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CONTENTS OF VOLUME II.

JANUARY.

RUSSIA VERSUS EUROPE.....	1
THE TOILETTE OF CONSTANCE.....	16
GERMAN NOVELS AND NOVELISTS.....	17
INTERNATIONAL INDUSTRIAL COMPETITION (Continued).....	28
THE REVISION OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.....	44

FEBRUARY.

COMPULSORY EDUCATION.....	53
A SUNSET IDYL.....	73
ALBERT BARNES.....	75
SPAIN AND PROTECTION.....	84
MODERN MUSIC.....	88
ZEISBERGER'S MISSION TO THE INDIANS.....	97
STARTING ON A PILGRIMAGE.....	106

MARCH.

BOARDS OF CONCILIATION AND ARBITRATION— <i>By Eckley B. Coxe.</i>	109
THE RING— <i>By E. W. Watson</i>	128
A SUNDAY IN GREAT SALT LAKE CITY— <i>By Hamilton A. Hill.</i>	129
THE VARIORUM SHAKESPEARE— <i>By R. L. A.</i>	140
"THE GRAY LUIK O' LIFE"— <i>By John Dyer.</i>	151
BOOKS REVIEWED: Longfellow's Poets and Poetry of Europe; Bab Ballads; Keim's Sketches of San Domingo.....	164

APRIL.

AMERICAN BIOGRAPHY— <i>By J. G. Rosengarten</i>	167
THE FOUNTAIN UNCOVERED— <i>By E. W. Watson</i>	179
THE CHINESE IN CALIFORNIA— <i>By Hamilton A. Hill</i>	181
ZEISBERGER'S MISSION TO THE INDIANS— <i>By Robert Ellis Thompson</i> , 188	
THE LIFELESS KINGDOM— <i>By Persifor Frazer, Jr.</i>	197
BOOKS REVIEWED: The Prose Writers of America; Poetical Works of Mrs. Browning; Heavenward Led; Topics of the Time; The Silent Partner; Reginald Archer; A Manual of Ancient History; The Mutineers of the Bounty; The Artist's Married Life; The Apple Culturist; Glimpses of Sea and Land; "What She Could," and "Opportunities".....	215

MAY.

LOCAL TAXATION— <i>By Thomas Cochran</i>	221
BIOGRAPHY OF A SALMON— <i>By Thaddeus Norris</i>	245
THE RACE AND THE INDIVIDUAL IN THEIR PARALLEL DEVELOP- MENT— <i>By Robert Ellis Thompson</i>	250
HOW NOT TO DO IT— <i>By J. D.</i>	263
BOOKS REVIEWED: Sterne's Representative Government; Yeaman's Study of Government; The Daughter of an Egyptian King; Mivart's Genesis of Species; Whipple's Literature and Life, and Success and its Conditions; Mechanism in Thought and Morals; My Summer in a Garden; William Winston Seaton; The Daisy Chain.....	267

JUNE.

THE SLAUGHTER OF THE INNOCENTS— <i>By John S. Parry, M.D.</i>	275
THE ARCHITECT AN ARTIST— <i>By William H. Furness, D.D.</i>	295
A TRIP TO THE YOSEMITE (Continued)— <i>By Hamilton A. Hill</i>	309
COMMENCEMENT A CENTURY AGO.....	315

Contents of Volume II.

v

BOOKS REVIEWED: Ginx's Baby; The Prose Writers of Germany;	
My Study Windows; John Woolman's Journal; World Essays;	
The Heathen Chinese; Gabrielle Andre; A Siren; Earl's Dene;	
Daisy Nichol.....	319

JULY.

JOHN ADAMS— <i>By George D. Budd</i>	325
A TRIP TO THE YOSEMITE VALLEY (Concluded)— <i>By Hamilton A.</i>	
<i>Hill</i>	339
SIC ITUR AD ASTRA— <i>By J. G. R. McElroy</i>	346
AN IDYL OF CHILDHOOD— <i>By E. W. Watson</i>	357
AN ESSAY ON HIEROGLYPHS— <i>By H. R.</i>	360
BOOKS REVIEWED: Village Communities in the East and West; Lord	
Brougham's Autobiography; Fragments of Science for Unscien-	
tific People; Charlotte Ackerman; The Comprehensive Speaker;	
Pickwick Papers; Reminiscences of Fifty Years; Marquis and	
Merchant.....	371

AUGUST.

THE POLITICAL LITERATURE OF THE UNITED STATES: I— <i>By Robert</i>	
<i>Mole</i>	375
THE GERMAN MYSTICS AS AMERICAN COLONISTS: I— <i>By Robert Ellis</i>	
<i>Thompson</i>	391
THE FUNCTIONS OF THE POET AND OF POETRY IN MODERN TIMES—	
<i>By Charles Carcer</i>	403
CHARACTERISTICS OF THE COMMONWEALTH.....	412
POST-MORTEM EXAMINATION OF A SALMON— <i>By Thaddeus Norris</i> ..	416
BOOKS REVIEWED: Vivia; The New Englander; The Gardener's	
Monthly; Appleton's Journal; Pennsylvania School Journal; The	
American Agriculturist; The Catholic Record.....	420

SEPTEMBER.

THE POLITICAL LITERATURE OF THE UNITED STATES: II— <i>By Robert Mole</i>	421
THE GERMAN MYSTICS AS AMERICAN COLONISTS: II— <i>By Robert Ellis Thompson</i>	448
THE GERMAN PULPIT OF THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY— <i>By John Dyer</i>	451
ORANGE AND GREEN— <i>By Uttoniensis</i>	464
DARWIN.....	469
NEW PUBLICATIONS: <i>Oliver Twist</i> ; <i>Christmas Stories</i> ; <i>Dombey and Son</i> ; <i>Sarchedon</i> ; <i>My Heroine</i> ; <i>Report on the System of Public Instruction in Sweden and Norway</i> ; <i>Gardener's Monthly</i> ; <i>The American Exchange and Review</i> ; <i>The Ohio Farmer</i> ; <i>The Christian World</i> ; <i>The Journal of Education</i> ; <i>The Atlantic Monthly</i> ; <i>The Catholic Record</i> ; <i>Every Saturday</i>	472

OCTOBER.

A SCIENCE BASED UPON ASSUMPTIONS— <i>By H. C. Carey</i>	473
THE GERMAN MYSTICS AS AMERICAN COLONISTS: III— <i>By Robert Ellis Thompson</i>	487
THE POLITICAL LITERATURE OF THE UNITED STATES: III— <i>By Robert Mole</i>	497
THE MARI LLWYD AND OTHER CUSTOMS IN WALES— <i>By M. A. Lloyd</i>	514
AN OLD-TIME LETTER.....	524
NEW PUBLICATIONS: <i>Martin Chuzzlewit</i> ; <i>Song Echo</i> ; <i>Chapters of Erie</i> , and other <i>Essays</i> ; <i>Gardener's Monthly</i> ; <i>The American Agriculturist</i> ; <i>The Northwestern Farmer</i> ; <i>The Atlantic Monthly</i> ; <i>Pennsylvania School Journal</i> ; <i>The Catholic Record</i> ; <i>The Little Corporal</i> ; <i>Good Health</i> ; <i>Every Saturday</i> ; <i>The Journal of Education</i> ; <i>The Christian World</i> ; <i>Appleton's Journal</i> , weekly numbers for September... ..	524

Contents of Volume II.

vii

NOVEMBER.

A DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE.....	525
A CHAPTER OF IRISH HISTORY— <i>By John Dyer</i>	533
NOTES IN CLASS.....	546
HENRIETTA HERZ.....	550
A PROPHECY OF 1786— <i>By Matthew Carey</i>	558
DARWIN ON HIS TRAVELS— <i>By Robert Ellis Thompson</i>	503
JOHN KEEBLE AND HENRY REED.....	573
GERMAN CHIPS.....	575
NEW PUBLICATIONS.....	576

DECEMBER.

A DEPARTMENT OF INDUSTRY— <i>By Cyrus Elder</i>	577
OF METHOD IN SCIENTIFIC INVESTIGATION— <i>By Henry Carey Baird</i> , 584	
THE POETRY OF BYROM— <i>By John Dyer</i>	590
NOTES IN CLASS.....	606
RECOLLECTIONS OF A PHILADELPHIA LAWYER, No. 1.....	611
THE ORIGIN OF FREE MASONRY— <i>By Robert Ellis Thompson</i>	617
NEW PUBLICATIONS: The Indian Musalmans; Our Mutual Friend; Old Curiosity Shop, and American Notes.....	626

1813

THE
PENN MONTHLY.

JANUARY, 1871.

RUSSIA VERSUS EUROPE.

THE great semi-Oriental power which occupies one-ninth of the land surface of the globe, has been again making a disturbance in European politics. The results of the Crimean war of 1854 had almost put her outside of the European system, destroying her prestige, crippling her military power, and teaching her the sharp and wholesome lessons which are the best and the most unpleasant results of adversity. She went into that struggle with all confidence; she had been for fifty years as head of the Holy Alliance, the Dictator of Europe, the oppressor of all struggling nationalities, the meddling enemy of liberal principles in every corner of the continent. Her material resources dazzled men's imaginations by their vast extent; what her armies wanted in discipline and intelligence was (it was supposed) more than made up in their vast numbers and their blind and unquestioning obedience. She came out of the war with a public confession of her defeat and humiliation, buying off the armies of the Allies by signing away her rights to send her navies into the Black Sea, and by promising to keep her hands off Turkey. For years after her defeat she turned away from Europe, and was busied with the Far East. Her armies gained more territory for her, and military skill for themselves in Turkestan; by a combination of chicanery and bullying she has extended her possessions across the Amoor, and down to near China. At home she has abolished serfdom, granted a very moderate freedom to the Press, reformed the Judiciary and the Church, and built railroads, besides making some slow progress in manufactures. She has set herself to the

156339

Russification of all her multifarious possessions, *i. e.*, to the assimilation of them all to the type and standard of the Slaves of Moscow, and to exciting a Pan-Slavonic spirit among the people of that race who lie beyond her own frontier. Save in the diplomatic discussions which were provoked by the last Polish Insurrection, and which threatened to involve her in a war with France, she has only appeared in European Congresses and Conferences, without taking any active part in public European politics.

It is a great opportunity that has recalled her to her old sphere of operations. Of the seven nations who signed the Paris treaty in 1856, two are engaged in a great war, and the foremost enemy of Russia has been sorely worsted and is fighting hard to secure her own territorial integrity. The victor is believed to be warmly friendly to the Czar; England is absorbed in the solution of questions of home policy, and the influence of Peace men of the Manchester School is powerful in Cabinet and Parliament; Austria is cementing the bonds of her reconstructed Empire, and struggles hard to keep from sinking deeper in the slough of debt; Spain and Italy have each business of importance to attend to at home. It is in this favorable conjuncture of European affairs that the head of the house of Romanoff announces that he cannot regard the part of the Paris treaty which forbade any nation to send its fleets to the Black Sea or to establish naval arsenals upon its shores, as any longer binding on himself or the Sultan.

The announcement has convulsed Europe, calling forth the decided protests of nations and publicists against it as a mischievous precedent which annihilates all international law, sweeping away the growth of centuries of civilized progress in that direction, and remanding Europe back to the anarchy which prevailed when the Goths and Vandals were pouring down upon the ruins of the Roman Empire. Three nations, at least, stand pledged to punish the first overt act in violation of the Treaty, and the first Russian man-of-war that appears in the Black Sea will give the signal for the renewal of the hostilities which closed in 1856.

The American people, as well by their distance from Europe as by their traditions of policy, are debarred from taking any active part in the quarrel. But thought and sympathy know no "Monroe doctrine;" the people will certainly have and express their opinion about it, as freely and as adequately as their European neighbors expressed theirs in regard to the American civil war.

There exists in the present case great temptations to form very hasty and unjust judgments, especially as our own moral responsibility in the matter of international opinions and sympathies is very inadequately realized, however ready we may be (with Senator Sumner) to insist upon that of our neighbors. England has not been the most complaisant of friends to her former colonies, while Russia has been warm in the expression of sympathy in the times of American distress and difficulty. To many minds these circumstances will seem reason enough for taking the part of the latter, while to others, they will seem rather reasons for conscientiously guarding against any hasty assumptions in her favor. Neutrals are necessarily in a judicial position as regards such a quarrel, and any just judge will look on his personal regard for one of the parties, or his dislike of either, as a reason for the greatest caution in coming to a decision.

For the question involved in the present dispute is one of principle, and one which has the closest bearing upon America herself. At this present time the United States is urging a claim against Great Britain for a violation of the known principles of international law. She claims that sundry rules and principles laid down in the writings of publicists of acknowledged authority, or agreed to in international conference, are as binding upon the nations as is the municipal law of each land upon its own subjects and inhabitants—that they are capable of being enforced by recognized penalties and compensations which may be enacted without an actual or threatened recurrence to arms. In recognition of the existence of this system the American people maintain friendly relations with foreign powers, paying considerable, though inadequate, salaries to ministers and consuls who reside abroad as national representatives. Not a few Americans, in common with many of the wisest and best of foreign nations, regard this system as one which is as yet by no means developed to its utmost capacity, and look forward to a time when it will be as gross an anachronism to decide national, as it has long been to decide individual rights by force of arms.

But the Czar puts his autocratic veto upon all this. Treaties are to bind nations, he tells us, just as long as they are convenient, and frankly announces that treaties which are to bind Russia *must* be convenient. He does not ask the revision of the

treaty by the seven Powers who signed it; he does not even demand its revision by them, with the alternative of war. He simply "advertises himself out of his obligations." To be sure, Russia, by signing the Treaty, bought the withdrawal of the Allies from the Crimea and the reëstablishment of peace when she herself was on the verge of political, military and financial ruin, and the proud old Nicholas had died of a broken heart. Had she refused the neutralization of the Black Sea, England would have refused her signature of the treaty. Is Alexander's present conduct one whit more justifiable than if he had then signed with the mental reservation that he would only observe it as long as he was compelled to, and were now only announcing that reservation?

For be it noted that he now recalls a valuable consideration as regards both England and Turkey. Constantinople is a great point in Eastern politics; it is the prize for which Russia longs, and which England is pledged to keep out of Russian hands.* By land it is nearly unassailable. A long march must be undertaken through a hostile country, in the face of the really brave Turkish army, and with Austria threatening the Russian right flank. Before that march could be completed, the Western powers could come to the rescue. But the Turkish fleet could offer no efficient resistance to a Russian fleet on the Black Sea, the naval wing of the Turkish service being always weaker than that of Russia, because requiring more and better departmental management than the army. In a week Russia would hold the Golden Horn, and put the Sultan between two fires by inciting a rebellion

* The picture of Constantinople, by Alison, is no exaggeration: "Placed midway between Europe and Asia, it is at once the natural emporium where the productions of the East and West find their obvious point of contact, and the midway station where the internal water communication of Europe, Asia and Africa find their common centre; while the waves of the Mediterranean and the Ægean bring to its harbor the whole production of Egypt, Lybia, Italy and Spain, the waters of the Danube, the Dniester and the Volga waft to the same favored spot the agricultural riches of Hungary, Germany, the Ukraine and Russia. The caravans of the desert, the rich loads of the camel and dromedary, meet within its walls; the ample sails and boundless riches of European commerce—even the distant pendants of America and the New World—hasten to its quays to convey the best productions of the Old and the New Hemi-

among the Christian Slavonians of the Northern Provinces. This view of the case alone reconciled English statesmen to the hasty peace of 1856, when the bulk of the nation were furious at both the poor management and the sudden conclusion of the war.

This, however, is not the main point of the case made out by England, Austria and Turkey in the present instance. Austria, especially, lays no stress upon the character of the clause of which the Czar complains. On the contrary her Premier Von Beust proposed, in 1867, to have the treaty revised, with a view to the excision of this very clause; but she prefers a war that she can ill afford rather than assent to the Czar's excision of it. She takes issue in common with England, simply on the principle of international law, that treaties which have not been annulled by lapse of time, change of circumstances or the consent of the contracting parties, are binding upon those who have signed them, whether they like them or not. In the fourteen years which have passed since the treaty was signed, no essential change has taken place in the mutual relations of the Turkish and Russian empires, or of either of them to the rest of Europe. Whether it be right or wrong that Russian men-of-war should have no access to the Black Sea, they cannot lawfully return to it without consent of the majority of the Treaty Powers. If they do return, in violation of the treaty, then not only is there just cause for war, but good faith with Turkey demands its immediate inception.

