities that inspired the greatest reverence and excited the most sincere admiration among the largest number of people. With the rise of the free cities and the elevation of the burgher class during the thirteenth century, public feeling underwent another change. The figure of the Almighty became less rigid, the face less stern. For the pose of a mailed warrior, and an expression befitting the countenance of the *Rex tremendæ magestatis*, art, yielding to the "form and pressure" of the times, substituted plasticity of outline and a benignity of mien which assured men of His accessibility to the humble, and bore witness to a nearer interest in the affairs of everyday life. Certain theological modifications accompanied, or rather preceded, those varieties of delineation. God's relation to the world is usually comprehended in the idea of His providence, and conceptions of this have been strongly contrasted at different periods. That belonging to the first general mode of representing the Almighty was imagined to be chiefly occupied with

contriving pestilence and famine, together with other punishments for sin. In the second instance, this power was regarded as almost exclusively engaged in the conduct of wars and their accompanying political changes, while in *both* its agency was directed to the awakening of penitence, and not of gratitude. It was the *Saints* who bestowed peace and happiness, and to them mankind confided their griefs; they were the tutelary divinities of every country, province, city, town, and the majority of Christians never looked beyond the sphere of their power. With the third change, we observe the diffusion of a nascent belief, as yet, however, undeveloped and vague, that, if the providence of God is to be regarded as present at all, it must be considered as universally present, and consequently that the blessings of life are to be ascribed to its operation in human affairs, as much as its misfortunes! It is hardly necessary to point out that this change of opinion indicates a progress from the semi-barbarous to the more civilized condition, and that its general acceptance affected the relations existing between Church and State profoundly. But neither then nor at any time before the Renaissance did art rise to the conception of an ideal of the Father, the creator and preserver of mankind. All that human power could effect in this direction was left by the grim irony of events to be accomplished by genius and not by devotion,—to be produced during a revolutionary age and in the most irreligious country in Christendom.

From the first (and even during the iconoclastic era), the Son was a favorite subject with artists, and in iconography as well as in the rubric and in polemics He has always been the object of peculiar honor and interest. In the carvings of Roman sarcophagi, in Italian paintings and artistic remains, such as those of Aliscamps, Arles, Rheims, etc, the figure of Jesus constantly appears, and He is always represented as youthful and endowed with as much beauty as it was within the power of the artist to bestow; but, in the mediocracy that may then be said to have been universal, the subject never received adequate treatment. His person was not, it is true, always an imitated Apollo or Mercury, bedecked with Christian emblems, but it was as little that of the Christ. His portraits—miraculous and otherwise,—had already originated a conventional type, and the famous letter of Lentulus (forgery though it was,) justified the prevalent opinion in regard to His beauty.

Christian art never freed itself from the influence of classicism until Christendom had reached the lowest depth and last period of its intellectual degradation ; and in consequence we possess numerous representations of persons of the pantheon called after Him and placed in His position with reference to other figures. Artists fell into all sorts of extravagant incongruities, and Christ is often depicted as a Roman officer, wearing Senatorial robes, and seated in a curule chair, and in this disguise He is sometimes actually placed upon the mystic mount whence flow the four rivers, and is surrounded by the Evangelists. There gradually arose two typical modes of depicting the Son ; the first and most ancient was that in which He was represented as a beautiful youth, the other that in which He appears as a stern and sorrow-stricken man. These general forms existed contemporaneously, with perhaps some preponderance in number in favor of the former, until the tenth century, and then, in consequence of a marked increase of religious zeal all over Europe, and an added vigilance and severity upon the part of the Church, a great change occurred. The entire character of artistic representation was altered by this reaction—the miracles of mercy and the illustrations of that charity upon which practical Christianity is based gradually gave place to delineations of the Passion and the Last Judgment, and Christ the Redeemer was supplanted by an avenging God, from whose awful throne issued the fiery streams that engulfed the wicked. “ How great,” observes Didron, “ is the difference between the inexorable Christ of Michael Angelo and the merciful God of the ancient sarcophagi ; what centuries of misery and misfortune must have passed away in the same country before the type preserved in the frescoes of the catacombs changed into that preserved in the Sistine Chapel !”

In depicting the “ Triumph of Christ,” His figure varies as remarkably as it does in delineations of other scenes belonging to the history of the Atonement. Both in Greek and Latin art He is portrayed as especially the *messenger of God*, and is there figured like an angel, wearing, however, the cruciform nimbus, inscribed with some designative text.

Classic art had no subject in which solemnity of design was more conspicuous than in that of the Pantocrator, as He appears in the great cupolas of the Greek Churches ; but in the barbarism of the

West the conception became degraded to an almost inconceivable degree, and it is not uncommon to see Christ represented in the Roman frescoes as "a naked, feeble and suffering infant," surrounded, however, with the insignia of "an infinite majesty," forced by the necessities of the Father's scheme for the redemption of mankind to become incarnate. In many paintings and illustrations He is portrayed in the act of receiving the scrip and staff of a pilgrim and, except from the composition of the picture or group, or the incongruous introduction of emblems peculiar to the Divine person, the figure has no individuality whatever. So also, on His ascent to heaven, "after sin and death have been overcome, and the basilisk and asp are slain," it is not the victorious and Divine Son of God that Western artists have portrayed, but only a palmer giving an account of his distant journey.

In fact, this whole subject, as it appears in the later Roman and mediæval works, preserved in a great number of medallions, MSS., miniatures, etc., is treated trivially and contemptibly, and the artists themselves are only saved from the imputation of blasphemy because we know them to have been so ignorant as to have been practically irresponsible.

God, meditating upon Himself, evolved Christ, and from the Father and the Son proceeds the Holy Ghost. Such is patristic philosophy, as taught by its greatest master! This is merely the restatement of a question with which reason can have nothing to do, since it is from its nature undemonstrable, and must be resolved by all men according to the measure of their faith. The abstract nature of the Trinitarian doctrine is well expressed in art; but, if the Father veiled His face from men under the new dispensation, He had not always done so during the old, and it was possible to connect the Christian God with the world through the Jewish Jehovah. Not so with the Third Person of the Trinity, who at all times remained but an impersonification of certain qualities, and whose individuality was never invested with a typical form. "The different characteristics to be observed belong less to the epoch than to the country, or the imagination of the artist; they rest rather on æsthetics and geographical situation, than on chronological distinctions." Up to the eleventh century, the Holy Spirit is always depicted under the form of a dove, whose head is encircled with the cruciform nimbus, and so general was the opinion

that this abstract conception of divinity was best represented emblematically, that in the eighth century Severus was anathematized by the Second Council of Nicea for objecting to the custom. Those fanciful correspondences that are so alluring to minds in a certain stage of development, gave rise to numerous parallels between the swiftness, innocence and ærial home of the dove, and the functions of the Paraclete as related to the nature and action of the soul. There were no better attested miracles than those in which the spirit of Polycarp was seen to arise from his ashes in the form of a white dove, and that of Patitius, under the same likeness, to spring from the martyr's blood and wing its flight towards heaven.

Until the materialism of the age became so gross that people were unable to appreciate an allegorical representation, however plain its meaning, this continued to be the generally received emblem of the Third Person, and thus He is figured in the act of descending upon the head of St. John the Precursor, and resting upon the shoulders of Gregory the Great, in his statue at Nôtre Dame de Chartres. Finally, when men became incapable of conceiving an abstract and impersonal power, the Holy Spirit was anthropomorphized, and it is under the human form that he places the crown upon the Virgin in the Cathedral of Amiens.

The incarnation of the Third Person was a gradual process, however, and was preceded by the symbol of the winged head, in illustration of His function as the creator and preserver of science. A more figurative expression of the same conception is the pillar of fire, probably due to suggestions found in the commentaries of Gregory of Tours. In general, however, "as we approach our own time," remarks M. Cyprian-Robert, "the genius of modern invention sought to represent the Holy Ghost as a beautiful young man,—the immortal youth by whom nature is captivated." Illuminations of the twelfth century present the Trinity as equal in everything, even in age; and the persons are always made mature. This idea, carried to extravagance, gave rise to the custom of representing them with three bodies joined to one head, and this an altogether uncharacteristic one, only to be distinguished by the Divine emblems.

Occasionally, during the darkest mediæval period, the Holy Spirit is omitted in delineations of the Trinity; but "from the fourteenth to the sixteenth century these representations—*i. e.*, those in human

shape,—abound, and we find figures of Him in mortal form, varying from the tenderest infancy (some months only, or a few years of age,) up to an advanced period of old age.”

Even apart from theological constructions, the iconographical history of the Virgin presents features not surpassed in interest by those already outlined. The admission of a female element into their pantheons is a fact common to most of the historic religions, and the conception of a virgin mother, co-operating in those incarnations of the Divine essence which have many times been supposed to visit the earth, is not by any means peculiar to Christianity. But here, as elsewhere, the canonical books have been reticent, and an ideal so full of tenderness and beauty has been left to religious associations for development. Churches have filled up the blanks left by the Bible, and must naturally have accomplished this according to their capacities and the temper of the times.

Whether or not we acknowledge her as the Queen of Heaven, it is nevertheless true that she reigns in the hearts of the larger portion of Christians, and those to whom history is truly “philosophy teaching by example” will need no further proof of her Divine right to sovereignty. We are not now discussing what *should* be believed, but the influence upon art of certain doctrines, whether true or not ; and in this connection we may assert that, if the age immediately succeeding the fall of Rome had not the ability to produce any representation of a God, it was still less capable of producing a goddess. Fifteen centuries of preparation were required in order to enable the nation then most advanced in civilization to accomplish this, and to realize a conception in which the universal heart could recognize the expression of its own emotions. Among many reasons for this, the attitude of the Church towards women is most prominent. Individual females were honored and sainted, but the sex itself was degraded, even from the position it had occupied during the Empire. Doctrinal implications are less easily avoided when treating of the history of the Virgin in art, than while we were engaged in tracing the iconography of the Trinity, and we shall therefore only give an outline of the more striking variations in the manner of depicting her.

St. Augustine says that no authentic portrait existed in his day, and the earliest we possess seem to be no more than expressions of

the physiological idea of maternity. In these there is not the least evidence of any sentiment—not even that of devotion. She is the mother of Christ, and portrayed as much older than her son. After the movement in her favor inaugurated by Cyril of Alexandria had become more general, her appearance underwent a great change. She was regarded now as less the mother of Jesus than the bride of God; and, though minute directions for her portraiture were framed by the Council of Ephesus, (A. D. 431,) this altered view at once resulted in making her younger and more beautiful, and decking her with that diadem of heaven, the cruciform nimbus, which attested the equality afterwards announced in the psalter of St. Bonaventura.

Sociology is at present a very incomplete science, and historic induction as likely as not to lead to the most fantastic errors in fact. If we argued from the iconographical history of the Virgin up to the thirteenth century, a continuance and increase of the sentiment which caused her to be represented as young, lovely and majestic, we should discover, in studying her portraits, that some cause more potent than the authority of the Church had intervened to produce an altogether different result. The reaction from that artistic sentimentalism which, not satisfied with endowing the Holy Mother with youth and beauty, proceeded to the length of depicting her as of the same age, and even younger than her son, resulted, from causes wholly apart from religion, in depriving her not only of these attractions, but of all dignity and refinement of expression and form. It might have been expected that at a time when appeals in behalf of liberty and reason were beginning to find a response from the multitude, and when champions whose names "the world will not willingly let die" stood forth in their cause, that religious art would be improved and aesthetic feeling display itself in a higher phase of development. This was the case finally; but the eras of comparative simplicity and sameness in social structure had passed, and in the increasing complexity of society the effects of its changes could no longer manifest themselves directly. The most important politico-social movement that the thirteenth century witnessed was that of the partial emancipation of the middle class. This burgher revolution was accomplished, like all other revolutions, slowly, and its representative deas became in time the property of the people at large. Naturally,

naturally, this must have been the case, or it would have failed, instead of being universally successful. It is beside our subject to enter further into the consideration of an intellectual development yet continuing, and of which no man can foresee the end; but its influence upon Christian art, the reaction against the artistic tendencies of the preceding epoch it occasioned, are apparent enough. Artists forsook their ideals for human models which they were unable to render otherwise than literally, and, in obedience to the irresistible pressure of general opinion and the growing anthropomorphism of the age, they gradually transformed the Almighty into an earthly potentate, and attributed to him all the passions of a man, while at the same time they degraded the Virgin—that purest and most perfect type that religion has given to art,—into “a great vulgar woman.”

This was the consequence of the irruption of the plebian class into society and the State; an effect, also, that remained permanent until Italian genius restored the Queen of Heaven and gave to her forever an immortal and unsurpassable benignity and loveliness.

Among the general truths illustrated in human annals is this: The verity of one age is lost by inclusion in wider generalizations, or becomes practically worthless from irrelativity to different conditions. Wherever mental progress exists, it is manifested by a greater complexity in intellectual structure, and the results of the mind's action express themselves less directly in conduct, as its relational part becomes developed by contact with a wider and more differentiated environment. Herein lies the explanation of the strange comment of the Renaissance upon mediæval art. It might be inferred, from the foregoing sketch of Christian iconography, that (considered from the historic standpoint,) art *always* reflects the mental character. Such a conclusion is unjustified by facts. Mantegna, Verrocchio, Perugino and Titian, all bore false witness to the traits of their age. Asthetic emotion and intellectual appreciation have no necessary relation either to morality or religion, and the contrast between the high development of the former and the low state of the latter in Italy at the close of the fifteenth century, is at first sight one of the most

anomalous facts in history. Space forbids any review of the causes of this imperfect mental evolution, and it suffices to point out here that art then ceased to be the index of national character, and that the most perfect works of the Renaissance utterly fail to illustrate the character of the era in which they were produced.

J. H. PORTER.

TO CHLOE.

(HORACE, BOOK I., ODE XXIII. *)

LIKE a young fawn, through pathless mountains straying,
 Her timid mother's footsteps still delaying,
 Frightened by each trembling leaf that spring unfolds,
 Alarmed by every breeze that blows across the wolds,
 Transfixed with terror if a lizard only glides
 From the green covert where at noon he hides ;
 So, startled Chloe flies, if but I chance to cross her path,
 As if a tiger followed, or Gætulian lion in his wrath.
 Oh, cease these vain and foolish tricks, fair maid,
 And learn no more of men to be afraid.
 The time hath come to quit your watchful mother's side,
 In other eyes to live, in other arms to hide.

M. R. T.

* Translated by members of the Chestnut Hill Horace Club.

ON WIGS : THEIR RISE AND FALL.

WHEN it is said that Hadrian was the first Roman Emperor who wore a wig, nothing more is meant than that he was the first who avowedly wore one. They were common enough before his time. Caligula and Messalina put them on for the purpose of disguise when they were abroad at night, and Otho condescended to conceal his baldness with what he vainly hoped his subjects would accept as a natural head of hair belonging to one who bore the name of Cæsar.

Allusions to wigs are frequently made, both by the historians as well as by the poets of ancient times. We know that they were worn by fashionable gentlemen in Palmyra and Baalbec, and that the Lycians took to them out of necessity. When their conqueror, Mausolus, had ruthlessly ordered all their heads to be shaven, the poor Lycians felt themselves so supremely ridiculous that they induced the King's general, Candalus, by means of an irresistible bribe, to permit them to import wigs from Greece, and the symbol of their degradation became the very pink of Lycian fashion.

Hannibal was a stout soldier, but on the article of perukes he was as nice about their fashion as any dandy. Hannibal wore them sometimes to improve, sometimes to disguise, his person; and, if he wore one long enough to spoil its beauty, he never hesitated to fling it aside when its aspect was battered.

Ovid and Martial celebrate the golden-colored wigs of Germany. The latter writer is very severe on the dandies and coquettes of his day, who thought to win attraction under a wig. Propertius, who could describe so tenderly and appreciate so well what was so lovely in girlhood, whips his butterflies into dragons at the bare idea of a nymph in a *toupet*. Venus Anadyomene herself would have had no charms for that gentle sigher of sweet and enervating sounds, had she wooed him in borrowed hair. If he were not particular touching morals, he was severely correct concerning curls.

If the classical poets winged their satirical shafts against wigs, these were as little spared by the mimic thunderbolts of the Fathers, Councils, and Canons of the early Church. Even poets and Christian elders could no more digest human hair than the alligator,

of whom, dead, it is said, you may know how many individuals he devoured while living by the number of hair-balls in the stomach, which can neither digest nor eject them.

The indignation of Tertullian respecting these aforesaid wigs is something terrific. Not less is that of Saint Gregory of Nazianzus, who especially vouches for the virtue of his sister Gorgonia, for the reason that she neither cared to curl her hair nor to repair its lack of beauty by the aid of a wig. The thunder of Saint Jerome against these adornments was quite as loud as that of any of the Fathers. They were preached against as unbecoming to Christianity. Council after Council, from the first at Constantinople to the last Provincial Council at Tours, denounced wigs, even when worn in joke. "There is no joke in the matter!" exclaimed the exceedingly irate Saint Bernard; "the woman who wears a wig commits a mortal sin." Saint John Chrysostom cites Saint Paul against the fashion, arguing that they who prayed or preached in wigs could not be said to worship, or to teach the Word of God "with head uncovered." "Look," says Cyprian to the wearers of false hair; "look at the Pagans! they pray in veils. What better are you than Pagans, if you come to prayers in perukes?" Many local synods would authorize no fashion of wearing hair but straight and short. This form was especially enjoined on the clergy. Saint Ambrose as strictly enjoined the fashion upon the women of his diocese. "Do not talk to me of curls," said this hard-working prelate; "they are *lenocinia formæ, non præcepta virtutis*." The ladies smiled. It was to some such obdurate and beautiful rebels that Cyprian once gravely preached, saying: "Give heed to me, O ye women! Adultery is a grievous sin; but she who wears false hair is guilty of a greater."

It must have been a comfortable state of society when two angry ladies could say to each other: "You may say of me what you please; you may charge me with breaking the Seventh Commandment; but, thank Heaven and Cyprian! you cannot accuse me of wearing a wig!"

No pains were spared to deter women from this enormity. Saint Jerome holds up the fate of Prætexta as a warning to all ladies addicted to the fashion of the world. Prætexta was a very respectable lady, married to a somewhat paganish husband, Hymetius. Their niece, Eustochia, resided with them. At the insti-

gation of the husband, Prætexta took the shy Eustochia in hand, attired her in a splendid dress, and covered her fair neck with ringlets. Having enjoyed the sight of the modest maiden so attired, Prætexta went to bed. To that bedside immediately descended an angel with wrath upon his brow and billows of angry sounds issuing from his lips. "Thou hast," said the spirit, "obeyed thy husband rather than the Lord, and hast dared to deck the hair of a virgin, and made her look like a daughter of earth. For this do I wither up thy hands, and bid thee recognize the enormity of thy crime in the amount of thy anguish and bodily suffering. Five months more shalt thou live, and then Hell shall be thy portion; and, if thou art bold enough to touch the head of Eustochia again, thy husband and thy children shall die even before thee."

Saint Jerome pledges himself for the truth of this story, which is exceedingly perplexing and utterly unintelligible.

The ladies were more difficult of management than the clergy. The former were not to be terrified by the assurance that breaking an ordinance of man was a worse crime than breaking one of the commandments of God. The hair of the clergy was kept straight by decree of forfeiture of revenues or benefice against incumbents who approached the altars with curls, even of their natural hair. Pomades and scented waters were denounced as damnable inventions; but anathema was uttered against the priest guilty of wearing one single hair combed up above its fellows.

"All personal disguise," says Tertullian, "is adultery before God. All perukes, paint, and powder are disguises and inventions of the devil." This zealous individual appeals to personal as often as to religious feeling. "If you will not fling away your false hair," says he, "as hateful to Heaven, cannot I make it hateful to yourselves by reminding you that the false hair you wear may have come, not only from a criminal, but from a very dirty head,—perhaps from the head of one already damned?"

This was a very hard hit, indeed; but it was not nearly so clever a stroke at wigs as that dealt by Clemens of Alexandria. The latter informed the astounded wig-wearers that, when they knelt at church to receive the blessing, they must be good enough to remember that the benediction remained on the wig, and did not pass through to the wearer! This was a stumbling-block to the people, many of whom, however, retained the peruke and took their chances as to the percolating through it of the benediction.

On similarly obstinate people Tertullian railed with a hasty charge of ill-prepared logic. "You were not born with wigs," said he; "God did not give them to you. God not giving them, you must necessarily have received them from the devil."

It was manifest that so rickety a syllogism was incapable of shaking the lightest *toupet* from a reasoning Christian's skull. Indeed, the logic of Tertullian, when levied against wigs, is exceedingly faulty. Men of the world he points out as being given to over-scrupulous cleanliness. Your *saint* is dirty from an impulse of duty; were he otherwise, he might be too seductive to the weaker sex. This reminds one of the Monk of Prague, who was blind, but he had so fine a nose that he was able to distinguish between a saint and a sinner by the smell.

Not only were the Scriptures pressed into service against those who wore false hair or dyed their own, but zealous Christian priests quoted even heathen writers to shame men out of the custom. It is a remarkable thing how well acquainted these well-meaning but somewhat over-straining personages were with the erotic poets of heathendom.

Before the period of the Conquest of England by William the Norman, ecclesiastics were hardly distinguishable from the laity except by the tonsure, and of this they seemed to have been partly ashamed, for they concealed it to the best of their ability by brushing the long hair around it so as to cover the distinctive mark.

It was only the great dignitaries who wore beards; had a poor priest ventured to carry one on his face, he would have had the one pulled and the other slapped by his ecclesiastical superiors. The inferior clergy cared nothing about the matter until beards were interdicted, so far as they were concerned; and when the Council of Limoges, in 1031, decreed that the wearing of the beard was to be entirely optional, all concerned lost all interest in the question. Desire had only fastened itself upon what was forbidden. As for the more dignified clergy of the period, they were the most splendid dressers of the day; and the greatest "dandies" those who officiated at the altar. No censure directed against their extravagance in this respect had any effect upon them. It was only when the reproof seemingly came from Heaven that they cared for it, as in the case of the young soldier in the army of Stephen, who was intensely vain of the locks which fell from his crown to his knees,

and which he suddenly cut off close to the roots, in consequence of dreaming that the devil was strangling him with his own luxuriant ringlets. The dream did not cure other fops.

In the days of King John, our English ancestors actually curled their hair with crimping-irons, and bound their locks with fillets, like girls. They went bareheaded, lest the beauty of their curls be disturbed by a cap, and were not at all the sort of men that we should suspect of having wrung a Magna Charta from a King,—that Magna Charta, the original copy of which fell into the hands of a tailor, who was cutting it up into measures for other men, when it was rescued, not without difficulty, and consigned to its present safe custody in the British Museum.

English *ladies* (despite the fact that English lords cherished wigs even in the days of Stephen,) do not appear to have adopted the fashion of wearing perukes until about the year 1550. Junius, in his *Commentarium de Comâ*, says that false hair came into use with the ladies about that time, and that such use had never before been adopted by English matrons. Some three hundred years before this, the Benedictine monks at Canterbury, who were canons of the cathedral, very pathetically represented to Pope Innocent IV. that they were subject to very bad colds from serving in the wide and chilly cathedral bareheaded. The Pontiff gave them solemn permission to guard against cathedral bronchitis and phthisis by covering their heads with the hoods common to their Order, bidding them to have especial care, however, to fling back the hood at the reading of the Gospel and the elevation of the Host. Zealous churchmen have been very indignant at the attempts made to prove that the permission of Innocent IV. might be construed as a concession to priests, allowing them to wear wigs if they were so minded. The question was settled at the Great Council of England, held in London in 1268. That Council refused to sanction the wearing by clerics of "*quas vulgo 'coifes' vocant,*" except when they were travelling. If a *coif* even were profane, a wig to this Council would have taken the guise of an unpardonable sin. It is, however, well known that, although Rome forbade a priest to officiate with covered head, permission to do so was purchasable. In fact, the rule of Rome was not founded, as it was asserted to be, on Scripture. Permission was readily granted to the Romish priests in China to officiate with covered heads, as being more agreeable to the native idea there of what was seemly.

Native sentiment nearer home was much less regarded. Thus, when the Bulgarians complained to Pope Nicholas that their priests would not permit them to wear, during church time, those head-wrappers or turbans which it was their habit never to throw off, the Pontiff returned an answer which almost took the brief and popular form of "Serve you right," and the Bulgarians, on the other hand, took nothing by their motion.

Anselm of Canterbury was as little conceding to the young and long-haired nobles of his day as was Pope Nicholas to the Bulgarians.

Eadmer, a monk of Canterbury, relates that on one occasion—it was Ash Wednesday,—the primate soundly rebuked the hirsute aristocracy, put them in penance, and refused them absolution until they had submitted to be close shorn. The prelate would allow none to enter his cathedral who wore either false or long hair. Against both, the objection remained for a lengthened period insuperable. When Henry I. of England was in France, Sirron, Bishop of Séez, told him that Heaven was disgusted at the aspect of Christians in long hair, or who wore on manly heads locks that, perhaps, originally came from female brows. They were, he said, sons of Belial for so offending. The King looked grave; the prelate insinuatingly invited the father of his people, who wore long, if not false, hair, to set a worthy example. "We'll think of it," said the sovereign. "No time like the present," replied the prelate, who produced a pair of shears from his episcopal sleeve, and advanced toward Henry, prepared to sweep off those honors which the monarch would fain have preserved. But what was the sceptre of the prince to the forceps of the priest? The former meekly sat down at the entrance of his tent, while the Bishop clipped him with the skilful alacrity of the immortal Figaro. Noble after noble submitted to the same operation, and, while these were being docked by the more dignified clergy, a host of inferior ecclesiastics passed through the ranks of the grinning soldiers, and cut off hair enough to have made the fortunes of all the periwig-builders who rolled in gilded chariots during the palmy days of the *Grand Monarque*.

Periwigs established themselves victoriously (dividing even the Church,) under Louis XIV. When a boy, that king had such long and beautiful hair, that a fashion ensued for all classes to wear at

least an imitation thereof. When Louis began to lose his own, he also took to false adornment, and full-bottomed wigs bade defiance to the canons of the Church.

Charles II. did not bring the fashion with him to Whitehall. On the contrary, he withstood it. He forbade the members of the universities to wear wigs, smoke tobacco, or read their sermons. The members did all three, and Charles soon found himself doing the first two. "On the 2d of November, 1663," says Pepys, "I heard the Duke (of York) say that he was going to wear a periwig; **and they say the King also will.** I never till this day," he adds, "observed that the King was mighty grey." This, perhaps, was the reason why Charles stooped to assume what he had before denounced. Pepys himself had adventured on the step in the previous May; and what a business it was for the little man! Hear him! "8th. At Mr. Jervas's, my old barber, I did try two or three borders and periwigs, meaning to wear one; and yet I have no stomach for it, but that the pains of keeping my hair clean is so great. He trimmed me, and at last I parted; but my mind was almost altered from my first purpose from the trouble which I foresee will be in wearing them also." He took some time to make up his mind; and only in October of the same year does he take poor Mrs. Pepys "to my periwig-maker's, and their showed my wife the periwig made for me, and she likes it very well."

In April, 1665, the wig was in the hands of Jervas, under repair. In the meantime, our old friend took to his natural hair; but early in May we find him recording "that this day, after I had suffered my own hayre to grow long, in order to wearing it, I find that the convenience of periwigs is so great, that I have cut off all short again, and will keep to periwigs." In the autumn, on Sunday, the 3d of September, the wicked little gallant moralizes thus on periwigs and their prospects: "Up, and put on my colored silk suit, very fine; and my new periwig, bought a good while since, but durst not wear, because the plague was in Westminster when I bought it; and it is a wonder what will be the fashion after the plague is done, as to periwigs, for nobody will dare to buy any hayre for fear of the infection, that it has been cut off the heads of people dead of the plague." The plague and the fear thereof were clean forgotten before many months had passed; and in June, 1666, Pepys says: "Walking in the galleries at Whitehall, I find the

ladies of honor dressed in their riding-garbs, with coats and doublets with deep skirts just for all the world like mine, and buttoned their doublets up their breasts, with periwigs and with hats, so that only for a long petticoat dragging under their men's coats, nobody would take them for women in any point whatever; which was an odd sight, and a sight that did not please me."

The moralist at Whitehall, however, could not forget his mission when at the "Mercer's." There, on the 14th of August, 1666, the thanksgiving day for the recent naval victory, after "hearing a piece of the Dean of Westminster's sermon," dining merrily, enjoying the sport at the Bear Garden, and letting off fireworks, the periwig-philosopher, with his wife, Lady Penn, Peg and Nan Wright, kept it up at Mrs. Mercer's after midnight; "and there, mighty merry, smutting one another with candle-grease and soot, until most of us looked like devils. And that being done, then we broke up, and to my house, and there I made them drink; and up stairs we went and then fell into dancing; W. Battelier dancing well; and dressing him and I, and one Mr. Bannister, who came over also with us, like women; and Mercer put on a suit of Tom's like a boy. And Mr. Wright, and my wife, and Peg Penn put on periwigs, and thus we spent until three or four in the morning, mighty merry;" and little troubled with the thought whether the skull which had afforded the hair for such periwigs was lying in the pest-fields or not. By the following year, our rising gentleman grows extravagant in his outlay for such adornments; and he, who had been content to wear a wig at twenty-three shillings, buys now a pair for four pounds, ten shillings,—"mighty fine; indeed, too fine, I thought for me." And yet, amazingly proud was he of his purchase, recording two days afterwards that he had "been to church, and with my mourning, very handsome; and new periwig made a great show."

Doubtless, under James II. his periwigged pate made a still greater show; for then had wigs become stupendous in their architecture. The beaux who stood beneath them carried exquisite combs in their ample pockets, with which on all occasions they ever and anon combed their periwigs, and rendered themselves irresistible. Even at that period wisdom was thought to be beneath the wig. "A full wig," says Farquhar, in his *Love and a Bottle*, (1698), "is as infallible a token of wit as the laurel."

Archbishop Tillotson is the first of the clergy represented in a wig. "I can remember," he says, in one of his sermons, "since wearing of the hair below the ears was looked upon as a sin of the first magnitude, and when ministers generally, whatever their text was, did either find or make occasion to reprove the great sin of long hair; and if they saw any one in the congregation guilty in that kind, they would point him out particularly, and *let fly at him* with great zeal."

The victory of Ramillies introduced the wig, with its peculiar, gradually diminishing plaited tail, and tie, consisting of a great bow at the top and a smaller one at the bottom. This wig survived till the reign of George III. The marcaronis of 1729 wore "a macaw-like *toupet*, and a most portentous tail." But, when the French Revolution came in contact with any system,—from the German Empire to perukes,—that system perished in the collision. So periwigs ceased, like the dynasty of the Doges of Venice, and all that remains to remind us of by-gone glories in the former way is to be found in the Ramillies tie, which still clings to the court dress worn in England, though the wigs of the past have fallen from the head, never again to rise.

Lady Wortley Montagu makes a severe remark in her letters, less against the wigs, indeed, than against their wearers. She is alluding to an alleged custom in the East, of branding every convict liar on the forehead, and she smartly adds that, if such a custom had prevailed in her country, the entire world of beaux would have to pull their periwigs down to their eyebrows.

Tillotson, as noticed above, makes reference to the opposition which perukes met with from the pulpit. The hostility from that quarter in England was faint, compared with the fiery antagonism which blazed in France, where the privilege of wearing long hair belonged at one time solely to royalty. Lombard, Bishop of Paris, in the middle of the twelfth century, induced royalty not to make the privilege common, but to abolish it altogether. The French monarchs wore their own hair cut short, until the reign of Louis XIII., who was the first King of France who wore a wig. To the fashion set by him is owing that France ultimately became the paradise of *peruquiers*.