The Czar's view would turn all the treaties in the world into so much waste paper. Their special provisions, even, with regard to

sphere. An incomparable harbor where a three-decker can, without danger, touch the quay, and from the yard-arms of which a bold assailant may almost leap on the walls, affords, within a deep bay, several miles in length, ample room for all the fleets in the universe to lie in safety. A broad inland sea, inclosed within impregnable gates, gives its navy the extraordinary advantage of a safe place for pacific exercise and preparation; narrow and winding straits on either side of fifteen or twenty miles in length, crowned by heights forming natural castles, render it impregnable to all but land forces. It is the only capital in the world, perhaps, which can never decline so long as the human race endures, or the present wants of mankind continue; for the more that the West increases in population and splendor, the greater will be the traffic which must pass through its gates in conveying to the inhabitants of its empires the rich products of the Eastern Sun."

their own duration, could be annihilated by a stroke of the pen. He agrees—let us suppose—to abide by a given arrangement with some other power until either he or the other power agree to its being cancelled, after first giving a year's notice to that effect. Suddenly "he advertises himself out of his obligations" by announcing that he has cancelled the clause requiring a year's notice, as inconvenient to Russia, and it surely cannot be more sacred than any other. Let this become the avowed maxim of the Russian government, and all diplomatic intercourse with that power becomes impossible. Her course of policy becomes as uncertain as April weather. As well make treaties with the clouds as with the Romanoffs. The head of one of the most staid and respectable courts in Europe becomes the political Peter Schlemil, the man without a shadow—a place long occupied by the exile of Hohenlohe.

And yet a class of *doctrinaires*, who aspire to the name of publicist, come forward in England herself to justify the Czar's course, and are reëchoed in America. They want the freest of Free Trade in treaties. They virtually deny the binding force of public law and morality; the real validity of public covenants. John Bright in 1856 told the Allies that they could not take the Czar to a Police Court and bind him over to keep the peace. John Stuart Mill says that no nation need be expected to observe any treaty which it thinks unjust and oppressive, any longer than it is compelled to; that when it repudiates it the other signatories have no just, honorable or constraining cause of war. The historian Froude reëchoes these views and urges that the whole question is but a formal one; that the Allies would probably reconsider the objectionable clauses of the treaty, and that a "fault of manner" on the part of Gortschakoff is a poor ground of war. The question is mainly a formal one, though (as shown above) not exclusively so. But it is a question of form more important if possible than any question that could be raised in regard to the matter of the treaty. It was on a purely formal issue that General Jackson threatened to hang the South Carolina nullifiers in 1832; he was quite prepared to advocate the repeal of the high Tariff, of which they complained, but he would rather have involved the Union in civil war and bloodshed, than see the obnoxious law rescinded in any unconstitutional way. Americans mostly regard him as quite

right in insisting on the *formal* question in this instance, in the defence of the municipal law. Are they ready to say that international laws and contracts are not as binding as are those of a municipal kind. If they are, then let them make no demands of any foreign power which do not come under two heads: (1.) Those that are perfectly agreeable and pleasant to all parties; or (2.) those that they are prepared to enforce by immediate appeal to arms. If public law has no binding force, then they can only appeal to their pleasure or their fears. The Alabama claims certainly do not come under the first head; in the present posture of the national finances they can hardly be counted as under the second.

Take another case, a little farther away from home. The French people are fighting to-day with a desperate courage which has won the respect of Prussia's warmest partizans, because they think that they cannot honorably accede to the terms of peace offered by Bismarck. They offer all the compensation demanded and more; they will give up even their navy; they will raze fortresses and give pledges; but they will not cede Alsace and Lorraine. If the Czar be right they are not brave men fighting to the last in defence of what it involves the national honor to keep; they are a great company of unmitigated fools, trying to gain in hopeless war what they might secure much more easily. Let them make peace to-morrow and accept the boundary line as drawn by Prussia; let the next ten or fourteen years be spent in recruiting their really vast national resources; and then let them politely inform Europe that France can no longer hold herself bound by the treaty of 1871. She will then resume the struggle on very different terms from those in which she now abandons it. The Administration, and the Treasury, will not be then exhausted and beggared by imperial extravagance and corruption; her best armies will not be captive in Germany; the Alsacians, irritated and exasperated by ten years of Prussian bureaucracy will welcome them with open arms; they will have learnt by the experience of 1870 that no accumulation of fortresses can make a country impregnable to a modern army. Do we not respect France the more that she feels the dishonor and the immorality of such a policy, and fights on to the bitter death rather than adopt it? shall we either respect or sympathize with Russia for openly avowing it?

We are told, indeed, that this is not the first treaty made in the hour of weakness and broken with returning strength; nay, that the violation of treaties has been the rule, their observance the exception. The first statement is true, whatever its weight; the second is a cynical falsehood quite worthy of Voltaire its author. Many even of the apparent violations of treaties have been only apparent; the engagements themselves having been abrogated—as provided for by public law—by lapse of time, change of circumstances or the consent of all parties. The *réechoers* of the Voltairian sneer in England have been challenged to point to a similar case in the present century of European history, and have only been able to urge that the accession of Napoleon III to the throne of France was a violation of the treaty of Vienna, (1815.) But in fact that event took place with the full consent of all the signatory powers, all hastening to recognize him as the only ruler who could in some measure restore peace to distracted France.

If Voltaire and these new Voltairians be right and public law be a mere *etiquette*, then the duty of the American people is clear. They can ill afford to spend money in keeping ambassadors abroad for mere appearance sake. A few consuls in European sea-ports and a large fleet of men-of-war in European waters, is what the case really calls for. But then, of course, the national pledges made to individual foreigners need not be any more binding than those that we have made to nations. We can easily notify the bankers of Frankfort and London that the little pledges made to them in an hour of amiable weakness in the form of United States bonds are such as we “cannot consider as any longer binding on us” notwithstanding any little consideration received from them. Should any complaints be made abroad, we have Bright, Mill and Froude for our English advocates, who will refute our slanderous opponents, and will remind our creditors that it is much more usual to repudiate debts than to pay them, and that a great nation cannot be expected to honor its own promises to pay any longer than it deems that course convenient. This “new (Romanoff) way to pay old debts” gets us out of a host of perplexities at once. It is worthy of the autocrat only in the sublimity of its immorality and of its insolence.

“Well, but,” it may be answered, “however strong the case against Russia may be on technical points, it is not strong in any

other direction. Russia is the protector of Christian interests in the East against the Mussulmanic despotism of the Sultan. She is a young and vigorous, liberal and progressive power, which has been brought into an 'irrepressible conflict' with the effete Empire of the Turk. She represents the form of faith professed by the great majority of the Sultan's European subjects; her people are of the same race with them; these desire nothing better than union to the great Slavonic people who hold by the Holy Orthodox Church. The recent policy and progress of Russia gives us assurance that Turkey in Europe would be well and wisely governed under the Czar, while it is certainly ruled neither well nor wisely under the Sultan. England is only promoting her own selfish interests in her hostility to Russia; she is holding fast to her Indian Empire, and to the shortest route to the East. Were it otherwise Russia might seize Constantinople to-morrow, without any opposition from the Western powers."

All these statements have a measure of truth in them, but none of them adequately represent the facts of the case. The fanciful rose-colored pictures of Russian policy and progress which are generally accepted in this country are gross exaggerations based on very slender facts. Russia is not stronger—as compared with the rest of Europe—than in 1854-6, but far weaker. The last ten years have not been years of popular progress and enlightenment, but rather the reverse. Some improvements have been made in the national administration; a judiciary so corrupt and subservient that even its Imperial owners could no longer tolerate its existence and its scandals, has been swept away, and another of *more* independence and honesty has taken its place; the courts of law have been brought under better rules of procedure; the serfdom of the peasantry has been abolished and courts of arbitration for each village appointed to arrange between them and the land-owners in regard to leases of land; ukases have been promulgated which abolished the hereditary character of the most ignorant and despised priesthood in Europe, and which are expected to raise its social and educational standards. But be it noted that all these things have been done *for* the people, not *by* them. Russia has no legislature, and no great party which demands the existence of any such body. The Nationalist party, which is now dominant, scouts the idea of a constitutional government as utterly foreign and un-Russian. The ukase is the only form of law; the imperial

will the only standard of duty. The liberal and reforming movement to which—fifteen or twenty years ago—many friends of Russia looked with hope and expectation, has utterly died out. It was buried in the grave of Alexander Herzen, and the last reverberations of his *Kolokol* were its funeral knell. Since the Crimean war the native nobility, the only large class possessed of culture and independence, has been totally deprived of political power, by a coalition of the Emperor and the Communistic Nationalists. The ideal Russia of this last party “consists of a uniform atomic population, without organization or differentiation, ruled by an absolute autocrat.” The press of this very party have again and again suffered from the restrictions imposed upon freedom of discussion; we trust they have taken punishment and prohibition lovingly as from the sovereign whom they have exalted into a temporal God. They can ill afford fines, in view of the limits of their circulation, as only a small proportion of the people can read. Russia has no national school system, nor any adequate substitute for it, although grand things have been repeatedly promised in this direction. She has no liberty of conscience, for dissenters are laid under heavy burdens and restraints. This combination of popular ignorance and religious oppression has caused the growth of a huge harvest of superstitions and fanatical sects, whose horrors and monstrosities of belief and practice exceed any thing in the annals of human folly and cruelty. The Czar is Pope in the Church and despot in the State, the supreme dispenser of all blessings and benefits; nor are there any signs of any change for the better. What shall we say of this state of things? Shall we help by our sympathies to hand over more millions of people and a still greater proportion of the earth’s surface to this beneficent rule, instead of gradually raising them to virtual self-government, as has been done or is doing with the Sultan’s European subjects? Count Montalembert used to bitterly complain of the English eulogists of Napoleon III, who were dazzled by the superficial splendors and efficiencies of the Second Empire, and indulged in laudation of a state of affairs in France, which they would not have endured in England for a single day. How many American citizens and organs of opinion have nothing but honeyed words of praise for the Russian style and policy of government, which they would not endure in America for an hour!

Even the few brighter facts are subject to grave deductions. On American principles any progress which is really and permanently to benefit the people, must proceed from the people themselves—must be the expression of their intelligence and desire for social and political elevation. Russian reforms are thoroughly devoid of this popular character; they do not even aim at the production of any state of things essentially different from the present autocracy.

The great reform in Russia which occupies the largest share of the public attention is the abolition of the serfdom which for nearly two centuries has weighed down the agricultural class, by far the largest in Russia. Bad as it was in itself, it did Russia one great service,—it gave the people fixed homes and rooted out the vagabond habits which had come down from the days when the Slaves were nomade tribes. But there still survives one custom which has come down from those earlier times, the ownership or lease of land in common by the whole commune or village. The Government seem to have had some purpose of abolishing this together with serfdom in 1862, and establishing individual proprietorship, but the dominant political party urged its retention as the peculiarly Russian idea or “formula of civilization.” The land held by the village is liable in common for all government claims and dues, and an industrious or thrifty farmer may be required to pay the taxes or other dues of the drunkard or the spendthrift. If a peasant wanders away from home to push his fortune and comes back a dissipated and disappointed sot, he has still an inalienable claim upon his commune for a share in the land. This is subject to periodical redistribution by the whole body or its governors, and no peasant has any security, if he spend time and care in the improvement of his allotment, that it will not be taken from him at the next distribution. In this state of things agriculture can only exist in its rudest and least remunerative form, and, as the idle, the lazy and the drunken have manifestly the best of it, the downward path of unthrift, dissipation and wretchedness is trodden by all but a few. Impartial German observers tell us that in the eight years which have followed emancipation, the moral and economic deterioration of the people has been both great and constant. It must have been so, since the lower motive to industry and exertion furnished by the oversight of the master has been taken away, without being replaced

(as among our Freedmen) by the higher motives of thrift and ambition. The Slave is naturally indisposed to active exertion; has none of the Anglo-Saxon's passion for work; no laborer has more need of powerful motives to spur him on to effort. Communism has pulled all motives up by the root. A partial relief for this state of things is furnished by the growth of manufactures in the towns and cities, under the protection of a High Tariff, but the harmony of social interests requires the growth of agriculture and manufactures together. While communism cramps the one, even a tariff will hardly effectually stimulate the other. And if the communist principle has not yet been extended to manufactures and commerce, no one can say how long they will enjoy this exemption. The principle is held by the Nationalist party, not as a wise expedient to prevent monopoly in land, but as "the Russian formula of civilization," according to which the whole Empire is to be organized.

The ukase of emancipation did not interfere in any way with vested rights in land, that being still held by the former proprietors of the serfs. Before emancipation two-thirds were cultivated by compulsory labor for the benefit of the lord of the manor, and one-third was allotted to the serfs to be cultivated for their own support. The question at once arises which part of the land, how much and on what terms, shall the serfs get. To meet this difficulty courts of arbitration were appointed to settle all difficulties by the close of the present year. The Empire has been shaken by the dissensions and disorders attendant upon these decisions ever since, and even now the work is any thing but ended. The same state of affairs may be expected to continue for years to come.

The social failure of communism has not convinced the Nationalists. "It is Russian, and therefore it must be right. It is not the very ideal which the most advanced Western thinkers regard as the highest possible organization of society, and for which the working classes of Western Europe are ready, if need be, to overturn the existing governments. Let Russia proclaim it boldly as her social formula, and these great dissatisfied hosts and their leaders will become her allies in any aggressive movement. Has not Cavour said that Europe has more to fear from Russian communism than Russian arms? Who will not fear when the two unite? Europe has seen the Celto-Latin race dominant and over-

thrown. To-day the Germanic race holds the place, but to-morrow the time of the Slaves will come, and of their empire there shall be no end, for they are the youngest, the most vigorous and the last of the three great races of Europe." These opinions may seem wild dreams, but they are the sincere and openly avowed convictions which the dominant Nationalist party of Russia hold with a fanatical fervor. And the Nationalists are not dominant in the sense of being the majority of the nation; rather they are the nation itself. In their view Russia is training for a great conflict of ideas and of physical force.

We are so accustomed to reckon on a vigorous and consistent administration as one of the few compensating advantages of a despotic government, that the reader may possibly regard the fancies and plots of these social and political theorists as things of no practical moment, in estimating the general tendencies of Russian policy. Such is not the case; the last fourteen years of the political and home administration in Russia have left a record of demagogism, fickleness, and unprincipled finesse, which would be disgraceful to the executive of a South American Republic. Europe has long looked on in amazement at a policy to which she had no key; which she only now begins to understand. She has seen the Imperial Government throw itself into the arms of one knot of demagogues and *doctrinaires* after another, as each group succeeded in firing the national ambition and rousing the popular hatreds. The Crimean war was not closed, when the Czar made common cause with the enemies of that aristocracy, in reliance upon whose aid the war was begun. The growth of a secret and utterly negative political and religious sect, who aimed only at the destruction of every existing institution, was secretly connived at in order to justify the overthrow of the old Russian or aristocratic party, and establish an atomic equality of every subject under the despotism of the throne. When the leaders of the Polish insurrection appealed to the socialists of Russia, the Czar became a socialist, and swept away a vast aggregate of vested proprietary rights in Poland, in order to secure the adherence of the mob. The Pan-Slavic theorists had their brief hour of triumph, and held their great conference and exposition at the Russian capital, delegates being present from Bohemia and other Slavonic people under Austrian as well as Turkish rule. The Nationalists are the last Imperial favorites, and (unless their views as a party change

greatly) will probably secure the longest tenure of influence, so thoroughly do their leading ideas coincide with the main purpose of the Imperial policy, *viz.*: the welding of the whole nation into a great homogeneous mass, red hot with hatred for all foreign influences, utterly subservient to the autocrat's will, and fierce for a renewal of the struggle which closed in 1856. The Czarowitch is even more thoroughly in harmony with the Nationalists than is his father, but they have no cause to complain of Alexander. Their spirit and influence are clearly seen in the coarse brutality and oppression which has again won for foolish Poland the sympathies of the world; in the oppressive measures of terrorism and Russification pursued in the Ukraine and Lithuania, and especially in the audacious attempts to crush out the German Protestantism and civilization, and the aristocratic constitution of the Baltic Provinces.