In 1660, they first appeared on the heads of a few dandy abbés. As Ireland, in Edward Dwyer, or "Edward of the wig," has

preserved the memory of the first of her sons who took to a periwig, so France has handed down to us the Abbé de la Riviere, who died Bishop of Langres, as being the ecclesiastical innovator on whose head first rested a wig, with all the consequences of such guilty outrage of canonical discipline. The indignation of strict churchmen was extreme, and, as the fashion began to spread amongst prelates, canons, and *curés*, the Bishop of Toul sat himself down and wrote a "blast" against perukes, the wearing of which, he said, unchristianized those who adopted the fashion. It was even announced that a man had better not pray at all than pray with his head so covered. No profanity was intended when zealous, close-cropped, and bare-head ecclesiastics reminded their bewigged brethren that they were bound to imitate Christ in all things, and then asked them if the Saviour were likely to recognize a resemblance to himself in a priest under a wig. Nor was this feeling confined to the Romish Church in France. The Reformed Church was fully as hostile against the new and detested fashion. Bordeaux was in a state of insurrection, for no other reason than that the Calvinist pastor there had refused to admit any of his flock in wigs to the sacrament. And when Riviers, Protestant Professor of Theology at Leyden, wrote his *Libertas Christiana circa Usum Capillitii Defensa*, in behalf of perukes, the *ultra* orthodox in both churches turned to gore him. The Romanists asked what could be expected from a Protestant but rank heresy? And the Protestants disowned a brother who had defended a fashion which had originated with a Romanist. Each party stood by the words of Paul to Corinthians. In vain did some suggest that the Apostolical injunction was only local. Neither side would heed the suggestion, and would have insisted on bare heads at both poles. "And yet," remarked the wiggites, "it is common for preachers to preach in caps." "Ay," retorted the orthodox; "but that is simply because they are speaking in their own name. Reading the gospel or offering up the adorable sacrifice, they are speaking or acting in the name of the Universal Church. Of course," they added, "there are occasions when even a priest may be covered. If a Pope invented the *biretta*, a *curé* may wear a cap."

Sylvester was the first Pontiff who wore a mitre, but even that fashion became abused, and in the year 1000 a Pope was seen with his mitre on during mass,—a sight which startled the faithful,

and a fact which artists would be none the worse for remembering. After that period, bishops took to them so pertinaciously, that they hardly laid them by on going to bed. When the moderns brought the question back to its simple principles, and asked the sticklers for old customs if wigs were not as harmless as mitres, they were treated with very scant courtesy. If, it was said, a priest must even take off his *calotte* (skull-cap) in the presence of a king or a Pope, how may he dare to wear a wig before God?

Richelieu was the first ecclesiastic of his rank in France who wore the modern *calotte*; but it is to be doubted if he ever took it off in the presence of Louis XIII. It is known, however, that the French King's ambassador, M. d'Opperville, found much difficulty in obtaining an audience at Rome. He wore a wig *à calotte*, as though the tonsure had been regularly performed, and that the wig was natural hair. The officials declared that he could not be introduced unless he took off the *calotte*. He could not do this without taking off the wig also, as he showed the sticklers of court etiquette, and stood before them with clean-shaved head, asking, at the same time: "Would the Pope desire me to stand in his presence in such a plight as this?" Perhaps His Holiness, had he received the ambassador under bare poll, would have graciously served him as one of his predecessors had served the Irish saint, Malachi, —put his pontifical tiara on the good old man's head to prevent his taking cold!

But of all the tilters against wigs, none was so serious and chivalric as "Jean Baptiste Thiers, *Docteur en Theologie et Curé de Champrond*." Dr. Thiers, in the year 1690, wrote a book of some six hundred pages against the wearing of wigs by ecclesiastics. He published the same at his own expense, and high authority pronounced it conformable, in every respect, to the "Roman Catholic and Apostolic Church." Dr. Thiers wrote a brief preface to his work, in which he invokes an abundant visitation of divine peace and grace on those who read his volume with tranquillity of mind, and who preferred truth to fashion. The invocation seems to be made in vain; for the tediousness of the author slays all tranquillity of spirit on the part of the reader, who cannot, however, refrain from smiling at seeing the very existence of Christianity made to depend on the question of perukes. The book is a dull one; but the prevailing idea in it—that it is all over with religion

if perukes be not abolished,—is one that might compel a cynic to inextinguishable laughter. “Yes,” says the Doctor, “the origin of the tonsure is to be found in the cutting of Peter’s hair by the Gentiles to make him look ridiculous; *therefore*, he who hides the tonsure beneath a peruke insults the Prince of the Apostles!” A species of reasoning comparable with which is not to be found in that book which Rome has honored by condemning,—*Whateley’s Logic*.

The volume, however, affords evidence of the intense excitement raised in France by the discussion of the bearing of wigs on Christianity. For a season, the question in some degree resembled, in its treatment, at least, that of baptismal regeneration as now treated among ourselves. No primitively minded prelate would license a *curé* who professed neutrality on the matter of wigs. The wearers of these were often turned out of their benefices; but then they were welcomed in other dioceses by bishops who were heterodoxly given to the mundane comforts of wiggery. Terrible scenes took place in vestries between wigged priests ready to repair to the altar and their brethren and superiors who sought to prevent them. Chapters suspended such priests from place and profit; Parliaments broke the decree of suspension, and Chapters renewed the interdict. In fact, the whole Church of France was rent in twain by the contending parties.

Louis XIV. took the conservative side of the question, so far as it regarded ecclesiastics; and the Archbishop of Rheims fondly thought he had clearly settled the dispute by decreeing that wigs might or might not be worn, according to circumstances. They were allowed to aged and infirm priests, but never at the altar. One consequence was that many priests used first to approach near the altar, and, taking off their wigs, deposit the same under protest in the hands of attending notaries. Such a talk about heads had not kept a whole city in confusion since the days of Saint Fructuarus, Bishop of Braga, who decreed the penalty of entirely shaving crowns against all the monks of that city caught in the act of kissing any of its maidens. Three-fourths of the grave gentlemen thus came under the razor! Such would not have been the case, good reader, with you and me. Certainly not!

Thiers could not see in the wig the uses discerned by Cumberland, who says, in his comedy of the “Choleric Man,” “Believe me,

there is much good sense in old distinctions. When the law lays down its full-bottomed periwig, you will find less wisdom in bald pates than you are aware of." The Curé of Champrond says that the French priests, who yearly spent their thirty or forty pistoles in wigs, were so irreligious that they kept their best wigs for the world, and their oldest for God! wearing the first in drawing-rooms, and the latter in church. This was certainly less ingenious than in the case of the man who, having but one peruke, made it pass for two. It was naturally a kind of flowing bob; but by the occasional addition of two tails it sometimes passed as a major.

In France, wigs ended by assuming the appearance of nature. In the Reign of Terror, the modish blonde perukes worn by females were made of hair purchased from the executioner, of whom old ladies bought the curls which had clustered about the young necks that had been severed by the knife of Sanson. But after this the fashion ceased among women, as it had already done among men, beginning to do so with the latter when our countryman Franklin appeared in his own hair, unpowdered, at the Court of Louis XVI.; and from that period wigs, as the universal fashion of the time, ceased to be worn, and now belong only to history.

WILLIAM DE BEAUVOIR FRYER.

VERSIONS OF GOETHE.

HEIDENROESLEIN.

ON the summer heath so gay
 Was a Rosebud growing.
 Passed a youth along that way,
 And the Rosebud, young and glowing,
 In his heart much joy bestowing,
 Drew him near her, made him stay.
 Darling little Rose so red,
 Beauty o'er the heath you shed!

Spake the youth, " I break thee now,
 Rosebud on the heather ;"
 Said the Rosebud, " Take me now,
 If you fear not the resistance
 Thorns can bring to my assistance :—
 Freedom thorns will not allow."
 Darling little Rose so red,
 Raising o'er the heath your head!

And the reckless youth then brake
 Rosebud on the heather.
 Rosebud pierced him in resistance,
 But her thorns brought no assistance,
 " Woe!" and " Ah!" in vain she spake :
 Yielded she to his persistence.
 Darling little Rose so red,
 Drooping on the heath your head!

 AN DIE ENTFERNTÉ.

Have I then lost thee, friend to me so dear?
 Hast thou, my fair one, from me flown?
 Yet, well remembered, sounds upon my ear
 Thy every word, thy every tone.

When bright upon his path the day springs,
The trav'ler vainly looks upon the sky
To see where in the vaulted blue the lark sings
Hidden above the ken of mortal eye.

So, sadly turning me in each direction,
Through field and woodland seek I only thee ;
And all my songs crave only thy affection :—
Oh, come, my darling, back to me.

GLUECK AND TRAUM.

Often in your happy dreaming
By the altar we were seeming,—
You my wife, your husband I.
From your lips, when we were waking,
Kisses oft have I been taking,
Kisses ravished on the sly.

The fairest pleasure Fate could shower,
The joy of many a blissful hour,
Pass'd by, like Time, with using.
Like dreams the warmest kisses hasting,
What good to me was in the tasting,—
All joys like kisses losing ?

JOHN ANDREWS HARRIS.

THE DUTY OF EACH CITIZEN TO TAKE PART IN
POLITICAL WORK.

EACH American citizen is enabled by our free institutions to be the architect of his own fortunes, the only limit to the accomplishment of his aspirations being the extent of his capacity. It is a small return to the State, for the enjoyment of this inestimable privilege, that each citizen should consider it his duty to carefully guard the institutions from which it is derived; that he should study the political questions of the day; that he should investigate the merits of candidates for office and the methods made use of by political parties for placing them in nomination; that he should vote at each and every election, primary and general; and that he should so inform himself that the casting of his ballot is the expression of a conscientious conviction, and not a blind and prejudiced act. A government of the people, by the people, is dependent on the patriotism of individuals for its existence; it must be supplied with aspirants for public office of integrity and ability, and a sufficient number of informed and disinterested voters to elect honest rulers. If, through the apathy of the public and the domination of political bosses, who manage elections through subordinates whose living depends on the success of their exertion at the polls, or through fear of the contempt of an unfortunately large and influential class who affect disdain for those who expose their fair reputation to the polluting atmosphere of political life, honest people are discouraged from seeking public office, the very existence of our free institutions will be endangered.

In fact, the events of the last year or two appear to have brought matters to a crisis, and it is to be proven whether there is sufficient virtue in the American people to free themselves from the political bondage they have been subjected to, and resent the insults that have been heaped upon them. The action of the political leaders in enforcing the "unit rule" in the last Presidential convention is still fresh in our memory. The contempt with which the Legislature treated the demand of the people for the abolition of the office of Collector of Delinquent Taxes, is before us; wealthy and influential citizens, convicted—on their own confession,—of bribing

the Legislature to pass a bill drawn up for the purpose of extorting money from the taxpayers and putting it into the pockets of political wire-pullers, were pardoned before even a portion of their sentence had been undergone. In the city of Philadelphia, a noted political "boss," who has been distinctly proved to have acquired an immense fortune and enriched his friends and relations out of money filched from the public through the Gas Trust, has "bobbed up serenely," after a very brief "disappearance," and engaged in his old occupation of setting up nominations and playing the rôle of *Warwick* in the determination of candidates for office.

Why are these men exempt from the restraints which control the actions of the ordinary citizen? Why can they steal with immunity, while poor men go to prison? Simply because they belong to the "ring;" that is, to a league of men who hold the reins of government, who are undermining our free institutions, and who, by the assistance of a comparatively small force of trained political workers, entirely control the suffrage of a large majority. The public to these men has been simply a fat goose which, well cooked by their retainers, has furnished a banquet for the "bosses," and the poor retainers have fed from the crumbs that fell from their masters' table.

How long this will continue, depends on the patriotism and independence of the people. If the voters will allow themselves by party cries to be driven into voting for party candidates without investigating their character or the methods by which they are placed in nomination, it will not be very many years before we will suffer the consequences of blind adherence to party so well depicted by Washington in his farewell address. "Under such circumstances," he says, "parties are likely, in the course of time and things, to become potent agencies by which cunning, ambitious and unprincipled men will be able to subvert the power of the people and to usurp for themselves the reins of government, destroying afterwards the very engine which had lifted them to unjust dominion."

If this is the unfortunate situation into which public affairs have fallen,—from which we can only be released by the united exertions of the people,—how are those who are disposed to aid the present reform movement, to render the most efficient help to those who are working in this good cause? I answer, by each man devoting a portion of his time to the public service in the way in which he

finds he can exert most influence ; first, let each man inform himself in the questions of the day, and, after he has conscientiously determined the course he will pursue, then let him also determine the amount of work he is willing to contribute. Politically considered, those who enjoy the elective franchise are divided into two classes,—those who originate political doctrines, disseminate information and carry on the campaigns, and those who simply vote. Of those who confine their political labors to simply casting their ballot, a large number only vote at Presidential elections, and of the number who vote at general elections not one-tenth vote at primary elections ; and of this small fraction who attend primary elections scarcely a voter makes any inquiry into the character of the delegates who are to be sent to the various conventions. This is the reason that nominations are entirely under the control of political “ bosses ” who have a sufficient number of their employés in every election division to control the primary elections. Reform within the party is impossible, because you cannot get a sufficient number of disinterested citizens to devote the time and labor requisite to overcome the influence and exertions of the office-holders and interested political workers, whose living depends on the successful manipulations of primaries. The cure for this evil is to release the office-holder from his political bondage by proper civil service legislation, and thus do away with the political retainer. The plan of reform, within the party lines, by controlling the primary elections, is very beautiful in theory, but, as a matter of experience, you cannot find a sufficient number of men who will make the sacrifice of business and pleasure necessary for the proper performance of the drudgery of division work. The contesting of a division in a primary election involves no principle or party platform, but compels the odious task—in which an honest man “ has nothing to gain, and everything to lose,”—of investigating the integrity of delegates ; therefore, it is scarcely possible to expect those who are making a great and unrewarded exertion in the cause of reform, to undertake in a general way this unpleasant work. If there was a large turn-out of voters at primaries, they could entirely control nominations. But unfortunately but few can be induced to vote at these elections. There are too many people who wish to enjoy the benefits of a free government, sustained by the labors of others, while they are engrossed in their own pursuits,

for the accomplishment of reform by this method. If those people who consider their time so valuable would bear a small portion of the necessary work of a political campaign, they would feel much less like abusing those who bear the heat and toil of the day for no other reason than the consciousness of having performed a duty.

The only way in which reform can be accomplished is by independent popular movements in favor of candidates pledged to the correction of public abuses. The only way in which these movements can be made successful is by the now apathetic portion of the community giving some practical assistance to those engaged in carrying them on. If each voter would make a study of the questions that are being advanced by the reformers,—“Civil Service Reform” and the overthrow of the “boss” system,—so that he would be prepared to act without having to be solicited and urged, campaigns could be carried on with much greater rapidity, and the chances of success would be much greater. It would be very little trouble to each citizen to obtain an assessors' list of the voters of his division, so that he could assist in detecting fraudulent voting and aid in influencing the votes of others.

It is also highly important that our high schools and colleges should give some instruction in State and municipal government. It seems very absurd that a young man carefully trained in modern and ancient history, and in the Constitution of his country, should be utterly ignorant of the Constitution of his own State, of municipal government, and the laws relating to the elective franchise. Yet I think it will be conceded that the most ignorant political rounder has more practical knowledge on these questions than the college graduate. When we reflect that the country has to depend on the young men of education to keep up the tone of public life, and that half a dozen well-prepared lectures as part of a collegiate course would give the necessary instruction, it is very evident that this is an evil that can easily be cured, and should be attended to.

The industries of the nation are prospering, and year by year our position among the Great Powers is becoming more commanding. Let all unite in protecting this great fabric from the evil consequences of misrule,—the older portion of the community by making some atonement for past neglect, the younger element by setting an example of duty for future emulation.

E. F. HOFFMAN.

A SHORT EXAMINATION OF HAZLITT'S CRITICISM
OF MASSINGER.

IN an article upon Massinger which appeared in this magazine a few months since, we had occasion to call attention to the fact that all the critics whose dicta with reference to the Elizabethan drama are regarded as of weight, with the exception of Hazlitt, united in assigning to Massinger a high rank amongst the dramatic authors of his time, and in recognizing him as the possessor of genuine poetic, and especially tragic, ability of the highest order; from this general agreement Hazlitt dissented, and, in view of the deservedly high reputation of the critic, it may not be either uninteresting or unimportant for us to consider for a short time the charges brought against Massinger as a dramatist and poet by Hazlitt, and endeavor to see how far they are justified by the writings which Mr. Hazlitt criticised.

In the fourth of his very interesting lectures on the dramatic literature of Elizabeth, page 104, Hazlitt says: "I must hasten to conclude this lecture with some account of Massinger and Ford, who wrote in the reign of Charles I. I am sorry I cannot do it *con amore*. The writers of whom I have chiefly had to speak were true poets, impassioned, fanciful, 'musical as is Apollo's lute;' but Massinger is harsh and crabbed, Ford finical and fastidious. . . . Massinger makes an impression by hardness and repulsiveness of manner. In the intellectual processes which he delights to describe, 'reason panders will;' he fixes arbitrarily on some object which there is no motive to pursue, or every motive combined against it, and, by screwing up his heroes or heroines to the deliberate and blind accomplishment of this, thinks to arrive at the 'true pathos and sublime of human life.' That is not the way. He seldom touches the heart or kindles the fancy. . . . For the most part, his villains are a sort of *lusus nature*; his impassioned characters like drunkards or madmen. Their conduct is extreme and outrageous; their motives unaccountable and weak; their misfortunes are without necessity, and their crimes without temptation to ordinary apprehensions." These are the main charges brought by Hazlitt against Massinger in a rather compressed account of the poet which is almost entirely condemnatory in its

tone. Some of his arguments and instances we will notice as we proceed, but at present let us sum up the charges, which may be stated as follows :

- 1st. That Massinger is hard and crabbed.
- 2d. That he makes his impression by repulsiveness of man ner.
- 3d. That the actions of his characters are purely arbitrary.
- 4th. That he seldom touches the heart or kindles the fancy.
- 5th. That his characters are mostly monsters.

Five quite serious charges these ; let us see how far they can be sustained.

If Mr. Hazlitt means by "hard and crabbed" that Massinger's writings have not the same degree of passion as Shakespeare's or Marlowe's, we must agree with him ; but if by "hard and crabbed" he means what is generally implied by those words, we must differ from him. Hazlitt does not bring arguments drawn from Massinger's writings to support this charge ; he merely makes the sweeping charge, and attempts to carry it through by the force of statement. Now, Hazlitt is a great name, surely, but as this is, in the way Mr. Hazlitt presents it, offered rather as an opinion than as a fact proved to the satisfaction of the reader, we might offset Hazlitt's dictum by the dicta of Coleridge and Hallam, either of which would outweigh his. But it is better always to meet a case on the evidence, and therefore let us simply refer to a few scenes of this "crabbed" writer, and see the hard and crabbed manner in which they are treated. Take, for instance, the story of *Bertoldo* and *Camiola*, in the "Maid of Honour." *Bertoldo* is a Knight of Malta, a natural brother of the King of Sicily, and the lover of *Camiola*, a maid of honor, who loves him dearly in return, but recognizes the fact that the vow of the Order makes an impassable gulf between them. *Bertoldo*, against his brother's orders, goes to the wars and is taken prisoner by the forces of the *Duchess of Sienna*, and is thrown into a dungeon. The *King* refuses to allow his ransom to be paid. Hearing of his captivity, *Camiola* sells a great part of her estate to ransom him, resolving then to allow *Bertoldo* to do what he had before proposed,—to obtain a dispensation from his vows of celibacy. To carry to her lover the news of his approaching liberation, she sends *Adorni*, a faithful serving-gentleman, who loves *Camiola* himself, and who, after a hard struggle, goes to *Bertoldo's* prison, finds the *Knight* asleep, and as he bends over him thus shows the result of his struggle :

“Howe'er I hate him,
 As one preferred before me, being a man,
 He does deserve my pity. See! he sleeps,—
 Or is he dead? Would he were a saint in heaven!
 'Tis all the hurt I wish him. But I was not
 Born to such happiness.”

He tells *Bertoldo* of his ransom by *Camiola*, and hears from him the passionate burst of love and vows of eternal fidelity to the lady:

“Divine *Camiola*!
 But words cannot express thee. I'll build to thee
 An altar in my soul, on which I'll offer
 A still-increasing sacrifice of duty.”

But a trial is in store for *Bertoldo*, for, on his going to take his leave of the *Duchess*, she declares love for him, invites him to share her throne, and he, dazzled by the glitter of a crown, consents. *Adorni* bears the sad tidings to *Camiola*, who, almost heart-broken, yet, while she cannot deny *Bertoldo's* treason, bitterly reproaches the honest *Adorni*, who frankly confesses that he did not feel much sorrow at *Bertoldo's* fall, since it would serve to set off his own faith. When *Bertoldo*, in the train of the *Duchess*, whom he has not yet married, returns to the Court in order to become reconciled to his brother, *Camiola* presents to the *King* his written promise of marriage, and claims him as her husband, recounts the service she has rendered him, and his ingratitude:

“Imagine
 You saw him now in fetters, with his honor,
 His liberty lost; with her black wings, Despair
 Circling his miseries, and this *Gonzaga*
 Trampling on his affections; the great sum
 Proposed for his redemption; the *King*
 Forbidding payment of it; his near kinsmen,
 With his protesting followers and friends,
 Falling off from him; by the whole world forsaken;
 Dead to all hope, and buried in the grave
 Of his calamities; and then weigh duly
 What she deserved, whose merits now are doubted,
 That as his better angel in her bounties
 Appeared unto him, his great ransom paid,
 His wants, and with a prodigal hand supplied!
 This serpent,
 Frozen to numbness, was no sooner warmed
 In the bosom of my pity and compassion,
 But in return he ruined his preserver,

The prints the irons had made in his flesh
 Still ulcerous ; but all that I had done,
 My benefits, in sand or water written,
 As they had never been, no more remember'd !
 And on what ground but his ambitious hopes
 To gain the Duchess' favor ?”

But when *Bertoldo* sees his meanness and confesses it, at once the old tenderness of feeling for him reasserts itself :

“ This compunction
 For the wrong that you have done me, though you should
 Fix here, and your true sorrow move no further,
 Will, in respect I loved once, make these eyes
 Two springs of sorrow for you.”

But she bids him hope no further, and tells him she has resolved upon another marriage,—to heaven,—and before she leaves with her confessor has the satisfaction of seeing *Bertoldo* reassume the white cross of his Order.

Now, does the treatment of the story, as we have briefly and imperfectly set it out, or do the extracts from the play that are given, seem to any ordinary reader “hard and crabbed” ?

Again, take the scene between *Octavio, Maria* and *Alonso*, and between *Hortensio* and *Matilda*, in “The Bashful Lover ;” the beautiful defence of *Charolois* before the Court in “The Fatal Dowry ;” the speech of *Grimaldi*, when he has been touched with a sense of his sins, or *Paris's* defence of his profession, in “The Roman Actor.” But it is needless to multiply examples. Take up Massinger, read him, and say whether you do not find yourself reading with interest in the story and in the characters, and whether the diction does not carry you easily along,—in most cases without any conscious effort,—and see whether the impression produced on you is that you are reading a hard and crabbed writer.

The second charge of Mr. Hazlitt is little more than a repetition of the first, except that it acknowledges the success of this hardness and crabbedness, and the same answer may be given to this refinement of the first charge, as to the first charge itself. One can hardly consider the way in which *Camisola, Adorni, Paris, Hortensio, Marcelia, Maria, et hoc genus omne*, are presented, as making an impression by hardness and repulsiveness of manner. If Mr. Hazlitt refers to the repulsiveness of Massinger's villains, why, how else should villains make an impression upon a reader who, unlike

the *dramatis personæ*, is permitted to have an insight into the very secret springs of character? Should the villain be presented as a most estimable, alluring character, even when we know his villainy? It would be hard to cause a villain, his villainy known, to appear anything else but repulsive to a person of correct moral ideas. If he attracts at all, it must be by that strange fascination which evil sometimes exercises when joined to great intellectual power, or sometimes when joined to strength of purpose merely. To what else does that prince of villains, *Iago*, owe his impression but to his repulsiveness,—to qualities repellent themselves when conjoined to the object aimed at,—to the very prostitution of intellectual power? If Mr. Hazlitt means this, we must agree with him, but at the same time consider it no fault in Massinger; but if he does not mean this,—and we think he does not,—we must differ. Power of expression is not hardness and repulsiveness of manner.

The third charge, that Massinger's characters act in a purely arbitrary manner, Mr. Hazlitt does support by argument, and the example he chooses is *Francisco*, in the "Duke of Milan," of whom he says: "He is a person whose actions we are at a loss to explain till the conclusion of the piece, when the attempt to account for them from motives originally amiable and generous only produces a double sense of incongruity, and instead of satisfying the mind renders it totally incredulous. He endeavors to seduce the wife of his benefactor; he then (failing,) attempts her death, slanders her foully, and wantonly causes her to be slain by the hand of her husband, and has him poisoned by a nefarious stratagem; and all this to appease a high sense of injured honor that felt a stain like a wound, and from a tender overflowing of fraternal affection, his sister having, it appears, been formerly betrothed to, and afterwards deserted by, the *Duke of Milan*." In other words, he regards *Francisco* as unnatural because he performs enormities from an insufficient motive. In the first place, let us pause to notice that Hazlitt misstates the facts. *Sforza's* crime against *Eugenia* was of a deeper, blacker dye than that of merely breaking plighted troth, as seems to be plainly shown by *Eugenia's* speech in Act V., Scene I. But, casting that out of the question, let us see whether a character is entirely unnatural because its revenge goes far beyond its wrongs, and its deeds are disproportioned to the provocation.

In the first place, I think we may take for granted that there are people who seem to love wickedness, if not for wickedness' self, for the intellectual activity which it involves, the excitement and, in some cases, the sense of power accompanying it; and this has been shown very forcibly by Professor Henry Reed in his magnificent lecture on "Othello." Nay, we need not lay down Hazlitt to find this maintained; for Hazlitt, in his remarks on *Iago*, says: * "Some persons, more nice than wise, have thought this whole character unnatural because his villainy is without a *sufficient motive*." (The italics are Hazlitt's.) "Shakespeare, who was as good a philosopher, as he was a poet, thought otherwise. He knew that the love of power, which is another name for the love of mischief, is natural to man. . . . Why do so many persons frequent trials and executions, or why do the lower classes almost universally take delight in barbarous sports and cruelty to animals, but because there is a natural tendency in the mind to strong excitement,—a desire to have the faculties raised and stimulated to the utmost? Whenever this principle is not under the restraint of humanity or the sense of moral obligation, there are no excesses to which it will not of itself give rise without the assistance of any other motive, either of passion as well as of self-interest." Now, if we may imagine a being so uncontrolled by moral principle that he will be guilty of unprovoked villainy, *à fortiori* may we imagine a being who will carry provoked villainy far beyond all bounds, and especially if we imagine the being in the latter case to be one who, without the cause, would have been a villain at any rate; for in that case the wrong inflicted serves to his mind, perhaps, as an excuse to still the slight motions of conscience which will have place even in such a man, or perhaps he may use the wrong simply to justify his conduct in the eyes of the more superficial observers in the world, and so increase and prolong his power of doing ill. But, further, is it impossible that the two conditions should be combined? Cannot a wrong, and a very great one, be done even to a villain; Again, in many men the evil principle seems for a long time to lie dormant until called into active existence by some real or fancied injury, and then the whole character of the man seems to be trans-

* *Characters of Shakespeare's Plays*, p. 36.

formed,—the very devils of hell seem to possess him,—while in truth his genuine, true nature is only being revealed. Applying these thoughts both to *Iago* and *Francisco*, do they not equally apply in each case, so that the characters stand or fall together in the critic's judgment, so that, if we approve *Iago* as a villain without a motive, (though I do not for my part agree with Professor Reed as to the refusal of the lieutenancy being a fable, this fact of the refusal seems to me confirmed by a later speech of *Othello*;) we cannot refuse our approval to *Francisco* as a villain with an inadequate one? And here, at least, Hazlitt's charge of an arbitrary action of characters is without weight, since the argumentist's duty is to "hold the mirror up to nature," and, if such beings exist, as Hazlitt himself says they do, *Francisco* is a natural character, and hence acts naturally. This seems to be the principal instance that Hazlitt relies on in support of both his third and fifth heads, and, indeed, the two are so closely allied that we have fallen into treating them together. But we will not leave this charge here, for to our mind the most striking characteristic of Massinger is his development of character, and a character consistent in itself can hardly be well developed and yet act arbitrarily and without motive; and in fact few characters can be found anywhere whose actions seem to flow more naturally one from the other, and whose natures are more consistent with those actions and with themselves, as they are gradually displayed to us, than many of Massinger's creations. Take *Charolois* mourning for his father, begging the Court to free his father's body, seized for debt, rudely repulsed, his petition to the Court refused, succeeding finally in having himself consigned to prison, and his father buried; then, suddenly redeemed from captivity by the good *Rochfort*, who marries him to his heart's darling, his only child, of whose ill practices he is ignorant, as is *Charolois*; *Beaumelle's* treachery, at first disbelieved by her husband, though his informant is his oldest friend and tried follower; conviction forced home upon him, he kills the seducer, and afterwards his wife, after a species of trial before her father. Is there here, except, perhaps, in the trial, anything to carp at as an unnatural action? At any rate, there is not enough to brand the character as acting arbitrarily or as a monster. We might continue and take up character after character; but it is easier to make sweeping assertions than to give them general disproof, and we may

properly call on the accuser to prove his charges, and, where he does not, refuse to acknowledge their truth with perfect propriety.

For the first division of Hazlitt's fourth point, it depends very much on the individual heart to be touched, (I have seen creatures laugh when *Lear* fell over the senseless form of *Cordelia*;) and Massinger, although his strength does not mainly lie in the pathetic, is by no means destitute of ability to create touching situations,—take the grief of *Rochfort* for his guilty child, or *Ascanio* watching *Alonzo*, or the remorse of *Sforza*. For the second head, it is true that Massinger rarely kindles the fancy, if we take fancy in the highest sense; he was generally too much in earnest to gather the flowers of fancy; his imagination was of a more sombre cast; but still we do find in his pages here and there bits of fancy; for example, this from a song in "The Guardian:"

"Welcome, thrice welcome to this shady green,
Our long-wished Cynthia, the forests' queen.
The trees begin to bud, the glad birds sing,
In winter, changed by her into the spring.

"We know no night.
Perpetual light
Dawns from your eye;
You being near,
We cannot fear,
Though Death stood by.

"From you our swords take edge, our hearts grow bold;
From you in fee their lives your liegemen hold;
These groves your kingdom, and your law your will,
Smile and we spare, but if you frown we kill."

Here we will stop; this paper is a species of supplement to the former article on Massinger, and its excuse for existence is that, of all the critics of the drama, there is none, probably, more read than is Hazlitt, whose attractive style, beauty of thought, and generally hearty sympathy with his subject, naturally give him a powerful influence over readers, and, therefore, it is a service to literature to point out a particular instance in which we conceive him to have erred, lest his opinion should lead many to unknowingly deny themselves the pleasure obtainable from the works of a great author.

HENRY BUDD, JR.

TAINÉ'S "FRENCH REVOLUTION."*

HISTORIANS are apt to gauge human progress by some favorite theory, and judge of characters and events according as they square with this theory. There is some line of progress to which they are partial, and which more or less warps their judgment. Mr. Grote, for instance, in his history of Greece, advocates democracy as the line of Grecian progress, while Bishop Thirlwall, writing on the same subject, advocates aristocracy. Mr. Greene states that "the whole history of English progress since the Restoration, on its moral and spiritual side, has been the history of Puritanism." Mr. Carlyle, in his prose rhapsody on the French Revolution, throws an ideal glamour over its leaders, in spite of their crimes. French historians, generally, do not care what occurred during this revolution, nor how it was done, so long as the end was accomplished. Progress, it might be said in passing, is about as difficult to define as truth. But it is a question whether any of these theories will serve in the long run, as it can be shown that progress has been quite as dependent upon aristocracy as democracy; that the "moral and spiritual side" of England since 1660 is not by any means "the history of Puritanism;" that the cause of liberty, as far as progress rests on that, needs no gloss over massacres, nor any sanction whatever of ignorance and infatuation. M. Taine, at all events, is not a historian of this stamp. Metaphysical standards of thought and deed are not his tests. Intelligence, sound culture, wise ambition, judicious action, are more important factors in historical evolution, than blind faith, egotism, brutal energy, and mere good intentions. If the "ideal" can be shown by cause and effect to develop through the actual, this is much more useful than abstractions fructified by the imagination and enforced by logic. The real conduct of the human species in a secular order of things is of the most significance.

With such a theory in mind, the facts he states convey their true import. It is easy to state facts, but it is not so easy to arrange them properly. M. Taine's method is original; his facts are

* *Les Origines de la France Contemporaine, par H. Taine. La Revolution. Tome II. La Conquête Jacobine.* Paris: Hachette & Co.

classified in relation to obvious aims and require no argument to help them along. A bloody insurrection, a massacre, is the subject in hand. The import of this event depends not on its political relationship, but on the limit and degree of human responsibility which it involves. It may proceed from an inflammatory leader by Marat in his journal, from a meeting of loungers in a Palais-Royal *café*, from frantic discussions in the sectional and other Jacobin clubs. M. Taine shows Marat's way of thinking, the order of his mind in relation to profound subjects, by quotations from his journal and speeches; he sets before us the *café* disputes and oratory of the morbid and the vile, the bombast, the turgid eloquence, the venom, the absolute spirit of the majorities in the Jacobin clubs. With such a tableau of character, motive and action before us, we perfectly comprehend the irrelevance of such agencies in a reformatory crisis. Brissot brings about a war "which is to destroy six millions of lives." Who is Brissot, that he should have such responsibility? M. Taine gives us the antecedents of this Bohemian publicist, coupled with a clear exposition of the internal and external affairs of the country, by which we fully realize the anomaly of a political quack like Brissot bringing about such a catastrophe.

On several occasions, a little firmness on the part of Louis XVI. would have forestalled destruction and perhaps have averted the Revolution; a sentimental dread of maintaining his authority by force, even in defence of the law, prevents the monarch from acting. The king is on trial for his life. Refined deputies, like Vergniaud and others of the Girondist party, shrink from voting for his death; yells and shouts from the streets outside, coupled with similar vociferations and threats within, from the Assembly galleries filled with "the people," compel them to obey their Jacobin opponents. And so on—a murderous fanaticism, lust of power, lack of courage, over-refinement, all the energy of bad qualities and all the defects of good ones, contribute to produce and impel onward this blind, headlong revolution. M. Taine does not treat it as a sacrifice to a political ideal, but he shows it to be a slow evolution of utter demoralization.

This psychological method explains every remarkable feature of the Revolution, spiritually as well as objectively. It shows the nature of public opinion, and how this was formed. Some species of faith, prior to these events, must have existed to account

for such moral and intellectual degeneracy. Where look for it, in the absence of the usual religious stimulants of popular enthusiasm? It is represented by Rousseau's *Contrat-Social*, the political Bible of the epoch. Society, according to this instrument, is all wrong from the beginning. If it had started right, there would have been no king, no class, no privileges, no misery. Individuals are born free, equal and independent; they collectively constitute society, and may at any time or place ignore, at pleasure, all obligations or forms entered into, or imposed by, anterior communities. Property rights and old-established institutions may be set aside when it pleases "the people," as well as contemporary magistrates and Government officials. A man must merge his personality, himself, his children, his possessions, into that of the State; he must answer the call instantaneously, whenever the State, or, in other words, "the people," claim his time, his energies and his money. Such is the sum of the teachings, direct and indirect, of this reformatory document. It is no wonder that demagogues, playing upon public opinion thus fashioned, should undermine authority through the help of the wretched, the corrupt and the idle,—all who have anything to gain by social dissolutions. We of the present day know, or at all events are controlled by those who do, that society is not formed out of personal units, but out of a recognition of various rights growing out of private interests and sentiments; that a right involves a duty; that there is no such thing as equality and independence, other than before the law; that the conception of liberty is restraint for the common weal; that government is founded on certain conditions of time and place which are not of mere temporary force, but which bind together a long series of generations. The notions of the *Contrat-Social* accordingly strike us as whimsical. At that time, however, they were converted into stern realities. M. Taine shows us how, step by step, they changed order into anarchy. He shows us laws made and broken to suit the occasion. He shows us legal forms illegally misapplied through violence and corruption; ballot-boxes are stuffed, fraudulent returns are made, and voters "bull-dozed" and frightened away from the polls. We see eloquent, imaginative men, like the Girondists, capable of arousing the passions but impotent to control them,—these very men truckling to their inferiors and at last becoming their instruments and their victims. We see

how through this pseudo-faith an immense majority of the population of France, opposed to violence and fraud, are made subject to a small minority of dreamers and desperadoes; "a population of twenty-six millions ruled by five thousand Jacobins." The book is one long, elaborate, irrefutable analysis of misrule growing out of submitting the leading idea of the *Contrat-Social*—"sovereignty of the people,"—to an absolutely practical demonstration.

Subsequent stages of society gained, it is true, by this epoch of destruction. But so does any old city gain by being partially consumed by fire; on the burned district being rebuilt, its streets may be made wider and more salubrious, and its edifices more convenient and more magnificent. But no thanks to the incendiaries who have kindled and fanned the flames under, at best, a chimerical impulse. There was no need of a general conflagration in France at this time. Were we to admit this as an historical necessity, we might as well turn fatalists at once. M. Taine's method applied to an analoguous revolution, that in England under Cromwell, which stopped midway in a similar attempt, saves us our historical acumen and a safe "ideal." We all know that the *Contrat-Social* of the Cromwellian Revolution was the Bible; we know that the "godly men" who fought the battles of that revolution intended to upset society entirely, to create a "kingdom of the righteous." The same method shows us that this ideal proved a failure before it could fall through of its own weight, because Cromwell willed otherwise. Certain it is that Cromwell did not desire to uproot old institutions and face anarchy.* He was intelligent enough to know that the place, if not the title, of king would answer his purpose; and that the old monarchical theory carried him along safely is proved by "the people" gladly welcoming the true king when the Protectorate ended in Cromwell's death.

Instead of regarding the French Revolution in itself as a forward step in progress, now that its negative course is so clearly revealed, it may be regarded as a backward one. Abuses could have been

* "The Barebones Parliament was charged with a design to ruin property, the Church and the Law, with enmity to knowledge, and a blind and ignorant fanaticism. Cromwell himself shared the general uneasiness at its proceedings. . . . He had no sympathy whatever with the revolutionary theories which were filling the air around him." "Nothing (says Cromwell,) was in the hearts of these men but 'overturn! overturn!'"—*A Short History of the English People*, by J. R. Greene, M. A.

removed without such a cataclysm, the best evidence of which is the actual reforms which Turgot effected before it began. Had Mirabeau lived, the analogue of Cromwell, it might still have been averted. To esteem either Girondists or Jacobins for the part they played in it, is to make statesmanship a matter of opinion or chance, weakness a virtue, and crime an error of judgment. The real fact before us is that the Revolution, in the hands of Girondists and Jacobins, became a despotism of the worst class,—much worse than the despotism of the Ancient Régime, which it displaced, and worse, again, than the Napoleonic despotism for which it paved the way, and which M. Taine is yet to treat.

Critics of the old metaphysical school, who hold all objective realities in ideal solution, and that class of critics who see only what suits present ambition in past events, do all they can to depreciate M. Taine's work. The former gravely conclude that he is not qualified to treat the subject, while the latter charge him with being at least too dispassionate, if not inimical, to "progress"—a reactionist, in short. Fortunately for M. Taine, he is independent of the critics of either school. Capable judges of the events and the men he analyzes, contemporary with them, fully confirm the conclusions he arrives at. Eminent French writers like Malouet and Mallet-Dupan, themselves Liberals and advocates of reform, actors in and almost victims of the great upheaval, form unquestionable authorities. To these must be added the evidence of foreign ambassadors, travellers and residents, especially Englishmen and Americans. Among the former may be found Arthur Young, Dr. Moore and Thomas Paine, who did what he could to stem the torrent, although one of the Revolutionists and a friend of Danton, while conspicuous among the latter is Gouverneur Morris, whom M. Taine often quotes and highly commends. M. Taine's method and its revelations are only to be set aside by some counter-presentation of facts equal in importance equally well attested and equally well-knit together.

The French Revolution commends itself especially to the thoughtful men of our community. M. Taine's work is more profound than the common run of political commentaries. It is a complete exposition of the resources of demagoguery, and is as instructive here as in France. Our cities are in reality governed by clubs. Our electoral sentiment is played upon by designing

politicians. Our pulpits are often Jacobin tribunes, and our press often as vociferous and shallow as the gazettes of the days of Marat. We have Pittsburg riots and burnings. Fraud makes a President, while fanaticism in two cases has put one to death. A civil war is sprung upon the people through theories as false as those of the *Contrat-Social*, both North and South becoming the victims of political empirics. What are our safeguards? They are supposed to be general intelligence and "the greatest prosperity on the face of the earth." As general intelligence cannot be traced much beyond the intellectual discipline of the common school, it is doubtful whether this is equal to emergencies arising from the conflict of deep-seated passions and interests. The greatest illusion is the attributing of our political safety to "prosperity." When we consider that we are a small population living richly on a very fertile and extensive soil; that this population increases rapidly, and that the soil, cultivated on exhaustive principles, may yet require the labor which is accompanied with misery, as in Europe; and that our most prosperous men are the most to be preaded,—we may well doubt whether "prosperity" will protect us against political difficulties kindred to those of other communities. The better course is to study and apply human experience in other tried communities before it is too late. It is useless to recommend anything to people whose motto is "*après moi le déluge*;" the thoughtful will prefer what they may learn from M. Taine's *French Revolution*, to a blind, unscientific confidence in national complacency.

JOHN DURAND.

UNIVERSITY ITEMS.

THE necessity of detaining a large body of students every day at the University, from an early hour till late in the afternoon, has led the authorities to establish in the assembly room of the main building a restaurant in which *wholesome* food can be purchased at the *lowest possible* rates. A caterer has been obtained, a counter erected, tables at which from four to six persons can sit have been spread with invitingly clean table-cloths, and the experiment has been begun. The room will be open all day, and thus meet the convenience, not only of the "academics," but of the "medics," "dentics," and even the lawyers. Personal inspection has convinced at least one of the committee responsible for these items, that raw oysters of the best, with excellent bread and butter, can be had at this restaurant, and all for the insignificant sum of *ten cents*. Excellent butter! What do Philadelphians ever care to ask about an eating-room in which the butter is good? That alone is a sufficient diploma; and, though the caterer showed a certificate signed by half the epicures in town, bad butter would damn him doubly. Another point, too, besides the furnishing of good food to those who wish to eat it, will doubtless be gained by this new feature in University life. As students increase, more and more of them come daily from their suburban or country homes, five, ten, twenty, even thirty, miles away. These men necessarily take breakfast early: as necessarily they get back quite late to dinner. They need and ought to be allowed to have a regular luncheon, brought with them or bought in the restaurant; and they ought to have a regular time in which to eat it. Two obstacles have stood in their way. When the inconvenience of carrying lunch forbade their bringing it, there was nothing to buy in or near the building that was fit to eat; and, when the lunch was brought, the continuous exercises from 9 to 2.20 o'clock compelled them either to defer lunching till an unreasonably late hour, or to "steal a while away" from a recitation or lecture in which to eat it. The latter was dangerous: the former too often resulted in a headache before lunch and no appetite for dinner. Hence, a recess of twenty minutes is now to be given between 12.10 and 12.30 o'clock in the academic departments; and, the restaurant being provided, not even the *out-dwellers*

(οἱ ἐξὼ τῆς πολέως οἰκοῦντες, as Xenophon, we believe, calls them,) need go hungry. This recess will be made by having the first hour last from 10.15 to 11.15, the second end at 12.10, the third run from 12.30 to 1.25, and the fourth last (as now,) till 2.20 o'clock. These arrangements will, doubtless, by making it more and more possible for students to come and go every day from outlying boroughs like West Chester, Coatesville, Downingtown, Phoenixville, Burlington, etc., attract a yet greater number of students from them, and so hurry on the day when, not 314, but 614,—nay, when countless academic students will throng the University halls. Professors, too, we fancy, as well as students, will find this break in no respect disagreeable. Even three hours consecutively drain the nerve-force: four hours are an almost intolerably heavy tax. Many members of the University Faculty are detained three times a month by the stated meetings of the three Faculties to which they belong; and special meetings, unlike special providences, (or is it like them?) are not infrequent. On such days, dinner appears at noon in the distant, dim perspective; and even a University professor can filch ten cents from the family market-fund rather than go home exhausted and unfit for work till the next day. From every point of view, therefore, the restaurant founded by Provost Pepper and Dean Kendall, and universally applauded (we learn,) by Faculty and students, is a substantial addition to the University machinery and an undoubted contribution to University success. The new University era will be *Ab Refectorio Condito*.

At the recent International Medical Congress, Prof. H. C. Wood, of the University, read an address upon fever before the Physiological Section. The results which have been arrived at by Dr. Wood in his elaborate researches into the cause of excessive heat production, and which were spoken of by Dr. Pepper in his address to the American Medical Association during May, as perhaps the most important of recent medical achievements, were frequently alluded to in the discussion which followed. Dr. Burden-Sanderson, Professor of Physiology in the University of London, stated that in his opinion Dr. Wood's theories were sufficiently substantiated by his experiments to be accepted as proven facts,—commendation and endorsement which, from such a source, must have been very gratifying. Dr. Wood also prepared the paper

upon the "Antagonism of Remedies," with which the discussion in the Pharmacological Section opened. During the Congress the Doctor was the guest of the Physiological Society of Great Britain, and subsequently, with a few others, was under the care of Trinity College, Cambridge. Later, he spent ten days at Glen Elgh, opposite the Island of Skye, with Professor Frazer, of the University of Edinburgh. Dr. Wood, like all the other American representatives of the medical profession who attended the International Congress, expressed himself very warmly concerning the kindness and hospitality of which he had been the recipient.

The following anecdote may be recorded as a contribution to the discussion which is periodically revived concerning the pronunciation of English, as regards the relative merits of the sharp, clear distinct American tones, nasal when exaggerated, and the broader, less English accent which so readily degenerates into a drawl. Professor Goltz, of the University of Strasburg, after the adjournment of the Section of Physiology, and having listened to Dr. Wood's opening address, is said to have assured him, in an almost tearful manner, that he had understood "almost every word that was said." "You speak so much more distinctly than these Englishmen," added the Professor, who, with characteristic Teutonic patience, had been listening to many lengthy, and, we may infer, more or less incomprehensible discourses.

The University was further represented at the International Congress by Professor Goodell. Professor Penrose and Dr. Weir Mitchell, of the Board of Trustees, also spent the summer abroad.

• Dr. Richard H. Harte (Medical Department, 1878,) has been nominated by the Medical Faculty as Third Assistant Demonstrator of Anatomy in the Medical Department.

A course for post-graduate instruction has been organized in connection with the Medical Department. Two courses will be given annually, the first beginning October 31, 1881, the second March, 1882.

The following constitute the present corps of instructors: Physical Diagnosis and Clinical Medicine, Professor Pepper and Dr. Bruen; Nervous Diseases and Electro-Therapeutics, Professor H. C. Wood; Dermatology, Professor L. A. Duhring; Otology, Professor Geo. Strawbridge; Ophthalmology, Dr. S. D. Risley Gynæcology, Dr. B. F. Baer; Laryngoscopy, Dr. C. Seiler.

Among the changes necessitated by Dr. Stillé's resignation of the Chair of History and English Literature, has been a new provision for the teaching of history in the Faculty of Arts. The names of several gentlemen of note and eminence in this department of study were suggested to the Board of Trustees, but their final decision was to ask Dr. Charles P. Krauth, Vice-Provost of the University, to undertake the work which had been in charge of the late Provost. Dr. Krauth is best known—has a more than national fame, indeed,—as a metaphysician and a theologian. But the names of Leibnitz, Hegel, Steffens, and many others, are sufficient warrant for the assertion that the philosophers have been not the least fruitful students of history. And the type of Dr. Krauth's work in philosophy, as exhibited in his splendid edition of Berkeley's *Principles of Knowledge*, is one which is especially favorable to historical studies. The same is true of his theological writings, especially of his work on *The Conservative Reformation*, which may be described as a study of the legitimate lines of historical development as contrasted with destructive and revolutionary tendencies. It was the many excellences of this work of historical research, we presume, which suggested to the Lutherans of America their request that Dr. Krauth should prepare a life of Luther for the coming fourth centenary commemoration of his birth in 1482. On this he has been engaged for several years past. His visit to Europe in the summer of 1880 was for the purpose of seeing for himself the scenes of Luther's eventful life, and thus acquiring a proper sense of his hero's environment. Of the great literature devoted to the elucidation of the Reformer's life, and culminating in Koestlin's elaborate work in our own time, nothing has been neglected in the preparation of this new work. It will be the first satisfactory life of Luther in the language,—we may say, (with the exception of Dr. Sears's good but unequal work,) the first decent English or American biography of the greatest man of the sixteenth century. The University, therefore, will possess in her new teacher of history a student fruitfully occupied in problems of historic research, as well as a scholar widely acquainted with the literature of the subject. It is such a teacher who finds the least difficulty in making his subject a living one to his students.

On Saturday, October 8th, the fall meeting, for athletic sports, of the Young America Cricket Club was held at Stenton. Among the participants in the various contests were representatives of the University of Pennsylvania and of Harvard, Princeton and Lafayette Colleges. The University men bore off three of the prizes, R. E. Faries taking first place in both the one mile run and the half-mile run, and the University completely out-pulling the team from the Baltimore Athletic Club in the "tug of war." Mr. Faries made the excellent time of five minutes and seven seconds in the mile, and two minutes eleven and a half seconds in the half-mile run.

The victory of the University men in the "tug of war" was due to the skilful manner in which they pulled the rope, and to their unanimity of action, their opponents throwing away the very decided advantage that they seemed to possess from their greater weight and apparently greater muscular development, by pulling to a marked degree independently of one another. Much interest was manifested in this tug; every fraction of an inch of rope gained by the University was greeted by cheers from the Undergraduates present, and after the ten minutes' pull was over the victors were carried off the field in triumph upon the shoulders of their friends.

The games were witnessed by more than a thousand spectators, and were throughout as interesting and successful as such events always are upon the beautiful grounds and under the careful management at Stenton.

BRIEF MENTION.

AT the Newport conference of delegates from the Civil Service Reform Associations of the country, which was held on the 11th of last August, the following resolutions (among others,) were unanimously adopted :

I. "*Resolved*, That the bill introduced in the Senate by Mr. Pendleton of Ohio provides a Constitutional, practicable and effective measure for the remedy of the abuse known as the 'spoils system,' and that the Associations represented in this conference will use every honorable means, in the press, on the platform, and by petition, to secure its passage by Congress."

V. "*Resolved*, That the bill introduced in the House of Representatives of the United States, by Mr. Willis of Kentucky, at the last session of Congress, provides practicable and judicious measures for the remedy of the abuse known as political assessments, and that the Associations represented in this conference will use every honorable means, in the press, on the platform, and by petition, to secure its passage by Congress."

As these two bills are not in general circulation, an abstract of their provisions is herewith appended for the purpose of giving a more accurate knowledge to the public of what the reformers of the civil service aim to accomplish.

The preamble to the Pendleton Bill is given in full :

"*Whereas*, common justice requires that, so far as practicable, all citizens duly qualified shall be allowed equal opportunities, on grounds of personal fitness, for securing appointment, employment and promotion in the subordinate civil service of the United States ; and, *whereas*, justice to the public likewise requires that the Government shall have the largest choice among those likely to answer the requirements of the public service ; and, *whereas*, justice, as well as economy, efficiency and integrity, in the public service will be promoted by substituting open and uniform competitive examinations for the examinations heretofore held in pursuance of the Statutes of 1853 and 1855 ; *therefore*," etc.

The provisions of the bill are as follows :

The President is to appoint five persons, not more than three of whom shall be adherents of the same party, as Civil Service Commissioners, and they shall constitute the United States Civil Service Commission.

The President may remove any Commissioner for good cause, after allowing him opportunity to make an explanation in answer

to any charges preferred against him ; but no removal can be made by reason of opinions or party affiliations ; and vacancies are to be filled so as to conform to the original conditions of appointment.

The compensation of said Commissioners is provided for.

The duty of said Commission is to

1. Submit rules and suggest appropriate action to the President for making the Act effective.
2. These rules shall provide :
 - (a.) For open competitive examinations ;
 - (b.) That all offices, etc., to be arranged in certain classes, shall be filled by selections from those graded highest as the results of such examinations ;
 - (c.) That original entrance to the public service aforesaid shall be at the lowest grade ;
 - (d.) That there shall be a period of probation before absolute appointment to such offices ;
 - (e.) That promotions shall be from the lower grades to the higher, on the basis of merit and competition ;
 - (f.) That no person in the public service shall be compelled to contribute to any political fund or to render any political service, and that he shall not be removed or otherwise prejudiced by refusing to do so ;
 - (g.) That no person in said service has right to use official authority or influence to coerce the political action of any person or body ;
 - (h.) That there shall be non-competitive examinations in all proper cases before the Commission when competition may not be found practicable ;
 - (i.) That notice shall be given in writing to said Commission of the persons selected for appointment or employment from among those who have been examined, of the rejection of any such person after probation, and of the date thereof, and a record of the same shall be kept by said Commission ;
 - (j.) Any necessary exception from said fundamental provisions of the rules shall be set forth in connection with said rules, and the reasons therefor shall be stated in the annual report of the Commission.

Then follow provisions by which the Commission shall have control of such examinations ; shall make an annual report to the President ; may employ a chief examiner for the purpose of securing accuracy, uniformity and justice in the proceedings ; may secure the carrying out of the details incident to the examinations ; and shall be assured of suitable accommodations for conducting the same.

Further enactments guard against unfairness or corruption in conducting the examinations or reporting thereon, and impose penalties for such unfairness or corruption ; specifying, also, various details of arranging various classes of persons employed in the civil service.

Section 7 is as follows .

“ After the expiration of four months from the passage of this Act, no officer or clerk shall be appointed, and no person shall be employed, to enter or be promoted in either of the said classes now existing or that may be arranged hereunder pursuant to said rules, until he has passed an examination or is shown to be specially exempted from such examination in conformity therewith.

“ But nothing herein contained shall be construed to take from those honorably discharged from the military and naval service any preference conferred by the seventeen hundred and fifty-fourth section of the Revised Statutes, nor to take from the President any authority not inconsistent with this Act conferred by the seventeen hundred and fifty-third section of such Statutes; nor shall any officer not in the executive branch of the Government, nor any person merely employed as a laborer or workman, be required to be classified hereunder ; nor, unless by the direction of the Senate, shall any person who has been nominated for confirmation by the Senate be required to be classified or to pass an examination.”

Such is the substance of the Pendleton Bill ; and it may be added that it is intended that the examinations provided for by it shall be entirely practical, and have a bearing upon nothing else than ascertaining whether the applicant for office knows enough to enable him to perform its duties satisfactorily. The probation, after successfully passing the examination, is intended to find out whether the applicant has business capacity to bring his knowledge to bear practical fruit.

The preamble to the Willis Bill “ to prevent extortion from persons in the public service, and bribery and coercion by such persons,” states the object of the bill as follows :

“ *Whereas*, Persons in the public service of the United States should be as free as other citizens to make or refuse to make contributions for political purposes, but are now, through fear of removal or other prejudice, subjected to heavy taxation under the name of political assessments ; and, *whereas*, no person in the public service has any right to use his official authority or influence in restraint of the free political action of any citizen, but such authority and influence are often so used for partisan and private

ends; and, *whereas*, the evils of bribery follow the payment of money to secure continuance and promotion in office, as well as the payment of money to secure appointments to office; *therefore*, be it enacted," etc.

The evils to be abated are above set forth. The enactments of the bill are simply to abate them in the most thorough and practical way, and it is not necessary to specify them here, except to quote Section 7, which is a definition, as follows:

"The phrase 'political assessment,' as used herein, shall be deemed to include every form of request, payment, loan, advance or other contributions, or promise of money, or any other thing of value for or in aid of any party or political purpose whatever, whether the same be conditional or absolute, whether based on any salary or compensation, or otherwise, and whether the application to such purpose is to be direct or through any method of indirection or disguise."

If these two bills pass, a great stride towards good government will have been made. And why should they not pass? They are based upon justice, equity, and practical business considerations of what is to the interest both of the Government and the people at large. They enlarge the liberty and elevate the sense of manhood of American citizens. They may not give us a perfect civil service, but they will assuredly give us a better civil service than we now have, and will destroy, as nothing else can, the tyranny of the "boss" system of government, which has degraded political life into a base scramble for spoils, with all deplorable results which follow from such an un-American theory of government.

There was no plank in the last Democratic National Platform which demanded Civil Service Reform; but the promoters of the above cited bills are trusted leaders of the Democratic party. The Republican party did unequivocally commit itself to Civil Service Reform in the following resolution, which was added to the platform of the last Republican National Convention, which placed James A. Garfield in nomination for the office of President, viz.:

"The Republican party, adhering to the principles affirmed by its last National Convention, of respect for the Constitutional rules governing appointment to office, adopts the declaration of President Hayes, that the reform in the civil service shall be thorough, radical and complete. To that end it demands the co-operation of the legislative with the executive departments of the Government, and that Congress shall so legislate, that fitness,

ascertained by proper practical tests, shall admit to the public service."

Let us see how the Republican members of the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States will act when the Pendleton and Willis Bills come before them. Their platform pledges them to a line of action. Will they *dare* to repudiate that platform by their action? Let us see.

J. ANDREWS HARRIS.

President Arthur came into office under circumstances that, strange and sorrowful as they were, were yet favorable to a successful administration. He was free from those ante-nomination and ante-election pledges that have been fatal to the independence of some of his predecessors. He had made no political speeches that could be quoted against him. He had never been compelled, by ambition or motives of political expediency, to take sides in any party contests beyond the limits of his own State. There was nothing in his past career to forbid him, there was everything in his position and in his future prospects to induce him, to call around him the best men in the Republican party, and to make an administration which should be strong, intelligent and pure, and which, because it possessed those qualities, would command popular support.

Yet it is to be feared that President Arthur will not adhere to his determination, as expressed in his inaugural address, to profit by the example and experience of his predecessor, and that he will adopt a policy that can be fairly regarded as antagonistic to that of President Garfield. Promptly upon President Arthur's accession to office, the cabinet advisers of the late President, in accordance with usage, and with a proper respect for the new President and for themselves, tendered their resignations. While it is very true that it is the constitutional right of every President to nominate his cabinet councillors, and that he is not bound to accept them as a legacy from his predecessor, yet, under the peculiar circumstances of his entry into office, it would have been politic in the President to re-appoint those officers, with whom the murdered President had surrounded himself. Certain it is that no act or declaration on the part of the incoming President can be conceived, which would have received a more enthusiastic popular approval, or have given a more practical assurance of purity of administration. Nevertheless, it is

clear that the President has thought otherwise. Carefully abstaining from any utterance which could be construed as a positive pledge of administrative reform, he and his nearest friends are apparently desirous that, so far from their being any continuity of administration, the line of demarcation between Mr. Arthur's administration and Mr. Garfield's administration should be so distinctly drawn, that he who runs may read. If it be true that General Grant has lately expressed this thought by saying "Garfield is dead, and his policy with him," he has in that only furnished another illustration of that want of political sagacity, which made him the victim, and not the victor, in the "third term" campaign. "The blood of the martyrs is the seed of the Church." So, in government and in politics, it has more than once happened, both in England and in this country, that the death of a political leader has been the signal for an aggressive agitation which has resulted in the ultimate triumph of the very doctrines which that leader had advocated without success.

Certain it is, that upon two points popular opinion has crystallized and can be clearly defined. One point is that Mr. Conkling must not openly or secretly control the new administration, nor shape its policy. He resigned his senatorial trust because he was not permitted to usurp powers which the constitution has granted to the President, and the legislature of his state, obeying an almost unanimous popular sentiment, refused to return him to the senate. Mr. Conkling's attempted dictation to, and defiant conflict with, President Garfield, is so fresh in the public mind, that his appointment to office under the administration whose life began with President Garfield's death would be so indecent, that the ties of friendship between President Arthur and Mr. Conkling, and the gratitude which the former may feel to the latter, would not be accepted by the people as a palliation or condonation of the outrage. The President ought not to be blind to the depth and intensity of the popular feeling on this subject.

The second point upon which the people seem to be agreed is that this administration is not to represent General Grant. It may be that General Grant has not had justice done him, and that he is entitled to more credit than has been given to him for his civil administration. Yet the people, rightly or wrongly, do not want him or his representative in the presidential office.

But if Mr. Arthur has determined that his administration shall be controlled by General Grant and Mr. Conkling, or be representative of their political principles, it is clear that those members of the late Cabinet who are not adherents of those leaders, nor supporters of their principles, owed it to the country and to themselves promptly to sever their connection with the new administration.

Notably is this the case with the Attorney-General. Called to the Cabinet by Mr. Garfield as a representative of the reform element in the Republican party, and as an out-spoken and consistent opponent of that which the people, rightly or wrongly, have called "Grantism," he could not with honor continue to serve under an administration which General Grant is to control. Mr. MacVeagh's prompt and persisted-in resignation gives renewed assurance of his possession of the best sort of political sagacity and courage—the sagacity to know what is right, and the courage to do it because it is right, and without regard to its expediency. The pendency of the Star Route cases furnishes no reason for Mr. MacVeagh's longer retention of office. The prosecution is in the hands of able counsel, specially retained, whose character and ability give every warrant that the case of the government will be pressed with vigor, and that the accused Post-Office officials and contractors are not to meet with any governmental leniency, nor to have any greater chance of escape than they would have had under Mr. Garfield's Administration.

President Arthur has certainly kept his counsel with a reticence as rare as it is praiseworthy. The newspaper Cabinet-makers have made many imaginary appointments for him, but, thus far, at least, but little is certainly known. The Treasury portfolio has been offered to and refused by Mr. Edwin D. Morgan, of New York. More than seventy years of age, of ample private fortune and large business experience, for two terms Governor of the State of New York, for six years a Senator of the United States, since 1860 one of the leaders of the Republican party, and not conspicuously identified with any faction of the party, Mr. Morgan is one of the few politicians of our day whose political influence has not been attained by the sacrifice of business reputation and personal character. To him, President Arthur owes much of his success in life, and in this instance it has happened that a debt

of private gratitude could be paid by the appointment to high office of a man who would have honored the office, and who, in financial ability and in character, could not have been unfavorably compared with any of his predecessors. Mr. Morgan's appointment was also a step towards that reconciliation of Republican feuds to which personal and party motives alike incite President Arthur.

Mr. Morgan's declination has been promptly followed by the appointment of Chief Justice Folger of New York. He has been, for many years, a leading Republican politician, and of great influence in his State. He has been for more than ten years a Judge of the State court of last resort, and for two years its Chief Justice, and he has performed the duties of his high judicial office with dignity, and to the satisfaction of the bar and the community. He is the best possible selection from a bad political school. He has never shown that he could take other than a partisan view of public affairs. He is a pronounced and consistent opponent of Civil Service Reform. He has not had that business training or experience which the head of the Treasury should have. In earlier days, when the duties of the Secretary of the Treasury were less onerous and complicated than they now are, and when the right exercise in financial affairs of the discretion vested in him by law was a matter of much less importance to the business community and to the material interests of the country, Mr. Meridith proved to demonstration that a pure and able lawyer might be an incompetent Secretary of the Treasury. It is not probable that, under present circumstances, Judge Folger will succeed where Mr. Meridith failed, but it is probable, that, before many months roll by, Judge Folger will, with the approval alike of the bar and of the business classes, lay his head upon the pillow of the Supreme Court of the United States, and satisfactorily fill that vacancy which is to be created by Mr. Justice Hunt's long deferred resignation.

* * *

As an illustration of our unreformed civil service, we quote the following post-office circular, the original of which has been laid before us:

(Insert Post-Office, County and State.)

(29.)
 POST-OFFICE AT _____ }
 COUNTY OF *Mountgrumery*, }
 STATE OF *Pensalvaney*. }

To the Editor of _____ *paper* :

SIR:—Pursuant to instructions from the Postmaster-General, I beg leave to inform you that your *paper*, addressed to _____ *Post Office*, is not taken out, but remains dead in this office. You will please discontinue the same.

 Postmaster.

Reason: *Is that they don't want them they have plenty newspapers ther one.*

The words italicised are written, the others printed in the circular. We have not quoted the name of the office, nor that of the man of letters who, as its incumbent, signs the circular; but we should be happy to have the paper forwarded to Washington, in order that this educated official should be recommended for promotion. We know nothing about this particular postmaster, but we are sure that he does not display in politics that independence of spirit which manifests itself in his scorn of orthographic restraint. He may be ignorant, he may be unintelligent; but his support of "regulars" as against "independents," his voting straight, and his prompt (if not cheerful,) payment of political assessments can be depended upon. Though an official of the Government of the United States, and paid, not by the Republican party, but by the money which has been collected by taxation from the people, Democrats, Independents and Republicans alike, we are sure that, like the great majority of his fellow office-holders, he recognizes the fact that under the present system his allegiance is chiefly due to his political party, and that just at this time he must aid in discouraging political insubordination in Pennsylvania, and assist by word and deed in keeping the "Wolfe" from the door of the Treasury, even though the performance of this political service may consume time which ought to be devoted to the discharge of his official duties, and for which the people pay him.