The name "Nationalist" has a certain charm in political circles, from its association with that "doctrine of nationalities" which Europe owes either to Cavour or Napoleon III. It implies in civilized lands a high and generous respect for the rights of neighbors, demanding in return a respect for our own. It implants a sentiment of honor and a principle of law which will yet give a new sacredness to boundary lines, and stay the hand of the aggressor, by securing to each people the right to grow and develop in accordance with its own hereditary principles, and within its own providential limits. But Russian Nationalism has nothing but the name in common with the Nationalism of Cavour; it has not that honest respect for neighboring rights, for the national freedom and integrity of other peoples, which makes the latter a noble and worthy principle of public policy. It is aggressive and insolent in the highest degree; hence its hearty and undisguised support of arbitrary power. If the nation is to become an entrenched camp, pitched against all others, its head must rule by martial law. The party accepts the absolute executive as the best guarantee that Russia will not only break loose from the ideas of the West, but will force, first the agglomerate of heterogeneous nationalities which gather under the Imperial rule, and then the whole continent to accept the ideas and "formulas of civilization," which emanate from Moscow, as the norm and type of their political and social existence. It is not enough for the Nationalists to extend the national area, until it embraces the whole Slavonic race in

Europe, as the old Panslavists wished; it is not enough to demand, with the old Orthodox party, that it absorb the entire empire of the Mussulman, and reach from the frosts of the White Sea to the heat of the Persian Gulf. The new party have an imagination and an ambition as grand as that of Alexander. The son of Philip made Greek culture coterminous with the area of civilization; nothing less will they accept as the sphere of Russian ideas and Muscovite rule. The lessons of 1854-6 seem to have been utterly wasted, or, at least, to have taught them the necessity of choosing a convenient season for the renewal of the struggle. The first move has been made in the hour of France's extremity, and at a time of year when the frosts of the North and storms of the South close Russia's waters against that English fleet which is still without a European rival in point of strength and efficiency.

A wise abstinence from overt acts in violation of the treaty, and a favorable consideration of Russia's demands in the coming conference, may avert the struggle for a time, but cannot permanently prevent the irrepressible conflict between civilization and Muscovitism. Should the struggle be delayed for another decade, or longer, the enemies of Russia will probably be still stronger than at present. The Germanic and the Slavonic races, the second and third waves of Indo-Germanic immigration into Europe overlap each other along their whole frontier, from the Gulf of Finland to the Adriatic. In the South the Germans of Austria rule some dozen of small Slavonic people, besides the Croats and Bohemians; in the North nearly the whole Russian shore of the Baltic is covered by German colonists, who, in the course of five centuries, have imparted their own culture and civilization to the subject aborigines. The first fact explains the decided antagonism of the Austro-Hungarian empire to the new Russian policy, which is still largely Pan-Slavonic in its purposes. The second fact is of still greater moment since United Germany has become the great power in the centre of the Continent, and her sovereign the acknowledged protector of the whole Teutonic race. While Russian "Nationalism" demands the complete Russification of the Baltic provinces, the true nationalism of Germany will not allow their ears to be closed to the cries of her oppressed children at her very doors. For a while, and by the management of Gortschakoff and Bismarck, these two powers

may coöperate; but a deeper antagonism will yet array them against each other in a conflict more disastrous to Russia's ambitious projects than was the Crimean war of 1854-6.

JOHN DYER.

THE TOILETTE OF CONSTANCE.

(From the French of Casimir de la Vigne.)

["Adieu bal, plaisir, amour,
On disait pauvre Constance;
Et on dansait jusqu'au jour
Chez l'Ambassadeur de France."

Yes, that is the fact of it. Right or wrong, the poet does not say. What you may think about it, he does not know. He has nothing to do with that. There lie the ashes of the dead girl. There they danced till the morning, at the Ambassador's of France. Make what you will of it * * * * The girl speaks as simple prose as may be; there is not a word she would not have actually used as she was dressing. The poet stands by, impassive as a statue, recording her words just as they come. At last the doom seizes her, and in the very presence of death, for an instant only, his own emotions conquer him. He records no longer the facts only, but the facts as they seem to him. The fire gnaws with voluptuousness—without pity. It is soon past. The fate is fixed forever, and he retires into his pale and crystalline atmosphere of truth. He closes all with the calm veracity: "They said, 'Poor Constance.'"—RUSKIN.]

Quick, Anna, quick! the mirror bring—
Make haste! the hours advance;
This night my laugh must gaily ring
At the Embassy of France.

These ribbons; are they too dull to wear?
Last eve's—how time doth all efface!
How from the net that holds my hair
The tassels blue fall back with grace!
Higher, lower—dost understand?
How on my brow the sapphires glare!—
You hurt me with your awkward hand—
Well done! I love thee! I *am* fair.

He who in vain I would forget
(Anna, my robe!) will be there, I hope:
Dolt! thou hast not my necklace yet;
Those are gold beads, blest by the Pope—
There! and if he my hand should press?
To think of it my breath doth bate;
To Père Anselmo I'll confess—
I scarcely dare the truth relate.

Quick! at the glass a moment more
I linger—'tis the parting glance.
Oh, how they all will me adore
At the Embassy of France!

Near the fire she herself admired.
God! on her robe a spark doth fly.
Run! when by hope she's thus inspired,
To lose all thus, and thus to die!
The horrible flame with greed devours
Her arms, her neck, and soon destroys
Her fondest hopes of happy hours—
Her eighteen years and dream of joys.

Farewell ball and love and pleasure:
They only sighed forth, Poor Constance!
And e'en till day they trod the measure
At the Embassy of France.

G. D. B.

GERMAN NOVELS AND NOVELISTS.

THE growing interest taken in the German language and literature inspires the book-loving part of the community with a desire to know something about the number and quality of German novels. The publication, in an English dress, of Mühlbach's *historiettes*, as well as of romances by various other authors, while it adds to the list of books at his command, still leaves the American reader, who is unacquainted with German, completely in the dark about all other writers. It is hardly within our limits to give an exact history of the rise and progress of German fiction. One thing, however, is very certain,

that Germany is far behind England in this department of literature, as well indeed she may be, for it is not too much to say, that the English fiction of our day is unprecedented for excellence in the history of the world. In the case of the masterpieces of this branch of the penman's art, it combines the human interest of an admirable and well-developed plot, with faithful portraiture of character, philosophical reflections on men and things and varied excellence of style. In fact, novels are now what plays were in Shakespeare's time, and as the splendid genius which characterized the age of Queen Elizabeth was largely expended on the drama, so the talent of the English writers of our day is to a great extent devoted to producing works of fiction. The cause in either case is the same—it suits the taste of the century; in other words, it pays better than any other kind of writing. Scott and Thackeray, Cooper and Dickens, with a host of lesser lights, are familiar to the German reading population in translations; on the other hand, we have little of theirs, and that we have so little is of itself a pretty good proof that there is little to get. It is not easy to ascertain or to show why German novels are so very inferior to English. The superiority of English novels is a fact well established and generally admitted, yet little attempt has been made to account for it. The perfect art that has been attained by the great masters of the craft, has furnished a standard that seems wanting elsewhere. The thorough satisfaction of each class with its position in English social life, makes it easy to get types and characters easily recognized. In Germany, however, the heroes of their novels seem to be lay figures, on which no amount of labor or fine dressing can cast a lifelike look. Humor and wit in German life are not uncommon, but in German novels they are beyond measure dreary and forced.

The charming domestic stories, which are so varied and so new in our literature, seem never to have gained a foothold in Germany, although every traveller in that country knows with what a halo the reverence and devotion of families to home and its ties, clothes their simple domestic life as with a beauty almost unknown elsewhere. When Scott was enchanting the world with his novels, Germany had to endure the weak love tales of Lafontaine and Kotzebue, which gave way in their turn to the sentimental fairy stories of La Motte Fouqué—some of them still

familiar both in German and English, but not of any importance as types of German novels. After them came a series of well-written historical romances. Vandervelde still holds his own, and even Rellstab is occasionally read—the former for his account of the Peasants' War and the Thirty Years' War; the latter for his pictures of life during Napoleon's campaigns. The modern novelists are often headed in all descriptive lists by Gutzkow, who wrote novels in nine and ten volumes apiece, as, for instance, "Der Ritter von Geist;" but his time has gone, he is no longer read. Perhaps the leading novel writer for a few years was Gustav Freytag, whose "Soll und Haben" was translated under the title of "Debit and Credit." It was, however, quite impossible to interest English readers in a tale which aimed at making people in middle life the heroes of a story. The conclusion so painfully arrived at by the German process was a foregone result with us, and it was not necessary to take three volumes to prove that merchants and farmers can love as well as noblemen. Freytag's last novel, "Der Verlorne Handschrift,"—The Lost Manuscript,—was much more natural and agreeable in tone, but too little distinctive to sustain his reputation. His historical sketches have been honored with translation, but not with much notice. Next, to Auerbach, was an easy transition for our translators. The latter is a very voluminous and popular author. His earlier novels belong to the "Tendenz" school—that is, they aim at preaching philosophy, inculcating doctrine, teaching history, and, of course, the more they succeed in this, the less are they "novels." In this spirit Auerbach wrote his "*Spinoza*," "*Kaufman und Dichter*"—the latter an account of Mendelssohn—and other novels; but this style he soon abandoned for an easy, simple story telling, and his tales of the Black Forest—"Schwarzwäldergeschichten"—and others of the same kind, gained great and deserved popularity. Some of them—not the best, however—have been translated—"Barfüßale," for instance—but they are not calculated to give an adequate idea of his power. The number of lesser authors is almost beyond counting, and yet the prodigious industry of German writers seems never to sate the growing voracity of German readers. "*Auf der Höhe*," of Auerbach, is an account of court life in Bavaria, and in choosing this kind of material for his story, the people's novelist has lost his best hold on his subject and on his readers. It is utterly impossible for us

to imagine an English novelist deliberately setting to the task of proving that kings and queens can fall in love, and that the object of such admiration can resist the Jovian glances. Better than such anonymous histories are the well-described historical romances of Kœnig, "Die Clubbisten von Mainz;" of Brachvogel, "Beaumarchais;" of Mücke, "Toussaint l' Ouverture." Of the novel, as we understand it, with its fair proportion of love and incident, Spielhagen's are perhaps the best examples.

The tendency to extreme length is one of the commonest faults of German novelists, who thus punish their readers. Spielhagen wrote "Problematische Naturen," in three volumes, and continued the story at the same length in "Durch Nacht zum Licht." The absence of purely imaginative fiction is badly atoned for by novels growing out of particular events, such as with us are matters of history only. Jeremias Gotthelf, whose real name was Bizius, was for thirty years the chronicler of contemporary history in Switzerland. His descriptions of Swiss "Volksleben," rough and natural, are in curious contrast with the softened pictures, by Auerbach, of peasant life in Baden, just over the border. The novels of Paul Heyse are of two very dissimilar classes; his tender little love stories are about to be translated, but some of his political novels, such as "Herz and Welt," are in the old German style. An old major has an adopted and an own daughter; on his death, the latter goes into a convent of noble ladies, is properly educated and suitably married; but the other, thrown on her own resources, becomes a circus rider, captivates a nobleman, and makes of him a useful man, in contrast to the idle lives of the others. In the same strain are the stories of Wackenheasen, who lives in New York in the summer, writing novels of German life, and goes to Berlin in the winter, to enlighten the world there in regard to our American habits. Fanny Sewald is a clever novel writer, whose first essay, "*Diogena*," was a capital hit at the Countess Hahn-Hahn's extravagances, both in life and literature. All her works are clear, distinct in tone and color, free from exaggeration, and written with a determined purpose to effect good in the form best calculated to reach her readers, without forcing on them peculiar views of life and its duties.

The success of Mühlbach's novels in this country, has not so much surprised, as it has shocked those who were acquainted with her works; at home they belong (as the "Nation" truthfully

said,) to the school of Sylvanus Cobb and to the circulating library. Her first novels were her best, and what merit they had belongs to Theodore Mündt, the husband of Mrs. Mühlbach—himself a clever, industrious, conscientious writer, who furnished plot and material, and then carefully revised and examined the facts and dates of "Joseph the Second" and its immediate successors. Indeed, popular rumors in Berlin say that the wife wrote the love passages in the husband's rather cold novels, but his stronger pen guided her weak and somewhat prurient fancy. The notion that her later novels supply history, is as far-fetched as is the supposition that her writings give any idea of the characteristics of modern German novels.

Otto Roguette is one of the pleasantest novelists of the day. His best story is "Die Schlangenköniginn," a history of adventures on an island in the Spree, about fifty miles from Berlin, a morass where all intercourse is by water, and where he weaves with simple material, a tender romance of peasant life and love. One of his most elaborate and least successful efforts is "Heinrich Falk," a Tendenz Roman; intended to enforce the lesson of universal education as the great leveller of social distinctions.

One of the sweetest and simplest love stories is "Elizabeth," by Maria Mathusius, which might pass here for a religious novel, although it is free from any sectarian tendency. A young girl of simple habits, goes to a ball against her mother's wish, and falls in love unconsciously with an officer. She confesses her love in very innocence, and they are married in the first burst of their courtship; the result is that they find themselves utterly unfitted for each other, and lead a wretched cat and dog life, which is changed only for a state of silent hostility. For months they do not speak to each other; his manly, honest nature and her child-like simplicity are utterly irreconcilable, until at last a violent fit of jealousy opens her eyes and they begin again to love as of old.

Another novel of real merit is "Die Leute aus dem Walde," by Raabe, the Germanized name of Corvinus. The story is odd enough to be worth the telling. Three old friends go into a forest to live together—a noble woman with two men of humble birth but great distinction, the one an astronomer, the other a "Polizeibeamter;" together they adopt and educate a boy who falls into their hands. The story of their teaching and preach-

ing is charmingly done, and the boy's success in life is their reward.

Hermann Grimm, the author of the life of Michael Angelo, the editor of the leading journal of the Fine Arts in Berlin, the best æsthetical critic of the day in Germany, the son of one and nephew of the other of the "Brothers Grimm," and by all these claims, worthy of a full, fair hearing, has just written a novel, "*Unüberwindliche Mächte*"—"Invincible Powers"—published by Hertz, in Berlin. It is in three volumes of three, four and five hundred pages each. Two continents are required to unfold the story, and after all, the story is (as usual in German *Tendenz* Romanen) only the medium for airing historical, philosophical, social and æsthetical theories.

The plot is something like this: Mrs. Forster and her daughter Emmy, are Americans travelling in Europe. The father was a German, married to a lady of an old family in New York; he and the only son are dead—the latter killed in the War of the Rebellion, fighting in the Union army. Travelling in Italy, they meet a young German, known to them only as "Count Arthur." He and the daughter fall in love at once. They meet again by accident, in the Opera House at Berlin, and the acquaintance is at once renewed. Count Arthur brings his friend Dr. Erwin to see them; he is a nobleman, too, but he had laid aside his rank, when he was obliged to earn his living, and by the successful practice of medicine made himself respected and respectable. Count Arthur, his old school-friend, is the son of a nobleman of great political importance and great wealth apparently, but on his sudden death, it was found that he left his estate so deeply indebted, that the son was obliged to sacrifice every thing. Cut off by his voluntary surrender of all his means of livelihood, Count Arthur gives up his commission in the army, his position in society, his family, and living in the meanest way, nurses his family pride and his necessities, until his head is almost turned by the solitude in which he has buried himself, and by the impatience with which he endures his self-imposed idleness. Desponding, hypochondriac, hopeless, fast losing all proper ambition, he is saved for a time from the natural results of such a disturbed and unnatural life, by the renewed acquaintance of the Forsters, and the pleasant circle which they draw around them in their winter stay at Berlin. A sculptor with whom Miss Emmy studies art, a

Professor of History with whom she learns German literature, a bright, clever, music teacher with whom she practices singing—(the wonderful quality of the American voice is mentioned)—these with an old retired officer, a lover of art, and other less important persons make up the home circle, and with them Count Arthur is bright, cheerful and winsome. With Dr. Erwin or by himself, he is morose and irritable.

To be in love with an American is a shock to his weak vacillating will and in conflict with his family pride, so that he and Miss Emmy spend the winter at cross purposes, and find themselves as far apart at the end as ever, in spite of their acknowledged affection.

Their love making, however, ends abruptly. Mrs. Forster remembers a bit of old family history which makes Count Arthur an impossible son-in-law. She does not tell him or her daughter of it, but by the convenient medium of Dr. Erwin, the reader finds it out. Her husband in his youth was tutor to Count Arthur's mother. When they were still both young and unmarried, they fell in love; after a little she married Count Arthur's father, a man much older and much less lovable than Forster; when her old lover comes to see her, after her marriage, the husband suspects the worst, but allows himself to be put off with a story that the tutor is a lover of his wife's foster sister and waiting-maid, in whose room he is concealed. The wife by her silence, gives her assent to the truth of this wicked calumny, and thus brings down on her son's head the vengeance of his future mother-in-law. While Mrs. Forster has been fitting the pieces for this little game of cross purposes, her daughter finds Count Arthur's love so galling, irksome and fitful, that she gladly joins in her mother's determination to go home.

On the night before they leave, Erwin accompanies her to Count Arthur's house that she may bid him good-bye—for he had been in the "dumps" for some days;—unluckily, while they are waiting, Arthur comes in hurriedly, and catching sight of Erwin only, before the latter can stop him, tells the story of his adventures on that day with a Baron of his acquaintance who had adopted a rich Jewess, so that the latter might get position, and the former a livelihood. The Baron had congratulated Count Arthur on the rumor in polite society that he was about to marry a rich American Jewess. This is the last drop in Arthur's cup, and all uncon-

scious of her presence, he pours out his wrath at such unequal marriages, and drives Emmy and Erwin out of his house, and then chokes with rage and indignation at his own passionate folly.