NEW BOOKS.

SPAIN. By Edmundo de Amicis. Translated from the Italian by Wilhelmina W. Cady. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

To those who have read "Holland and its People," "Constantinople," and "Studies in Paris," this latest book from the pen of Signor de Amicis comes with a welcome such as is accorded only to the work of a gifted author who has won the heart of all his readers. If there is any one kind of book which is especially wanted in our busy country, it is the account of other countries and their people, written by one able to appreciate and understand what he sees, and able to convey his impressions intelligently and agreeably to others. The unfortunate tendency of every traveller who can write at all, to feel under the obligation to write a book of travels, has produced a mass of books so great and so continuous, that any one who takes delight in that kind of reading is driven to despair in the effort to separate the good from the bad. If there is any one thing more aggravating than another, it is to buy a book which, from all outward appearances, and judging from the subject of which it treats, holds out the prospect of delightful reading, and then to find in it only the dreary record of the daily and hourly experiences of some one who innocently supposes that the big world outside of himself will be interested in a minute narrative of where he went, what he did, and what he saw, because he happens to have seen a great many places and a great many things for the first time. Such books are of interest and value only to the writers of them and their particular friends, and it is not fair for the authors or their publishers to impose them upon an unsuspecting and confiding public. The real book of travels, worthy to be read, and re-read, and then to be placed upon the book-shelf for ready reference, is a very different thing. Its real worth is to be found in the character of the recorded impressions of the author, and the value of such impressions grows from a broad culture, a fine imagination, and the power to give adequate expression of those impressions to others. In this, Signor Amicis is really great. In "Spain and the Spaniards," he has found a subject worthy of his graceful pen, and from every page of the book breathes the spirit of the artist, the poet, and the cultivated man of letters. He is a master in the use of words. His descriptions, whether of the grand old historic monuments of Spain, the works of her great master painters, or the peasants of Andalusia and Valencia, the bull-fight, or the little beggar in the street of Saragossa, are pictures in words, so clearly drawn, so brightly colored, and so perfect in every detail, that the reader instinctively closes his eyes upon the printed page, to enjoy the wondrous picture presented to his mind. Thus, for instance, he tells us of the Cathedral of Burgos:

"On the façade, on the points of the bell towers, at each story, under all the arches, on all sides, there are an innumerable multitude of statues of angels, martyrs, warriors and princes, so thickly set, so varied in pose, and standing out in such perfect relief from the light portions of the edifice, that they almost present a life-like appearance; like a celestial legion placed there to guard the monument. In raising the eyes up by the façade to the furthest point of the exterior spires, taking in little by little all that harmonious lightness of line and color, one experiences a delicious sensation like hearing a strain of music which raises itself gradually from an expression of devout prayer to the ecstasy of a solemn inspiration. Before entering the church your imagination wanders far beyond earth.

"Enter. . . . The first emotion that you experience is a sudden strengthening of your faith, if you have any, and a burst of the soul toward faith, if it be lacking. It seems impossible that this immense pile of stone could be a vain work of superstition accomplished by man; it seems as if it affirmed, proved, commanded something; it has the effect of a supernuman voice which cries to earth, 'I am!' and raises and crushes you at the same time. Before beginning to look around, you feel the need of revivifying in your heart the dying sparks of divine love; the feeling that you are a stranger before that miracle of boldness, genius and labor humiliates you; the timid NO which resounds in the depth of your soul dies in a groan under the formidable YES which smites you on the head. First you turn your eyes vaguely around about you, looking for the limits of the edifice, which the enormous choir and pilasters hide from sight. Then your glance falls upon the columns, the high arches, descends, climbs, and runs rapidly over the numberless lines which follow each other, cross, correspond, and are lost, like rockets which flash into space up through the great vaults; and your heart takes pleasure in that breathless admiration, as if all those lines issued from your own brain, inspired in the act of looking at them with your eyes; then you are seized suddenly, as if with fright, by a feeling of sadness that there is not time enough in which to contemplate, intellect with which to understand, and memory to retain the innumerable marvels, half seen on all sides, crowded together, piled upon one another, and dazzling, which one would say came rather from the hand of God like a second creation, than from the hand of man."

And then of Murillo's paintings :

"Now let us talk of Murillo in the gentlest tone of voice that is possible. In art, Velasquez is an eagle; Murillo an angel. We admire the former and adore the latter. His canvases make him known as if he had lived with us. He was handsome, good, pious; many know not where to touch him; around his crown of glory he bore one of love. He was born to paint the sky. Fate had given him a peaceful and serene genius, which bore him heavenward on the wings of a placid inspiration; and yet his most admirable pictures breathe an air of modest sweetness which inspires sympathy and affection even before wonder. A simple and noble elegance of outline, an expression full of vivacity and grace, an ineffable harmony of color, are the points which strike one at first sight; but the longer one looks at them the more one discovers in them, and astonishment is transformed, little by little, into a sweet feeling of gladness. His saints have a benign expression that cheers and consoles one; his angels, whom he groups with a marvellous mystery, make one's life tremble with a desire to kiss them; his virgins, clothed in white and enveloped in their blue mantles, with their great black eyes, their folded hands, so willowy, slight, and aerial in appearance, make one's heart tremble with sweetness and one's eyes fill with tears. He combines the truth of Velasquez with the vigorous effects of Ribera, the harmonious transparency of Titian, and the brilliant vivacity of Rubens."

We cannot wonder then, that a traveller with such a pen as this, and having for his theme a country so rich in antiquity, in art, and in the picturesque, has given us a most delightful book. But it is not only in the richness and beauty of description that the excellence of this book consists. The author gives us a careful and accurate statement of historical facts, so far as they are necessary to explain his account of the different parts of the

country and its people, and, moreover, he gives us a most intelligent understanding of the character of the people, their habits of life, and their habits of thought. There is a great deal told us, too, about the politics of Spain at the time the narrative was made; for Spain without its politics would be like the play of Hamlet with the part of Hamlet left out; and there is a most commendable effort on the part of the author to apprehend, and convey to the mind of his readers, something like an intelligent notion of the number and names of the political parties in Spain, and the particular political opinions of each—a task scarcely less difficult of accomplishment than to explain the size, shape, and color of each piece of glass in a kaleidoscope while the instrument is revolving.

Apart from the solid merits of the book, there is an immense amount of pleasure derived from the vein of humor which runs all through it,—humor of a quiet sort, never obtrusive, but always very delightful. It is just that kind of humor—of the Latin type, it has been called,—which serves to put the reader at once on pleasant terms with the writer, so that he lays down the book, when finished, with no feeling that he has been read a lecture by an author of a didactic turn of mind, but rather that he has played the part of listener in a conversation with a kind, good-natured, and wondrously clever man, for whom he has acquired a grateful feeling of interest and regard.

SIR JOHN FRANKLIN. By A. H. Beesly, M. A. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1881.

In the year 1786, in the little town of Spilsby, Lincolnshire, England, was born the youngest son of a well-to-do merchant whose ancestors had been franklins, or freeholders. Thirteen years after, the boy walked with a schoolfellow from the town of Louth, and looked for the first time upon the sea. So entranced was he with its grandeur, that with his father's consent he adopted it as a profession. He took part as a midshipman in the battle of Copenhagen, served on an expedition to survey the Australian coast, and was shipwrecked on a strip of sand, and there imprisoned for fifty days. Following these adventures, he was found serving with the greatest gallantry amid the thickest of the fire at the battle of Trafalgar, and was wounded in the attack on New Orleans.

In 1818 he served as second in command under Captain Buchan in his unsuccessful attempt to discover a passage between the Atlantic and the Pacific Oceans through the Arctic regions, and proved himself so brave and efficient that in the following year he was intrusted by the Government with the command of another exploring expedition to that bleak country,

And then, in that far-away land, where for months the brilliancy of the silvery Arctic moon or the roseate *aurora borealis* takes the

place of the sun, for four years this sailor, who had now reached the full bloom of manhood, endured sufferings which are indescribable.

Surrounded by a few men almost as brave as himself, was he yet constantly troubled by the treachery of the Canadians and Indians, upon whom he had to depend for guides and provisions. Travelling, now by sledges, now by boats, oftentimes being thrown into the chilling waters, and compelled to remain in the frozen garments for hours; living for weeks in a temperature below zero upon boiled shoe-leather, burnt bones, and the tanned skins of animals, with such moss as might be gathered here and there from the rocks—barren of all else; with face, hands, and feet frozen, plodding on through the never-ending snow, and seeing his comrades drop off one by one, until of the band of nineteen who began the perilous journey but nine were left alive—these were but a few of the horrors of the 5,550 miles which were traversed in Arctic exploration.

And yet through it all he was firm, brave, calm, good-tempered, and cheerful, ever devising some new means of improvement or recreation for his followers during their often forced inactivity.

He returned to England, and was elected a member of the Royal Society of London, and in 1823 was married. But the fever of Arctic exploration was strong within him, and in 1825 a second expedition was organized by him under the auspices of the Government, and for two years and a half he again went through danger and exposure, though modified by the more favorable circumstances under which the expedition was conducted. Upon his return to England he was greeted with new honors, both from home and abroad, the dignity of knighthood being conferred on him by his Government. He was now appointed Governor of Van Dieman's Land, or Tasmania, and remained as such until 1845, at which time, being fifty-nine years old, he accepted the command of a new expedition for the discovery of a north-west passage, to be prosecuted by the "Erebus" and "Terror," two strong vessels which had been before used in the service.

From the time of their entrance into the Arctic depths, no record of these vessels or their commander remains, save the very few words of information left here and there in cairns by their crews, among which was the date of their captain's death—the eleventh day of June, 1847.

How he died we shall never know; but there, among those bleak regions, where so much of his life had been spent, he closed his eyes forever on earth.

The vessels remained fastened in the ice for so long a time, that their crews grew disheartened, and at last deserted them; and from that time conjecture alone fills up the sad tale. When, or

how, or where they died is a mystery which must remain among the many secrets of old ocean, never to be solved until the trumpet of the archangel sounds its blast, and the sea gives up its dead.

This is the story of Sir John Franklin, we were about to say, but it is, rather, a very few of the incidents of his remarkable career,—a career which is well-told in the sixth volume of the "New Plutarch Series" which lies before us.

It would be an injustice to call the work of Mr. Beesly a condensation; for, while of necessity the author has largely used the work of others, he has also drawn from original sources, and has succeeded in placing before the reader, not only an excellent history, but a very interesting and entertaining book. There is an ease and clearness about it, combined with a deep sympathy with the subject of his study and the heroic scenes through which he passed, which give what is so often lacking in biography and history—the interest of the novel to what is, in fact, actual truth. Perhaps the one fault of the book is that it is rather too personal in its narrative; but this perhaps could not very easily be avoided in a short biography.

Imagination never conceived, or the pen of fiction traced, a more startling tale than that of Franklin, from his boyhood to his unknown grave. Truly, it seems that the old aphorism will never become obsolete—"Truth is stranger than fiction." There is an attraction to all about the history of Arctic exploration, which seems as natural as the turning of the magnetic needle to those regions. The strange phenomena of the heavens; the never-ending wastes of snow, relieved now and then by mounds of ice; the scenes of hardship and adventure; the courage, endurance, and self-sacrifice of the heroic men who, with their lives in their hands, have bravely penetrated those unknown regions,—all give to the record of such adventures a peculiar interest and charm.

THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF MARK RUTHERFORD, DISSENTING MINISTER.

Edited by his friend, Reuben Shapcott. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1881. Pp. 218.

This little book is apparently a reprint of an English original, as the scene is laid in England, evidently by a native. It has good points and weak points—good, inasmuch as it is an outcry of a human soul against "religious" unrealities and shams; weak, so far as any plot goes in the make-up of the story.

It is professedly the publication of an uncompleted autobiography by a friend who survived the writer. We suspect it is really the attempt of the "editor" to set forth his own views on some of the living questions of the day—views not always clear and sharply defined.

We are introduced to the childhood of the autobiographer, passed under the influence of a system of theology well calculated to make either a bigot or a hypocrite; but with all these disadvantages the writer says: "My religious education did confer upon me some positive advantages. The first was a rigid regard for truthfulness. My parents never would endure a lie or the least equivocation. The second was purity of life, and I look upon this as a simply incalculable gain." The practical training of his parents was certainly superior to the system of theology as such which formed "the faith" in which he was instructed. His Sundays, especially, must have been very dreary.

He says: "Nothing particular happened to me till I was about fourteen, when I was told it was time I became converted. . . . I knew that I had to be a 'child of God,' and after a time professed myself to be one; but I cannot call to mind that I was anything else than I always had been, save that I was perhaps a little more hypocritical; not in the sense that I professed to others what I did not believe, but in the sense that I professed it to myself."

In due time it was settled that he should "go into the ministry," and so he was sent to a dissenting college. "Behold me, then," he says, "beginning a course of training which was to prepare me to meet the doubts of the nineteenth century; to be the guide of men; to advise them in their perplexities; to suppress their tempestuous lusts; to lift them above their petty cares, and to lead them heavenward." The training—as too often,—proved inefficient, at any rate for "the doubts of the nineteenth century;" and the student finally went forth, as so many go forth from "theological seminaries," not very thoroughly equipped for the *real* battle with sin and Satan.

The result was, naturally, that, when he got to thinking, and found himself face to face with the practical evils of the world and the earnest questionings of his own mind, as to "who will shew us any good," he was upset himself and kept on getting more upset.

Of course, he fell in love. He was engaged to "Ellen," but found after a while that somehow he might not be happy with her, and then loved "Mary," who was really a noble girl, and so devoted to her widowed father that she felt it a duty not to permit anything to turn her from her devotion to him. After a while, under other circumstances, he says: "I worshipped Theresa, and was entirely overcome with unhesitating, absorbing love for her. . . . After a time, the thought of Mary returned to me. I was distressed to find that, in the very height of my love for Theresa, my love for Mary continued unabated." Soh!

Fortunately, the autobiography is incomplete, and becomes so abruptly. The "editor's" opinion of his friend was on this wise: "He was emphatically the child of his time. He was perpetually

tormented by the presentation of difficulties which he could not resolve, and he could not put them on one side."

Requiescat in pace. He was not strong—neither is his autobiography. His was a weak nature, marred by a miserable system of miscalled "religious" faith which strong men, when they exercise thought, find out is neither "religion" nor "faith" in the true sense of those terms, but which undoubtedly results in shipwreck of all faith in too many who are too weak to distinguish between pinchbeck and gold. In the book are some good portraitures of disagreeable or hypocritical people, who sometimes pose as "pillars of the church," and who do more to disgust other people with religion than any other allies of the devil.

A SHORT HISTORY OF ART. By Julia B. DeForest. Illustrated. New York: Dodd, Mead & Company.

About twenty years ago, Dr. William Lübke, Professor at the Polytechnic Institute and the Art School in Stuttgart, gave to the world his very important book, which he called "Outlines of the History of Art." It was found that he had produced a work of incalculable value and usefulness to the student of art, by gathering up and presenting in chronological order, and in a way to make it available for study and ready reference, the best of that large mass of material forming the wealth of learning of writers in the domain of art in many countries and at various epochs. What had been available only to the scholar was thus brought within reach of the student of art, and so great was the value and utility of Dr. Lübke's book, that he was called upon to edit six successive editions after the first. An admirable American edition of the work from the seventh German edition was published about two years ago by Messrs. Dodd, Mead & Co., under the excellent editorship of Mr. Clarence Cook, and it has already gone far towards doing in this country for the cause of art what was done in Germany by the original work.

Miss DeForest seems to have taken Dr. Lübke's book as the groundwork of her own, following his method and order in the treatment of the subjects, and availing herself of the very excellent illustrations contained in the American edition of his work. Her aim has been to present, within the limits of a single volume of moderate size, an outline of the origin and development of art such as may be available to almost every student of art, and which may be used to great advantage as an introductory book by those who have at command the larger and more comprehensive works. These large and comprehensive books on art subjects are necessarily very expensive, far too expensive to be within the reach of the mass of art students, and Miss DeForest, who, from her position of Superintendent of the Department of the Society for the Encouragement

of Home Study clearly understands the requirements of the case, has done good service to the cause of art education in preparing a book which will be really very useful to every art student, and of great value and interest also to every household in which there is any love of art.

While Miss DeForest has followed the plan of Dr. Lübke's work, she has not devoted proportionably so large a share of space to the consideration of German art,—a subject which Dr. Lübke's treats so very exhaustively,—and has given much more full consideration to the modern painters of England. On this last point her list of English artists is full and accurate, and, while there is but a brief mention of each, in each case it is made with great care, and generally supported by the opinions of critics of recognized ability. While admitting the truth of the criticism that the modern English school of painting is wanting in technical excellence, she presents ample evidence of the untruthfulness of Winklemann's harsh opinion that "the English could not attain any great proficiency in art, owing to their natural deficiency of genius and the unfavorable temperature of their climate."

The book is made much more valuable by an excellent index, giving the pronunciation of the names; a concise glossary of terms; and a very useful chart, showing in a concise form the chronological position of the principal artists of the Renaissance period, and of the time immediately preceding and following it.

THE STORY OF A SCANDINAVIAN SUMMER. By Katherine E. Tyler. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1881.

There is, no doubt, a strong temptation, when describing travels through a country so little known as Norway is to the great mass of American tourists, to turn the story into a sort of guide-book; and this is the fault of the book now before us. Some of the chapters are very interesting, and the descriptions both of the people and scenery are entertaining and instructive, so that we feel we know considerably more about the country than before reading the book. The "Day with Thorwaldsen," and the account, on page 284, of the descent of a mountain pass, are both excellent in their way, as is also the whole of Chapter X., beginning with the description of the steamboat on which the journey was made "up to the midnight sun," and ending with an account of the great object of the journey,—the sight of the sun approaching the horizon at midnight, and then suddenly rising again just as one expects it to disappear entirely from view.

There are other passages we might name equally good, but they are interspersed with long histories of the old kings and heroes, of the battles they fought by land, and of their free-booting expeditions to other countries, some of which, it is true, are *à propos* to

the matter in hand, but nearly all are too much spun most of them might have been omitted altogether with advantage. Again, the descriptions of the "stations" or inns at which the travellers rested, together with the bills-of-fare at these out-of-the-way hostelries, are repeated so often as to become very tiresome. "Murray" is frequently quoted from, and, indeed, in many places the style resembles so much that of the great guide-books as to suggest too constant study of the one on Norway.

The style of the authoress is generally very good,—light and easily read; we have noticed, however, several strange mistakes. For instance, throughout Chapter II. we find the spelling *bass-relief*, on page 161 the well-known English city is written *Newcastle-upon-Tyne*, and on page 180 Labrador is said to be at 41 degrees of north latitude.

If the book had been of about two hundred instead of nearly four hundred pages, it would have been greatly improved. As it is, we can only recommend it to a reader well versed in the art of judicious skipping.

OUR LITTLE ONES AT HOME AND IN SCHOOL. By William T. Adams (Oliver Optic). Boston: Lee & Shepard. New York: Charles T. Dillingham.

This highly attractive magazine has uncommon merit; its illustrations are of a most artistic character and finished in a masterly manner, well calculated to be a pleasure to the little ones, not only in their childhood's hours, but when they have "put away childish things." The illustrative department is under the direction of George T. Andrew. The illuminated cover by Miss C. A. Northam deserves special mention, rendering the book most attractive, with its row of bright chubby faces indicative of the pleasure that awaits the reader, and gives an eagerness to a perusal of the well-chosen stories and rhymes. With its clear type and varied illustrations, it bids fair to become a most popular magazine, and will be gladly received in all households where the entertainment of the little ones occupies so large a portion of time.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

The Ancient Bronze Implements, Weapons and Ornaments of Great Britain and Ireland. By John Evans, D. C. L., LL.D., etc. Cloth. 8vo. Pp. 509. New York: D. Appleton & Co. (J. B. Lippincott & Co.)

A Short History of Art. By Julia B. DeForest. Cloth. 12mo. Pp. 365. Price, \$2.00. New York: Dodd, Mead & Co. (J. B. Lippincott & Co.)

Garfield's Words: Suggestive Passages from the Public and Private Writings of James Abram Garfield. Compiled by William Ralston Balch. Cloth. 16mo. Pp. 184. \$1.00. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. (Claxton & Co.)

The Publisher's Trade List Annual, 1881. Ninth year. New York: F. Leopoldt. (J. B. Lippincott & Co.)

Thornclyffe Hall. By Daniel Wise, D. D. 16mo. Cloth. Pp. 260. \$1.00. Boston: Lee & Shepard.

Our Little Ones; Illustrated Stories and Poems for Little People. William T. Adams, (Oliver Optic,) Editor. With 350 original illustrations. Boards. 8vo. Pp. 384. \$1.50. Boston: Lee & Shepard.

Young Americans in Japan; or, the Adventures of the Jewett Family and Their Friend, Otto Nambo. Boards. 8vo. Pp. 372. \$1.50. Boston: Lee & Shepard. (Claxton & Co.)

He Giveth His Beloved Sleep. By Elizabeth Barrett Browning. Cloth. 12mo. \$1.50. Boston: Lee & Shepard. (Claxton & Co.)

Hannah Jane. By David Ross Locke. (Petroleum V. Nasby.) Cloth. 12mo. \$1.50. Boston: Lee & Shepard. (Claxton & Co.)

Cambridge Trifles; or, Splutterings from an Undergraduate Pen. Cloth. 16mo. Pp. 249. \$1.00. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. (Porter & Coates.)

Martin Luther and His Work. By John H. Treadwell. Cloth. 16mo. Pp. 243. \$1.00. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. (Porter & Coates.)

Before and After the President's Death. Two Sermons. By Henry W. Bellows. Sewed. 12mo. Pp. 52. \$0.25. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. (Porter & Coates.)

Pictures and Legends from Normandy and Brittany. By Thomas and Katherine Macquoid. Cloth. 12mo. Pp. 320. \$2.50. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. (Porter & Coates.)

The Autobiography of Mark Rutherford, Dissenting Minister. Edited by his friend, Reuben Shapcott. 16mo. Cloth. Pp. 218. \$1.00. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

The Story of a Scandinavian Summer. By Katherine E. Tyler. 12mo. Cloth. Pp. 398. \$1.75. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

Newfoundland to Manitoba: Through Canada's Maritime, Mining and Prairie Provinces. By W. Fraser Rae. Cloth. 12mo. Pp. 294. \$1.25. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

Bacon. By Thomas Fowler, M. A., F. S. A. Cloth. 12mo. Pp. 202. \$1.25. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

An Artistic Treatise on the Human Figure, containing Hints on Proportion, Color and Composition. By Henry Warren, K. L. (Edited by Susan N. Carter.) 16mo. Boards. Pp. 82. \$0.50. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

Famous Sculptors and Sculptures. By Miss Julia A. Shedd. Boston: James R. Osgood & Co. 12mo. Pp. vi, 319. Illustrated. \$3.00.

THE
PENN MONTHLY.

DECEMBER, 1881.

THE TERM AND TENURE OF OFFICE.

UPON no subject within the sphere of civil administration is there a greater contrariety of views or a less instructed public opinion than in regard to the proper term and tenure of office. Popular speech seldom discriminates between term and tenure, and even our statutes hardly escape confusion on the subject, plain as it is that term but marks the length of time for which the office is bestowed and tenure only the condition subject to which, for the prescribed period, it may be held. When the Federal Constitution declares that judges shall "hold their offices during good behaviour" it creates a tenure, but not a term. It is, therefore, no contradiction to affirm of two persons that they hold office by different tenures, yet for equal terms.

The term of the President of the United States and that of the humblest postmaster, nominated by the President, are each for four years; but, so diverse is the tenure that, while only the judgment of the Senate upon an impeachment can sever that of the President, the tenure of the postmaster—frail as the holding of an autumn leaf,—may be severed any moment by the merest caprice of official authority; if not justly or legally, yet under the usage we have tolerated.

The crude and discordant thought and the lamentable prejudices among our people, concerning the proper term and tenure of offices, are what might well have been expected from the utter neglect of the subject in our teaching and literature. What institution of learning has ever given any instruction upon these

subjects? Where have they not—like everything else pertaining to administrative affairs—been treated as unworthy the attention of students and statesmen and fit only to be handed over to the politicians and partisan majorities?

In the early debates upon the Federal Constitution, the question of the proper term and tenure of the President, the members of Congress and the judges were well considered; but little was said, and in the Constitution not a word, about the term and tenure of subordinates. Those matters—like the great power of removal itself—were left to mere inference and construction; nor should we be much surprised. For the more than a hundred thousand federal officials, the hundreds of millions of annual revenues, the vast wealth and population and the immense volume of public business and official duties, expanded across a continent, which now give such subjects their perilous importance, were then not only unknown, but they were inconceivable. That power which we find so formidable and those parts of public affairs which now so alarm us, in the eyes of the framers of the Constitution, whom so many new and grave questions made anxious, only concerned a few dozen clerks, and only two millions of revenue. There were then neither parties nor chieftains nor great patronage, to make contentions.

But may we not well be surprised that, in presence of the steady growth of such elements of peril—and especially that during the last forty years, within which personal corruption and partisan despotism have silently accomplished a demoralizing revolution in both the terms and tenures of the great body of federal officials—there should not have been, either in our legislative chambers or in our political literature, a single presentation of the subject upon the basis of principle or policy; nor, indeed, hardly the least instruction concerning it in our academies, colleges or universities? Year after year our graduates have been committed to the sweeping currents of partisan politics, without principles, without matured theories, without books of instruction, or even suggestions drawn either from our own experience or that of foreign nations. Neither in our great works upon constitutional law, nor in those upon political ethics or science, is the subject thus presented, or in anyway treated as worthy of thoughtful study. Story and Kent, Lieber, Woolsey and Cooley alike—and our college text books as

well—leave us without light or guidance on the subject. Indeed, so complete has been the neglect that there is hardly so much as a reference in the index of any standard work under the head of term or tenure of office. What, then, more natural than the discordant practices and theories which have existed? Judges of the Supreme, Circuit and District Courts of the United States, protected by the Federal Constitution, retain their tenure of good behavior; but the federal judges for the Territories, holding under laws framed—the first of them in 1850—in the spirit of the modern spoils system, are given a term of four years and a tenure “at the pleasure” of the appointing power; a provision which I must regard as being as repugnant to that Constitution, which says that Judges of the “Supreme and *inferior Courts* shall hold their offices during good behavior,” as it certainly has been disastrous to the independence and character of the territorial courts.

The Judges of some States hold during good behavior, those of others for only a single year, while between such extremes are a motley variety of tenures, and ever varying length of terms; changing not only with nearly every State line, but greatly within the same generation in the same State. New York, for example, in 1846, yielding to a spoils system policy earliest and most developed in that State, changed her judicial tenure from good behavior to a term of eight years, and, under a partial reaction against that policy, has since extended the eight years term to one of fourteen years. From the same causes, Pennsylvania reduced her judicial tenure of good behavior to a term of fourteen years, in 1850; but in 1874, so alarming had the evil effects of a short term become, that the fourteen years' term was extended to twenty-one years. A contrariety, equally striking, is illustrated in most other offices. The terms of school officers, commissioners, mayors, State Senators and Governors, for example, vary in different States and cities from one year to six years, the extension made beyond one year in most cases—as, notably, in Pennsylvania and Missouri,—having been resorted to as a check upon partisan intrigue and corrupt elections, which short terms had greatly aggravated. The whole official system of late years is without the evidence of accepted principles or matured thought,—as confused and miscellaneous as the surface of the earth, which volcanoes have upheaved and earthquakes have shaken.

For much the same reasons, in nearly if not quite a majority of the States, sessions of the Legislature have been dispensed with for each alternate year. Nowhere, I believe, have official terms been shortened since public attention has been somewhat aroused to the evil of bad administration.

Theories have been as discordant as statutes. On one hand, we see men insisting upon permanency in office as essential to efficiency and reform; on the other, those who denounce stability of tenure and length of term as an aristocratic monopoly. In the name of justice, they demand rotation in office. Some contend that only a fixed term of years can arrest disastrous corruption and partisan despotism; while others insist that such a term would certainly increase both those evils. There are many who, aroused and alarmed as never before at the ruinous aspect of our politics, would directly appeal to Congress to enact a short fixed term of office for all subordinates in the executive department; but there are yet more who would legislate concerning admissions and removals without, at this time at least, fixing any term by law. On one side, intense partisans tell us that parties cannot be sustained without being able to give many places to which a stable term and tenure would be fatal; while on the other, the most candid and thoughtful citizens assure us that parties may trust to sound principles and good administration, repudiating spoils and office mongering by which parties are only debauched and enfeebled. The admirable resolutions of the last Massachusetts Republican State Convention postulate the conditions of reform in the alternative, by declaring "for a tenure of office during good behavior *or* for a reasonable fixed term," allowing removals only for cause; and, therefore, leaving open the main question: "For how long a holding of office should the law provide?"

We shall better see where the truth lies between such extremes, if, in the outset, we get a clear view of the sphere of Civil Service Reform and of the offices directly affected by it.

A great proportion of those who regard patronage and spoils as essential to the life of parties, and short term and rotation in office as essential to patronage and spoils,—and, therefore, oppose all reform which would suppress such essentials,—are doubtless sincere and patriotic; but they are laboring under great misapprehensions. Confusion of thought, or the neglect of thought, is the

cause of most of their difficulty. We must, therefore, discriminate with some care, even at the peril of being thought didactic and commonplace.

I. Official life,—government itself,—exists under three great divisions, civil, military, and naval. In the two latter, in all the foremost states of the world, patronage,—the bestowing of offices by mere favor—and short, precarious terms and tenure have given place, in later years, to selections under stern test of capacity; and to a system which requires the education and experience which come from study and long terms of service. Those results were reached by slow stages. Until after 1850 the commissions of our army and navy offices declared their tenure to be “during the pleasure of the President.” Senator Benton says that tenure was based on British precedents and “that it departs from the principle of our republican institutions, which requires a tenure during good behaviour;” a view which contrasts widely with that of some of the party leaders of our day.

In Great Britain and in every other European state, down almost to the birth of men now alive, the tenure of military offices was as precarious and as much a matter of mere favor and patronage as that of civil offices. George III. and his minister Grenville but reflected the spirit of their times, in refusing to recognize any distinction between civil and military officials on the score of tenure or term. Statesmen and generals had held the hope of pillage and plunder to be the most powerful incentives both to enlistments and to efficiency in battle, without the prospect of which no war could be safely undertaken. They reasoned concerning colonels, captains and soldiers as our politicians reason concerning collectors, postmasters and book-keepers. George III., for example, deprived General Conway and Colonel Barrè—sympathizers in our cause—of their commands for political reasons alone, and extended a remorseless proscription to military and civil subordinates alike.

A spoils system of office, in name and spirit, is only the reproduction in the civil life of this Republic, of the barbarous outgrown feudal war code of the European monarchies. And, but for the stern lessons taught on our battle fields, who will venture to say that official terms would not now be as short, tenure as precarious, and the spoils system as potential in the army and navy as in our civil affairs? Indeed, an act of 1862, not superseded with-

out great effort four years later, did in spirit again take us back to the times of George III., in matters of army and navy patronage. Members of Congress have usurped the appointments to the national schools at West Point and Annapolis, to the great damage of those institutions; and have made their appointments, with the exception of a few competitive examinations conceded to public opinion, a part of their official perquisites, upon a theory which that King and his Minister would heartily approve. All the lessons of the past, reinforced by the fine conduct and high educational influence of the graduates of these schools, are none too strong for withstanding the demagogical, communistic demand for short terms and rotation in office in the army and navy, which the partisans and the spoilsman will forever seek to add to the vast plunder for which they wage the war of politics. Does any thoughtful man believe that if we continue to surrender civil appointments to mere favor and influence, we shall be able to confer naval and military appointments for merit? It is an interesting fact that in Great Britain, a stable tenure and the giving of office for merit was provided for in the Civil Service earlier than in the Military Service, while the reverse has been the case with us.

Turning next to civil administration, it stands before us under three great divisions: Legislative, Judicial and Executive. Within State jurisdiction in towns, villages and districts, these divisions are but imperfectly developed. Officials there may have duties not confined to one of these divisions. There, neither Civil Service reform nor the principles which should control the terms or tenure we are considering, have more than a limited and indirect application. Yet, while we are directly dealing only with federal officials, the same reasoning applicable to them is largely applicable to the official life of the States and municipalities.

The debates on the Constitution and the *Federalist* plainly show—what perhaps is obvious enough in itself—that the stable and independent tenure (of the federal judges, and the provision against diminishing their compensation), rather than a short, fixed term, were provided for the double reason, (1) that judicial duties are in objects and methods the same, and the judicial authority should be exerted in the same spirit and manner, at all times and under all circumstances; and (2) that such offices are in no sense represen-

tative either of interests or opinions, or of times, classes or sections.

The Constitution makes no provision bearing upon the terms or tenure of clerks, marshalls or other subordinates of the Courts, or those serving elsewhere in the judicial department, except what is involved in the declaration that "Congress may by law invest the appointment of inferior officers in the President alone, the courts of law, or in the heads of departments." But it needs no argument to make it plain that every reason in favor of stability in the tenure of a judge, applies with undiminished force to all those who aid him in the performance of his duties, or are required to serve anywhere in the judicial department.

The early statesmen unquestionably believed that the great principles of judicial independence which they had so plainly formulated would be applied to every minor official in that department. In most of the federal courts, that expectation has been realized. The federal judges have been given the power to appoint and remove their subordinates. They have been allowed a stable tenure more generally than the subordinates of either other department. And who will deny that the federal judiciary has better kept within its sphere, has fulfilled its great purpose more completely, has withstood the spoils system more effectually, and has consequently preserved itself more absolutely unstained, and added more to the strength and glory of the nation than either of the two other great departments? To this noble record, the history of the territorial judges and their subordinates, and of marshalls and the district attorneys, presents a painful contrast. Made dependent upon party politics, by a term of office in violation of the spirit, if not, as to the judges, in violation of the letter of the Constitution, they have been forced to yield to mere personal and political influences. But I have no space for the subject.

How great and lamentable has been the departure from the principles of that Constitution, in the judicial administration of the States, is known to all. The corrupt influences which enabled Jackson and Van Buren to set up the spoils system at Washington and to seek popularity by proclaiming the seductive doctrine of rotation in office as a principle of justice, had long been demoralizing the politics of the States, and, worst of all, the politics of New York where that system originated.

As early as 1808, Van Buren bartered his services to Tompkins

for a judicial office. In the great contest between himself and Clinton, for the first time in our history the bench was dragged into the defiling pool of politics, and judges became reckless partisans. Judicial appointments thus made venal, respect for the judiciary thus impaired, and a voracious, insatiable appetite for office thus stimulated, a rapid revolution was accomplished in our State judiciaries. Before 1830, no State judge had ever gained his office by popular vote. Now the people of twenty-four states—equal to the whole number then in the Union—elect their judges for fixed terms and by popular vote. If in later years the first short terms have been lengthened at every opportunity for constitutional amendment, it has been by reason of the disgust and alarm caused by making judicial offices a part of the spoils for which parties contend. The average length of judicial terms now reached in the States is about ten years, and the demand for a more independent tenure is rapidly growing more potential where short terms exist.

The same influence which forced the judges into politics, and made their tenure precarious, was not less disastrous among judicial subordinates. In New York, especially,—but in every State in proportion to the despotism and corruption of its politics—the true interests of the people have been spurned, and neither term nor tenure has been allowed which could interfere with the will of the chieftains or the interests of partisans. Salaries have been made high that they might be assessed to fill the party treasury. Terms have been made short that managers might have more profitable elections to conduct, that chieftains might have more offices for bribes, that their vassal lawyers might have more chances to get upon the bench. Tenure in subordinates was measured by servility. A new and demoralizing element was added to the excessive and feverish activity of municipal politics. Election bullies were made court officers, that they might be at hand when ordered to do the dirty work of politics. Character fit to serve in the temples of justice, and capacity and experience competent for the litigation of the people, were alike sacrificed to a scandalous demoralizing practice under which every place in the courts was apportioned, as if prizes of war, among the victors in the fights of faction. For years, the subordinate places in the Courts of New York have, as a rule, been so apportioned among the faction

generals who led the voters at the judicial elections. When Judge Barnard, on his trial under impeachment, answered on the subject in these words: "This is my Court; I have won this office, this patronage is mine," he explained the whole system, which is yet only checked. Of all the sad consequences, perhaps the most lamentable have been the loss of popular respect for the courts, of a lofty ideal of what they ought to be. Can any man point to a single benefit which has come to litigants, to parties even, from this revolutionary departure from the principles of the Constitution and the fundamental conditions of justice?

II. Turning next to the legislative department, we find decisive reasons why the terms of those elected to represent the people should not be long. These officers represent interests, opinions and policies, which are constantly changing; and, at every phase, they have an equal claim to be represented in debate, and to be expressed in statutes. Permanency of tenure on the part of legislators would obviously defeat one of the great ends of representative government. Stability in office is inconsistent with absolute representation. Yet, so manifest have been the advantages of that wisdom and facility which come from experience in legislation, and so deep the sense of peril from incompetent legislators, that a great portion of these officers,—notably Senators, both State and Federal,—have been allowed to hold their places for terms during which great changes of interests and opinions have taken place. So strong has public opinion been in this direction of late that, in the States, the terms of Senators, Mayors, and school officers, and of various other officials, have been much extended within the last few years—perhaps nearly doubled since the reaction against the spoils system theory of rotation first began. Biennial sessions of the Legislature are due to this cause.

Despite these changes, the vast volumes of crude statutes,—more than a thousand pages a year in a single state,—causing distracting doubts and needless litigation in the courts, by which justice is made remote and uncertain, proclaim the incompetency of law-makers. It will be in vain that a remedy will be sought in limiting legislative power by constitutional amendments. As the statutes become more intricate and life more complicated with our growing wealth and population, we shall more and more feel the need of larger experience and longer official terms—to be held under a sterner responsibility—for the supreme work of legislation.

But, in the legislative department, there are inferior officers not elected by the people,—the clerks and other subordinates of Congress, State Legislators and municipal councils,—who are in no sense representative, but simply ministerial. Next to character and natural capacity, the highest qualification for these places is experience—invaluable experience—in the discharge of their duties. These duties have no honest relation to party politics, or to majorities in legislatures, but are the same at all times and under whatever dominant party. Our Constitution,—like that of Great Britain,—confers the power of their selection and removal upon the legislative chambers without restriction as to term or tenure. Who will deny that economy, efficiency, purity and dignity in legislation alike demand that these officials should hold their places so long as they fitly perform their duties, and that they should be made to feel it to be a disgrace to allow that performance to be influenced by partisan considerations?

Before the British spoils-system was suppressed by the reforms made within this generation, there had been as demoralizing contests in the British Parliament over the appointment and removal of such subordinates, as have ever disgraced our Congress or State Legislatures. Now, holding during good behavior and efficiency, the selection of these officials in Great Britain is by methods which no party controls, and the discharge of their functions is treated as having no political significance. Parliament has now more time for its great work, and its dignity is no longer dishonored by ignominious contests about clerkships and doorkeepers. I have no space for presenting the evils which have come to us from treating these offices as the mere spoils of legislative majorities and partisan chieftains. Demoralizing intrigues, corrupt bargains, acrimonious debates, disgraceful scenes in the halls of legislation, law makers discredited in the eyes of the people, years of time required for improving the laws worse than wasted, incompetence, and disastrous mistakes on the part of the partisan officials selected—all these darken the record of our legislation and bring discredit upon republican institutions. In Congress, of late, we have seen one party, in order to obtain offices for its henchmen and favorites, drive from their places worthy and experienced clerks, who had been made cripples for life on the battle field of their country; and the other, disregarding the needs of the public service, seeking

to force into office such new officials as would most influence the local politics of a State. Nor was this the worst; the country has been pained at the spectacle of a great part of a session of the national Senate given to an acrimonious, demoralizing contest,—sinking at last through the dark hours of the night into something like a test of physical endurance—over the appointment of its secretary, in which the merits of the candidate—the only legitimate issue—was forgotten in the angry storm of partisan and irrelevant contention. Yet we would not count all this as utter loss—any more than we do the suffering and death of our late noble President—if only it has made us feel more deeply the peril of further departing from the spirit of the fathers and the theory of the Constitution,—if only it has awakened in us and those who represent us a higher sense of what is becoming in the most conspicuous place of statesmanship.

One other reflection upon the legislative department is important. It is by its members, elected by the people, that all laws are enacted, all appropriations are made, all salaries are fixed, and all ordinances and regulations are authorized, subject to which every department of the Government is carried on and every official duty is discharged. It is in this department that the great repressing, stimulating and moulding forces of a nation, which utter its will, express its character, give direction to its power and policies—on which all liberty, justice and safety depend—find their ultimate sanction and strength. Government, under liberal institutions, in its comprehensive potential sense, is carried on in the legislative department. The judiciary but declares what the legislature has said or sanctioned. The Executive but executes what the legislature has authorized, or the people consistently therewith have approved at elections. It is only demagogues seeking popularity, partisan officials seeking influence and spoils, and thoughtless people blinded by false theories, who regard government as getting office, holding office, and bartering office for votes.

If from the more exalted we turn to the humbler sphere of government, we find it in villages, towns and districts, where the people directly select and instruct and supervise their public servants, whose duties are not merely legislative, but combine, in some measure, the functions of the three great departments of government.

No thoughtful, candid man can affirm that, so long as the people can elect, instruct and call to account every official, from the town selectman and the village trustee to Governors, Congressmen and Presidents, and change every method and official through which government acts, there can be any interference with the prerogatives of the people or any danger to their liberty by insisting that executive subordinates and the ministerial clerks and servants in the other departments shall be selected for their merits and retained so long as they are most serviceable to the public.

Who, but officers of the legislative department, have authority to reduce salaries, to dismiss supernumeraries, to provide for and enforce economy, to prevent offices being given as bribes, to make official responsibility more severe by stern investigations and penal laws, to expose all kinds of abuses in public debates in whatever department they exist? Whose fault will it be, but that of legislative officers, if these powers shall not be vigorously exercised?

Let us here clearly see the need of making it plain to the people that competitive examinations and the other practical methods of Civil Service Reform do not interfere between the people and the officers they elect—do not touch upon legislative discretion—do not in the least limit or obstruct the capacity and duty of representatives to be true to the interests, opinions and policies which they are bound to respect. The citizen must forever remain the sole judge of the fitness of the candidate for whom he can vote.

Competitive examinations and the other methods of Civil Service Reform, so essential in the cases of the tens of thousands of executive and ministerial subordinates in the great offices and departments, who now gain their places secretly through favor and influence—as to which the people have neither part nor information—can never be necessary or useful for the selection of the officials of towns and villages. Everything is there so open, and all official duties are so simple, that the boys on their way to school, and the women over their wash-tubs, may discuss them intelligently. And for the very reason that these official functions are so simple that any one may readily discharge them, and that they rarely require the abandonment of the accustomed business of the local officer, it is practicable and desirable that his term of office should be short. In a limited way, the doctrine of rotation may be here accepted, and it has the advantage of causing more

persons to acquire valuable information concerning public affairs. It is a part of the art of the demagogue to plausibly represent that methods and tenure, essential only in the great offices, are intended for interference between the people and these town and village officials at their own doors. It is an utterly false representation

In leaving the legislative department for the executive, there is another view of its official life, important to be carried with us. The most perfect representation—which in theory is sought—would be attained by the shortest possible terms of office. Terms of six years for federal senators, two, three and four years for State Senators, of two and three years for Governors, mayors and various other officers, as is now the case, cannot be justified on the mere theory of representation. That theory is based on the right of the people *at all times* to have their interests and opinions reflected in the halls of legislation. Now, terms of only one year—the shortest we recognize—violate that theory. For the opinions of parties and individuals do not, like grass and fruits, grow and ripen, or, like the earth, complete a revolution once a year, but often more frequently. When Rhode Island, following the example of the Grecian Republics, fixed the terms of her representatives at six months, and Connecticut added to those short terms semi-annual sessions of her Legislature, each at a different place, for the more convenient and exact representation of the people, and when the factious spoils system spirit of Florence and other medieval republics of Italy reduced official terms first to six, then to four, and finally to two months, they obviously enforced a term tending to a more exact representation than any now provided for in this country.

Our longer terms for such offices are justifiable only on the assumption which they proclaim, that the experience *secured by larger public service is more valuable than any ideal exactness in representation*; an important truth as bearing upon the proper term of mere ministerial and executive subordinates, and one which Senators will do well, if they do not longer forget, when they stand up in their places, in the fifth and sixth year of their terms—perhaps long after the majority in the State and Legislature which they pretend to represent has been changed since their election—and, in the name of justice and sound policy, demand rotation, removals and short terms on the part of those subordi-

nates who represent nothing but the unchanging need of having the constant volume of public work well done, and done in the same way year after year, whichever party is in power, and whatever policy prevails.

I say well not longer to forget that fact, because, if we go much further in teaching the people the communistic doctrine that every man has an equal right to office and that every officer belonging to the defeated party should go out when the other party prevails, the plausible and insatiable demand for office, sure to be aroused, will not stop at subordinates, but will cut down the terms of Governors, Senators and Judges as well. That doctrine bears the seeds of a communistic revolution in official life.

III. And now for the executive department. To approve and disapprove legislative enactments, are the highest functions of Governors and Presidents. To that extent they are both legislative and representative officers. Next in importance is the duty of those officers to carry into action, in the conduct of executive affairs, the principles and policy which the people approved in their elections. This, too, is in a sense a representative function. Much the same reasons, therefore, which require the terms of a legislative officer to be short apply also to Presidents and Governors; in a limited degree they apply to Mayors, also. In limiting the term of the President to four years our Constitution presents decisive evidence that considerations drawn from his representative rather than from his strictly executive functions prevailed—must we not say unwisely and disastrously prevailed—to the extent that it made his term shorter than that of a Senator.

The Constitution has fixed the term of no officer in the executive department except that of the President and Vice-President. It created no department; yet says "the President may require the opinion in writing of the principal officer in each of the Executive Departments upon any subject relating to the duties of their respective offices." Upon this narrow basis and the precedents of the British Cabinet, our Cabinet has been reared; and while each of them are equally unrecognized in the Constitution and laws, (and with us the duty and responsibility are upon the President alone,) the Cabinet has been, in practice, in both countries the great central council for advice in regard to all executive action.

It is too clear for argument that the heads of departments, who

are to advise him as to his gravest duties, need to have faith in the principles and policy the President is bound to enforce, and for that reason their tenure of office should depend upon him.

There may also be a few other executive officers—foreign ministers, or more clearly those sent on special missions, and Governors of Territories might be examples—whose peculiar fitness, if not success, would depend upon their sharing the views of the Administration; and in all such cases there should be short terms or a tenure in the discretion of the President.

When we go below these, we come upon officers who, not only according to the theory of the Constitution and the laws, but from the very necessities of government, are required to obey the legal instructions from those above them to whom they are directly responsible. Each head of a department is clothed by law with the authority and duty of directing the official action, subject to the constitutional power of the President, of all the subordinates of that department. Among all the fifty or more thousands of subordinates standing in graded ranks from the department secretaries down past great collectors and postmasters to the custom-house janitors, the light-house keepers, the postmistresses in the hamlets, the keepers of signal stations on the tops of mountains and of life-saving stations on the shores of the oceans and the lakes, there is not one who, according to the laws or sound policy, has any right of advice as to the policy or principles of an administration; not one for whom obedience to legal instructions from a superior is not a plain duty; not one whose political opinions are material for good administration; hardly one whose active participation in partisan politics is not a public detriment tending to neglect of public business and the oppression of the citizen. The duties of these officers, I repeat, are in no sense representative. They are not called upon to act upon any political theory. They perform no duties that depend upon the triumph of political opinions or the success of any party. Whichever party comes into power, whatever party they belong to, their duties are the same. They have no right to regard the opinions of any citizen in their official action, or need to know them. They do not, like legislators, or town and village officials, meet at stated seasons, or convenient times, to consider changing interests and fluctuating politics, but month after month and year after year, they do, or they should, steadily devote

themselves to the same branch of vast unchanging public business, which, from the smaller officers to the greater, moves on like streams and rivers in an unbroken succession and everlasting continuity. Indefensible as political indifference is in the citizen, we may unhesitatingly affirm that, so far as the mere discharge of official duties are concerned, these 50,000 officials would not be less useful public servants if they had neither opinions about politics nor share in party affairs? We may not, as was found necessary in England for a hundred years, disfranchise them, but we should clearly see and make them see, and make them *feel* also, that they not only need not, but should not, as officials, interfere with party politics or regard political opinions as qualification for ministerial duties.

Before considering what should be the term and tenure of this vast body of federal officials—referred to in the National Constitution as “inferior officers,” and to which a much larger number of State and municipal officials holding like relations should be added—it will be well to notice some objections which stand in the way of considering the question of term and tenure upon its own merits. It is declared that any term and tenure which prevents inferior officers being removed and their successors appointed at the pleasure of the majority, disastrously restricts the freedom of action on the part of the great parties, and deprives them and the people of essential representation in the official life of the country; and further, that the establishment of competitive examinations, as the Civil Service Reformers propose, is an equally unjustifiable restriction.

The answer is not difficult. Under our institutions parties are inevitable and salutary. Their great functions are to arouse, embody, sustain and carry forward a sound public opinion until it finds fit expression in statutes and executive action.

Under these institutions, the federal and State legislators and all who govern in municipalities and towns, are selected by the vote of the majority, which majority in itself but expresses the will of the dominant party. In the selection of Mayors, Governors, and Presidents, that party majority is equally potential. These two classes of officers, the one wielding all legislative authority, and the other all executive authority, in their united action exert all the power which our institutions give, or a free people can safely

confer, for the representation and enforcement of their will. All of these officers may be, and in our practice they generally are—within their respective spheres—the trusted favorites of the dominant party, bound in the double allegiance of gratitude and dependence.

Through these two classes of officers, the adherents of the dominant party practically make and repeal all laws and ordinances, direct their enforcement, fill every subordinate place, instruct and require obedience from all who hold them, enforce all principles and guide all policy in obedience to which the vast affairs of the nation, from the lighthouses and the signal stations to foreign embassies and the great departments are conducted. Is not this enough? Have we ever suffered because parties have needed opportunities or influence greater than these? Is not here a sphere broad and grand enough—a power and opportunity dazzling enough—to inspire the patriotism and reward the zeal of any party and of the noblest man who ever led any party in a great nation?

Let it not be said that competitive examinations or *doctrinaire* Civil Service rules block the way. For, I repeat, they in no way interfere with the elections or proper official action of any of these party-elected law makers or executive leaders, federal, State or municipal.

These examinations and rules stand in the way only when parties and their leaders—fearing to rest their fate with the people upon any sound principles they have sustained, any good administration they have enforced, any worthy persons they have put in office, or any wise laws they have enacted—attempt to perpetuate their power by filling the inferior offices with partisan henchmen potential at elections, by pledging and bartering appointments for votes, by converting the civil servants of the people into their oppressors, by levying exactions upon these servants for executing the coercive policy of chieftains and factions, for whom the people refuse to contribute.

Unless, therefore, it is claimed that a party, which cannot gain or retain power by adhering to the spirit of the Constitution and to common honesty and justice, may strengthen itself by using public authority to debauch and coerce the people—unless it can be shown that the term and tenure of these “inferior offices” should, in the interest of parties, be made brief and precarious so that patronage

and the appointing power may be conveniently prostituted as merchandise in the shambles of partisan politics—we may confidently declare that their term and tenure alike should be determined quite irrespective of mere party considerations.

But let us not imagine, because these inferior officers are not representative or given large discretionary powers, that their term, tenure or relations are not vital and perilous. A glance at the evidence to the contrary will dispel all doubts as well as shed some light on the true relations between term and tenure and the approved methods of Civil Service Reform. It was the political assessment of the 60,000 officials which President Grant prohibited by executive order, which President Hayes declared to be "gross injustice to the officers" or "indirect robbery of the public treasury," which President Garfield denounced as "shameful" and "the source of an electioneering fund which in many cases never gets beyond the pockets of the shysters * * and mere camp followers of the party." It was these assessments in vast aggregates of hundreds of thousands of dollars, levied on the more than 2,500 federal officials, and the two and a half millions of their salaries at New York City, helped by like extortions from the \$12,000,000 salaries of State and municipal officers at that city—their precarious, humiliating tenure degrading many of them into mere partisan vassals—which made possible the unparalleled corruption and despotism of New York politics, and led directly to the rebellious madness of her Senators in confronting the President and deserting their posts of duty for a faction war of treason at home. It is by reason of the crowding and bullying for these offices—invited and intensified by the frail tenure of those who fill them—that our late lamented President declared deliberately, in the *Atlantic Monthly* in 1877, "that *one third of the working hours of Senators and Representatives is hardly sufficient to meet the demands in reference to appointments for office.*" He further declared his belief that with a "judicious system of Civil Service, the business of the departments could be better done at almost one half the present cost." It was the applications for these offices which the New York *Tribune* lately declared had occupied one-third the time of President Garfield; which one of his secretaries has stated had occupied more than one-half of his own time; which another declared had been the subject of seven hundred and ten out

of less than seven hundred hundred and fifty calls upon him during the first three months of his official service. It has been the expected facility of breaking the fragile tenure of these offices, which has drawn unprecedented numbers of office-seeking men and women to Washington within the past few months—the office-soliciting advertisements of impecunious women in a strange city, separated from their families, now being openly published in the newspapers of the national capital, *in which, in their need and desperation, they promise one-fifth of their salaries, and to back their claims with the influence of members of Congress*, as a condition of getting one of those offices. It was the general effect of the intrigue, solicitation and coercion for these offices without stable tenure which Senator PENDLETON, of one party, in a late speech declared to be “the prolific parent of fraud, corruption and brutality. . . . It made Guiteau possible. . . . It has debauched the public morals. . . . It drives Senators and Representatives into the neglect of their chief duty of legislation . . . and too often makes the support of an administration conditioned upon their obtaining offices for their friends,” and of the same abuse that Senator DAVES, of the other party, in his late letters said, “It destroys his (the Congressman’s) independence, and makes him a slave.”

It needs no argument to make clear the intimate relations which exist between such abuses and the term and tenure of these “inferior offices.”

These are the decisive questions: What, intrinsically considered, are the proper terms and tenure of these officers? In what way should such term and tenure be modified by reason of these abuses? What is the relation between such term and tenure and competitive examinations and the other practical methods of a true Civil Service Reform?

We have only to consider the great variety of officials to see that to most of the general rules we may lay down there must be some exceptions. The officers classed in the State department range from the Secretary and the Ambassadors to the Consular clerks and the dispatch agents. The department of the Treasury has at Washington about 3,000 subordinates; to which, the one hundred and eight Collectors, the Surveyors, the Naval officers, the officers of the Mints, and all their subordinates, the vast Internal Revenue service collecting nearly one-half the national income,

the Light house, the Life saving, the Hospital, the Revenue Marine services, and many more isolated officials must be added. In the Department of the Interior, there are the Pension and Patent Office service, the Land office, the Indian service, the Bureaus of Education and Agriculture, and various other officers. The War and Navy Departments have civil subordinates of many grades widely separated. More than 42,000 postmasters with their subordinates, upwards of 1,100 serving at the New York City office alone, and the many others with the most varied duties, of which the railroad and steamboat mail service, and the vast mail contract system are examples, are under the Postmaster General. The Department of Justice, with its District Attorneys, Marshals and election supervisors and their subordinates; the National Board of Health, the officers of the District of Columbia and of the Territories are also to be added, before we get a general view of the vast number and variety of the officials under the Executive. Every year they are becoming more numerous, their duties more complicated, and the need of fixed rules, which shall exclude favoritism and pressure, more imperative.

The authority to appoint these officers, subject to confirmation by the Senate, is given by the Constitution to the President, with the power, as we have seen, in Congress to vest the appointment of interior officers in heads of departments. Beyond declaring that all civil officers shall be removed on impeachment and conviction of treason, bribery and other high crimes and misdemeanors, the Constitution leaves the stupendous power of removal to mere implication. It has, however, been authoritatively decided and the constant practice has been (save as qualified of late by the Tenure of Office Acts), that the power of removal belongs to the President, as an incident to the power of appointment. The Constitution provides *no term*, and, otherwise than by implication, no tenure for any one of these inferior officers. And prior to a law of 1820, to which further reference will be made, no term or tenure was provided by law for any of these inferior officers. The tenure of usage had been that of efficiency and good behavior. The few scores of officers and the small amount of revenue—only \$2,000,000 in the first year under the Constitution, as against more than \$360,000,000 last year—apparently gave no great importance to such matters at the beginning. Even at the end of Jefferson's

first term, the whole revenue of the Government was hardly greater than the increase of last year over the previous year, both from customs and internal revenue, each of the three amounts being about \$12,000,000. Yet in the co-existence of a power of removal without legal restrictions and a tenure of office undefined by law, there was the promise and potency of all the mischief and peril of our day.

And such was felt to be the fact by our early statesmen ; for, in 1789, in the first Congress, the right of removal and the tenure of these officials, as matters of the highest importance, were thoroughly discussed. Mr. Madison laid down these principles—generally accepted by his contemporaries and uniformly enforced in the national administration, until the triumph of the spoils system barbarism under Jackson and Van Buren, or, at least, until the four years' term statute of 1820—: (1) That the power and the duty of making removals were equally vested in the President alone, with an authority on the part of the House of Representatives to impeach him if he should either allow an unworthy officer to continue in his place, or wantonly remove a meritorious officer ; Madison distinctly declaring such a removal to be an act of " mal-administration ;" (2) Fidelity and efficiency were the measure of tenure, as character and capacity were the tests for appointments. There was no fixed term, and apparently no need of any. Washington made only nine removals, and all for cause ; John Adams, only nine, and none, it would seem, by reason of political opinion ; Jefferson, only thirty-nine, and none of them, as he declared, for political reasons ; Madison only five ; Monroe only nine ; J. Q. Adams only two, and all for cause. Defalcations were not wholly unknown, and there was inefficiency in some offices. But, compared with what speedily followed the administration of the forty years covered by these Presidents, it was purity and efficiency itself. In no country of the world, in those years, were public servants so respectable or administration so untainted. No other government had then reached so high a plane of disinterestedness, or exhibited so much regard for character and justice in dealing with those who served it.

It was left for the politicians of later days to discover and to teach that to select public servants for their merits and to retain them because they continued meritorious, are " un-American."

Let us glance at the cause and progress of this great change as bearing upon terms and tenure of office. Some facts have been stated which illustrate the early pre-eminence of New York for the despotism and corruption of her politics. Burr had early laid the foundations of her spoils system and, with the aid of Van Buren, his most apt and distinguished disciple, that system had been made potential in New York, several years previous to 1820. It required short terms, and partisan tests for office. It made political opinions a ground of appointments and removals and required servile obedience to chieftains on the part of all officials. Before 1820, Governor Clinton complained, in a message, "of an organized and disciplined corps of federal officials interfering in State elections." Tammany Hall was becoming a political power. Van Buren was pressing at Washington for partisan appointments. New York politics had become so notoriously desperate and unscrupulous, at that period, as to attract almost as much attention as they do at this day. Jackson contriving how to reach the Presidential chair, and affecting the character of a non-partisan, said to a New Yorker: "I am no politician, but if I were a politician, I would be a New York politician." Van Buren soon made him one.

The spoils system spirit, thus early reduced to practice in New York, was being slowly developed in other parts of the Union. Those elements of intrigue and corruption which, little more than a decade later, asserted a dominant power for that system, were not an instant creation, but a slow and largely a secret growth. That growth was facilitated by the utter neglect of all study and teaching of the science of administration. The future champions of the system had already reached manhood. Within eleven years several of them were to be in the Senate. The creed of the spoilsmen had not been avowed, but the men who were first to proclaim it were leading politicians before 1820.

In that year, William H. Crawford, Secretary of the Treasury, was a Presidential candidate, and Van Buren, who was to come into the Senate in 1821, even then an aspirant for the Presidency, was Crawford's supporter. They were unsurpassed for their skilful use of patronage. Both were able to see that if the terms of the inferior officers were reduced to four years, there would be more patronage to dispose of and an easier introduction of the New York system.

On the 20th of April, 1820, about thirty days before Congress adjourned, there was reported a bill (which Mr. Crawford and Mr. Van Buren approved) which reduced the constitutional tenure of district-attorneys, collectors, naval officers, navy agents, surveyors of customs, paymasters, and of several other less important officers, to a term of four years. This was the first fixed term for any such office. It further declared that the holding of all such officers, whose commissions were dated September 30th, 1814, should expire on the day and month of their date next after September 30th, 1820. The expiration of other holdings was fixed for a year later. The bill was thus *retro-active, and it made these terms expire on the eve of the Presidential election.* There was to be a Presidential election in 1824, when Crawford and Jackson were to be leading candidates. How largely and promptly this change would add to the patronage of the Treasury, where Mr. Crawford presided, need not be pointed out.

But these were hardly the most ominous provisions of the bill; for, taking the side of the partisan spoilsmen, against the approved doctrines of Madison and the practice of every President, it declared that those officers "shall be removable at pleasure." Here was rotation legalized for the sake of rotation. Here was the first demand of surrender ever made upon the General Government in the spirit of the New York spoils system. Here was practically a revolution in the term and tenure of office; an emphatic degradation of the standard according to which the fate of every one of these officers was to be determined. In silence, almost stealthily, this act—working a revolution in our official system—was carried through both Houses; a proceeding perhaps impossible but for the fact that, for the first time since Washington's first term, there was no effective division into parties, but only into factions.

The avowed reason, or rather the apology for the new policy, was to the effect that it would furnish the means of removing unworthy officials; the speciousness of which appears in the fact that the terms of all in office—worthy and unworthy alike—were, without inquiry, severed absolutely. Nothing but official pleasure was to protect the most meritorious in the future.

The significant facts were that there was no *showing of delinquencies; no charges that the President could not or would not remove*

unworthy officials ; not a word of debate ; not a record of votes on this revolutionary and disastrous bill ! But there were statesmen who foresaw the disastrous consequences. When Mr. CALHOUN, who was Secretary of War, heard of the sudden passage of the bill—it would seem that he did not know of its pendency until it had passed both Houses—he declared it “one of the most dangerous ever passed, and that it would work a revolution.”

The dangerous consequences of the new policy began very soon to appear. Five years after the passage of the Act of 1820, an able committee of the Senate, with Mr. Macon at the head—who never aided a relative or henchman to an office—made an earnest report for the repeal of the Act. But the spoils system had secretly made progress. The practical effect of the new law was not largely understood by the people, and the movement failed. Mr. Crawford having become infirm, Mr. VanBuren transferred his support to Jackson, and that system, which this Act would greatly strengthen, was made ready to be set up at Washington. Mr. Benton says the law of 1820 “had become the means of getting rid of faithful officers, and the expiration of the four years’ term came to be considered as the vacation of all officers on whom it fell.” Vain, indeed, was it to attempt to repeal a law which had already become a bulwark of the new system in the spirit of which Jackson, the military hero of the day, and VanBuren, the chieftain of New York, and the greatest party manipulator of his time, were working together for the Presidency.

The people did not yet comprehend the strength or the ultimate purpose of that law, nor had its friends ventured to avow its political motive. Jackson had been writing letters to President Monroe—and to Kremer as late as 1824, only five years before he was elected President—deprecating party tests for office. But the Act emboldened the spirit which gave it birth. Van Buren was showing what use could be made of it by party leaders. Jackson’s partisan removals of twenty times more officials than all who had been removed for any cause since the foundation of the Government, clearly interpreted that spirit. Thirsting for more vacancies to fill, he recommended in his first message “a general extension of the law which limits appointments to four years ;” a short term policy so radical and dangerous that even his followers shrank from it ; yet by some strange perversion it is now finding support on the part

of a few well-meaning persons who urge it in the name of Civil Service Reform! That message further declared "rotation a leading principle in the Republican creed." Ignoring the true rule that every man's claim upon office is in his proportion to his fitness to fill it, the same message proclaimed the communistic doctrine that *every man had an equal right to office*; which, by his appointments, was interpreted to mean, in practice, that no man but a partisan, servile to himself, had any such right which a president was bound to respect. Three years later, in 1832, Senator Marcy, in the Senate of the United States, explained the new four-years-term spoils system—thus supplied by his State to the Union—in these memorable words: "When they, (New York politicians) are contending for victory, they avow the intention of enjoying the fruits of it. If they are defeated they expect to retire from office. If they are successful, they claim, as matter of right, the advantages of success. *They see nothing wrong in the rule that to the victor belongs the spoils of the enemy.*" The new system was therefore simply this: no tenure for more than four years; office and salaries the spoils of party warfare; removals at pleasure; rotation in order to give offices to as many servile partisans as possible; appointments and removals for political reasons; the duty of the official to be an obedient worker for his party and a servile vassal of its managers. Political assessments were of later growth. Such were the origin and spirit of the spoils system as it stands connected with the term and tenure of office.