The Forsters start by the midnight train, and just at the last minute, Arthur takes a seat near them. A violent snow storm stops their progress and they are obliged to take refuge in a country village. Fortunately this accident brings to their help an old friend and neighbor from New York, Mr. Smith. His well-directed activity makes even Arthur useful, and together they spend the night as pleasantly as possible. The next day brings them all to their steamer, and the voyage is rather a dull affair, considering that during all this time neither Arthur nor Miss Emmy speak to each other, although by means of nods and glances, they carry on conversations longer and wiser than even Lord Burleigh's,—and the translation is just about as clear.

Count Arthur finally rebuffs Mr. Smith's friendly offers at the wharf in New York, and lands there a stranger in a strange land. He takes up his quarters at the Astor House, gives a very fair account of New York, goes through its various sights, and is "gone through" by a clever scamp; reduced to absolute destitution, he appeals for help to the Prussian consul and is rebuffed. Mad with hunger and despair, he wanders out to Mrs. Forster's house, on the Hudson near the city, and calls on that lady, who snubs him very sharply. He gets out the best way he can, faints on the road-side, is found there by Mr. Smith, who lives in the next place, is carried by him into his house, where he nurses and cares for Count Arthur, who recovers, and remains to talk over with Mr. Smith, in long speeches on both sides, all the questions that are of interest to Germans and Americans as to emigration. Mr. Smith is a pretty fair Germanized specimen of an American; he has made money enough to retire from "active" business, but he is incessantly occupied in forwarding schemes and speculations which look to a money profit and to a public benefit; he lives near the city to do his work there, and near the country to enjoy its leisure and its luxuries.

Arthur proves his gratitude by a speech in support of Smith's views at a meeting to consider the emigration question, and makes a sensation by it; even the *Tribune* prints it.

Mr. Smith has been casting about for work for Arthur, and one fine day takes him up the Hudson to Piermont, then over the Erie

Railroad to a point where they find themselves in the wilderness; here Smith and some others own a tract of timber land, which Arthur is shown over; in the course of his rambles he comes across a sort of modern hermit, who talks a great deal, but like a great many other persons in the novel, has nothing whatever to do with the story, except to be a friend of Miss Emmy Forster's, whose mother has a house near at hand; of course she and Arthur meet again, and this settles his taste for wood-life. The hermit is said to be a portrait of Emerson, whose life has already been taken by Grimm in a volume of very clever essays.

Count Arthur learns the art of chopping, and enough of American trees to talk of their kinds and value, as well as the simple(?) rules of measuring, logging, cutting and shipping. All this, however, is slight labor for him, because he was used to forest life in Germany, and the transition to that of the backwoods of America is not a difficult one. He gladly and gratefully accepts Mr. Smith's offer to become the manager, and leaves for New York to make his final arrangements. On the way, Mr. Smith examines him in woodcraft, and to relieve the exercises, tells the story of his own German descent. This is a finishing stroke to Count Arthur's troubles, and comes with all the greater force, as his last interview with Miss Emmy, and his first prospect of earning his own livelihood, has just begun to make a man of him. Smith tells Arthur that he is the son of the waiting woman who was ruined by the silent assent of Arthur's mother, to the slander that was told to save her: that his mother married and came to America, leaving to him the legacy of knowing that Count Arthur's father was not the Count, his mother's husband, but her old lover, Mrs. Forster's husband. This he tells Arthur, without knowing or identifying him or any of the others as acquaintances.

The shock to Arthur is a terrible one; he becomes desperately ill; Smith's tender nursing saves his life, but wrecked and wretched, he gets well only to look on all his plans and hopes as blasted, and he makes the best and quickest return to Berlin. There he lives on the old terms with Erwin, nursing his new misery as carefully as he had cultivated his old misfortunes, but thanks to his American experience, he finds some relief in work, and gives an account of his life and of the country. Just as he begins to get back into his proper place in society, and to gain a new position for himself in literature, the war between Austria and Prussia

breaks out. Count Arthur joins his old regiment, distinguishes himself in action, and is desperately wounded in the last battle at Sadowa. He is carried off to a field hospital, where he is well cared for, and in order to improve his acquaintance with the men about him, conceals his rank, military and civil. Two great ladies of the neighborhood, a countess and her grand-daughter, are busy nursing the soldiers, and finally discover in Count Arthur the son of an old friend of the elder lady. He is taken to their castle, and a very curious picture is given of the old mediæval life there. The old lady is of importance by her age and rank, the younger by her wealth and beauty. For her education, there are brought together some very clever men, an erratic painter, an unsuccessful philosopher, an architect and a musician. After their pupil is grown to woman's estate, they still cling together under the protection of the family, and divide their time in making it famous and in seeking a husband for the young countess, that it may be perpetuated. Arthur allows himself to be selected for this purpose, and is almost in love with the young lady, when a direct proposal from the grandmother recalls the shameful doubt of his birth, and he flies from the temptation. Returned to Berlin, he finds his old friends, the Forsters and Erwin, who had been looking for him in Bohemia all in vain, and of course ends by becoming engaged to Miss Emmy.

Mrs. Forster buys back his old family estate just outside the city, and in spite of the warnings of Erwin, tells Arthur the real truth as to his birth. He too has been carefully studying his old family papers, and finds the truth, discovering at the same time that an illegitimate brother is living. He determines to find him, and to send him to America, to follow the career which he had meant to make for himself there.

The brother lives on the old estate, and there Arthur makes his acquaintance; the poor fellow had persuaded himself that he was its legitimate owner and heir to the family honors, and Arthur has great difficulty in saving his life in a fearful encounter with his half-mad half-brother. On the night before his wedding day, he rides out to the old homestead, meets his brother, and is killed by him, just as Emmy and Erwin come up to take him home.

This ends the story proper; from that time poor Emmy's life is spent in waiting for her release; she is taken to Montreme, and there nearly all the persons of the story are brought together.

Mr. Smith brings there his new wife, a young Russian Princess; Erwin, and all the Berlin friends are in attendance, and some of the old Countess' household are there too. Emmy dies, and her mother goes back to America.

The moral of the story is, that rank and titles do more harm than good, but so long as they do exist, people that have them ought to stay at home and make them useful.

The labor spent on the book is something prodigious; the sketches of American life are remarkably good, although there is a little too much of that Japanese fidelity which shows that they are copies at second hand. The great fault of the book is that it has material enough for half a dozen ordinary novels. This conglomeration of independent stories, which in no way help out the main narrative or develop the characters, makes the task of reading laborious and not agreeable.

The episodes and illustrations in the way of art, philosophy and history, are in themselves extremely clever and characteristic of the author, but they are not in place. He is one of the foremost men of letters in Germany, as an art critic and historian, as a graceful essayist, and as a conscientious master of both English and French writings. It is therefore very satisfactory that such a man has written of us, of our American life and people, in a fair way. Of course, in limiting himself to New York, and to the Germans living there, he has saved any great risk of glaring mistakes, and as a mere literary curiosity, the book is successful in giving a good notion of that which the author himself has never seen. After Laboulaye's wonderful picture of American life, it does not seem to be difficult for a foreigner to talk glibly of it, with only such knowledge as he can get from the current books of travels and the conversation of intelligent travellers.

Still it is always a matter of pleasure to find that this country is growing into a subject for reasonable romances, and that our manner of life and our method of thinking can point a moral and adorn a tale.

The growing interest on both sides of the Ocean, in the literature of the foreign country across the water, has of course led to a great deal of study in the language in which each writes and speak, and now Tauchnitz has undertaken by means of translation, to be the interpreter of the books written in one country, to the readers in the other.

It is in some respects, to be regretted that Grimm's last novel is not likely to receive the final recompense of translation, about the highest certificate of merit. This is partly due to its extreme length, which must tire the patient industry of even German readers, and would be altogether fatal to the curiosity of our own lovers of novels. The greatest fault, however, is that which we have sought to point out, without saying so in so many words, *i. e.* the involved nature of the story; its series of interlacing stories; not necessarily making part of the narrative proper, nor always serving for that dangerous and to a German novelist, irresistible temptation, by offering a peg on which to hang a discourse on philosophy, art, history, or any other subject toward which the author has a tendency, no matter how little it touches the business in hand.

In excellence of style, for clearness of diction, as a capital study for readers of German, as a type of good, clear, modern German, and as a very curious example of what German scholarship, industry and talent can produce, Grimm's "Invincible Powers," even in the original, is very well worth careful reading.

J. G. ROSENGARTEN.

INTERNATIONAL INDUSTRIAL COMPETITION.*

(Continued.)

Sixthly. No nation can long subsist unless its government has power to compel the support of its subjects or citizens. A nation is not a mere loose aggregation, the obedience of whose integers may at their own good will and pleasure be refused, for although voluntary choice of the individual citizen or of his ancestors may have been the primary cause of his belonging to his actual nationality and of his subjection to its laws, no fresh exercise of his simple volition can now absolve his allegiance, except, the final one of expatriation and surrender of nationality.

Being thus liable to compulsory support of his government, as by taxes, military service, jury duties, &c., the citizen has an in-

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defeasible right to be cared for, protected, and defended by his government. In other words, the principle of mutuality holds between government and citizen as it does in the case of all other compacts; proportionally to the degree in which individual rights are yielded up or modified, are governmental obligations towards individuals increased. The force and scope of these obligations are, with the advance of civilization, generally becoming more thoroughly acknowledged.

Not only must a government at the present day maintain an army and navy to prevent or repel invasion, but it must uphold internal order, by means of police and courts; must encourage, if it does not directly sustain, educational and religious systems; must adopt suitable sanitary measures, and in general do for the common benefit all that requires for its performance the collective effort of the whole community.

The question as to the claim of the good citizen for the protection of his government is thus obviously a question of kind and degree, involving merely his right to that specific sort and amount of protection which he may at the moment require; and it is obvious again that the duty and no less the interest of the government are in this respect so broad, that no limit within its powers can be set to either, but the permanent well-being of the aggregate mass.

Of all the duties of a government towards its citizens, that of repelling invasions is probably the first and most indispensable. It must secure them in the peaceful enjoyment of their homes, and in the pursuit, undisturbed by foreign enemies, of the industries whereby they live. Doubtless, any country may be temporarily invaded, but that government which proves unable to resist such intrusions, gives place inevitably to another which, it is hoped, may do better. Finally, if a nation yields to reiterated invasions, they take the character of occupation, and the nation itself succumbs—perishes as a nation—becoming incorporated with the conqueror, or entering by fragments into other organizations.

In the present day, however, a most insidious and destructive form of invasion is practised, whereby not the foreign enemy *in propria persona* comes to kill and destroy, but the products of his labor, put into such a form as to draw away from the native that demand for his products, and that nutriment those products should earn for him, upon which his existence and that of his

family depend. The foreign legions are trained to attack by missiles launched from their far-distant mines, mills, and factories, and their attack has often devastated homes and districts, and broken up industries as effectually as if the conquest had been effected by warlike weapons.

Against such invasions a government which expects to survive is surely bound to afford due protection to those diligent and skilful citizens, its artisans and industrial producers, who are the right arm of its strength. The objection that this argument does not apply to the great class of agriculturists is unsound; for the farmer cannot eat all his corn and turnips, and he must have cloth and tools. He needs prosperous artisans by his side to consume the one and furnish the other, in default of which his crops must rot or be sold abroad for a trifle, and his wants, other than for food, must remain unsatisfied or be supplied by foreigners at a cost in the end ruinous. The farmer's products are in many cases directly protected from the indirect invasions I have named, but even were this not so, he is protected when the miner and manufacturer are protected.

Here I might with propriety, if space permitted, offer proof that suitable protective tariff laws are no burden upon any part of the community, but operate to the benefit of consumers, by ultimately cheapening as well as multiplying products; but this has been so frequently demonstrated, that another repetition may well be dispensed with. The following quotation from a leading English sociologist may, however, be introduced as showing that, besides the direct benefit to the general public from having the public expenses defrayed in whole or in part by taxes upon foreigners, and besides the cheapening through domestic competition of the article subjected to import duty, another public benefit, in his opinion, ensues from tariffs by reason of the curious indirect result that foreigners are thereby obliged to pay more for the article exported in payment.

J. Stuart Mill says (*Principles of Political Economy*, p. 405):

"It may be laid down as a principle that a tax on imported commodities almost always falls in part on the foreign consumers of the commodities exchanged for them, and that this is a mode in which a nation may appropriate to itself, at the expense of foreigners, a larger share than would otherwise belong to it of the increase in the general productiveness of the labor and capi-

tal of the world which results from the interchange of commodities among nations."

Upon the question that the import duty exacted upon foreign goods is paid not by the consumer but by the foreign producer, it may suffice to observe that the *London Economist*, a free-trade journal of high rank, in commenting upon the alterations in the treaty between China and England lately negotiated by Sir Rutherford Alcock, objected strenuously to the increased duty upon opium, which was one of those alterations. That increase, the *Economist* declared, would stimulate the cultivation of opium in China, and would oblige the English opium growers of India to meet the increased domestic supply in China by a reduction in price corresponding with the increase of duty.

The organs of the French industrial classes, such as the *Moniteur Industriel*, state their claim for protection against foreign trade invasion very moderately and logically, when they demand as they do, that upon all products of foreign labor which compete with their own, import duty shall be levied equivalent to the total of taxes and imposts of all kinds which the French laborer or artisan is required to pay to his government while engaged in the production of similar commodities. This claim limited as it is to the demand that their government shall not discriminate against them by exonerating their competitors from burdens which it imposes upon themselves, evidently does not cover the extent to which a citizen may in case of need rightfully expect industrial protection, though it might in most cases and in most countries suffice.

Among the cases where the claim to a higher degree of protection is valid, may be named: 1. When a desirable industry is to be transplanted and naturalized, involving unusual outlay and risk to the adventurer; 2. When the scale of wages is higher in the country under consideration than in its rival.

The first of these cases must of course often occur in this age of intense mental activity and achievement of material advances. Melchior Gioja, who has been called the colossus of political economy in Italy, says:

"The influence of government is useful * * * in the concession of public aid by money or credit, to enterprising and capable men introducing new branches of industry, either with or without interest, or upon long terms of payment."

A doctrine which goes far beyond mere protection by tariff laws.

J. Stuart Mill says :

“The superiority of one country over another in a branch of production often arises from having begun it sooner. There may be no inherent advantage or disadvantage on either side, but only a present superiority of skill and experience. A country which has this skill and experience to acquire, may, in other respects, be better adapted to the production than those earlier in the field ; and beside, it is a just remark, that nothing has a greater tendency to produce improvement in any branch of production than its trial under a new set of conditions. But it cannot be expected that individuals at their own cost should introduce a new manufacture, and bear the burthens of carrying it on until the producers have been educated up to the line of those with whom the processes have become traditional. A protective duty, continued a reasonable time, will sometimes be the least inconvenient mode in which a country can tax itself for the support of an experiment.”

The second case must also very frequently exist, for, how can it be expected that a day's labor will command the same reward in all parts of the world (whether payable in gold or wheat or cloth) without regard to the density of the population, the abundance of the medium of payment, or other varying circumstances ? Either then the nation which is so circumstanced as to pay high wages to its laboring people must protect their wages by a commensurate tariff upon foreign products competing with theirs, or it must reduce its wages to the level of its lowest competitor, which is not always either expedient or practicable, or it must consent to be debarred from engaging in many of the most necessary occupations, which is absurd.

A terse saying of M. Thiers well expresses the true principle : “Among the most sacred rights is that of the labor of a country to its own markets.”

Seventhly. Transportation of materials or of commodities is one of the most universal and onerous tasks of society, and one that constantly engages the best efforts of ingenious men in attempts to facilitate it, to lighten its cost, and when possible, to avoid it.

The latter is frequently impossible, since when one locality

possesses one requisite material for a needful product, while a second and third possess the others, as when the ore, the limestone, and the coal needed for making iron are found in different spots, those separated materials must be brought together or the desired product cannot be made. Or again, when a commodity exists or grows abundantly in one region, while its consumers unavoidably inhabit others, as is the case with coffee and many tropical products, it must be transported or fail of its market.

With many varieties of transported commodities, however, the case is altogether different, and notably when food and raw materials for manufacture are carried away from a country well adapted for manufacturing, to another possessing no greater natural advantages, where they are consumed and worked up into goods, which goods are then carried back to the original locality for a market.