DORMAN B. EATON.

(*To be continued.*)

OLD-TIME SUPERSTITIONS.

“When golden angels cease to cure the evil,
We give the royal witchcraft to the devil.”—POPE.

THE reader who has dallied over “Percy’s Reliques” may, perhaps, recall to his mind the old ballad of “Sir Aldingar,” in which a lazar-man who came to the King’s gate is told :

“He make thee a whole man and a sound
In two howers of the day.”

The afflicted one meets the King, and the poem continues :

“But first he had touched the lazar-man,
And stroakt him with his hand ;
The lazar under the gallows-tree
All whole and sounde did stande !”

An old superstition of great strength and wide-spread prevalence is referred to in these lines,—one which has often been the subject of research and thought, and whose history, even at the present enlightened day, may prove of interest to the student of human nature,—that human nature which is ever the same, in all ages and countries.

Among the collection of coins now upon exhibition at the Pennsylvania Museum and School of Industrial Art, Memorial Hall, Fairmount Park, in this city, are certain English gold coins, issued by Charles II. and James II., known as “touch-pieces,” which were given to those unfortunates whom, in conformity with the superstition of the times, the reigning sovereign “touched” for the cure of the King’s Evil, a disease so named because it was thought to be healable only by the hand of a monarch.

In days when many believed that the kingly office was of divine origin, it was natural that the imaginations of those people of feeble vitality and often of weak or deficient mental power should be so far affected as to cause such bodily changes as we know to be produced by a strongly excited imagination, and, further, that those persons who were thus cured and those who heard of such cures should attribute the effect to the virtue of the kingly touch,—not to the influences of any mere mental processes.

The superstition was a very old one in England, where it can be traced back to the reign of Edward the Confessor, and in the

chronicle of William of Malmesbury will be found the narrative of several cures of this disease effected by that sovereign in England as well as in Normandy. It is considered remarkable that no other author who lived at or near the time of Edward the Confessor has spoken of this marvellous gift, and the most singular fact of all is that the bull by which he was canonized is stated to contain no allusion whatever to any of the sanations performed by him through the royal touch. But the old chroniclers who have narrated these miracles inclined to the belief that the healing virtue proceeded from the great personal sanctity of the monarch, rather than from any hereditary virtue in the line of royal succession or from the powers bestowed by the consecration and investiture at his coronation.

Holinshead, speaking of Edward the Confessor, the first English monarch of whom the power to heal was recorded, says "that he used to help those that were vexed with the disease commonly called the King's Evil, and left that virtue, as it were, a portion of the inheritance of his successors, the kings of this realm."

There is no record that the first four Norman monarchs attempted to heal the malady by touching; but the cures of Henry II. are attested by his chaplain, Peter de Blois. John of Gadesden, who was physician to Edward III., (about 1320,) in a work upon the scrofula, recommends that, after all other remedies have been tried and failed, as a last resource, the patient should repair to the Court in order to be touched by the King. Sir John Fortescue, Lord Chief Justice in the reign of Henry IV., and Chancellor to Henry V., represents the practice as having belonged to the kings of England from time immemorial.

Henry VII. was the first who established a particular form and ceremony, and introduced the practice of presenting to the sufferer at the same time a piece of gold, which was worn suspended from a ribbon around the neck.

In the reign of Queen Elizabeth, William Tooker published a work upon the subject of the cures effected by the royal hand, under the title of "*Charisma, sive Donum Sanationis.*" He was a witness to many cures where a perfect cure and restoration to health occurred from the Queen's touch, without any relapse or return of the original malady. There is an anecdote, taken from "*Charisma,*" of a Roman Catholic who lived in the time of Elizabeth, and,

being very firm in his communion, was thrown into prison for his recusancy. There "he grew terribly afflicted with the King's Evil, and, having applied himself to physicians, and gone through a long fatigue of pain and expense without the least success, at last he was touched by the Queen and perfectly cured. And being asked how the matter stood with him, his answer was, he was now satisfied by experimental proof that the Pope's excommunication of Her Majesty signified nothing, since she still continued blessed with so miraculous a quality."

It is related of Queen Elizabeth that, making her progress into Gloucestershire, the people affected with this disease "did in uncivil crouds presse in upon her. Insomuch that Her Majesty, betwixt anger, grief and compassion, let fall words to this effect: '*Alasse, poor people, I cannot, I cannot cure you; it is God alone that can doe it.*'"

The following passage in "Macbeth," Act IV., Scene 3, reflects the current opinion of the times in which Shakespeare wrote:

Malcolm.—Comes the King forth, I pray you?

Doctor.—Ay, sir; there are a crew of wretched souls
That stay his cure; their malady convinces
The great assay of art; but at his touch,
Such sanctity hath heaven given his hand,
They presently amend.

Malcolm.—I thank you, doctor.

(*Exit Doctor.*)

Macduff.—What's the disease he means?

Malcolm.— 'Tis called the evil;
A most miraculous work in this good king,
Which often, since my here remain in England,
I have seen him do. How he solicits heaven,
Himself best knows; but strangely-visited people,
All swol'n and ulcerous, pitiful to the eye,
The mere despair of surgery, he cures;
Hanging a golden stamp about their necks,
Put on with holy prayers; and 'tis spoken,
To the succeeding royalty he leaves
The healing benediction,

James I. doubtless exercised this among other royal prerogatives, a proclamation, dated March, 1616, being said to be in existence, forbidding patients to approach him during the summer. He is also reported to have touched the son of the Turkish Chiaus for the cure of the evil, at the foreigner's special request, using at it the usual ceremony "of signing the place infected with the crosse,

but no prayers before or after." When he was requested to effect the cure, " His Majesty laughed heartily, and as the young fellow came neare him he stroked him, with his hande, first on the one side and then on the other ; marry, without Pistle or Gospell."

In the reign of Charles I. the practice must have been of great frequency, for eleven of his proclamations relating to the touching for the King's Evil are still extant, mostly appointing times when the people who were afflicted might repair to the Court. It was further ordered that such persons should bring with them certificates from their parson, vicar, minister, or church-warden, that they had not previously been touched for the disease. Charles I., when he visited Scotland in 1633, " heallit 100 persons of the cruelles, or King's Evell, yong and olde," in Holyrood Chapel, on St. John's Day. The number of those " touched " in the reign of Charles II. was very great, " and yet," says Pettigrew, " it is not a little remarkable that more people died of scrofula, according to the Bills of Mortality, during this period than any other."

On the 6th day of July, 1660, Evelyn writes in his diary, " His Majestie began first to *touch for ye evil*, according to costome, thus: His Ma^{tie} sitting under his state in ye banquetting house, the churgeons cause the sick to be brought or led up to the throne where they kneeling ye King strokes their faces or cheekes with both his hands at once, at which instant a chaplaine, in his formalities, says, ' He put his hands upon them and He healed them.' This is said to every one in particular. When they have all been touch'd they come up againe in the same order, and the other chaplaine kneeling and having angel gold strung on white ribbon on his arme delivers them one by one to His Ma^{tie}, who puts them about the necks of the touched as they passe, while the first chaplaine repeats, ' That is ye true light who came into ye world.' Then follows an epistle, (as at first a gospell,) with the liturgy, prayers for the sick, with some alteration ; lastly, ye blessinge ; then the lord chamberlaine and comptroller of the household bring a basin, ewer and towell for His Ma^{tie} to wash."

During the first four years of the reign of Charles II., he is reported to have " touched " nearly twenty-four thousand persons, Friday being the favorite day for the ceremonial. Pepys saw the operation performed on the tenth day of April, 1661, and forthwith proceeded to note the same in his faithful diary.

“A Nonconformist’s child in Norfolk,” says Browne, in his work entitled “*Adenochoiradelogia*,” “being troubled with scrofulous swellings, the late deceased Sir Thomas Browne being consulted about the same, His Majesty being then at Breda, or Bruges, he advised the parents of the child to have it carried over to the King (his own method being used ineffectually); the father seemed very strange at this advice, and utterly denied it, saying the touch of the King was of no greater efficacy than any other man’s. The mother of the child, adhering to the doctor’s advice, studied all imaginable means to have it over, and at last prevailed with the husband to let it change the air for three weeks or a month; this being granted, the friends of the child that went with it, unknown to the father, carried it to Breda, where the King touched it, and she returned home perfectly healed. The child being come to its father’s house, and he finding so great an alteration, inquired how his daughter arrived at this health. The friends thereof assured him that, if he would not be angry with them, they would relate the whole truth; they having his promise for the same assured him they had the child to be ‘touched’ at Breda, whereby they apparently let him see the great benefit his child received thereby. Hereupon the father became so amazed that he threw off his Nonconformity and expressed his thanks in this manner: ‘Farewell to all dissenters and to all Nonconformists; if God can put so much virtue into the King’s hand as to heal my child, I’ll serve that God and that King so long as I live, with all thankfulness.’”

The ceremony of “touching” was continued under James II., he, on one occasion, August 28, 1687, having healed as many as three hundred and fifty persons; even when in exile, at the Court of France, he would frequently perform the ceremony.

William III. refused utterly to countenance the superstition, and could not be persuaded to exercise the gift, being of the opinion that he would do no injury to the sufferers by withholding from them the royal touch.

Queen Anne is the last English sovereign of whom we have authentic proof that she performed this ceremony. On one occasion, she “touched” two hundred people, among whom was the child Samuel Johnson, sent by the advice of his physician, all other means having failed of relief. But in his case success did not attend the operation, for during his whole life he was afflicted with

the disease. The gold coin which on that day was given to him by Queen Anne and hung around his neck, is said to be still extant in the British Museum.

“A set form of prayer to be used at the ceremony of touching for the King's Evil was originally printed upon a separate sheet of paper, but the form itself was subsequently introduced into the Book of Common Prayer in the year 1684. It appears in the editions of 1707 and 1709, but was altered in the folio edition printed at Oxford by Baskett in 1715.”

Even so late as the first quarter of the present century, people came from far and near to touch for the King's Evil the shirt which Charles I. wore at his execution, preserved in the church at Ashburnham.

The gift of healing was not confined to the sovereigns of England, but could be exercised by any regularly anointed monarch. In France, the origin of the practice was ascribed to the reign of Clovis, by Laurentius, physician to Henri IV., in a work published in 1609; he also states that Louis I. frequently performed the ceremony with perfect success.

According to Comines, Louis XI. “touched” regularly once a week. Heylin states that the kings of France, after fasting and doing penance for nine days in the Church of St. Maclou, at St. Denys, were wont to receive the gift of healing the King's Evil with the touch alone. According to some writers, the ceremony could only be performed by the French kings on the day on which they had received the communion; others ascribe the “*donum sanationis*” to the relics of St. Marculf, in the church of Corbigny, in Champagne, whither the kings of France used to repair in solemn procession immediately after the ceremonials of the coronation at Rheims had been performed.

Francis I., on one occasion, in the presence of Cardinal Wolsey, “touched” a number of people, and even when confined as a prisoner in Spain did not lose the royal virtue, being reported while there to have cured many of struma.

Gemelli states that, on Easter, 1636, Louis XIV. touched sixteen hundred persons, accompanying the ceremony with the words, “*Le Roy te touche, Dieu te guerisse!*” Every Frenchman received fifteen sous, and every foreigner thirty.

Carte, in his history of England, gives an account of a young man who went to Avignon in 1716, to be healed of the disease by the touch of the Pretender,—“the lineal descendant of a race of kings, who had not at that time been anointed.” When Charles Edward was at Holyrood House, in Edinburgh, in 1745, although only Prince of Wales and Prince Regent, he exercised the royal gift of sanation, and “touched” a female child who, it is said, recovered wholly from the disease in twenty-one days, and never experienced any relapse.*

In the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1751 (Vol. XXI., p. 473), there is mention made of the arrest, and bringing to London from Dover, of a foreigner who was working cures by “touching,” giving himself out to be the eldest son of the Pretender.

Both the Hanoverian and the Stuart dynasties were reported to possess this power of healing, as formerly even the monarchs of the races of both York and Lancaster had been similarly gifted. “The curing of the King's Evil,” writes Aubrey, “by the touch of the King, does much puzzle our philosophers; for, whether our kings were of the house of York or Lancaster, it did cure for the most part.”

The hand of the sovereign was by some deemed not more efficacious than that of a murderer or a virgin. In “Scot's Discovery of Witchcraft,” the statement is made that “to heal the king or Queen's Evil, or any other soreness of the throat, first touch the place with the hand of one that died an untimely death; otherwise, let a virgin, fasting, lay her hand on the sore, and say, *'Apollo denyeth that the heat of the plague can increase where a naked virgin quencheth it.'*”

“Stroking nine times with the hand of a dead man,” says Pettigrew, “and particularly of one who has suffered a violent death as the penalty for his crimes, especially if it be for murder, has been a common practice, and, if not followed at the present day, was certainly a few years since, it being no unfrequent thing to observe on the scaffold numbers of persons submitting to this disgusting foolery, under the exercise of the executioner and his assistants.” In those happy days when a human being was put to death for the theft of almost anything of petty amount, there could have been no

* In the library of Trinity College, Cambridge, there is a touch-piece of James III., in *silver*.

scarcity of this valuable remedial agent,—the hand of a man who had perished on the gallows.

Nor was it alone for the cure of the King's Evil that the influence of the monarch was supposed to avail. The cramp was likewise healed by the use of rings which had been blessed by the reigning sovereign. Other cramp rings were also used which were made of iron that had formed the hinges of a coffin.

In the time of Henry VIII, Andrew Boorde wrote: "The King's majesty hath a great helpe in this matter, in hallowyng crampe rynges, and so given without money or petition;" and "that the kynges of Englande doth hallowe every yere crampe rynges, ye which ringes worne on one fynger doth helpe them whych hath the cramp." The ceremony and form of prayer for consecrating these rings was ultimately discontinued by Edward VI.

The scenes enacted at the tomb of the Abbé Paris in the churchyard of St. Medard, in 1731, partook of the same nature of healing by faith. Hundreds and thousands of people gathered at this miracle-working sepulchre; all ranks, even up to the Court circle, were present in the assemblage. Cure after cure was effected in cases where the most celebrated physicians had even given certificates as to the utter incurability of the disease; and the healing was as permanent and as effectual as it was marvellous. Eyes whose sight had been destroyed by disease, whose pupils had been pierced by an awl, eyes whose substance had been entirely eaten away,—all were restored to absolute normal condition. Paralysis, diseased lachrymal ducts, caries of the bones, cancer of twelve years' standing,—were all effectually and permanently healed. Of many of these cures, those best qualified to judge entertained no doubt, guided by contemporaneous testimony of such a nature as could not be explained away. The facts must, to some degree, be admitted, and the reason of the cures can be found in the well-known action of the mind upon the body.

The miracles of Valentine Greatrakes, and of Prince Hohenlohe, the cures worked by the "metallic tractors" of Perkins, the healing of paralysis by the application of a thermometer by Sir Humphrey Davy, are all susceptible of the same explanation.

Tacitus records that the Emperor Vespasian, when at Alexandria, restored to sight a blind man by touching him with the imperial saliva, and cured a lame man by the application of his foot.

The patients had been ordered in a vision by the god Serapis to present themselves to the Emperor, who would, in the manner indicated, effect their cure.

The Emperors Hadrian and Constantine were said to have possessed the gift of healing by the laying on of their hands, and Pyrrhus, King of Epirus, could relieve pain by passing his foot over the prostrate sufferer. Even the temples of ancient Greece were the great therapeutic halls of the nation, where the priests were physicians who practiced mesmerism and magnetic influences for the cure of disease.*

The workings of the imagination are potent both for good and for evil. All that is really wanting is *faith*; and, as old Dan Chaucer has written :

“Lo, what a gret thing is affection,
Men may die of imagination
So depe may impression be take.”

HENRY PHILLIPS, JR.

* Howitt.

CONDITIONS FOR HONORABLE SUCCESS IN
LIFE-WORK.*

THERE is always something grand and inspiring in standing in the presence of a body of young men about to embark on the great sea of business or professional life. Who can forecast the adverse currents which are to be encountered, the defeats to be endured, the deeps to be explored, the heights to be scaled, the humanities to be evolved, and the impressions to be engraven on the plastic face of society, during the period of history in which each one is to play his part in the drama of human life? Indeed, the probabilities which lie within reach of any young man, if he only understands and judiciously uses the latent forces which lie entrenched deep down in the inner chambers of his nature, ought to be sufficiently potential to overmaster every obstacle to success.

There is an opinion, much too prevalent in the world, that the posts and places in life depend largely on an undefined and unregulated force which makes man the passive creature of a fortuitous play of circumstances. It is like a man who pushes out his boat into the stream without a rudder or oar, and then, with folded arms, sits down an uninterested spectator of the seething currents which bear onward his helpless bark, hoping to cheat the cataract out of its prey through the deflecting power of some friendly eddy.

Wealth, family, genius, have all been pressed into notice as constituting important factors in the race for distinction. How many have fought their way to the front, and, in spite of poverty, have at length filled the high seats of learning and power. Poverty did not prevent Samuel Johnson from rising to literary eminence, nor Schliemann from becoming the first palæontologist of his time. Poverty did not prevent Linnæus from becoming illustrious. Heyne of Göttingen, the son of a weaver, notwithstanding he was compelled to struggle for over thirty years with extreme poverty, yet finally became the most eminent classical scholar of his time. Velpeau, the greatest figure in French surgery, was the son of a blacksmith;

* An address introductory to the 116th annual course of instruction in the Medical Department of the University of Pennsylvania, by D. Hayes Agnew, M. D., LL. D., Professor of Surgery.

Jobert was the son of a washerwoman ; Dupuytren was so poor when he commenced the study of medicine, that it was said he was obliged to use for his lamp the fat from the dissecting-table over which he wrought. Litré, the very learned translator of the works of Hippocrates, rose from the most abject poverty. Franklin was the son of a tallow chandler ; and the unfortunate Garfield a canal boy whose poverty did not prevent him from rising to the first place in a nation's gift and to the foremost place in a nation's heart. Ancestral blood, divorced from all else, constitutes a valueless possession, and some of the greatest failures in history have been those whom the world recognized as men of genius, or, as Carlyle would term them, men with a prodigious capacity of carrying trouble. Success does not lie outside of the pale of law. The husbandman breaks the fallow earth and casts the seed into the ground, hopefully waiting for the harvest ; the seasons follow one another in unvarying succession ; the moon waxes and wanes, and the tides ebb and flow ; and there is the same order in the mental and moral world as in the physical, though the relation between cause and effect may not be so apparent.

What I propose at this time is to lay down very briefly what I believe to be the conditions which regulate advancement or distinction in life.

First. The subject which is to command the service of mind or of hand must be intrinsically worthy. Utility is the measure of all human labor, or that which adds to the sum of human happiness. But you will, perhaps, answer, that the brain-toilers differ in their conceptions of utility. This is very true, if we compare the ancient with the modern views on this subject. In the former, all study terminated in sentiment ; with the latter, in the practical. The philosophy of Seneca, of Socrates, and of Plato, dealt wholly with abstractions. Their systems were only intellectual gymnasiums, in which the powers were trained wholly within the realm of subtle speculation. Astronomy was cultivated, not with a view of determining the reciprocal influences existing between the heavenly bodies and telluric objects, but because such studies lifted the thoughts into a region altogether unincumbered by a degrading materialism. Geometric quantities and forms were formulated, not that the engineer might be enabled to plan levels for iron roads, or span great chasms and rivers with aerial structures, over

which might pass the ponderous engine, dragging in its wake a train of palace cars, but simply for the internal gratification of contemplating exact and unchanging verities. With this old philosophy the phenomena of electricity would have been studied simply as an expression of some supernal power. The construction of a lightning-rod to lure the bolt harmlessly to the earth, or the invention of a telegraph or a telephone for the rapid transmission of intelligence to distant parts of the globe, would never have been contemplated for a moment. In like manner, the polarity of the needle, while it would have attracted the keen scrutiny of the men who frequented the ancient schools, yet, in their estimation, the construction of a compass by which the mariner might vex with his adventurous keel the waters of unknown seas, would have been a degradation of such knowledge. Indeed, you may muster into line all the sages who have lingered about the ancient Porticoes, and it will be found that the supreme aim of all their Herculean labors was not to add either to the material comfort of life or to the elevation of the spiritual nature of man, but to make him indifferent to both; not to lessen the ills which beset humanity, but to cultivate a spirit to endure them; not to struggle against the adverse currents which are constantly encountered in contending with the practical duties of life, but to float with the drift of the stream. In fine, ancient philosophy never drained a marsh, never built a hospital, never devised an asylum or a loom, never invented a thrasher or a ship, never made a populous city to rise from a silent plain, or field or valley to smile with the golden wealth of fruitage.

Just here, then, lies the difference between the ancient and the modern systems of philosophy. The former terminated in a rapt contemplation of the phenomena of the universe and a Stoic endurance of all the antagonisms existing between man and the world in which he lives; while the latter weighs all the trophies of its conquests in a practical scale; that is, by their utility in the service of man, ameliorating the evils and adding to the comfort and well-being of the race. Now, that the practical should constitute a finality in the life-work of man, is true, but it must not be divorced from the theoretic. It is quite fashionable to affect a kind of contempt, or at least to undervalue the knowledge acquired in the retirement of the study or garnered by men of leisure. It must not

be forgotten that the cunning of the hand depends on the wisdom of the head. The fruits, even of purely literary study, belong to the domain of political economy, even though they have been stigmatized by Cornelius Agrippa as vanity and caricatured by the keen invective of Rousseau and Malebranche. Let England, if you please, weigh her possessions in India against the labors of Shakespeare, Lord Bacon, Macaulay, Carlyle, and others not less distinguished in the field of letters. Old Scotland is as proud of Sir Walter Scott, the witchery of whose pen has spread a veil of enchantment over her moors, her mountains, lakes, and glens, as of her ship-yards on the Clyde. Baron Liebig in his laboratory, and Virchow in the dead-house, share equally in the glory of Germany with the victories of her armies. In America you may further prosecute the inquiry by contrasting the scientific with the diplomatic labors of Franklin, or the discovery of anaesthetics with the acquisition of California.

The wealth of a nation or a country is often measured by the mineral treasures which lie buried in its mountains or valleys, or the products of its soil. Yet, of what value are ores without the technical knowledge of the metallurgist, or of what value are the heavily freighted ships, whose canvas whitens every sea, without the governor whose nautical skill and ceaseless watch direct their course safely across the trackless waste of waters from port to port?

Second. It may be observed that, the more disinterested the motives which inspire study, the greater will be the success attained. He is not the statesman who frames Quixotic schemes of government based on a supposed or assumed state of society in which every man is perfect, or is a "law unto himself," but he who, with a sagacious foresight and a profound knowledge of those subtle springs which move the human mind, directs the legislation of a country in such a manner as to equalize the burdens of the State and to foster patriotism and virtue among all ranks of the people. He is not the true lawyer who only seeks the halls of justice to display the arts of the dialectician, but he who brings all the acquisitions of a richly dowered mind to secure justice and protect human rights. Nor is he the physician who dreams life away in mazes of speculation, or who enters the profession as a trade, or who wears its vestments merely as a passport to a plane of society which

could not otherwise be reached; but he who bends every power to investigating the causes of disease, in devising measures for its prevention, and in applying with judgment the remedies best adapted for its cure.

Let me here say that I have rarely known a medical man, however well instructed in the duties of his calling, ever reach distinguished success, the governing principle of whose professional life was mercenary.

Third. The purer and more ennobling the subjects which engross the attention of the student, the more will his mind be elevated, his feelings refined, and the whole man be lifted out of the environments of his lower nature into an unclouded atmosphere of thought and feeling. Never did the character of Rubens appear so luminous with supernal purity and power, or his pencil move in such felicitous moods, as when cherubic faces took possession of his soul. Leonardo da Vinci, when painting the Christ of the Last Supper, felt that he had entered a region transcendently above that of material sense; the influence of which was ever after shown in all the productions of his hand. Who so absolutely destitute of feeling or sentiment as to remain unmoved under an oratorio of Mozart or a symphony of Beethoven? There is a wondrous power in melody and in painting to purify the feelings, and to lighten the burdens of heart and muscle.

It will be said, no doubt, by those who, either from original constitution or from the force of education, are of "the earth, earthy," that in a material world where we are confronted with great practical questions, where hard blows are to be struck and hostile forces subjugated, man cannot discharge the obligations of the hour by influences no more potential than those which only touch the æsthetic side of his nature. But he has used his senses to small profit who has not detected the kinship between toil and æsthetics. If no such interdependence exists, can you tell me why a little picture lightens the labor of so many workshops? Why do the sails rise with such magic celerity under familiar snatches of song, as the vessel, cast off from her moorings, drifts slowly out into the stream? Why does the son of labor, as he leaves the humble thatch and hurries to his daily task, break, with the lark, the stillness of the morning dawn by some familiar air? The execution, it may be, inartistic indeed, but it quickens the tardy step, beguiles the

tedium of the way, and lessens the drudgery of his work. If the beautiful, whether of harmony, melody or form, be taken out of the world, the arm of the smith at his forge, of the weaver at his loom, and no less the work of the student at his books, would be weakened. Indeed, all nature is one great psalm, whose collective numbers constitute the harmony of the universe.

The purifying and elevation of character is further promoted by the books which we read and the companions with whom we associate. Those books which appeal to the intellectual and moral side of our nature, rather than to the imaginative or emotional, are those which supply the most substantial pabulum for the student. Nothing so debauches and brutalizes a young man as obscene or licentious writings. The sensual is the weak side of humanity, and, unless opposed by the highest sense of self-respect and moral principle, the young man occupies a perilous position under the enticements of lust. A polluted body entails the loss of mental peace and the ever-present consciousness of bearing an ineffaceable stain which will follow like an ominous shadow and forever disqualify its victim for one of the highest relations of social life. Lamentable as is a blasted body, yet a polluted mind is still more dreadful. The maladies of the flesh may be medicated, but those of a debauched mind never. Foul images, like birds of the night, will come trooping up, and there is no place so sacred, no circumstances so solemn, where a mind once stained by licentious indulgence can escape these impure intrusions. Young men, keep yourselves unspotted.

Turning now to the medical profession, does it come short of the conditions which have been designated as essential to a life-pursuit? What calling more useful than that which provides for the amelioration or cure of those maladies which threaten the physical and mental well-being of our race? What pursuit more disinterested or unselfish, when its resources are at the command of the rich and the poor alike, and whose members, when duty calls, fall into rank, regardless alike of personal comfort or personal danger. What pursuit more elevating and ennobling than that which calls out the profoundest sympathy, excites the deepest commiseration, and inspires the tenderest expressions of encouragement and hope? It has always remained to me an insoluble paradox, that a profession whose members do so much to relieve

human suffering in all walks of life, and are so willing to sacrifice for the benefit of others,—a profession whose members ordinarily devote one-fourth of their lives to the gratuitous dispensing of their services, and so few of whom accumulate a competency of this world's goods sufficient to keep the wolf from the door, or, at best, to remove the anxieties of advancing years. I say, it is puzzling to explain, in the face of such a record, why so little true sympathy exists between the physician and the public. Only let some question of general importance arise in which the character or professional reputation of a medical man is involved, and, ten to one, the public will range themselves over against the doctor. Do I touch forbidden ground, if, in venturing any explanation for this anomalous state of things, I should say that the jealousies which find place in our own ranks may possibly inspire this public feeling?

But, leaving this parenthetical digression, allow me next to speak of the qualifications demanded for the successful study of our profession. First, there must be a congeniality or fitness between the student and his work. Medicine is not a Procrustean bed, to whose unalterable dimensions all occupants must conform; nor, on the other hand, is it like the sandals of Theramenes, suited to every foot. The study of medicine demands a singular combination of qualities, both of head and heart.

Some persons, like poets, are born for certain callings. There is no mistaking the voice of nature; their proclivities are irrepresible; they drift always in a certain direction. The greatness of the celebrated John Hunter and the nature of his study, were both shadowed forth in early life by the observations which he then made on the incubated egg. Death on the Pale Horse, and the Last Judgment were the natural outcome of the fly so faithfully counterfeited on a spotless sheet of paper by the youthful hand of West. Even though confronted by the most determined resistance, these constitutional bents will break over all opposition and drive forward in the divinely appointed way. Who has not heard the story of old Carl Ritter, the founder of physical geography, and the son of a poor physician? When a lad of six years, he was taken by Saltzman as a suitable subject on whom to make his celebrated experiment in proof of rationalism; and yet, notwithstanding the most assiduous care in the selection of studies and in the subjects of conversation, he was unable to exclude the idea of a diviné

existence from the consciousness of the young German, who in after years became no less distinguished for Christian scholarship than for his scientific attainments. Haydn was designed for the law, but his soul was full of song ; and who could fail to see the future of the soft-eyed boy who, stealing away into a retired apartment of his home, spent the live-long night absorbed with the melody of his harp ? Why does that boy, in spite of repeated bodily chastisement, night after night keep his lonely, vigil, watching, from the steeple of the parish church, the silent stars in their courses ? In this youth you see the Abbé La Castile, the first astronomer of his time. And here is another lad, busy with tools when his companions are at their play. In vain does parental pride endeavor to change the current of his thoughts. In vain is he compelled to ponder over the dry commentaries of legal lore, against which every impulse of his nature rebels, until at length, wearied in fruitless efforts to thwart the bent of his genius, the father abandons the boy to the dominant force of his being ; and behold, rising from the restless waves of the sea, the Eddystone light-house, that marvellous achievement of engineering skill ! Smeaton would not become a barrister, but he could construct a pillar, under the most formidable difficulties, to signal the eye of the benighted mariner, whose defiant walls the full swing of the sea cannot breach.

Again, there are instances in which the predestined part which a man is to play seems to be evoked by accident. The slumbering genius of Boccaccio suddenly kindles into energetic life while musing before the tomb of Virgil. The wisdom, prudence and courage of Fabius only reached their fullest exemplification when the wily Hannibal threatened the gates of Rome. The horrid excesses of a maddened populace before the Court of Louis XVI. taught the French people, through one man, that blank cartridges were not the best antidote for mob violence. There are others, again, who, ignorant of their true place in the world, start on the wrong road, and fail to discover their error until overtaken by disaster. But, just as night brings out the stars, so their misfortune unshackles the powers which are to achieve success in the predetermined direction.

Now, it would be in the highest sense unreasonable to insist upon a standard of such phenomenal types as pre-requisite to the study of medicine. And yet not one of the learned professions, if its full

demands are satisfied, requires so broad and varied an education as our own. It includes the whole man, body and soul. Consider some of the physical exactions of a physician's life. Exposed alike, day and night, summer and winter, to the inclemencies of weather; compelled to relinquish the claims of family and of society; obliged to submit to irregularities in food and rest, and ever carrying about with him an oppressive sense of responsibility. To these must be added the thousand inquiries of anxious friends, who, with lynx eyes, watch every line of expression and hang with intense eagerness on every word which drops from the physician's lips, to read hope or despair. Subject to unjust criticism, he is compelled to choke down the "old man" which so often rises under a feeling of unmerited reflections; he must patiently endure the whims, caprices, and petulance which are inseparable from the fluctuations of disease. I say, that any one familiar with this picture will understand that the routine work of the medical profession demands for its execution an imperial will and a self-centred equipoise of character which are not the possessions of every man.