Some temporary cause, such as lack of apparatus or skill in that original region, may justify for a time the enormous loss by such duplicated transportation, but as a permanence it is thoroughly wasteful and vicious, and cannot, even though dignified by the name of free trade, long endure where human reason is allowed to prevail.

Of this nature, however, is a large part of all the vast carriage to and fro along the parallels of latitude, particularly that across the Atlantic Ocean. Of the contrary or unavoidable character is the chief part of the traffic which follows the meridians.

As an individual instance of the wasteful sort of transportation may be mentioned the case of a Wisconsin farmer who, in the year 1865, bought in Philadelphia a fine overcoat of French cloth for \$100, and on paying for it remarked that this coat cost him just 1,000 bushels of corn, since he had lately sold that quantity at home for ten cents per bushel. Now the expenditure of natural forces and of human labor in producing the overcoat ten or twenty fold, and if the two articles had been produced side by side, 50 or 100 bushels of corn would have paid for the coat; but as it was, excepting some profit of middlemen, all the remaining 900 or 950 bushels of corn were lost in the mere transportation of corn from Wisconsin to France, and of a coat from France to Philadelphia, and were lost by the farmer; for he who seeks a market must bear all the cost of carriage thither, and he who wants goods must pay for their carriage also.

Of this unreasonable and unstable nature is a large part of England's great traffic. She holds producer and consumer artificially asunder, inserting between them her credits and her factories, and imposes upon the nations who deal with her the cost of maintaining her enormous fleets of merchant-men and war vessels, her swarms of merchants, bankers, middlemen, and agents, and her multitudes of luxurious idlers.

The simple device which one people after another are learning—to bring consumer and producer into contiguity, and to cause the societary circulation to complete its circuit so far as possible within their own limits—lops off great masses of useless toil, strengthens one after another of the populations who determine to retain their own energies and vital fluids within themselves, but deprives England at the same time of one after another of her commercial vassals.

As for division of labor among the nations, that can only take place by each nation consenting to forego certain of the functions necessary to complete existence, and becoming to that extent dependent upon neighbors or rivals. Passing by the argument for political security deducible from this, which has been already considered, and regarding only the broad common welfare of the race, without reverting to the cost of transportation, we must observe that a population dependent upon a single pursuit is exposed to ruin when that single resource fails them, as happened in Ireland and in parts of India upon the failure of their respective crops of potatoes and of rice, in the silk region about Coventry when ribbons were no longer fashionable, and in Lancashire during the cotton famine caused by the Southern rebellion.

And again, the bodily carrying off from certain spots of the masses of food, wool, cotton, &c., which they are made to yield, is an absolute robbery and impoverishment of those soils, which are thus deprived of the animal excretions and remains of the consumers; while, on the other hand, the spots upon which those currents of raw material are discharged become so burdened with refuse and putrefying matter that their streams and rivers became mere channels of filth, and only by conveying at great cost into the sea those fertilizing substances which ought to enrich the land is human health reasonably well preserved.

The grasping commercial ambition of certain countries, bent upon holding an artificial and precarious supremacy, does indeed

demand division of labor among the nations, retention by themselves of the profitable avocations, and endless transportation of materials to and manufactures from themselves. The well-being of mankind at large does not demand this.

Eighthly. "Things will adjust themselves properly to each other if only let alone;" "water must be allowed to find its level;" "the laws of nature should not be interfered with." Such are some of the axioms of that "laissez faire" philosophy whose advocates stigmatize self-protection as the "interference theory of government."

These be brave words, but what are the facts? They are that every thing in the universe, so far as we know it, does incessantly act, strive, interfere, and labor to aggrandize and perfect itself; not letting alone any thing that it can change. From crystal to planet, even inorganic masses draw to themselves whatever they can reach and assimilate, and build up themselves in symmetry according to the several laws of their own existence; from protozoön to man every organism cares for itself, and converts all around it to its own uses. Coral insects turn sea into land, locusts devastate provinces, beavers dam streams and form lakes, thus anticipating man in forbidding water to find its level without first doing him service. Savage man shapes stones into weapons, makes the bark and branches of trees into shelter, boats and implements, destroys animals for his food and clothing, forms tribes, wages war, and in every way possible to him uses his powers to change his surroundings for his benefit. The shepherd selects certain animals which he multiplies by myriads, while he destroys their enemies. The farmer cuts trees, ditches, fences, quarries, builds, ploughs, and plants; and so on at each successive step in civilization, man does but pursue similar ends by superior methods, seeking ever to promote the welfare of himself, his family, his city and nation; ordering and planning, leaving nothing to chance, and not hesitating to prefer and advance his own by all means, even at the expense of neighbor or rival, until checked by the other's ability to protect himself; his dealings with his fellow-men ever involving the keenest exercise of his faculties.

Does all this concatenation exist, and is it right, and does it abruptly break off when the question comes to be of States, their rivalries and commerce? Shall those stupendous organisms run riot and grow or perish by chance, their several guides or rulers

disdaining to devise and plan for their mutual inter-action and for their respective advantage?

Not so do great States grow and flourish. There may be philosophers who conceive Cosmos to have sprung from Chaos without a Creator, and there may be others who believe that human society with all its congeries of functions has arisen spontaneously. No one, however, can deny that in either case the growth and completeness of the several parts which make the now existing whole, come from the diligent seeking by each member of its own sole good, according to the laws of its own constitution; not merging all into a universal phalanstery, nor pretending to care equally for its neighbor with itself, but at the best respecting its neighbor's rights; no member letting alone, but each strenuously converting, rejecting, and assimilating.

The whole "laissez faire" doctrine is but the afterthought of crafty people, who having by prior development of force and skill acquired industrial and commercial supremacy, now desire to be let alone in their artificial advantages, and therefore instruct their rivals and victims mildly to acquiesce in the present order of things, to make no efforts and lay no plans for its change, or for their own improvement and emancipation.

The "laissez faire" philosophers are not apt to manifest much respect for antiquated wisdom, and yet even they might find a warning in the injunction of St. Paul: "But if any provide not for his own, and specially for those of his own house, he hath denied the faith, and is worth than an infidel." 1 Tim. v. 8.

While thus attempting to show the right and the duty of every government to foster and protect its industries, I by no means imagine that any possible governmental care can atone for lack of diligence or of skill on the part of the workman, though an unusual degree of protection temporarily extended may afford the opportunity for acquiring skill.

It is in the nature of things that no tariff legislation can or ought to enable a slovenly, stupid or lazy workman or class of workmen to earn the wages which are the proper reward of intelligent assiduity; neither can legislation enable the American workman, living on the generous scale habitual in this country, and so protected as while earning wages commensurate with his expenses, still to hold his market against his hungry competitor

—I say no legislation can enable such a workman to reduce his hours of labor very greatly below those of his foreign competitor, and yet retain that liberal pay which yields him his advantages.

The eight-hour law, for instance, which was enacted by the Fortieth Congress, is an absurd and mischievous piece of legislation, attempting to force our employers to pay for work not done, and cutting away the ground from under our artisans by imposing (if it were carried out) a grievous burden upon American industries in their struggle with those of Europe. It is perfectly adapted to ruin the entire system of protecting home labor, since it seems to show how extreme and impracticable are the pretensions to which any attempt to favor home labor may give rise, or at least how pliant legislators may be to the demands of those among the working classes who have more zeal than discretion.

American artisans and laborers, though now perhaps generally comprehending how a tariff upon their respective products increases their wages and lightens their toil, appear not yet to understand that its efficacy has limits.

A mill-dam twenty feet high may injure no one and give gratuitous power sufficient to drive a factory or to grind the corn of a township. The dam might in some cases be safely carried up to forty feet and give double the power, though with more danger from accidents and smuggling muskrats. Raised to sixty feet it would probably drown out the farms above, be of doubtful advantage to the industry below, and would surely burst away in some time of storm, ruining all in its path.

What, then, is the point at which a tariff ceases to be beneficial? Manifestly no general rate can be applied, for many articles, such as most tropical products, and others not existing at home, should enter free, or as nearly so as the exigencies of the treasury will permit; while others should be subjected to various rates, mostly bearing some relation to the amount of labor they have undergone, and modified by reference to collateral or dependent industries, and to the convenience or security of collecting the impost; the whole forming certainly a complex problem, yet one capable of a substantially right and expedient solution if undertaken by persons of sufficient intelligence and fairness of mind.

But, again, what class of persons are likeliest to be wise and safe counsellors for the general good in framing the laws regulat-

ing foreign trade, and thus fixing the terms upon which native industries are to battle with foreign in the home market?

The merchant is apt to see nothing and to care for nothing but a flow of trade through his shop, indifferent, so his toll be secured, whether the current is of foreign or of domestic goods, or whether it brings wealth into the country or carries it out; the lawyer, though skilful in giving proper form to an act, is usually deficient in technical knowledge, and therefore liable to errors and to imposition. The farmer can hardly be expected to possess adequate knowledge of commercial affairs; the foreign agent, though hitherto a most active and influential personage in constructing our tariff laws, represents influences utterly hostile to the country, and his presence is an impertinence; the laborer or artisan seldom regards the ground from a high enough stand-point to take in much beyond his own peculiar field, and his views, though clear, lack perspective, and do not sufficiently perceive that his necessary coadjutors, capital and custom, must be invited and not forced. Really the best guides are the most enlightened of the home producers. Those captains of fifties and captains of thousands, who constantly face the foreign enemy and comprehend his strategy, who know thoroughly their own men, the soldiers of the great industrial army from whose ranks many of them are sprung, and who occupy a position intermediate between the foreign competitor, the domestic artisan, the collateral home industries and the consumers, know better than any others what is expedient and what is practicable. No intelligent tariff legislation is possible without their aid, and though some selfishness is to be expected, yet when brought into contact with legislators or officials of honest and friendly purpose and of keen scrutiny, they usually make frank and lucid statements of all that is desired.

England, however, does not like her rivals to take counsel of their manufacturers.

Russia, after the Crimean war, imposed upon sea-borne goods higher rates of duty than on those arriving by land, meaning thus to discriminate against her enemies England and France. As the years rolled by, the English chafed under this restraint, as well as under the general high tariff rates of Russia, and the English minister to Russia was charged to urge the appointment of a government commission to prepare a new tariff schedule. This scheme had almost reached completion, the commissioners

were already almost fixed upon—being Russian placemen and others either in the English interest or capable of being moved thereto—when the Russian manufacturers became aware of the plot, petitioned their government to be allowed at least representatives in that commission, and finally carried their point, a due proportion of the tariff commissioners being Russian manufacturers. The *London Times*, in commenting upon these circumstances, said: "What would be the consequences of thus associating the accused with their judges might readily have been foreseen," a phrase of the most singular insolence. These consequences naturally were that Russia's industrial interests continued well protected, that the discrimination was indeed mostly removed, since English goods had previously found entrance *via* Germany overland, that divers modifications were made upon unimportant points, or in the interest of Russian manufacturers, but that the broad principles and practices of protection to Russian industry remained unimpaired.

Though a considerable preponderance of our people favor protective tariff legislation, and send to both Houses of Congress large majorities committed to that policy, yet numbers of respectable persons, exclusive of the cliques of foreign agents and bankers, and of the masses innocently arrayed against protection by insidious appeals to their narrowest selfishness, regard with suspicion and aversion the process of tariff-making as usually practised in Washington.

My limits will not permit any thing like a thorough consideration of this prolific subject, but some of the reasons for this disapprobation are apparent enough upon very slight reflection.

When the tariff question is opened in Congress, no matter whether the proposed changes are great or small, every interest which is less prosperous than it would wish to be, and which possesses the means of reaching a Congressman's ear, has the right to offer amendments to the act under consideration. Some, counting upon a suspicious and cheapening reception of their grievances, purposely exaggerate them. Some industries are so important and influential, that Congressmen hoping for reelection are tempted to listen to them to the exclusion of those which are smaller or less pertinacious, and more favorably than comports with a scrupulous regard for the common welfare.

The agents of foreign industries strive to warp legislation for

the gain of their employers by appeals to local, political, or personal jealousy, by persuading individual Congressmen that their superior intelligence should lift them above the fogs of American nationality into the perspicuous English atmosphere of free trade, by absolutely false or misleading statements upon apparently respectable authority, by every art of social beguiling, and finally in some cases it is to be feared, by the direct use of money.

Of these two classes of disturbing influences the latter are by far the most dangerous; not only because their aims are inimical to the general prosperity, being simply the emolument of the foreign manufacturer and his New York agent through the ruin of American establishments, but also because of their unceasing activity, superior discipline, and abundant treasury.

The American manufacturers seldom feel prosperous enough to afford much money for the legitimate expenses of competent agents or for instructing public opinion, and, even while groaning under a foreign yoke, many of them are too prone to reverse an old motto and to act upon the principle, "Millions for tribute, not one cent for defence." They are mostly prevented by the pressure of their own affairs from continuous personal attendance in Washington, and when present their rightful influence is curtailed by the imputation that they are lobbyists seeking their own gain at the public cost. They do not take sufficient pains to accommodate their differences outside of Congress, and their mutual bickering in the many cases where the product of one industry is the raw material of another, excites distrust of both disputants. They feel so entitled to the best attention of Congressmen that by pursuing them in season and out of season they sometimes weary and disgust those who should be their champions.

These warring and confusing influences assail the unfortunate Congressmen at every step, while a tariff act tediously crawls through committees of preparation, through both Houses of Congress and committees of conference, and do not cease until the President's signature is finally appended.

Less favorable circumstances for a dispassionate and intelligent study of a most difficult and knotty question, involving endless details and the most widely extended consequences, can hardly be imagined. That our legislators should under such auspices usually perform their task so well as they do, should enact so few absurdities, and cling so fast in the main to sound policy and reason,

proves clearly that common sense and honesty strongly predominate among them.

Besides the objections to the present system of law making here alluded to, is the important one, that it renders almost impossible the establishment of a new industry, unless of such a nature that its product falls within some classification already protected by a sufficient duty.

Many industries new to this country should yet be introduced here, but how can it be expected that competent persons should come forward able and willing to devote the means and toil needful for that purpose? They know that it is not the practice to modify the tariff for single interests, but that one must wait until all the ponderous machinery of a general revision of the tariff can be set in motion, and committees, both Houses of Congress and President be brought to assent to many hundred separate propositions; the foreign monopolists, whose profitable trade with this country is to be interfered with, having in the meantime every opportunity to befog the question, and to starve out the unprotected American adventurer by lowering prices.

Some prompter method should surely be devised for extending to new and deserving industries at least such measure of protection as the general policy of the government at the time may dictate.

Beyond all this again lies the absurdity of burdening Congress and obstructing legislation by crowding in upon it such a mass of undigested technical and commercial questions of which so very few members have any distinct knowledge. It is swamping our court of last resort with all the cases which ought to be mostly disposed of by something comparable to the Common Pleas and Quarter Sessions.

To propound a remedy for this condition of things, setting forth in detail the machinery of a better system, would evidently lead me beyond the proper limits of this paper, yet some indication of a better plan may be briefly given.

Let a permanent Commission of Customs be created, or a separate Bureau erected in the Treasury Department, charged with constant oversight of the changing conditions of trade and industry, and especially with watchfulness for the introduction or naturalization of industries new to the country, whether such are actually undertaken here or are merely seen to be feasible and

desirable. A permanent Commission is preferable to a Bureau, as being more independent, and of wider scope, and therefore attractive to a higher order of capacity.

Let the Commission be composed of at least three persons, of whom one should have practical experience and wide knowledge as a manufacturer, and another should have acquired thorough acquaintance with the actual machinery and practice of collecting customs, by intelligent service in a custom house; knowledge of tariff legislation and precedent in this and other countries is also essential.

Let them be empowered to hear during recess of Congress all representations of parties desiring changes in the tariff, and to travel from place to place for the purpose of more thorough investigation. Let them hear all cases of conflicting claims or interests in regard to customs rates, and have power to summon witnesses. How much may be effected by this means is partly shown by the results of the journeys and investigations of the Committee of Ways and Means during the summer and fall of 1869.

Let no tariff legislation be introduced into Congress except from this Commission, which should make at the beginning of each session of Congress a report accompanied by a form of law, the latter embodying all changes they deem desirable, and the former giving as briefly as possible the reasons therefor, and a general view of the situation.

Let them have power to make and enforce all the needful regulations for carrying into effect all laws relating to the imposition or collection of import duty. The larger powers possessed by the English Commissioners of Customs, which extend to the alteration of tariff rates, could scarcely be granted with safety to such a Commission here.*

During the session of Congress let the Commission reside in Washington, and sit permanently within certain hours to take

* Of course the tariff laws are now enforced by the Treasury Department, yet evasions are occasionally practised with success by urging plausible but erroneous constructions of those laws, or by taking advantage of technical doubts, whereby the Treasury is robbed of large amounts, and the American manufacturer deprived of the intended protection. It would seem reasonable that those who frame the laws could best detect and prevent this class of errors and wrongs.

cognizance of matters arising after the sending in of their report, and to attend at the call of any suitable committee of Congress, for the purpose of receiving suggestions, giving needful explanations, hearing and obviating objections, &c.