Coming now more directly to the mental culture which the American student should possess, it must be remembered that medicine touches, at some point, the entire circle of human knowledge. Its technical terms and much of its literature are written in the ancient and modern languages; it draws its remedies from the three kingdoms of nature; the body is constructed in strict accordance with physical laws, and many of its accidents can only be successfully managed by acting in conformity with such laws. In studying the operations or functions of the organism, you are carried at once into the domain of biology; the interdependence of the mental and physical man introduces you at once to the psychological region of medicine; the antagonisms between man and the external agencies which environ him compel society to look to the physician for the solution of the various problems of hygiene; while, to unravel the obscurities of disease, the mind must be trained to habits of accurate observation and to the logical disposition and interpretation of morbid phenomena. The time has arrived when medicine must insist on a higher grade of scholarship if she is to retain her place alongside of the other learned professions or command that public and deferential recognition which naturally belongs to so honorable a vocation. The day has come when men will be

measured, not by the titles which they wear, nor by the wisdom of their looks, but by what they know.

Now, an equipment of the character which has been outlined, can, of course, only be attained by an industrious application to study. The standard has not been placed at an impossible height, but entirely within the range of any young man of respectable ability. "The gods," says Epicharnus, "sell us everything for toil." Knowledge is appreciated in proportion to the difficulty experienced in its acquisition; indeed, it is the difficulties, the oppositions, the dangers even, which one encounters in the accomplishment of some great task, that often constitute the chief incentive to the undertaking, and the recollection of these which imparts the highest gratification when the work is achieved. Do you suppose the traveller who has made the ascent of the Rigi by rail enjoys the marvellous splendors of an Alpine sunrise, as he who welcomes the god of day from the Matterhorn, whose summit has been reached only after hours of toil and peril. I tell you, when the heart of man is in his work, his purposes are invincible. It was this spirit which led Livingstone through the jungles and over the tropical sands of Africa; that induced Kane to dare the frozen regions of the Pole, and Bruce to seek the fountains of the Nile.

Now, for effective work, there must be method. It is impossible for the student to use his powers to the best advantage by dividing them upon too many or too great a variety of subjects. Mental philosophy teaches that the mind can contemplate as many as six objects at the same time; but it must be remembered that these objects must be alike; as, for example, six marbles or six apples. Two or three studies at most, and these having a certain kinship or relation to one another, are ample. It is in recognition of this fact that the Medical Department of the University of Pennsylvania has, with great wisdom, shaken off the ceremonies of old tradition and established both a prolonged and a graded course of study. There is a great art in study. There are many young men, richly gifted by nature, who do not seem to understand how to use the facilities they possess. There is, in many departments of study, too great a reliance on the memory and too little on the reasoning faculty, or the power of acquiring knowledge by considering the adaptation of means to an end.

In no branch of medicine is such an exercise of mind more important than in that of anatomy. Take, for example, in illustration of what I mean, the trachea or windpipe. Suppose one of you were asked to describe the components of this tube; the first question which you should propose to yourself is this: What are the functions of the trachea? You would, doubtless, say, a tube for the passage of air to and from the lungs; a tube for the discharge of purulent or other secretions from the air-passages; a tube which will admit of the neck being lengthened or shortened at pleasure. Having now properly determined the different offices or functions of the trachæa, you would proceed to a description of its anatomical components, and most probably these would be reached by the following process of reasoning: The trachea is a tube for the passage of air to and from the lungs; the presence of air in the lungs is a constant necessity; therefore, the tube must be ever patulous, to effect which cartilage will be necessary. But the trachea must admit of the neck being lengthened and shortened; consequently, the cartilage must be arranged in many rings instead of a single one, and these connected together partly by elastic tissue. Lastly, the trachea is a tube for the passage of morbid secretions from the lungs. To expel such, it is necessary that the lumen of the canal shall admit of being materially diminished, in order that the force of the expired column of air shall be sufficiently increased to drive out the accumulations or sputa. Such diminution would be impossible if the cartilaginous rings were complete; consequently, they are defective posteriorly; but even this defect would fail to provide for the requirement was there not some material having the property of contractility attached to the extremities of the rings, by which the latter could be brought together. Such a tissue is so disposed, and, as there is only one substance—muscle,—which possesses this property of contractility, therefore the interspace between the tracheal rings is occupied by muscular tissue. This is only one of many applications of a method of determining structure by a knowledge of function, or of making physiology to interpret anatomy, which the student may employ with great profit.

Another great secret in mastering a subject is the ability of thorough concentration. The true student must be able to say, "This one thing I do." It is only when he eliminates from his mind every intrusion, distraction, or other element foreign to the

subject, and that state of perfect insulation is attained in which the man finds himself absolutely alone with his study, that he begins to garner the rich clusters of knowledge. It is then that the most abstruse and obscure subjects of thought become luminous, and that the acquisitions of the student become so thoroughly inwrought with the texture of his mental constitution as forever to become a permanent possession.

Again, after college-life is past and the student enters on the duties of the doctorate, success will depend in no small degree on the superior rank which he may be able to maintain as an educated man. There are questions which come up for discussion in all cultivated society,—questions of hygiene, of literary criticism, of government, of domestic and foreign policy, charity, pauperism, crime, public amusements, education, æsthetics, and many others of a kindred nature,—and the physician, if he is to command proper respect and support the dignity of a learned profession, should not be less informed than the people with whom he associates. Indeed, he should be the best informed, the most cultivated of the circle in which he moves; the man whose general attainments, both in compass and versatility, will be so conspicuously recognized, that to him will the popular eye instinctively turn, as the oracle of the community in which he lives, for the illumination of scientific and other questions of interest. It is impossible to estimate the reflex value of such cultivation on the professional success of a physician. Lastly, professional acquisitions and general culture, unless based upon and crowned by *character*, contribute little to success and distinction.

The word *character* is a comprehensive one. It stands in relation to a man's usefulness and eminence like charity among the Christian virtues. It includes purity of thought and purity of speech, a proper respect and consideration for the rights of others,—in Scripture phraseology, “preferring one another.” It includes that magnanimity of soul which magnifies the good and dwarfs the unlovely characteristics of a brother, which bears patiently with the weaknesses of humanity, and is neither obsequious to the rich nor overbearing or rude to the poor. I am not depicting a god or setting up a purely ideal and unapproachable model for imitation, but simply a man, a Christian gentleman, which any one of you, by the grace of God, may be, and without some approach to which

your ripest scholarship will be shorn of its strength, and life prove a disastrous failure. Enter, then, upon your studies, not in a calculating spirit, not with the object of accumulating wealth, not for the sake of public acclaim, not bewildered with visions of a professorship, but simply out of love for the study itself and a desire to be useful to your fellow-men; and then possibly affluence, fame, position, will come unbidden, or, if no public pillar may rise to commemorate your names, yet, having been good men and true, you may, without arrogance, say:

" Samson hath quit himself
Like Samson, and heroically hath finished
A life heroic.
Nothing is here for tears, nothing to wail,
Or knock the breast; no weakness, no contempt,
Dispraise, or blame; nothing but well and fair."

BACON: HIS MOTIVES AS A POLITICIAN AND A PHILOSOPHER.*

WHILE the search for guiding motives in the conduct of men must always be attended with much uncertainty, yet it ever is one full of interest to the student of human nature; especially is this true when the subject undergoing this process of mental and moral dissection has been a conspicuous figure in the world's history. Bacon's eulogists and admirers have so strenuously insisted on his title to be one of that small but illustrious company that the world calls great, that one is tempted—even with a full appreciation of the difficulty, nay, almost impossibility, involved in the endeavor to add anything to what has already been written about him that will not be mere repetition,—to seek to discover some prominent and leading trait in his career that will explain at once his character as a politician and a philosopher.

It is but to express a fact made evident in the lives of all men, that even the greatest of the human race are largely the incarnation of their times and surroundings; and Bacon's case seems to furnish no exception to the rule.

Born January 22d, 1560-1, the son of a politician, and living, until her death, March 24th, 1602-3, in the court of the vainest ruler, whatever were her other qualities, that England has ever known, whose favors were to be purchased most cheaply by flattery and adulation, Bacon's character was formed in the midst of a struggle with men whose chief aim was to outwit each other, that, by so doing, they might the more readily secure the crumbs that fell from the royal table.

What effect in the formation of his character had his circumstances on Bacon?

To recount the leading incidents of his life with any degree of fulness will be unnecessary here, owing to their familiarity, and therefore only those will be detailed which seem to possess such salient and clearly defined characteristics as to exhibit in a striking manner the peculiar disposition of the man whose motives are under examination.

* "English Philosophers." "Bacon." By Thomas Fowler, M. A., F. S. A., Professor of Logic in the University of Oxford, Fellow of Lincoln College. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

If ever a man owed a debt of gratitude to another, to say nothing of the claims of friendship, Bacon certainly did to Essex, and in an especially marked manner, for his political success. But when, in the course of his royal mistress's vagaries, it became the turn of Essex to be out of her favor and in need of the aid of those who were fortunate enough to retain it, the man who, if possessed of the smallest morsel of gratitude, would have stood up in his defence, at whatever cost to himself, appears in the almost incredible rôle of one of the counsel for the Crown.

Professor Fowler, of Oxford, who is one of the latest accessions to the ranks of Bacon's eulogists, tells us, in connection with this episode, that Bacon undoubtedly took a "more effective part in the trial than did Coke."

And this man wrote on friendship! To the very natural inquiry why did not Bacon, rather than disgrace himself by such treachery to his friend and benefactor, resign his office, the answer is made that his loyalty to the Queen compelled him to the course pursued by him. Was the Queen so utterly destitute of servants learned in the law, that no one else was to be found to assist Coke in this prosecution, if that great lawyer needed assistance? Does it not seem as though the true explanation of this strange manifestation of human nature must be sought for in a desire on Bacon's part to profit by this chance of increasing the Queen's regard for him, even at the cost of sacrificing his friend?

If, instead of this contemptible conduct, Bacon had resigned, his apologists would have been spared at least one occasion of endeavoring to make a palpable meanness appear a virtue.

Immediately after the accession of James, we are told that "Bacon at once tendered his services to the new king," and they were accepted.

This sample of acting on the proverb about taking time by the forelock shows an amount of worldly-wise versatility on his part that is worthy of the emulation of the patriot of to-day.

The Queen being dead, whom he had served with sufficient compensation to himself, and the King, her successor, having arrived a stranger from Scotland, what could be more laudable than this desire on Bacon's part to continue to be useful to his sovereign of the rougher sex, after having rendered such good service to the one of the gentler? As example is a more effective teacher

than precept, so is this incident in Bacon's career a more valuable instructor in what leads to success in the profession of politics,—looked at as the art of office-holding,—than hundreds of volumes from the most distinguished writers on this most delicate subject.

Having succeeded in this effort, and being in consequence of it continued “of the learned counsel in such manner as before he was to the Queen,” he exhibits his diplomatic adroitness by presenting his pedagogical master with a “Discourse Touching the Happy Union of the Kingdoms of England and Scotland.”

It may be questioned, in passing, whether this particular specimen of Bacon's exertion in furtherance of his desire to serve his country is susceptible of imitation on the part of those who are intent on the same endeavor in this country; or, if it were, whether a “discourse” on any subject would be regarded as a recommendation of the applicant in the mind of the distributor of offices.

But Bacon did not confine himself to such indirect methods as writing on even the subjects most agreeable to his master, in furtherance of his purposes.

In 1615–6, Lord Ellesmere being dangerously ill, it occurred to Bacon that the Chancellorship, although not vacant, was probably so nearly so that it might be well to intimate to the King a willingness to discharge its duties and accept its honors, as soon as a kind Providence should see fit to remove that nobleman from the sorrows of this life to the joys of another. Providence not creating the vacancy with the celerity that Bacon's exigencies seemed to demand, he applies for a position in the Privy Council, without, however, withdrawing the application for the seat on the wool-sack, to which request the King gives him his choice between the greater position *in posse* and the lesser *in esse*. Evidently the force of proverbs was fully appreciated, and Bacon accepts the latter. Professor Fowler, interpreting this choice, remarks that “Bacon, eager to be in a position at once to give the King responsible advice,” acted as he did.

This particular instance of disinterestedness has occasionally been imitated with success since his day.

Shortly after this, Bacon, having first been endowed with the office of Lord-Keeper, attained to the coveted Chancellorship on January 4th, 1617–8, and was created Baron Verulam of Verulam. Subsequently, on January 27th, 1620–1, he was created Viscount St. Albans.

Only three years after his assumption of the office of Lord Chancellor, *i. e.*, 1620, he is accused of "taking money while a suit was still in progress;" he was also accused of taking a "handsome present" in another case. The investigation, which resulted in his conviction, is so well known, and has been so graphically described by Lord Macaulay, that nothing more is needed in this connection than recalling the fact.

Professor Fowler, whose friendship for Bacon is in rather sharp contrast with the latter's treatment of Essex, while not attempting to deny Bacon's guilt, strives to show that he should be leniently judged and that much allowance should be made for him, because "the stream of English justice did not run so pure" then as now. In other words, because some of Bacon's predecessors in the seat of justice had prostituted their high office to their greed of gain, or other unworthy motive, he was, in a measure, at least, to be excused for following their footsteps! As though the very first principles of morality were not understood by England's great philosopher!

One need but read Bacon's confession to find a ready answer to all this sophistical and shallow apology.

He says in this document: "Descending into my own conscience, and calling my memory to account, so far as I am able, I do plainly and ingenuously confess that I am guilty of corruption, and do renounce all defence, and put myself upon the grace and mercy of your Lordship."

Does this indicate any dimness of moral vision?

After his condemnation and subsequent pardon, it seems as though one might naturally look for an end of Bacon's career as an office-seeker; but, incredible as it may seem, we find him, in 1622-3, actually applying for the Provostship of Eton!

Even in our own day, when modesty can hardly be named as the distinguishing virtue, this last spectacle is something astounding.

Before proceeding to the consideration of the second part of the inquiry proposed, it may be well to explain with some care the precise nature of that portion of it.

It is not to be an analysis of Bacon's writings, but only such a survey of them as will, with the greatest possible brevity, disclose what seems to have been, not his doctrines, but the guiding motive that impelled him in his career as a philosopher.

In order to keep within bounds, in no instance will any quotation of length be made, and when not made, the sense of the particular subject under consideration, as understood by the writer, will be stated, and, in addition, the reader referred to its source, where verification or confutation of his theory may be obtained. With this explanation, it is hoped the writer's purpose may be clear.

In every age and in every place, over and above all mere particular questions and theories, there is at work one mighty irresistible force dominating the hearts and minds of men, with which they either maintain a death-struggle or become part and parcel of itself.

Therefore, to know any man, especially a teacher, one must first know what was or is the dominant tendency of his times.

The life of man, whether considered singly or collectively, may be roughly divided into two epochs, viz. : of construction and destruction. For examples of this, one need but look at the history of the Hebrews and Romans to see the truth of the remark proved in its collective sense, and at the development of any individual, from the first moment of his existence to the moment of his death, to see the great law revealed in its more particular application.

This process, in many instances, doubtless continues, like the swinging of the pendulum; so that the nation or individual that was great yesterday and insignificant to-day, may to-morrow equal or surpass its former glory.

The sixteenth century was certainly an age when destruction, with all of its grim attendants of crime and injustice in peoples and selfishness in persons, was master of the situation.

The centuries before it, from the termination of the struggle between Christianity, on the one hand, and Judaism and Paganism, on the other, had been marked by the phenomena attending construction; and, up to the sixteenth century, all appearances seemed to point to the time when, at least religiously, all the inhabitants of the world should be one.

Suddenly, the buzz of voices in discussion and disagreement is heard. It grows louder and louder, until it becomes an awful roar of anguish and anger combined; and then once more the dread leader of discord, destruction, takes the field, and threatens to overturn and trample underfoot everything in its pathway. England

had been the theatre of one of its greatest contests, followed by one of its most important victories.

At this moment, when the cause of destruction had so mightily prospered that its foe had become its captive, and hardly dared to mutter its pain and discontent, Bacon appeared on the scene.

Ever a close observer, and, as his life so abundantly shows, anxious to turn every circumstance to his own advantage, he looked about him and saw that success lay only in joining himself to the cause of the victor. He was not a religious man in the accepted sense of that word, but he discerned that with the conquered religion was bound up the scientific knowledge of the past.

Professor Fowler very aptly remarks that there was a striking likeness between Bacon and Luther in that they both "spurned all obstacles in existing opinion, and even exaggerated the differences between themselves and their opponents."

Unlike Luther, as has just been noted, Bacon did not take much interest in religion as such, but merely with reference to it as connected with everything upon which he could exercise his mental powers. Philosophy, not religion, was the subject that engrossed Bacon's attention and the one in which he determined to make for himself a name and reputation.

What was the state of philosophy at this moment ?

Its professors and teachers were for the most part the clergy, as they were of nearly all branches of intellectual activity up to and before his day.

The Fathers of the Church, commencing with St. Clement of Rome, and the other four known as the Apostolic Fathers, from the circumstance of their being contemporaries of the Apostles, and ending with St. Bernard, the last of this celebrated body of men, had published treatises on most subjects of interest in their day, especially, of course, touching religion, but had written without system.

Following the Fathers, came the schoolmen, that long line of scholars and teachers which was called into existence by Charlemagne, and which, commencing with Pierre Abelard and ending with Francisco Suarez, had been divided into two parties, the Platonists and the Aristotelians, following each other in this order.

The disciples of Plato, after him, gave but little heed to sensuous erception, regarding "ideas" alone as the means of supplying

truth to the inquirer ; those of Aristotle, on the contrary, following the precepts of their great master, taught that the observation of external phenomena was necessary, and not, as their predecessors had contended, delusive and unsatisfactory.

In other words, these adherents of Aristotle, like himself, professed the method of induction. To say, and even to prove, that they were not perfect in the use of the method, does not seem a very complete confutation of their title to be included in the ranks of those who have accepted and inculcated its employment.

Hence, to style Bacon the "father of the inductive method," as many of his over-zealous worshippers and admirers have not scrupled to do, is nearly as accurate and discriminating use of language as describing one who merely improves the manner of using a machine as its inventor. One need but glance through Bacon's references to Aristotle to discover that the language he applies to him is scarcely concealed contempt, and for examples of this the reader is referred especially to "*Novum Organum*," Book I., Aphorisms 71 and 77, and also to a letter from Bacon to Lord Mountjoy, quoted by Craik in his abridged work on Bacon, p. 324.

How is this to be accounted for? What explanation is to be offered of the extraordinary spectacle of a writer, and, above all, a writer on philosophy, throwing discredit on the teacher from whom he has derived the knowledge of his system?

That Bacon owed this debt of literary gratitude to the intellectual giant of Stageira, anyone acquainted with the latter's writings will recognize. In connection with this subject, the opinion of the late Mr. Lewes, in his very valuable and interesting volume on Aristotle, (London, 1864, Chapter III., p. 47,) is most just, when, in discussing the merits of the two authors, he says that the inductive method "was systematically proclaimed by Aristotle with a precision and an emphasis unsurpassed by Bacon himself." And again, in Chapter VI., p. 108, he remarks that Aristotle may be truly styled the father of the inductive philosophy, since he first announced its leading principles. Again, "in direct opposition to Plato, who, denying the validity of the senses, made intuition the ground of all true knowledge, Aristotle sought his basis in sensuous perceptions."

Plagiarism, when it merely extends to unacknowledged excerpts from another's writings, is certainly petty and despicable enough ;

but, when it extends to the appropriation of the entire system of another, where is to be found the term wherewith to accurately designate it? It does seem as though the only correct answer to this question of motive must be that Bacon, with his usual desire to increase his own importance, thought that he could so far count on the ignorance of his age, and even posterity, as to be able to secure for himself the magnificent reputation of being, not the improver, but really the inventor of the inductive method. And, as an evidence of his shrewdness, one need but look through the writings of his admirers and panegyrists down to our own time.

Surely, one need not wonder at the skill and cleverness that he evinces in his "Essay on Cunning."

In his "Essay on Superstition," he declares very boldly that he prefers atheism to what he calls superstition, and elsewhere he declaims against too great reverence for authority. Why was this? What did it mean? As has been noted before, the schoolmen were the teachers of Europe and were also the disciples of Aristotle; having struck his blow at the apostle, he next directs his arm against the disciples. When engaged in this warfare against superstitious and inaccurate thinkers, he might, with possible benefit to himself, have reflected on the definition of truth, as formulated by St. Thomas Aquinas, and, from him handed down by the succeeding schoolmen, viz.: "*Veritas intellectus est adæquatio intellectus et rei secundum quod intellectus dicit esse quod est, dicit esse, quod est, vel non esse, quod non est.*"

Does this not seem to hint at verification? Sir W. Hamilton, P. 378 of his "Logic," quotes the above, with the added remark that it has been generally adopted by modern philosophers without a suspicion on the part of many of them from whom it is derived.

Having in mind Bacon's indifference to religion as a practical matter, his attitude in this case appears to have been prompted either by a desire to withdraw attention from the works of the schoolmen, lest acquaintance with them should disclose the fact of their having already employed the inductive as well as the deductive method, and by consequence that he was not, as he would have the world believe, its originator; or that, discrediting them as the teachers of the old faith, he might multiply his chances of advancement by doing what he knew would be acceptable to his rulers. Another significant circumstance may be noted as appearing to

disclose a premeditated determination on Bacon's part to ignore the work of other men in furtherance of a design to magnify himself, and that is his apparently otherwise unaccountable neglect to make any mention of such striking events as Harvey's discovery of the circulation of the blood, Kepler's astronomical discoveries, and Galileo's experiments on falling bodies, made as early as 1589-92.

This silence, especially in the case of Harvey, who was Bacon's physician, is most astonishing.

Professor Fowler, seeking to explain this last and most curious omission, says that "most of Harvey's contemporaries, even in his own profession, regarded his theory as hardly worthy of serious discussion." Is this answer very satisfactory?

Consider, Bacon was the great philosopher and investigator of his day, the man who would accept no theory merely because it existed, but who would, as he himself expresses it, "kindle a light in nature—a light which shall in its very rising touch and illuminate all the border-regions that confine upon the circle of our present knowledge; and so, spreading further and further, shall presently disclose and bring into sight all that is most hidden and secret in the world." (T. Fowler, p. 10.) Is it very probable that this great light of science had not made visible the great discovery and shown its importance, especially as it was shining directly on the discoverer, by reason of his relationship to the "kindler" of the light?

And, again, it may be asked, was the disregard by other and less great men than Bacon of this addition to scientific research any sufficient reason for its neglect by the man who had proposed to himself the world-wide labor noted above?

Does it not rather indicate that, as Bacon could not adapt it to his most laudable efforts for his own aggrandizement, he concluded to ignore it?

The examination might be carried on *ad nauseam*, interspersed with fine sentiments about temptation and human frailty, with here and there a suggestion concerning the danger of giving loose to ambition; but this is not a sermon, and, therefore, the opportunity must be passed by without being improved.

As a brief summing up of the results of the foregoing inquiry, it may be said that, as a politician, we find Bacon ever self-seeking, and, after the accomplishment of his wishes, followed by the

degradation brought on himself by his all-devouring rapacity and greed of gain, he appears so destitute of shame as to seek further honors from the king whom he had disgraced.

As a philosopher, he not only appropriates the work of another, flaunting it in the face of the world as his own, but, in addition to this, he contemptuously ignores what he cannot turn to his own advantage. Notwithstanding Professor Fowler's objections, it does seem as though Pope did more than make a striking epigram when he wrote, in the "Essay on Man," Epigram IV. :

" If parts allure thee, think how Bacon shined :
The wisest, brightest, meanest of mankind,"

especially, if the first two adjectives in the second line be understood in a certain restricted sense.

WM. R. CLAXTON.

UNIVERSITY ITEMS.

THE man who challenges the right of the University to be considered "a first-class college" in the days of old, when the Faculty of Arts was the only academic faculty, and consisted, all told, of but five professors, should look at two "University books" that have lately appeared, the work (respectively) of graduates of 1838 and 1837. They are "Man's Origin and Destiny, sketched from the Platform of the Physical Sciences," by Professor J. Peter Lesley, and "The Theory of Preaching: Lectures on Homiletics," by Austin Phelps, D. D., late Bartlet Professor of Sacred Rhetoric in Andover Theological Seminary. It would be beside our aim in these items to review these books; but it goes without saying that each is the work of a master. Both authors are known abroad as well as at home, and their works bear ample witness to their wide and varied attainments. Professor Lesley's "philological and archæological studies" were actually the *recreations** of a busy life for forty years; and Professor Phelps has evidently travelled far outside the beaten track of a lecturer on Homiletics. Now, this love of learning for its own sake is *the* trait that a good college course under competent instructors may be expected to develop; and we would therefore emphasize the facts that both these writers are University men, and that they were formed by the *older* University, on which some affect in our day to look back with contempt or (at least) with apologetic glances as on an institution very creditable as our ancestor—if too strong a light is not thrown upon her record. Truth is,—and it is a truth attested by both the University traditions and the still better proof drawn from the substantial work done by many graduates of those years,—that the instruction given in the University was always, when taken as a whole, equal to that obtainable elsewhere, and that the present University, though developed to meet the wants of our day, and though capable of yet further expansion towards the same end, has no room for boasting over its own past. On the contrary, the University of to-day may well look to its laurels. Is it so grounding its *alumni* in both knowledge and the love of knowledge, that, forty years hence, the editors of these pages in THE

* The italics are ours.

PENN MONTHLY can justly praise it for having been indeed, so many years before, a faithful "nourisher of ingenuous youth"? It is an excellent law, in the usages of our land, that each generation stands on its own feet, finding neither obstacle in the humble beginnings of an ancestor, nor undue advancement from his distinguished career. Let the University lay the lesson to heart!

Apropos of University books, it is not amiss to say that the University Library will gladly give proper accommodations—including the binding of pamphlets—to all works by University graduates. Indeed, it is the bounden duty of graduates to send to the Librarian, the Rev. Professor Thompson, a copy of each of their productions, however trifling it may seem to the author. In the library of the near future—stored, as must surely come to be, in a special building on the 34th Street side of the campus, and guarded by an officer whose whole time shall be spent in caring for it and extending it—a special alcove may well be set apart for books by University professors and University graduates.

The charge has been made of late, (and it has come to us from at least two separate sources,) that candidates for the academic departments have been admitted *without examination*. As intended to be understood, the charge is false; it has probably originated in the following cases:

First. Several students from the High School, having completed at least two years of the course there, were admitted, late last year, to the Five Years' Division of the Freshman Class (T. S. S.) upon satisfying the professors that they were able to go on. In some cases, the professors accepted their standing at the High School as evidence of their fitness in the required preparatory studies.

Second. Five or six candidates, unavoidably detained from both the June and the September examinations this year, have been allowed to *attend with the Freshmen until their examinations can be conveniently had*. This means that the examiners, being pressed with other work after the term opened, have simply postponed the examining of these men till the Freshmen who were admitted conditionally come up (about December 1st) for re-examination. If any capital can be made out of either class of cases, there is

no college in the land, perhaps, against which it could not equally be made.

The era *Ab Refectorio Condito* progresses finely. No disorder has grown out of the recess; the classes return to their rooms promptly at its close; and, grandest result of all, the vicious practice of leaving the room during recitation or lecture is nearly broken up. Strange, indeed! The Faculty has for years sought an available means of checking this abuse, and lo! that means proves to be a restaurant. Does not some philosopher say that the road to men's reason is through their stomachs?

The newly organized course of instruction in botany is doing well. Professor Rothrock has now in his laboratory four students in the course preparatory to medicine, besides two other gentlemen of the regular course, who do not intend studying medicine. On Saturday he has, from 10 to 12.30 o'clock, a class of teachers from the public schools of this city. His laboratory is also attracting prospective candidates for the naval medical examinations. The events of the last year or two have shown that practical knowledge of biology and modes of biological investigation have come to be favorite examining fields, and that aspirants for medical naval positions do well to prepare accordingly.

The mode of teaching in the botanical laboratory is in all instances by observation. Neither text-books nor lectures are relied upon, or even encouraged. It is too late in the day to argue as to the utility or desirability of a plan of instruction which, here and in Europe, is giving the best results. Microscopical methods, etc., receive attention first; then material is given to the student, upon which observations are to be made and drawings of which are to be produced. The name is never given until the student has discovered what he can. Then the text-book information comes in to supplement and confirm what he has seen. Such study becomes a source of mental power, giving at the same time the facts themselves and a capacity for original investigation.

The course in zoölogy and comparative anatomy in the Towne Scientific School, under the superintendence of Professor Parker, is progressing satisfactorily. For the past two months the students

have been engaged in studying the protozoa, and the general principles of morphology of the metazoa. At present they are examining and making sections of the elementary tissues of the metazoa as a basis for comparative histology. In all cases the students have been obliged to make their own observations and diagnoses and to make drawings of all the principal points of structure seen. In this way they become practically familiar with the chief characters and structure of the animals they study, and the text-book is only used as an aid to confirm and fill out points they have not been able to observe.

The first annual reception of the Provost to the graduating classes was given on Friday evening, November 4th. In addition to the Senior Classes in the Collegiate Department, Towne Scientific School, Medical Department, Law Department, and Dental Department, including about three hundred students, the members of the several Faculties, and other instructors connected with the various departments, were invited. Provost Pepper received in the Chapel. The students appeared to be unanimous in their attendance, and it was pleasant to find those of the different departments interchanging conversation, uniting in college songs, and otherwise exhibiting an acknowledgment of their common maternity. The University buildings were lighted, and presented a bright and inviting picture from without, visible at a great distance. A liberal but temperate banquet was provided, and the hearty joyousness everywhere manifested was spontaneous and altogether independent of any stimulus more exhilarating than coffee.

The series of receptions thus inaugurated will be continued annually, and other measures taken throughout the session to bring together the professors and students of the different departments, and thus establish and cement the relations which should exist among members of the same family.

BRIEF MENTION.

ON the 6th of September last, Mr. Wharton Barker addressed to Senator Morrill a published letter, in which he states, with great clearness and force, the reasons for a material reduction in the internal revenue taxation to which the country is now subjected. Mr. Barker's argument is, that the taxes in question were imposed under the pressure of the burdens of the war, and that it is unreasonable that they should continue to be extorted sixteen years after the war came to an end, and when they are not needed for the "current expenses of the government, nor for the punctual payment of interest on the debt, nor for the establishment of confidence in our financial resources, nor for the facilitation of processes of refunding at lower interest rates." Mr. Barker also calls attention to the fact that since August, 1865, more than \$950,000,000 have been paid upon account of the public debt, and, that on the 1st of October last, that debt amounted to something more than \$1,566,000,000, reductions having been made during the last quarter at the rate of \$146,000,000 per annum, with the treasury showing a surplus, over and above all expenses, of nearly \$100,000,000. Mr. Barker further argues: (1) that the taxes in question, being unnecessary, are irritating to the people; (2) that the accumulation of an unneeded surplus in the treasury is an incentive to extravagance and corruption; (3) that the reformation of the public service is retarded by the large number—exceeding four thousand—of government employes required for the collection of the taxes; (4) and that the taxes fall heavily upon the southern States, more than \$30,000,000 out of a total collection of \$130,000,000 being paid by those states, and that if those taxes be remitted it will liberate for purposes of state taxation an amount which would enable those states to put their finances upon an honorable basis. Mr. Barker concludes with the suggestion that any reduction of taxation should come from a diminution of internal instead of import duties.

Mr. Barker's letter has been followed by an editorial in *The American* of 29th October, which is directed to meet and answer the argument that the true financial policy of the government is the total extinction of its debt, and, that for that purpose, the taxes must be kept at their present figure.

The article condenses and analyzes the treasury statement of October 1st, showing the total interest-bearing debt of the United States at that date to amount to \$1,593,102,250, of which \$589,754,450 is in loans now payable, and \$988,710,850 in loans not now payable, \$250,000,000 of the last amount being the four-and-a-half per cent. loan of 1891, and \$738,710,850 being the amount of the four per cent. loan of 1907, and that the treasury operations of the last quarter have accumulated a surplus applicable to the extinction of the debt amounting to \$41,742,866.21. The article contends that, at this rate, the payable debt will be extinguished in about three years, and that then a period of seven years must elapse before any more of the debt can be by its terms payable; and that the government securities will command so high a price in the market that no secretary of the treasury of that time is likely to propose that the government should extinguish its obligations by purchasing them at their high premium.