Such a Commission, consisting of sufficiently intelligent and honest persons, resolved upon promoting by the means confided to them the welfare of their own country—exercising their powers with sympathy for the producers as well as the consumers, not favoring any selfish rapacity, or any slovenly manufacturer, nor endeavoring to preserve any establishment which by the march of industrial science has become antiquated, and holding themselves well in check by a strong sentiment of conservatism, refusing any change except for very sufficient reason—would command the confidence and cordial coöperation of nearly all the American interests which would be affected by its action. It would relieve Congress of great masses of the most annoying legislation very much as the Court of Claims has operated in another field, would lighten the duties of the Treasury Department somewhat as has been done by creating the Commissioner of Internal Revenue, and would give a most desirable stability to our tariff system.

It may be said that much of this was contemplated in the creation of the Revenue Commission, at first consisting of Messrs. Colwell, Wells and Hayes, and afterwards continued by Mr. Wells alone; but that Commission had a range of duties wider in some respects than seems to me expedient for the purpose now under consideration, and had insufficient powers and authority. The reduction of its numbers from three to one seems to me to have deprived it, perhaps inevitably, of the confidence which is naturally felt in the concurrent decision of several persons, and thereby to have curtailed its usefulness.

The establishment of that Commission was, in my opinion, a step in the right direction, and the experience gained through its good work and its mistakes, should greatly facilitate the establishment of that better system of preparation for tariff legislation which seems to me so urgently needed, and which should remove this vexed question forever from the arena of mere political strife.

JOSEPH WHARTON.

THE REVISION OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

THE intelligence that the Convocation of the Province of Canterbury has undertaken, through a large committee, the work of revising the Authorized English Version of the Bible, is a piece of literary news that concerns nearly all the millions that speak the English language. The sense of a necessity for such revision has been growing in the mind of this great public, and has evinced its existence in various ways. Partial or entire revisions, or new translations, by individuals and sects, have been pouring in upon us for years past, none of them without its own value perhaps, but none of them fitted for general adoption, or at all likely to secure the assent of more than a small minority. The present undertaking is of a very different character. The largest and most respectable Church of Protestant Christendom, the body to whose scholarship we owe the present version, has undertaken the work, and has associated with itself the most scholarly representatives of the larger bodies of Protestants that lay claim to critical learning. One Unitarian even represents the body whom the Church of England in the Athanasian Creed hands over to everlasting perdition, and only the refusal of Father J. H. Newman obliged the Committee of Convocation to forego the pleasure of having the Church of Rome also represented.

General English readers, especially those who possess the Tauchnitz edition of the New Testament, edited by Tischendorf, can realize the need of a revision of the distinctively Christian Scriptures, in order to bring our present version to the level of some of the best established results of scientific criticism. As to the Old Testament, the popular apprehension is much less clear, and we are even told by writers who possess the people's ear, that there is no need whatever of revision, there being "no new Hebrew scholarship" since our present version was made.

It is not so easy to present in an effective popular shape the reasons for a revision of the English translation of the Old Testament, as it is to show why the New Testament should be revised. The range of Greek scholarship is so much larger, that technical statements are more generally intelligible; even General Butler can try his hand at a new rendering of the Lord's Prayer, and every college graduate has his opinion, or can comprehend

those presented by men who have made the subject their study. New translations of the whole or part abound in our later literature, and every controversialist will have his new rendering of the original Greek, when the present translation does not suit his argument. Great and palpable discoveries of old MSS. have taken place within a few years past, especially through the labors of Constantine Tischendorf, so that it is easy to see that we are in a better position to get at the exact words of Apostles and Evangelists than were the scholars of the times of King James.

Of the Old Testament nothing of this can be said. Fluent Hebrew scholars are rare even in the ranks of the clergy; thorough Hebraists are rarer still. Nor are our divines so much to be blamed in this; for the defect is largely owing to a vicious system of instruction. Hebrew makes large calls on the student's powers of recollection, and those only; yet its study is generally prosecuted at a period when the memory has grown weaker and the judgment has become more developed. The present order of philologic study is Latin, Greek, Hebrew, whereas it should be exactly the reverse. Hence the complaint that Hebrew is hard to acquire and harder—nay, without unwearied use, impossible—to hold. Then, too, the public imagination has not been fired by any marvellous discoveries of MSS. The oldest that we have are probably not older than the eleventh century of the Christian era, and these present very few striking variations from each other. Kennicott, in the last century, spent a vast amount of pains in the collation of nearly all that were known to exist in Europe, but the result of his work was mainly negative. He showed these did not furnish a basis for any essential modification of the accepted text. His successors in the same field of investigation have arrived at the same result. The MSS. found in great numbers among the Karaite (or anti-Rabbinical) Jews of Southern Russia, or the few which have turned up in China, may possibly present more important various readings, but this is hardly to be counted on. At the period when the Masorites of Tiberias added the vowel points to the old consonantal text, they seem to have made a very careful recension of the text itself. The standard which they thus fixed has been copied by the scribes with punctilious exactness ever since, only unimportant variations having slipped in during the hundred-fold transcriptions which have taken place. These Masorites (be it remembered) were nearly as

far removed from the time of Malachi as Tischendorf from the last years of the Apostle John.

The proposed revision is not based on any contempt for the scholarship or the faithfulness of King James' translators, or their predecessors. The great versions of antiquity—the Greek Septuagint, the Latin Vulgate and the Syriac Reschito—have decidedly risen in the esteem of scholars, through the close study of the original versions. This is especially true of the Vulgate, which was once most unworthily depreciated by a class of Protestant controversialists and critics, for controversial, and not for critical reasons. The English version itself, as a work of scholarship, takes rank below no cotemporary translation, while as a work of literary power and skill its only rival in that period is the German version of Luther. Even those whom we might expect to speak as hostile critics have been eloquent in their expressions of admiration; *e. g.* Father J. H. Newman, in his "Grammar of Assent."

It is not then because of the improper or incompetent use of the materials which the old translators had at their command, but on account of the growth of new materials, of judgment and interpretation since their time that the new revision is called for. A full exposition of all of these would be a history of the last two hundred and fifty years of the progress of Shemitic scholarship, and would furnish material to fill volumes rather than a single article of a few pages. But ordinary pens could not write it, nor would ordinary readers have either the patience or the technical knowledge necessary to appreciate it. A few striking points of this great history of progress is all that we can hope to present here, and these must be of the most general kind. We shall not discuss the comparative merits of the Buxtorfs and Gesenius, nor set lexicons and commentaries over against each other in literary competition, but trace out with a free hand the great outline of progress.

I. About half a century after our present version was made, Hebrew scholarship was emancipated from the yoke of Masoretic tradition. This statement requires some explanation. The principal languages of the Shemitic family—the Arabic, Ethiopian, Hebrew, Chaldee and Syriac—were originally written *without vowels*. Their phonographic system did not attempt, as ours does, to represent accurately the whole sound and force of the

word, but only to give such distinguishing marks as would enable the reader to identify it, and supply from memory what was not written. Very naturally the consonants were taken for this purpose, and the vowels ignored as easily supplied from memory. The labor of reducing words to writing was thus greatly diminished, and this was a very important consideration with people when writing materials were none of the commonest.

When the Mohammedan conquest of the East brought the Arabs into contact with Greek learning and civilization, they soon saw the superiority of the European phonography to their own, and partly adopted it. The Koran, which was written in the Old Phonography, was now completed by the addition of vowels. These were not new letters inserted in the word at the proper place, but slight marks or points marked above or under the consonant which they preceded or followed. This example was soon followed by the Christians, who used the Reschito or Syriac version, and by the Jews, whose Rabbis added a similar series of points to the common manuscripts of the Hebrew Bible, after first fixing a standard text by the comparison of such MSS. as they had at hand.

When the revival of learning led men to the study of the Hebrew Classics, the points were accepted as a part of the inspired text of the Old Testament, and this view prevailed until about the middle of the seventeenth century, when Capellus, Walton and others, among Catholic and Protestant scholars, assailed the authority of the points. The more conservative and less critical Protestant scholars (Owen, Heidigger, Turretin, &c.) assailed the new opinion as a heresy which would overturn all certainty as to the meaning of the Old Testament, turning that part of the Rule of Faith into a Lesbian rule of lead, which would bend and vary according to the fancy of every new expositor. Perhaps some of the new critics hoped for some such result; but, if so, then both they and their orthodox opponents were disappointed. The rejection of the Masoretic pointing or vowel system as an absolute authority and as forming part of the inspired text, has not led to its general rejection as, in the main, correct. Some such addition to the Hebrew text must be made before it can in any way be pronounced, and there is every likelihood that the traditional Masoretic system is a fair transcript of that actually used in the classic period of Hebrew literature. Perhaps the Masorites,

through following the analogy of the Arabic grammarians, have made it more elaborate and complex than suits the simple genius of the Hebrew tongue; perhaps in some places ambiguous passages have been pointed in a way which distorts the true meaning; but the most liberal scholars still accept the work of the old Rabbis as substantially accurate. Suppose that the works of Chaucer had been transmitted to our times in such a form that only the consonants of his words were given us, and that a committee of English scholars, unaided by literature of equal antiquity, were to undertake the phonographic completion of the text; the result would not be perfectly accurate, yet it would approximate very closely to accuracy. In some words they would probably insert vowels which belonged to their own times rather than to Chaucer's age; in others still, words that were ambiguous before their attempt, might be distorted from their true force. So with the Hebrew. There are places where a change in the mere pointing would make such a change in the sense as would bring the passage into closer harmony with the rest of the Scriptures, with old versions made before the times of the Masorites, or with what general analogy would have led us to expect the author to say. Our old translators would have shrunk from such a change as almost blasphemous; our new translators will not hesitate to make the change if demanded by considerations of sufficient weight.

II. About the same time the comparative study of the Shemitic languages and old versions began to cast new light on the original text. The London Polyglot (edited by Bryan, Walton and others, and patronized by Oliver Cromwell) collected the ancient versions and placed them side by side with the original and each other. The Buxtorfs and Castellanus investigated the relations of Hebrew words and roots to those of the Syriac and Arabic languages in their lexicons. They thus systematized a branch of study which had long been pursued in a sporadic way, and which is now pursued on more scientific principles and with still more fruitful results. The advancement of comparative philology into a science, by Adelung and Grimm, enables us now to see exactly where the Hebrew stands—between the copious and more ancient Arabic and the still less copious Syriac. It warns us against misleading and false etymologies based upon the accidental resemblance of Shemitic words to those of the Indo-Germanic stock; where all was guess and haphazard, it gives scientific rigor and certainty.

The ancient theory that Adam spoke Hebrew and that this was the mother-tongue of our race, disappears before modern study, while the Hebrew Scriptures still hold their place of honor as the central manual of the race's genealogy and the world's chronology, evoking by their truly catholic record that truly "world-historic consciousness" (as the Germans call it) in which we still realize our unity as the sons of Adam. We now see that the language holds a middle place between her older sister of Arabia and her younger sister of Syria. Between these her vocabulary vibrates, now with the southern Job approximating to the speech of the far South, now with Deborah (of the tribe of Dan) using something nearer to the Aramaic speech of the Syrian Damascus. The latter element increases and the former diminishes on the decline of the national literature, but place as well as time is an element in the problem.

III. In the next century the form and genius of Hebrew poetry was first discovered by Bishop Lowth. For many centuries this open secret had lain unread before the very eyes of scholars as they translated or commented, although its discovery would have solved a thousand minor difficulties and banished a host of ambiguities. Lowth saw that the form of Hebrew poetry was a strictly peculiar one, a rhythmic parallelism. Sometimes the parallelism consists of the mere repetition of the same idea in two different sets of words of about the same number of syllables; sometimes the parallel statements cover different but related parts of the same whole statement; sometimes there is a partial, sometimes an entire contrast between the statements; sometimes four and six lines are thus yoked together to make the complete verse. Always one thing is set over against another, whether by way of contrast or, as is more common, by way of iteration.

The view was at once and widely accepted by Biblical scholars. Michaelis translated Lowth's Lectures into Classic Latin for the benefit of Continental scholars; Herder followed up the investigation in his "Spirit of Hebrew Poetry;" both works are now classics. Bishop Jebb first noticed that the same principle applied in a minor degree and with some modifications to the construction of the prose of both the Old and the New Testament, and Professor Forbes has investigated Paul's Epistle to the Romans in the light of this fact, casting a new and abundant light on many difficult passages.

A little thought will show how much help the knowledge of this single fact must give to new translations of the Old Testament. In many places the text must have seemed wordy and repetitious to the scholars before Lowth, and a translator who wished to do his author justice would rather try to diminish this appearance by infusing a really inappropriate variety of meaning to the iterative members of the parallelism. He would prefer, when a word was ambiguous, the meaning farthest removed from that of the corresponding word in the other line, although the writer probably desired to connect them as closely as possible. In other places the knowledge that a parallel was intended would have kept the translators from plausible but incorrect interpretations of one verse, where they have hit on the exact meaning of the other. Thus in the Nineteenth Psalm they translate—

“There is no speech nor language *when* their voice is not heard,” destroying by the inserted “*when*,” the parallelism :

There is no speech nor language,
Their voice is not heard.

A little reflection will show that this form of poetic versification is least subject to mistakes and ambiguities in the hands of a competent translator; the difficulties in one verse are continually explained by the parallel verse. Yet our present version of the Hebrew Prophets is pronounced by competent critics to either misrepresent or obscure the meaning of half their writings. Any one who will take the trouble to read Ezekiel in the revised version of Sharpe, or Isaiah in that of Alexander, or the minor Prophets as translated by Henderson, and will then compare their rendering with those of the Authorized Version, will realize the truth of this statement.

IV. The growth of the higher criticism in later years, puts us in a much better position for comprehending and translating from any ancient or foreign literature. Take two particulars out of many. (1) Modern critics appreciate better the distinctive spirit of each time and land, which differentiates its productions from those of other lands and times. No doubt this was done unconsciously by critics and students of the old school; old Thomas Fuller describes a good Church antiquary as one who could fix the age and century of an anonymous composition by the flavor of its contents. But a real gain has been made in bringing this

process into the sphere of consciousness, so that it is now a work of intelligence and not of mere instinct. The most conservative critics now admit that the Scriptures took the shape and form suited to their own age, while their spirit and inner content is independent of any age, being indeed what Jean Paul calls "the Spirit of Eternity, which oversees and judges every spirit of time." The critics of the school founded by Lessing, Herder and Winckelmann apprehend every piece of literature as a part of the great whole of human history, reflecting the modes of thought and expression which were proved entirely current at the time of its composition. It may be morally and spiritually far above the age, but it also interprets and explains the age to us. It is not dis severed from the great historical current of the race's life; however great the treasure, earthen vessels must contain it. An inspired Isaiah or John is not an Englishman or American of the seventeenth century; his modes of thought and speech are very different, while not necessarily inferior or superior. The translator who works with this knowledge may make wise use of it in learning to distrust himself and his own hasty conclusions, in acquiring patience and sympathy, which are the ground of true scholarship.

(2) The same school have learnt to regard every great literary work as an organic whole itself, as well as a part and member of the organic whole of human history. The difference which this must make in its interpretation has been well illustrated by the old and new expositors of Shakespeare. In the old writers "you will now and then meet with ingenious remarks on particular passages, and even on particular characters, or rather on particular features in them. But these remarks are mostly as incomplete and unsatisfactory as the description of a hand or foot would be, unless viewed in reference to the whole body." But the new critics, following Schlegel, would look upon each play as an organic whole in itself, bound up in a distinct, living unity, and in all its parts gathered around a common centre. This principle seems much less applicable to the Books of the Hebrew Scriptures than is really the case; Isaiah and Ezekiel and the rest of that goodly fellowship, if they do not write throughout with dramatic unity, have each as true and real a unity in all their utterances as we can see in Hamlet and Lear. The perception of this fact must be as great a help to the translator as it is to the commentator—

must prove a guide in many a dark place. Especially will it enable him to do justice to those delicate differences of meaning and expression which distinguish writers who lived in the same age, but were not aiming at the enforcement of exactly the same lessons.

Such, in brief outline, are some of the advantages which the revisers of our English Bible will possess, but which were not possessed by its translators. We have not aimed at the presentation of the reasons which would have especial weight with Hebrew scholars, for their unsuitableness to these pages is not greater than the needlessness of their repetition. None are more decidedly in favor of an immediate and thorough revision, than those who have long conversed with Prophets and Psalmists in their native tongue, and have been familiar with literary beauties, and lessons of wisdom long hid from ordinary Bible readers. They do not share the fear that revision will give new impetus to infidelity, by shaking the popular faith in all translations and in the Bible itself. They are sure that the Bible will become dearer to all when presented in its native simplicity and purity, divested of the mistakes and misapprehensions which have partially beclouded its meaning. They believe that these have in some degree been the reason why many fail to accept the Book as the guide of their lives. In this view, and looking forward to the speedy and scholarly revision now promised, they can exclaim with Paul—

“If our Gospel be hid, it is hid by the things that are perishing, by the which the God of this world hath blinded the minds of them that believe not.”*

If we have seemed to speak as if a new translation were rather to be desired than a revision of our present one, such is not our meaning. The alterations in the Old Testament must be many, if they are to meet the actual needs of the case; but they must also be made with such literary skill as not to destroy the beauty, simplicity and eloquence of the greatest of English classics—the English Bible.

ROBT. ELLIS THOMPSON.

* 2 Cor. iv. 3, 4. Εἰ δε κει ἰστί κεικλυμμεν το εὐαγγελιον ἡμω, ἰν τοις ἀπειλαμμεναι ἰστί κεικλυμμεν ἰν αἰς ὁ Θεοσ—K. T. A. Mistranslated in our version.

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COMPULSORY EDUCATION.

THERE is a very general disposition on the part of the intelligent public to approach the subject of Education with a resolute purpose to render it more complete and effective than it now is, and to consider the alternative of Compulsory Measures from a new point of view—the point of the right of society to security and protection; and also, the further right of those who are taxed to maintain public instruction to the complete, practical results for which they pay. Individual and personal rights are as much concerned in the question, therefore, on the side of making education complete, as they are in maintaining any feature of the voluntary system; and I propose, at the outset, to assume that the right of society to protection against ignorance and vice, and the right of those who are taxed to provide a system of free schools, ample to educate the whole number of children, are at least equal to any other rights that can possibly be involved. Both are to be judged by the general result; and if we find that society is endangered by ignorance, or that the provision made for universal education is neglected and wasted, because its acceptance is only voluntary, it is the duty of the legislative authority to take such steps of compulsion as shall make society safe, and prevent the waste of the existing provision.

We have, fortunately, got on so far in the appreciation of the whole subject as to be ready to do whatever may be necessary. Public opinion is well advanced toward the most satisfactory state of preparation; and intelligent citizens, not in any way connected with educational systems, but simply judging the case by

external and obvious results, unite with teachers and others directly giving attention to the subject, in demanding that education be made complete. The wealth of the country is ready to pay the cost, but it demands results, as it has a right to do; and I have been gratified to find that the number of persons who, from poverty or from vicious refusal, do not attain education now, is not so great as to render the work hopeless. Taxation need not be sensibly increased, nor need any existing means of support realized by families or parents from the employment of children be sensibly interfered with, by a requirement that a portion of the time of all children shall be spent in school. In short, from the best I have been able to learn in regard to the facts—and I propose to give a summary of all of them before the close of this paper—it is clear that the whole field is within our power to control, and therefore that we are not wasting time and effort in discussing it.

In other countries, let us observe here, this entire liberty of action does not exist. In England the pressure of poverty, and the overwhelming necessity to use every pittance of wages earned by the merest child, concur to render general education almost impossible. The lapse of even a few years might greatly add to our difficulties in this respect, and this, with many other reasons, combines to urge action now. In this State employment in factories, mines and other pursuits is at the present time relatively small for children of the school age, but such employment is rapidly increasing. In Massachusetts the same rapid increase of such employment was begun somewhat sooner, but that State met the difficulty wisely and promptly by enacting that no employment of children of school age should be lawful unless the child had a certificate of a certain number of months' attendance at school within the year. This measure effected a timely check on what otherwise would have grown to be a dangerous abuse, and the precedent thus established constitutes one of the ready means of reform at our command here.

The State of Massachusetts having taken the lead in compulsory measures of education, and having been successful in enforcing them, it may be of interest to cite them here, in order to show, that if we find them necessary, they are by no means difficult or impracticable in themselves.

The first step in this respect was to give power to the towns

(or townships, as we would designate them) to restrain truancy, by an Act passed in 1862. Under this Act, as stated by the Secretary of the Board of Education, in his report dated February, 1870,

"It is the duty of the towns (townships) to make suitable by-laws, with suitable penalties, relating to habitual truants from school, and also concerning children between the ages of seven and sixteen years who do not attend school at all, but are found in the streets or public places without lawful occupation and growing up in ignorance, and to appoint, at each annual meeting, three or more persons to execute said by-laws, known as truant officers."—(Laws of 1862, Chap. 207; Gen. Statutes, Chap. 42, Secs. 5, 7, 8.)

"The cities and towns (villages) are also authorized to make like by-laws relating to children under sixteen years of age who 'are suffered to be growing up without salutary parental control and education, and exposed to lead idle and dissolute lives, by reason of the neglect, crime, drunkenness or other vices of parents or from orphanage,' and to give the execution of said by-laws to the truant officers or to others specially appointed."—(Chapter 283, Laws of 1866.)

It appears that the cities throughout the State, and the larger villages, have taken action under this authority, and have in successful operation more or less of surveillance over truant children. Such is certainly the case in Boston, where even the police inquire into truancy, and often return or report such truants to the school officers. But I have not been able to learn the precise regulations of such surveillance, and only know that the exercise of whatever authority is necessary for this purpose is accepted and satisfactory to the people. There are no complaints against it, and no infringement of private rights is alleged from the machinery which the "cities and towns" have put in operation to restrict truancy, and to classify it as a vice to be suppressed.

The next important compulsory legislation was the Act of 1866(?) requiring a certificate of three months' attendance in school as the condition of the employment of any child under fifteen years of age, in a factory or otherwise, at wages. The application of this legislation to the city of Fall River, a great manufacturing centre, is thus described by the Educational Committee of that city for 1870. After speaking of the necessity of establishing a special school for factory children, in 1868, the report proceeds:

"It is a new power in our midst, and its creation was a work of necessity. Here the factory operatives are furnished with the facilities for making accessions to their scanty acquirements. . . . This school, like our evening schools, reaches a class of persons whose education has been sadly neglected. . . . For the past year (1869) the school has met our most sanguine expectations. Our mill agents have coöperated heartily with the committee and superintendent in the establishment of the school and in the successful working of all the details. Indigent parents have met the stern requirements of the law with commendable courage, for they seem fully to realize that the pecuniary loss which they sustain by losing the child's earnings may be for his greater future good. Perhaps no equal amount of money expended by the city for schools gives promise of so great and good results as the sum required for carrying on this and our evening schools."

This affords a suggestion, to which I shall again allude, in regard to establishing special schools, at least in this city, for all whose attendance is made compulsory, either on account of truancy or to cover the uneducated employed in mills. By so separating them from the schools in which attendance is made a privilege, the moralè of the schools, as now organized, will be preserved, and it will still be a high privilege to obtain admission, as now, and a severe punishment to expel.

The certificates of attendance in use at Fall River are described as follows. They are issued in four colors, to mark the seasons or terms, and are indorsed with the time for which they hold good.

SCHOOL CERTIFICATE, 1869: For the third term
of the year ending September 30.

This certifies that — has completed on this — day of — the term of three months in school, in accordance with the provisions of the law.

M. W. TEWKSBURY,
Superintendent of Schools.

Directions.—This certificate is good until July 1, 1870. It is to be taken by the overseer when the child is employed, retained during the time he is at work, and given to him when he leaves to obtain work elsewhere or to attend school.

No child under fifteen years of age has a right to be employed in any manufacturing establishment unless he can present such a certificate to the employer. Certificates of 1868 are good until the child is called out of the mills to attend school in 1869.

It is also made the duty of certain officers to inquire into the

fact that children employed in the mills have the proper certificates on file with the employer.

In view of this legislation and its results, one of the school reports for 1870 holds the following forcible language :

“Our whole system of public instruction is compulsory, founded on the right of the State to continued existence. Massachusetts enforces the education of her people, because without education she cannot exist as a free and prosperous State. She obliges the towns, which are the original democracies, to maintain schools and to see to it that all the children are in them, that she may maintain and enhance her own greatness. She has her preëminence in wealth and power only in the superior culture of her people.”

In offering for your consideration the materials of this paper which follow, I have assumed nothing positive, either as to the existing condition of education or as to the measures to be adopted in perfecting it. It is a better service to collect and arrange the facts, and to throw all the light possible on every phase of the subject in this manner. The public schools of this city and State are an honor to the people who ordered their establishment, and, in contrast with the state of affairs twenty or thirty years ago, the progress is wonderful. To those whose pursuits preclude close attention to the work of education now going on, an especial effort to understand it would be well rewarded, and no man could fail to be impressed with the general faithfulness, energy and success with which it is conducted. What is attempted is almost always well done; the tone of the schools and the attainments of the scholars are alike highly satisfactory. The great question is, Does this system educate all not otherwise educated, and what shall be done to educate those it does not reach?

The first essential of the discussion I propose is, the determination of the present actual attendance on schools, public and private, and of the number who, by neglect or refusal, receive no education. This is a work of no little difficulty, in consequence of the number of private schools, and the extent to which other agencies come in to modify the plain relations of the numbers attending school to the whole population of proper age to receive instruction. In this city, by the census of 1860, there were 129,514 persons between the ages of five and fifteen, nearly twenty-four per cent. of the population; and as the school age is really beyond these limits, the Northern States often assuming

five and twenty-one as the limiting ages, it will be safe to take twenty-five per cent. as the proportion at school age, which is, indeed, the number between four and fifteen, or between five and sixteen. Applying this proportion to the census of 1870, which we will take at 680,000, the number at proper age to receive instruction is 170,000. Of these, but 81,283 were registered scholars in the public schools in January, 1870, to which number some increase would be made now, perhaps 2,000; but the number in June last would not be more than 82,000, leaving the very large number of 88,000 to be accounted for otherwise. Of these, a considerable number, probably 8,000 or 10,000, have attained a satisfactory degree of education in the public schools at other times and have permanently left school. A still larger number represent the changes of the year; that is, the year began with 78,967 registered, and 54,872 were admitted during the year, but at the close there were but 81,250 registered, showing that 52,582 left school during the year. The registry at the end of the year does not, therefore, show the entire number educated *during some part of the year*. If there were no duplications of registry, this entire number receiving instruction in the public schools at some time during the year would be 133,839. We may safely take 130,000 as such number, the difference of 3,839 being the number changing from one school to another within the year.

I would, finally, offer the following as a tabular statement, approximately correct, of the actual education of children in the city of Philadelphia, in 1870:

Whole population,	680,000
Number of school age, (four to fifteen or five to sixteen,) twenty-five per cent.,	170,000
Number actually instructed in public schools, in any definite year,	130,000
Number permanently withdrawn, after receiving some reasonable education,	5,000
Number temporarily incapacitated from attendance, yet instructed in other years,	5,000
Number instructed in private schools, twelve and a-half per cent,	21,250
Number instructed in benevolent institutions,	5,000
Total number instructed,	166,250

But from this number receiving instruction there should be taken from five thousand to eight thousand as either younger or older than the limiting ages named above, or the same number should be added to the original 170,000. Either process gives us the number not receiving education, nearly as follows:

Whole number considered, say,	177,500
Whole number educated,	166,250

*Approximate number not educated at all, 11,250

The President of the Board of Control of the Public Schools, in his report for the year 1869, estimates that the number "deprived of the benefit of an education" is 20,000, but my investigations lead to the belief, that not above 10,000 fail to get a fair

* An authentic and valuable statement has been furnished me since these estimates were first made, in the results of a thorough canvass of the school population made in March, 1866, by the police. Printed forms were employed, and a record of all children in the city, within the ages of six and eighteen, was made, distinguishing those who attended schools, public or private, those who were regularly employed at wages, and those who were neither employed nor in attendance at school. The following is the result:

Children in public schools,	76,419
Children in private schools,	12,799
Children in parochial schools,	11,863
Children in regular employment,	20,902
Children not at school, or employment,	20,534
Whole number,	142,517

It must be observed that this record is of the actual attendance at the time the canvass was made, and does not embrace all who were in schools at some time during the year. This movable proportion, therefore, which is at least one-third of the fixed attendance, should be added to each positive item of the statement above; bringing the public school aggregate up to 105,000; that of the private schools up to 17,000, and parochial or benevolent schools up to 15,000. The whole number above given would probably be short, as all such local census-taking is; and taking 150,000 as a more correct aggregate, there are 137,000 reached by some degree of education, leaving 13,000 unprovided for.

And an important result is attained when the ages are classed more in accordance with the rule generally taken, or that of taking five and fifteen as the limiting ages. By this census it was shown that only 4,880 persons over 15 years of age attended any school, while 17,121, between

education in the elements, at least, and of these, such is the sharp teaching of associations, that not one-half this number fail to learn to read, and most of them to write. The number so imperfectly educated as to endanger society by their ignorance is probably near 20,000, but this embraces large numbers who, at some time, and for some period, long or short, receive actual tuition in public or private schools.

But even the smallest number stated above as never attaining education is great enough to cause just alarm. We cannot afford to permit five thousand to remain in ignorance, small as this percentage is of the 170,000 children and youths who should be under instruction.

The causes of non-attendance on the public schools in this city I shall speak of more fully in another place, but will here say that truancy, or wilful refusal of the parents to provide for attendance, appears to be the leading cause, except with colored children, for whom there may be, as yet, inadequate provision, though I have not been able to examine this point fully. Absolute poverty is certainly secondary, since great numbers of the very poor are well provided for through the benevolent and charitable institutions with which the city so honorably abounds. Wilful refusal is aided, and, as it now appears, inevitably aided, by the rules of discipline in preventing attendance. The existing discipline must be based on the position that permission to attend is a favor granted, and that disorder, neglect, and bad behavior generally, are to be punished by expulsion. The wilful and vicious are easily furnished with

fifteen and eighteen are reported as regularly employed, or wholly idle. Taking out of the above aggregates these several numbers the table would stand as follows:

Children of six to fifteen years in public schools, . . .	73,568
Children of six to fifteen years in private schools, . . .	11,178
Children of six to fifteen years in parochial schools, . . .	11,455
Children of six to fifteen years regularly employed, . . .	8,911
Children of six to fifteen years not employed or at school, . . .	15,404
Whole number,	120,516

This reduces the number kept away from school by forced employment, and also by idleness or other like causes, very much; and confirms the views before expressed that the number actually uneducated in this city is not above 10,000.

excuses for non-attendance, therefore, and the expulsion, which would severely afflict a good scholar, can scarcely be called a punishment to them.

Employment in various forms of paid labor also takes away a very large number, not less than fifteen thousand, from school for a portion or all the year. Probably but a small number so kept out actually get no education, but a large number are forced to get along with the most meagre and insufficient instruction. On this point a just sentiment of alarm was promptly aroused in Massachusetts, as I have said, and effective legislation was interposed, requiring a certificate of a certain number of months attendance on school as a condition of employment in any manufactory.

But I propose to examine the causes of non-attendance and the means of compelling attendance more fully elsewhere, and proceed to extend the examination of the statistics of attendance for the whole State.

By the report of Prof. Wickersham, state superintendent, just issued, the general facts of attendance on schools in the State appear in a very favorable light. By the census of 1860 the whole number of persons between the ages of five and fifteen years is 723,539, which is almost twenty-five per cent. of the whole. As we assumed for Philadelphia, extending the limits of age by one year on either side, we have fully twenty-five per cent. as the school population; and, applying this to the latest declared return of population for 1870, 3,517,272, the number now of school age is 879,318. Prof. Wickersham's report, above referred to, gives the surprisingly full number of 828,891 as the "*full number of pupils registered in 1870.*" The "average attendance of pupils in 1870" was 555,941, which is sixty-five per cent. of the school population.

I do not find in the returns of either Massachusetts or New York, a better proportion of persons actually educated, bearing in mind, as we must, that forty thousand children, at least, receive private or benevolent instruction. In the absence of positive returns, I would assume nearly fifty thousand as this unrecorded instruction, of which nearly one-half are in the city of Philadelphia.