On 29th November, the Hon. William D. Kelley delivered before the Tariff Convention in New York, an address, whose force of argument and clearness of statement must command the respect of even those who do not accept his conclusions. He also took strong ground for the abolition of the internal revenue taxation. He reiterated the views to which Mr. Barker and *The American* had given expression. He stated that the government has, between 1865 and 1875, and between 1879 and 1881, paid for premiums on its purchase of its own bonds \$63,594,736.93, but he did not state that that expenditure was justifiable, because it enabled the government to extinguish obligations which were bearing 6 per cent. interest, and to refund at lower rates, and was more than counterbalanced in amount by the lower rate of interest at which the loans are refunded. But all the loans now payable having been refunded at lower rates, it is very clear, as Mr. Kelley stated, that the "attempt to burden our industries and harass the producers of great staples by the collection of such amounts of money to be bestowed as largesses on the holders of our debt, would not be tolerated by the American people;" and that "the effort to enforce such a policy would sweep from power any administration and party by which it might be proposed."

Mr. Kelley quoted the resolution which he offered in the forty-first and forty-second congresses, and which passed both bodies almost

unanimously, asserting as "the true principle of revenue reform" the "abolition of the internal revenue," and the "repeal, at the earliest day consistent with the maintenance of the faith and credit of the government, of all stamp and other internal taxes." Mr. Kelley argued that the abolition of those taxes is demanded in the interest of Civil Service Reform, in order that the country may do without the four thousand internal revenue employes.

The most onerous and the most productive of the taxes are those on whiskey and tobacco, and on the capital circulation and deposits of banks and bankers. While it is true, that the government has not the power to levy taxes either for sumptuary or moral purposes, yet it may be contended that in any general reduction of taxation, the burden should last be taken from whiskey and tobacco. The postponement of their consideration is certainly defensible on economic grounds, for those articles, apart from the consideration of their pernicious effects, are not necessities, but luxuries.

Of the other taxes the most important are those upon banks and banking operations. Banks organized under the laws of the several States, and private bankers are subject to federal taxation, which is practically prohibitory of their circulation, and also to taxation at the rate of one-twenty-fourth of one per cent. per month upon the average amount of their deposits of money subject to cheque or draft, and to a like tax upon the capital employed in their business, exclusive of the average amount invested in United States bonds, and exclusive also of money borrowed from day to day in the usual course of business. Under one of those edicts of the internal revenue department, which are called "decisions," this exemption is so limited as not to include money borrowed on time. The amount of this taxation constitutes a serious incumbrance upon the business of private banks and brokers.

The question is even more important with regard to national banks. While it is true that the national banks are institutions organized for the purpose, primarily, of private profit, yet they have deserved well of the government and people, and they perform some public functions of great importance.

During the dark days of the war, the national banks sustained the credit of the government by their purchases of government bonds, and at the very darkest period, in July, 1861, after the armies of the Union had been beaten at Bull Run, and the

fate of the Union was trembling in the balance, the banks in the cities of New York, Boston and Philadelphia, which subsequently became national banks, subscribed for \$50,000,000 of bonds, and afterwards for \$150,000,000 of bonds that could not have been otherwise negotiated. The national bank circulation is elastic and it is cheap. It circulates at par throughout the United States. It has all the facility of production in times of emergency which a circulation issued by the government directly would have, and, unlike a governmental circulation, it is not open to the objection that while it cannot be supplied in sufficient amounts for the wants of the people when governmental expenditures are reduced to equality with the revenue, or below it, yet it must flow forth with a dangerous expansion, when, through waste and corruption, or otherwise, the governmental expenditure exceeds its revenue. The circulation, being based upon the bonds of the United States, constantly creates a large demand for government securities. Every stockholder in the banks, every depositor, and every citizen through whose hands the circulation passes, has an interest in the stability of the government.

The 2,115 national banks of this country had, on 30 June last, an aggregate capital of \$460,227,835, with a surplus fund of \$126,679,517.97 and other undivided profits amounting to \$54,683,492.73. Their outstanding circulation was \$355,042,675, secured by the capital and assets of the banks issuing it, and also by \$358,287,500 in United States bonds deposited in the treasury; they had deposits (not including government funds) to the amount of \$1,031,731,043.42. They had out on loans and discounts \$1,140,750,198.65; they had in their vaults \$128,038,927.50 in gold and silver coin, \$58,728,713 in legal tender notes, \$9,540,000 in government certificates of deposits and \$372,140.23 in fractional currency; and they had \$47,834,060.20 invested in their banking houses.

These figures show the magnitude of the business which the national banks transact, the stability of the system upon which they are founded, and the security which they afford to all who do business with them, but, while they indicate, they do not fully show, to how great an extent the business of the country has been developed by, and is dependent upon, those banks. The adequate presentation of that branch of the subject would require a volume.

The national banks are subject to a state tax upon their real estate, and also to a state tax upon the shares of their capital stock, and the dividends thereon, and they are subject to federal taxation, at the rate of one-half of one per cent. semi-annually upon their circulation, and one-fourth of one per cent. semi-annually upon their deposits, and one-fourth of one per cent. semi-annually upon their capital stock, beyond the amount invested in United States bonds. In the city of Philadelphia, a bank with a capital of a million of dollars, of which \$800,000 is invested in United States bonds, with a circulation of \$700,000, with an average deposit line of \$3,500,000, and doing business in a banking-house owned by itself and assessed at \$100,000, and dividing annually eight per cent. among its shareholders, will pay for the year 1881 to the state and city in real estate taxation \$1,900, and to the State in taxation on its shares \$6,000, and to the United States in taxation upon its capital, circulation and deposits \$25,500, in all \$33,400, or more than three per cent. upon its capital, and about forty per cent. on its divided income. The federal taxation is open to obvious criticism. The tax on deposits often makes a case of not double but of treble taxation. Ten thousand dollars may be deposited in a bank in Illinois, promptly remitted from there to a national bank in Philadelphia, through national banks in Chicago and in New York City, and, although the Philadelphia bank alone would have the use of the deposit, each bank would have to pay a tax on that deposit. Again, bank deposits are, of course, largest when general business is dull, and when the opportunities for a profitable investment of money are few. Therefore, at the very time when the bank can derive the least advantage from the deposits it has to pay the heaviest taxes. At the present time, with the rates for money reduced as they were last summer to two per cent., and as they are now at from four to five per cent., the tax on deposits is burdensome. This taxation is bad in its effects, because it tempts bankers to injudiciously extend their loans in order to recoup the taxes which they must pay on large deposits, with money at low rates.

For the fiscal year ending on the 30th of June last, \$135,229,912 was collected from internal revenue and \$198,159,676 from duties on imports. Whatever may be said as to the abstract question of free trade *versus* protection, and however much people may

differ as to the modification of the free trade theory necessitated by its application to the actual conditions of the country, there is no doubt that the issue of free trade *versus* protection is practically as dead as that of slavery *versus* freedom, or that of state rights *versus* a strong government.

It may be that tariff legislation with a protective intent is unconstitutional, immoral in its intention, corrupting in its effects, and economically unsound; yet the last presidential election showed clearly that the mass of the people of the United States are adherents of protection, and not of free trade, for it was upon that issue that Mr. Garfield was elected and General Hancock defeated.

There is nothing in the present condition of the country, or in its future prospects, so far as they can now be determined, which renders it likely that that popular verdict will speedily be reversed. The development of the Western and Southern manufacturing industries points clearly to the increased support of protection in those parts of the country which have been heretofore looked to for the maintenance of free trade doctrines.

That there ought to be a revision of the tariff is generally conceded. Upon this point free traders and protectionists are one; the free traders want such a revision as will practically destroy the protective feature of the present tariff on imports of foreign goods, and lawyers whose professional duty it is to advise the importers want such a simplification of the tariff laws as will enable the importer and his counsel to determine with accuracy what duty any given class of goods will necessarily have to pay during any fixed period; the protectionists want such "tariff legislation as will be protective in character, consistent in all its parts, and adapted to the present condition of the business of the country." It is to be hoped, therefore, that, promptly upon the assembling of congress, the needed relief will be given in the shape of legislation, or by the appointment of a suitable and competent commission to consider and report such amendments as are necessary. There being, therefore, no prospect of a material reduction of import duties, the case is all the stronger for the reduction of internal revenue taxation.

We submit, therefore, that there should be, in view of the large surplus that is likely to remain in the treasury at the end of the next fiscal year, a substantial reduction of taxation, and a

revision of the tariff laws; that the internal revenue taxation upon the banks and bankers, other than that upon the circulation of State banks, should be abandoned, and that there should be such a reduction of the taxation upon spirits and tobacco as will render the duties thereon more readily collected.

It has been stated that the effect of the pension legislation of last year will be to throw upon the treasury an annual charge of more than \$100,000,000. If that be so, there will, of course, be no surplus and no reduction of taxation, but it may be, that upon a careful consideration of the law, it will be found that the burden of that improvident legislation is not so great as has been feared.

C. S. P.

It is with no ordinary regret that we chronicle the demise of the *American Art Review* with the closing number of the second volume. It seems a reflection upon the cultivation and appreciation of our educated people, that a first-class periodical, first-class in every respect,—textually, pictorially, typographically and editorially,—devoted to an important subject, and one exciting a great deal of interest and attention at the present time, cannot meet with sufficient support to sustain it. We say, “*seems* a reflection,” because, from what we ourselves personally know, a large part of its failure to succeed is due to what appears to have been the peculiar views of its publishers as to its business conduct.

The first number of the *American Art Review* appeared in November, 1879, so that it has had but a brief existence of two years; a period, however, quite long enough for it to make a name for itself, in this country and in Europe, that will not soon be forgotten. It started out wholly independent and free from any bias for any particular school of art, and has maintained this catholicity to the end; while, as an American art review, its especial aim has been the advancement of the art of this country, it has by no means been neglectful of the great art movements abroad. It seems to us that it has fulfilled more thoroughly than usual the promises held out in its prospectus: to “embrace the art of our own time as well as of the past, in all its branches and in all countries, and will give special attention to the history and archæology of art in America. . . . In its treatment of contemporaneous art, the *Review* will not be the organ of any one school, but will strive fairly to present the claims of all schools.”

Several marked features of the *Review* deserve a passing mention, for they are those which have given it the position it attained. In the first place, its introduction to the art-loving public of the works of the American etchers, who at the time of its inception were laboring in comparative obscurity, merit the highest praise; while the opportunity it gave to the wood-cutters to produce good blocks, that should be carefully and well printed, has helped immeasurably to advance the reputation of the American workers in this field of art. Another very commendable feature was the requirement, as in the first-class European periodicals, that all original articles should be signed by the writer, thus compelling careful writing and giving the reader some evidence of the probable value of the contribution. Special attention was also paid to the very important but much neglected department of book-reviews, each work being submitted to the reviewer most competent to render a just opinion of its worth; and a reference to the pages of the *Review* will show that this labor was performed without fear or favor. The "American Art Chronicle" and the "Foreign Art Chronicle" given in each number, were also of the greatest assistance and value to those who wished to keep correctly posted upon the art movements of the world. The fact is that the entire management of the editor, Mr. S. R. Koehler, was in the direction most needed, and whatever causes conspired to render the *Review* unsuccessful, none of them can be laid at the door of his editorial sanctum. We trust that we shall soon be called to welcome another enterprise of the same character and under the guidance of the same chief, but published on the liberal principles of other periodicals, so that the public may not only be advised of its existence, but, when they ascertain the fact, be enabled to secure it, if they so desire, which was not the case with the *American Art Review*.

C. H. H.

In the matter of the Star Route prosecutions some things ought to be borne in mind by the American public, and not only borne in mind but emphasized. Not a few who desire the purification of the Civil Service are downhearted at the results of this prosecution in its present stage of development; and some fear that the course of what they believe to be necessary justice will be blocked by legal technicalities. It is important to remember that the operation of

legal technicalities does not affirm the innocence of the accused. It simply says, "Their guilt or innocence cannot be established in just this way," and the result of such a decision may rather increase, in the public mind, the *prima facie* evidence of guilt already given by the facts of public accusation.

Let us remember how this public accusation, surely, by every principle of probabilities, not made on slight grounds, was met.

1. In the first place, the principal men among the accused were highly indignant at the charges, and their injured feelings demanded "*speedy vindication.*" It appeared that they were afraid that the ordinary process of law would be too slow, that it would leave them too long under the shadow of the cloud which hung over them; and with this eagerness for investigation there was coupled, according to statements in the public press, a boast that nothing could or would be done to establish their guilt.

This boast might mean either of two things; first, that they were actually innocent of the crimes laid to their charge, and in the proud consciousness of that were really anxious to be "investigated;" or, secondly, that, either by a game of bluff or by their control of the technicalities of the law, or of political influence, they felt sure of escape even though guilty. One thing is indisputable,—admitting no but or if,—and that is, that really innocent men would not move heaven and earth to avail themselves of legal technicalities or a statute of limitation.

Now, what actually happened?

2. There *was* a statute of limitations which would bar the trial of the accused unless the case went to the grand jury by a certain time.

3. The grand jury, already in session, was conveniently adjourned so as in reality—whether it was intended or not—to give effect to the statute of limitations; and this adjournment was made, so it is alleged by the late Attorney General and Colonel George Bliss, if they are correctly reported, without their knowledge or consent, and just as they were ready to bring the case before the grand jury.

4. In this state of things the counsel for the prosecution, anxious no doubt to accommodate those who clamored for a speedy investigation of the charges against them, proceeded to bring the

matter into court by the operation of "an information," which avoided all delay, and would bring the accused face to face, and that speedily, with the evidence against them.

5. This action was opposed in court by the counsel for the accused, on the ground that it was not in accordance with the forms of law in the District of Columbia. One of the learned counsel for the prosecution, on the other hand, affirmed and quoted from authorities in support of his affirmation, "that informations were ever within the judicial discretion of the court, and would ever be exercised to restrain a wrong, to maintain a public right, and to enforce a public duty." "He also quoted other authorities which maintained that an information may be laid when a matter concerned public good, and no particular person was so concerned in interest as to maintain an action."

After hearing the argument, the learned judge decided, and doubtless correctly, that the information would not lie.

6. This decision throws out entirely the cases proceeded against by "information," and the statute of limitations being by this time in operation against the investigation of the charges made against the alleged criminals named in the "information," they go scot free of investigation and of the punishment which would justly be their due if investigation should have found them guilty.

We can now see clearly what, as regards these particular cases, is the *effect*, if it were not the intention, of the adjournment of the grand jury. On this subject Colonel Cook is represented as saying: "There was always a doubt with us if an information would be sustained in this District. It was deemed best by the counsel to have the question determined. If an information would lie it would save time in preparing the cases and considerable expense to the United States in procuring indictments. *As the defendants claimed to desire a speedy trial, it was thought that the mode would be an unobjectionable one to them.* The court has denied that an information will lie in this District, although it seems that it will elsewhere."

7. The remaining cases will go to the grand jury, involving a long and expensive process.

Such are the *facts* of the case, so far. We now have to deal with *presumptions* as to the facts, and most men who know about them will be asking themselves questions, as follows:

- (a.) Which presumption has the greatest weight: that the accused were really innocent? or, that they knew they were guilty, and used legal technicalities and the convenient adjournment of the grand jury and the bar of the statute of limitations, in order to escape the investigation they claimed to desire as speedily as it could be procured?
- (b.) Which presumption has the greatest weight: that there *was* or *was not* connivance with the plans of the accused on the part of some one, who procured the adjournment of the grand jury.

These questions are in many minds at present. The evidence on which the correct answer rests is largely "circumstantial;" but it is sufficient to convince many that but *one* answer can truthfully be made to the questions.

J. A. H.

NEW BOOKS.

MARTIN LUTHER AND HIS WORK. By John H. Treadwell. Cloth. 16mo. Pp. 242. New York : G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1881.

The preface states that the book is the final shape taken by notes made by the author in the course of his reading in German history ; that it is wanting in the details of lengthy theological controversies ; and that it is a narrative, plain and unadorned. The author frankly says that doubtless there is much to find fault with in it.

Of course, in estimating the character of a literary work, it is only fair to take account of the avowed purpose of it ; and the reader of this little book will find in the matter of it more to praise than to blame.

The first chapter, on "Pre-Lutheran Germany," is concise and graphic, forming a capital introduction to the brief account of the Reformer's life and the motives and the features of his work. The following sentences give the author's estimate of the people from whose ranks Luther came, among and on behalf of whom his work was done, and whose hearty backing made that work effective :

"A race of workers, by nature and by birth aggressive, they grew like forest trees, from the olive to the North Sea, crowding and contending, erecting among those hills and dales a population not to be cajoled with trifles or subjected by oppression. They fought and lugged at each other because no foreign foe had a capacity for fighting and lugging equal to themselves. Germany was the cockpit of the world, wherein the weaker went down and the fittest—fittest for a work to come,—were surviving. With all this tilting and sword practice, at home they were a serious, thinking people, reasoned carefully and slowly ; no development of history, were it normal or deformed, passed them without scrutiny.

When other nations were loitering, steeped in the emasculating pleasures of Italian degeneracy, or prone under the thumb of a debauched Court, she, all her people, were forming that strong substructure upon which was built a future nobleness of character."

Having shown us the "environment" of the Reformer, the author proceeds to give us a brief but graphic sketch of his life, from his early days through his novitiate, describing in a few clear touches his early toils and honors, his meditations and anxieties before, and his conclusions after, his journey to Rome (which Luther said he would not have missed seeing for 100,000 florins). Then follow chapters on "Wittenberg and its Motive," "The Indulgence Business," "Perplexities and Doubts," "Called to Account at Augsburg," "Luther's Friends and the Disputation

with Eck," "The Diet at Worms," "The Wartburg," "The Augsburg Conference," "Domestic Life," "The Peasant War," "Luther's Death." The last chapter is, in fitting contrast to the first, a brief sketch of "Post-Lutheran Germany," which owed the marked features of its character very largely to Luther's work.

The author admits the faults of his hero, while he insists upon the good and great points of his character. He abstains from any allusion (other than the mention of Luther's letters to his wife,) to his marriage with Catherine Von Bora, which was so marked an innovation upon the customs of the time, and which has caused so much animadversion upon the daring monk.

The sketch, for it is a "sketch" rather than a "life," brings out the fact that at first Luther tried to be what we would call "a reformer within the party,"—just as Cardinal Wolsey did in England,—but with the usual result of the effort to thoroughgoing men,—a conviction that it amounts to very little; which conviction led him to become an "independent," in which capacity he did yeoman's service.

The book has an interesting appendix, and, what is a cardinal virtue in any book worth reading, a good index.

The author's *style*, in more places than one, is susceptible of improvement. Some of his sentences—or what his printer has given as such,—are not so much Carlylish as ungrammatical. They are printed as sentences; they are simply disconnected phrases. A second edition could remedy this defect.

BEFORE AND AFTER THE PRESIDENT'S DEATH. Two Sermons.

By Henry W. Bellows. Sewed. 12mo. Pp. 52. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

The subject of the first sermon is "The Lessons of the President's Sickness and the Nation's Suspense." The preacher notes, as exemplified by his text, (Psalm liv., 10, 11,) "the bold pleading with God that marks the Old Testament piety," and states that, while faith in God has probably not decreased in the world by the progress of experience and civilization, it yet has greatly changed its form, inasmuch as "the tremendous transition through which Christendom and the modern mind are passing in regard to religion is from a faith resting on written covenants and historic attestations of covenanters, like Abraham, Moses, David, Jesus, to a faith resting on experience, direct observation, the study of a universe that never says one word in any written or spoken language, but speaks only by its laws, and its methods of being and doing, and of man's nature and spirit." Some of his views in this regard might not, to many, appear "orthodox." But, then, perhaps, Dr. Bellows does not claim to be "orthodox." One thing is very certain, he says what he means, and that, too, both clearly

and beautifully. His picture of the character of Mr. Garfield, of the crime which struck him down, of his patient fortitude, of the devotion of his heroic wife, of the effect on the whole country and the civilized world, is painted in colors both strong and tender ; and he dwells upon the truth that the answers God sends to prayer are often other and wisely better than he who makes the prayer would have. The close of the sermon (preached, it will be remembered, while the issue was yet doubtful,) is worthy of being quoted : " Let the President live or die, these prayers are not unanswered because we are not allowed to shape the answer to suit our ignorance. God does not allow His saints to curse themselves with altering His perfect will in honor of their faith in prayer. All true prayer, though it may fitly say : ' Let this cup pass from me,' is accompanied with the Christlike condition, ' Not my will, but Thine, be done.' The nation will not lose its prayer, or its God, or its faith, or its sense of the value of prayer, though the President may be called up higher. Let us ask God, with all the depth of longing, to grant his life to us. But let us pray still more earnestly that we may have faith and devotion to our country and the spirit of obedience and of submission, though the good President is yet taken away from the nation that so much desires his life. It may be that his mission to us, like the martyrs', will only show its full power when death has set the martyr's seal upon his virtuous and pious life. That may yet be God's best answer to our prayers."

As though this were prophetic, the second sermon, on " The President's Death and the Nation's Submission," with the text from Isaiah, liv., 7, 8, begins thus : " We are assembled above the still open grave of our dead President. . . . A few days ago, we were overwhelmed, as if by the shadow of God's wrath ; to-day, we already feel the holy light in the thunderous cloud and the soft mercy that drops in tears from its awful font." The preacher then goes on to state, in his own admirable way, the softening influence upon the country of the President's long suffering, his patience, his unaffected, manly piety.

He then alludes to Mr. Garfield's successor and the way in which he bore himself during the long weeks of suspense and when the suspense was over, and expresses confidence that he will be all that he ought to be under the circumstances,—a confidence which perhaps took only the doubtful form of *hope* in the minds of a great many. That the hope was well founded, present indications do not too vividly show. *Mephisto* and " *der General* " are too near his elbow ; and *Mephisto* says, as of old :

" *Hab' ich doch meine Freude dran !*"

"HE GIVETH HIS BELOVED SLEEP." By Elizabeth Barrett Browning. With designs by Miss L. B. Humphrey, engraved by Andrew. Boston: Lee & Shepard. 1882. Small 8vo.

In this time of decoration, so-called, when the grocer vies with the silversmith in the variety and gorgeousness of his pictorial advertisements, and the crying need of the age seems to be more pictures, no matter whether they be good or bad, it is hardly a matter of wonder that Mrs. Browning should have been seized as a peg on which to hang a few illustrations, and be turned into one of the many Christmas gift books which are as inevitable and generally as unpalatable as New Year's bills.

The poem, although essentially Elizabeth Barrett Browning, is singularly free from mannerisms and is one of the most beautiful and simple of her literary legacies. Many a sad and weary sufferer, and many an agonized and powerless watcher of another's suffering, must have felt and known the truth which the poem so exquisitely teaches. The author draws most fitly the contrast between the ignorance of man and the omniscience of the Father in the giving of gifts. How often, were our wishes or prayers granted literally, would the result be

"bitter memories to make
The whole earth blasted for our sake."

Let us be thankful that

"God strikes a silence through you all,
And giveth His beloved sleep."

The illustrations are commonplace, and lack originality and force. One or two of the flower designs are fair, but suggest the study of the ubiquitous Christmas card. They are unworthy of the poem, and make the reader long for simplicity in books, where luxury should be shown in type and paper, and rarely in binding.

The poem will undoubtedly shine through this disguise; but it is a pity that time and energy should be so wasted.

YOUNG AMERICANS IN JAPAN; OR, THE ADVENTURES OF THE JEWETT FAMILY AND THEIR YOUNG FRIEND, OTTO NAMBO. By Edward Greey. Boards. 8 vo. Pp. 372. Boston: Lee & Shepard.

This will prove a very interesting book for such youngsters as may chance to read it. The story opens with the *dramatis personae* of two boys and a little girl who "were earnestly engaged in the walled garden at the rear of their home, putting the finishing touches to a strange-looking instrument that the elder of the lads had constructed out of an old pump-stock." The instrument proved to be a sort of minature *balista*, and was put in position to

hurl cucumbers at the back gate as a sort of welcome to any visiting tramp who might come that way. The first discharge, however, took effect upon a young Japanese who was looking for Professor Jewett's residence, and had been directed to the back gate by a woman who took him for a Chinese laundryman. He spoke English with facility, and was the bearer of a letter of introduction from the Professor's brother at Tokio, having come to "the states" to prosecute his studies.

The acquaintance thus begun ripened into a friendship; and the Professor, with his family, accompanied by Otto, in time set out for a tour through Japan. The book tells where they went and what they saw, and in this mode describes the manners and customs of the Japanese in a way pleasant to young people; adding to the descriptions a vast number of illustrations.

Mr. Darwin's theory of the monkey as the progenitor of man receives incidentally a bit of proof in the descriptions of how monkeys are caught in Japan, viz., by cautiously exposing in a perfectly innocent way the intoxicating bowl, which Jocko, descending from his safe vantage-ground, quaffs pleasantly and is thereby made a captive "as he goes rolling home."

HANNAH JANE. By David Ross Locke (Petroleum V. Nasby). Lee & Shepard, Boston.

This is a very handsome volume, well printed, well illustrated, many of the pictures being of decided merit. The poem itself is very enjoyable, the versification generally smooth, the style simple and easy. The story is of a career scarcely possible anywhere but in our own country. It is the story of a young, poor and uneducated man who, having marked ability and industry, rises in politics and at the bar to distinction, and, acquiring knowledge and culture by his own endeavors and through contact with the world, attains, while still in his prime, a position of social eminence, and then finds that his wife, who, when he married her, was his equal, has been left by him far behind in intellectual progress, can no longer even sympathize with or understand her husband's ideas, tastes or pleasures, and, time and the early struggles of poverty having used her hardly, has lost even the physical charms which she once possessed, and which might, in a measure, atone for the want of intellectual attractiveness. Of course, the man feels the difference bitterly, and involuntarily compares and contrasts his wife with the brilliant ladies whom he meets in society:

"I know there is a difference; at reception and levee
 The brightest, wittiest and most famed of women smile on me;
 And everywhere I hold my place among the greatest men,
 And sometimes sigh, with Whittier's Judge, 'Alas! it might have been.'

"When they all crowd around me, stately dames and brilliant belles,
And yield to me the homage that all great success compels,
Discussing art and statecraft, and literature as well,
From Homer down to Thackeray, and Swedenborg on 'Hell,'

"I can't forget that from these streams my wife has ne'er quaffed,
Has never with Ophelia wept, nor with Jack Falstaff laughed;
Of authors, actors, artists—, why, she hardly knows the names.
She slept while I was speaking on the Alabama claims!"

But, then, while he remembers all this, his better nature asserts itself, and he can't forget that it was only owing to his wife's rigorous self-denial for his sake, in the early part of their married life, that he was enabled to make a respectable appearance, hold up his head amongst men, and so achieve ultimate success :

"I was her altar, and her love the sacrificial flame;
Ah! with what pure devotion she to that altar came,
And tearful flung thereon—alas! I did not know it then—
All that she was and, more than that, all that she might have been."

And so comes this conclusion :

"I blush to think what she has been :
The most unselfish of all wives to the selfishest of men.
Yes, plain and homely now she is; she's ignorant, 'tis true.
For me she rubbed herself quite out; I represent the two.

"There's another world beyond this, and on the final day
Will intellect and learning against such devotion weigh?
And when the one made of us two is tore apart again,
I'll kick the beam; for God is just, and He knows Hannah Jane."

Now, this is all very true, but still one can't help thinking that during the rest of their joint lives on earth there can be but little true happiness enjoyed by either husband or wife, when there is so little in common between them and the husband has to continually remind himself of what his wife has done for him to avoid treating her with coldness and neglect. The story, at least in its final stage, as presented in the poem, is no mere fancy one, for many of us have met just such couples,—husbands who have acquired distinction and culture, with wives, once congenial when their husbands, starting in life, were as ignorant as they, but now utterly unfit intellectually for the companionship of their lords; and a certain thought is suggested, probably not the one intended by Mr. Locke, to be born in our minds. A certain distinguished New England statesman is said to have drawn from "Othello" this sage instruction: "It don't do for a black man to marry a white woman;" and we hope we shall not be justly deemed equally unappreciative if we draw from "Hannah Jane" the moral: "It don't do for a young man who desires and expects to rise in life above that condition in which he is born, to marry too early."

BOOKS RECEIVED.

Thomas Corwin. By A. P. Russell. Cloth. 12mo. Pp. 128. \$1.00. Cincinnati: Robert Clarke & Co.

Book of the Black Bass. By James A. Henshall, M. D. Cloth. 12mo. Pp. 463. \$3.00. Cincinnati: Robert Clarke & Co.

Man's Origin and Destiny Sketched from the Platform of the Physical Sciences. By J. P. Lesley. Cloth. 12mo. Pp. 442. \$2.00. Boston: George H. Ellis. (J. B. Lippincott & Co.)

The Duties of Women. A Course of Lectures. By Frances Power Cobbe. Swd. 16mo. Pp. 193. \$0.25. Boston: George H. Ellis. (J. B. Lippincott & Co.)

Isms: Old and New. By George C. Lorimer. Cloth. 12mo. Pp. 367. \$1.50. Chicago: S. C. Griggs & Co. (J. B. Lippincott & Co.)

Tutti-Frutti. A Book of Child-Songs. By Laura Leonard and W. P. Peters. Designs by D. Clinton Peters. Boards. 8vo. Pp. 34. New York: George W. Harlan.

The Protagoras of Plato. With an Introduction and Explanatory Notes. By E. G. Sihler, Ph. D. Cloth. 12mo. Pp. 140. New York: Harper & Brothers.

The Portrait of a Lady. By Henry James, Jr. Cloth. 12mo. Pp. 520. \$2.00. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. (Claxton & Co.)

The Double-Runner Club; or, The Lively Boys of Riverton. By B. P. Shillaber. Cloth. 12mo. Pp. 314. \$1.25. Boston: Lee & Shepard. (Porter & Coates.)

The Four-Footed Lovers. By Frank Albertson. Boards. 8vo. \$1.00. Boston: Lee & Shepard. (Presbyterian Board of Publication.)

Young Folks' Robinson Crusoe. Boards. 8vo. Pp. 266. \$1.25. Boston: Lee & Shepard. (Presbyterian Board of Publication.)

Raleigh: His Exploits and Voyages. By George Makepeace Towle. Cloth. 12mo. \$1.25. Boston: Lee & Shepard. (Presbyterian Board of Publication.)

The History of Fernando de Soto and Florida. A Record of Events of Fifty-Six Years, from 1512 to 1568. By Barnard Shepp. 8vo. Pp. xiii, 689. Maps. \$6.00. Philadelphia: Robert M. Lindsay. 1881.

The Artist and His Mission: A Study in Æsthetics. By William M. Reily, Ph.D. Cloth. 12mo. Pp. 165. Philadelphia: John E. Porter & Co.

The Vicar's People. By George Manville Fenn. Swd. 16mo. Pp. 451. 60 cts. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. (Porter & Coates.)

Sir Richard Whittington, Lord Mayor of London. By Walter Besant and James Rice. Cloth. 16mo. Pp. 217. \$1.00. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. (Porter & Coates.)

Cuban Sketches. By James W. Steele. Cloth. 12mo. Pp. 221. \$1.50. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. (Porter & Coates.)

The Golden Tress. Translated from the French of Fortune du Boisgobey. Swd. 16mo. Pp. 422. \$0.60. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. (Porter & Coates.)

John Barlow's Ward. Swd. 16mo. Pp. 287. \$0.60. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. (Porter & Coates.)

The New Infidelity. By Augustus Radcliffe Grote. Cloth. 12mo. Pp. 101. \$1.25. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. (Porter & Coates.)

The Life of Richard Cobden. By John Morley. Cloth. 8vo. Pp. 640. \$3.00. Boston: Roberts Brothers. (Porter & Coates.)

My First Holiday; or, Letters Home from Colorado, Utah and California. By Caroline H. Dall. Cloth. 12mo. Pp. 430. \$1.50. Boston: Roberts Brothers. (Porter & Coates.)

Country Pleasures; the Chronicle of a Year, Chiefly in a Garden. By George Milner. Cloth. 12mo. Pp. 345. \$1.50. Boston: Roberts Brothers. (Porter & Coates.)

Massachusetts in the Woman Suffrage Movement. By Harriet H. Robinson. Cloth. 12mo. Pp. 265. \$1.25. Boston: Roberts Brothers. (Porter & Coates.)

Usury Laws: Their Nature, Expediency and Influence. Swd. 12mo. Pp. 68. New York: Society for Political Education.

The Book Hunter, etc. By John Hill Burton. 12mo. Pp. 396. \$3.00. Philadelphia: Robert A. Tripple. 1881.

Field and Closet Notes on the Flood of Washington and Vicinity. By Lester F. Ward. Washington, D. C.