In Massachusetts the latest report of the Board of Education gives as the "number of scholars of all ages in public schools in winter," (for 1869,) 247,381; and the number of "school age"

at May 1, 1868—that is, between five and fifteen years—269,987. It is a singular fact that the census of 1860 gives but twenty per cent. of the total population of Massachusetts as of these ages, instead of twenty-four and nine-tenths per cent., as in Pennsylvania. And this smaller proportion applies to Boston, as well as to the State, including Boston; the proportion of school age in that city for 1860 being but eighteen and a half per cent. Taking twenty per cent. as the proportion, and applying this ratio to the reported population of 1870, we have (twenty per cent. of 1,457,351) 291,470 as the school population, of whom, adding 4,000 as the increase over 1869, there were 251,381 in the public schools for 1870. Fifteen per cent., therefore, of the school population of that State were not registered in the public schools, if these statistics are correct. I may say here, however, that it is probable that the registry reported is not so full as that of this State; that is, that the “number of scholars of all ages in the public schools” is not precisely equivalent to the “*full number of pupils registered in the public schools,*” the corresponding phrase in our State report for Pennsylvania. Our deficit is but fifty-one thousand, or six per cent., while that for Massachusetts is forty thousand, or fifteen per cent. In both cases it must be observed there are many thousands registered as scholars whose ages exceed or do not reach the limits of five to fifteen, so that we still do not know how many of these ages actually fail to get education, and we can only know these facts when the ages of those in attendance are reported.

It is gratifying to find that the general comparison of this State with Massachusetts, which is a very good standard of effective education, is not unfavorable to us, and we may reasonably infer that the vigor and energy of our State system deserve all praise. But it is the very keenness of our action and our perception that discloses the deficiency still existing, and stimulates the benevolent and public-spirited with the hope that education can be made complete.

In the State of New York the educational system has long been regarded as highly effective. They there regard the “school age” as extending from five to twenty-one years, and calculate, accordingly, on this more comprehensive basis. But, taking the same limits as already cited for Pennsylvania and Massachusetts, we find that the proportion between five and fifteen was, in 1860,

something more than twenty-two per cent., and therefore would be in 1870, on a total population of 4,370,846, 961,586. The last report of the superintendent of public instruction gives, as the "number of children attending the common schools" for the year 1869, 998,664, a larger number than the whole between five and fifteen. At the same time he gives as the number between five and twenty-one years of age 1,463,299, the large number of 465,000 appearing as of school age, yet not attending public schools. Undoubtedly the school system of New York is extremely effective and complete for the rural districts, and the chief deficiencies are in New York and two or three other cities alone.

I must refer again, to avoid misapprehension of these statistics, to the indefiniteness, probably unavoidable, of the aggregates registered as attending school. For instance, in this city, the number registered at the beginning of the year 1870 was 81,253, yet the number admitted during 1869 was 54,872, and the number leaving was 52,582. Admitting that three to four thousand of these were duplicates—that is, that they left one school and were admitted into another—we have nearly fifty thousand to add to the eighty thousand to make up the whole number receiving instruction at some time during the year.

The Massachusetts statistics are similar, while those of New York are relatively more complete, the return there being of the "*whole number of children attending school any portion of the year.*"

The New York report adds a valuable item in the matter of education otherwise than in public schools, the statement being that, for 1869, 125,931 children were in private schools and 36,560 in academies, colleges and normal schools. Probably nearly all these last-named were over "school age," but we have a proportion of one-eighth of children proper shown to be educated in private schools. The same proportion here would give 21,250 as the private school attendance for Philadelphia and 104,000 for the private education in the State.

I have been much interested in the examination of the private school instruction afforded in Philadelphia, and particularly in the benevolent institutions through which so many children, otherwise likely to be wholly untaught, are carefully and faithfully instructed in the most necessary elements of instruction. I

have, in a former part of this paper, estimated the number of children of school age taught without charge, in benevolent institutions, at 5,000, and those less perfectly, yet to some reasonable extent, instructed in penal, reformatory, or other institutions, over which restraint was exercised and from which the children do not come with an equally creditable result to become citizens, at as many more. To these not less than 22,000, and probably 25,000, should be added as receiving all their instruction in private schools, making the aggregate 35,000. The greatest difficulty exists in tracing private school education, and in determining the numbers provided for in this way. It is more general here than in most other cities, to devote time and money to private benevolence, and this sentiment, alike with the wish to protect the child from rude surroundings, urges thousands to seek the excellent private schools, and to choose them over any public school. It is doubtful whether there are not disadvantages attending this practice quite as important as are the points gained. The child knows less of the world, less of that inevitable contact with others certain at some time to come, and is, by this isolation, really enfeebled rather than strengthened while acquiring education.

But it is hard to choose between the dangers on each side—the enfeebling effects of isolation, and the positive and great dangers of contact with vice and disorder. It is also a burning disgrace of many of the collegiate institutions that they offer no proper protection to the youth sent there, and that hazing, rioting, and even more desperate and dangerous vices, are thought to be acts of tolerable if not of essential smartness. The public school is less dangerous than the college, if West Point, Harvard and Yale are to be taken as types, and it is only necessary to improve the surroundings of these public schools, and to secure order, tasteful and gentle associations, and faithfulness with elevation of tone on the part of teachers, to make the public schools of Philadelphia fit for the early instruction of every child in the city.

The benevolent instruction which is so honorable to Philadelphia, or the institutions supported by private benevolence, apart from the public free school system, have at their head Girard College, next some ten or twelve institutions of less importance, yet special or isolated, with a large number of denominational or parochial schools, which embrace in their scope and in actual instruction several thousand children likely to get little or no

education in any other manner. Some of the institutions here referred to give instruction only as an incident of more enlarged charity, yet all are faithful to their duty of educating all they receive.

In offering some practical suggestions as to the immediate duty of citizens, I may fail to meet the views of any sufficient number to obtain the enactment of such provisions, but suggestions can, at least, do no harm.

As has been said in the earlier part of this paper, the efficiency and spirit of the public schools appear to be in a large measure based on the impression steadily conveyed that attendance is a privilege. Admission is treated always as a favor, and discipline is enforced by suspension, or, in extreme cases, by expulsion. The wilful truant, if unsustained in attendance by his parents, finds it easy to get away from school and its discipline. Parents are in some cases as wilful and refractory as their children, and they refuse to perform some one or more of the necessary requirements of admitting and retaining their children in school. The teacher must suspend a scholar for unexplained absence, also, as well as for proved viciousness.

All the teachers I have consulted believe that truancy, with wilful refusal of either parent or child to comply with necessary rules or discipline, is the cause of three-fourths of the failures to attend schools in this city. If, therefore, there are ten thousand uneducated, seven thousand five hundred of these are wilfully so, and the reasons become cumulative for subjecting them to examination and compulsion. Charity extends its aid to the poor, and still more to the utterly destitute, with a liberal hand; but the wilful and vicious, the future incendiaries and criminals of every grade, become every year an increasing proportion of the uneducated. The case is simplified, therefore, and the compulsion we propose bears only on those to whom some sort of compulsion must ultimately come.

The State of Massachusetts, as we have shown, embodies two modes of compulsion in its school system—the first being the truant law, with its officers charged with reporting non-attendance, and with compelling attendance by such penalties as shall be found necessary. It was a wise step to confide discretion as to the mode and degree of compulsion to the school directors of the several cities and towns, and it is respectfully suggested that the

same general law be enacted by our legislature. The school directors of this and other cities, whose general ability and faithfulness are everywhere acknowledged, could then bring a moderate yet effective pressure on such truancy, and soon reduce it to less dangerous proportions.

Again, the law requiring a certificate of three months' attendance at school as a condition of employment in mills or factories is easy of enforcement, and while it is not yet so essential here as in the Eastern States, it may soon become far more difficult to apply than now.

As to the extension of the existing school facilities to meet the requirements of such attendance of the poor and vicious as may be effected by the modes proposed, I beg to suggest a new class of schools, to be called Preparatory Schools. One such school, with provision for teachers, and for every other requirement, to be adjusted according to the demand made upon it, should be attached to each of the school sections of the city, and every thing connected with this Preparatory School should be based on the expectation that those who attend it would, as soon as qualified, be promoted to the general school. Under this arrangement the children of the extremely poor, who at the outset could not clothe their children properly, would have time to prepare clothing, and at the same time to secure something in the way of educational advancement. And should the expected advancement fail to be realized, the child still obtains something of value, possibly enough to change the whole tone of its life.

In the treatment of the truant and vicious class the greatest difficulty will be encountered. But firm and resolute instruction in the Preparatory School will accomplish much in retaining the more intelligent and advanced under the regular discipline of the general schools. When the free range of the streets is not to be gained, as they would count gain, by refusal to comply with necessary rules, and a school to them almost penal in its character is the certain result of becoming truants, there will be a higher tone and an easier exercise of authority secured to the general school.

I should not estimate the requirement of such preparatory schools to be greater than would provide for an average attendance of one hundred in each school section of this city; not that there are not more than this number now neglecting attendance,

but I should assume that nearly or quite an equal number would be added, as a consequence of their establishment, to the regular attendance at the general schools. And there would be many not for a long time capable of being brought within any school, except by extreme compulsory measures.

Assuming that such preparatory schools would be called on to educate three thousand more than are now educated directly, and three thousand more indirectly—that is, to add this last number to the regular attendance—we have six thousand added to the educational result in this city, and this at a very moderate increase upon the present cost. This increase would be the cost of teachers and room for one school of one hundred scholars in each of the twenty-eight sections; say fifty-six teachers, at a cost of \$28,000 for teaching, and an equal amount for other expenses. At \$60,000 annual cost, these schools would be a measure of economy from the point of incendiary losses alone; even at \$100,000, their cost would add less than one per cent. to the cost of the schools as now maintained.

The point impressed on teachers and observers now is, that the worst class of children escape the instruction and reformatory influences of the schools. They are, therefore, eager to see the necessity met by some efficient measure. The ten or twenty desperate truants within the knowledge of, perhaps, every observant teacher, are felt by such teacher to be the example of successful defiance of authority, injuring those who attend, and agents of demoralization to all around them. These bands of young outlaws must be broken up, and some carefully devised system of observation, report, and, if necessary, complaint and detention can surely be brought to bear here, as has, for two or three years, at least, been successfully done in the cities of Massachusetts.

I would again repeat that the tone and stimulus to good conduct adopted in the excellent public schools of this city should not be changed. The school must be held up as an object of attainment—a privilege extended—to be enjoyed only by those who are worthy. And in the classes of emulous and faithful, the refractory and vicious should not be forced to sit as equals. Let them, whatever their intelligence or years, be placed in a school apart, from which they are advanced only on their merits and through their good behavior.

In dealing with the statements I have given, I trust you will

not fail to appreciate the power which a relatively small number of idle and vicious possess to endanger the peace and security of a city or of a State. If but one per cent. of the children of this city were given over to ignorance and vice, there would be one thousand seven hundred; if five per cent., eight thousand five hundred. The facilities that exist for concentration, and for combining the power of the vicious, are not unlike the facilities which progress brings in every thing else. The very wealth and prosperity we enjoy tempts to violence, and while we know that desperate criminals are confined to no class, we feel, by instinct, that peaceful obedience to law is not to be expected of those whose youth has been spent in vicious truancy. In all the history of this city, the chief disorders and crimes were directly traceable to gangs of desperadoes trained to range the streets in idleness and vice—without education, and possibly at the worst periods of twenty to thirty years hence, without the opportunity for education. Now that the property of the city is taxed, as it should be, to maintain schools for all, it is a violation of the essence of the school laws themselves to permit boys to gather in truant gangs, defying the school discipline and educating themselves in incendiary raids.

We have had enough of all this costly experience. It is time that the very terms "law" and "order" themselves were defined to mean education to those within the period of educational age, and that those who refuse to avail themselves of the free means opened to them in our public schools were placed under surveillance and restraint.

The educational systems of other States than New York and Massachusetts are not so fully reported, or so well advanced, as to be taken as guides, or to throw any great light on the subject in hand. I have not, therefore, cited them, but I will give here a comparative statement, somewhat modified from the form given it in the recent report of the Bureau of Education, at Washington, showing the number educated in the several States, by the systems they have. A lamentable deficit is shown in more than half the States, unfortunately, and the work to be done to bring the whole country up to its duty in this respect really oppresses us by its magnitude.

I change the numbers designated "School Populations" from the very loose and irregular proportions in the original report, to

a uniform twenty-five per cent. of the population shown by the census of 1870; a proportion shown to be nearly equal to the numbers between five and fifteen years of age,—always a little more, but not more than to embrace one year additional. The general testimony of school authorities is that above fifteen years no great number attend on public schools, and therefore persons above sixteen years need not be the subject of public provision.

In examining the report of the National Bureau of Education one cannot fail to be struck with the vast deficiencies in educational provision still existing. Seventeen States, or nearly half the entire number, have no school systems at all, or at least none approaching effectiveness or completeness as agents of actual instruction to the children of those States. In view of the present enormous deficiency, the unfortunate consequences of which affect us in Pennsylvania almost as severely as if they existed in parts of our own State, certainly justify us in asking that some general initiatory legislation be had to aid the delinquent States in the work of establishing school systems. Perhaps such legislation might take the form of that suggesting and encouraging counties, in the early history of our school system. Privileges in the way of grants of land, or releases of indebtedness to the general government, might be held out as inducements, the measure of pecuniary aid in all cases to be, like the State aid in northern schools, no more than equal to the sums raised by State, county or municipal taxation; and to be based on the actual education given; or the number attending the schools for a definite period. In all the experience of the Northern States in establishing public schools, this graduated aid, based always on the direct effort made by the people themselves, has invariably been the rule. Refractory townships and districts have been led into the discharge of their duty by the giving or withholding of a really small sum of "public money," according to the facts of school provision made or not made by themselves. And in the end, the good result has been secured, though discouraging delays were often encountered.

Having myself had many years of personal experience in the practical enforcement of the school systems of New York and Pennsylvania, I now do not hesitate to say that entire States may be treated as townships, counties and districts have been in the States named, and that faithful persistence in persuasive

legislation, as I may call it, will in my judgment bring all parts of the Union into the adoption of free school systems. Compulsion, it must be admitted, is impracticable until the general systems have been established and so fully advanced as to bring us within sight and within control of the vicious and helpless who can be reached by no other means. In Pennsylvania we are ready for this final step. We have our eye upon the five thousand crime-inciting truants, and the equal number who lie in passive helplessness, unable to reach the provision at their very doors. But in closing up the work and the duty which has extended over nearly forty years of continuous and often discouraging effort, we are pained to find that so many parts of the Union are only beginning where the States now having free schools were half a century ago.

It is, therefore, a part of the present duty to begin the work of more general compulsion; that which, through years of moderate yet faithful pressure, will bring other States, twenty years hence, to the point we have reached to-day. Certainly we need no more positive lessons than we have already received to teach us that ignorance and crime go hand in hand, and that the States without school systems are never safe from fearful scenes of violence and disorder. Their misfortunes are our misfortunes also, and if we stretch a point of liberality in doing so, let us offer them, in the name of the whole nation, practical and material aid in establishing schools in which the 3,500,000 children, now almost excluded from any preparation for their duties and responsibilities as American citizens, may be taught, as they should be, the lessons which free schools alone can teach.

NEW SCHOOL EDIFICES.

There should, also, be generous mention made of the recent action of the School Controllers and city authorities of Philadelphia, in erecting a number of capacious and tasteful edifices for the free public schools that have done so much to secure instruction to all. There are now more than forty of these edifices, conspicuous as structures of beauty as well as value, of capacity varying from eight to twenty-four class-rooms each, all of which have been erected since 1866. There are, also, several large and fine school-houses erected earlier, and of the three hundred and eighty public schools now existing in the city, more than one hundred are in creditable buildings, owned by the city, erected and dedicated solely to educational uses.

In the last report of the Board of School Controllers an interesting

sketch of edifices and plans of these better structures will be found, and for convenience of reference, as I have not found a list of them elsewhere, I append a list, with their location, capacity, and, in most cases, their cost, to this paper.

I cite this list to show the extent and completeness of the preparation already made to educate all who can be brought into the schools, and also to vindicate the people and their school officers from any imputation of neglect of the great charge confided to them.

SCHOOL EDIFICES OF PHILADELPHIA.

(Chiefly erected since 1867.)

Name and Location.	No of Class Rooms.	Cost.	Date of Erection.
1 Central High School, Broad & Green sts.....	18..	\$40,000 *	1855
2 Girls' Normal School, Sergeant st., bet. 9th & 10th.....	12..	10,000	1867
3 1st Sec. Tasker School, Ninth & Tasker sts.....	10..	20,000	1869
4 do .. First Section Grammar School, Seventh & Dickerson.....	17..	40,000	1870
5 2d Sec. Nebinger School, Carpenter & Sixth.....	18..	33,000	1867
6 do { Washington (now Wharton) Secondary School, 5th } st., bet. Washington.....	18..	20,000 *	1858
7 do .. Washington, (new edifice,) Carpenter st., av. 6th.....	18..	37,000	1870
8 3d Sec. Fletcher School, Christian & Grover sts.....	15..	24,730	1867
9 4th Sec. Ralston School, Shippen & Guilford sts.....	8..	12,400	1869
10 do .. Fagen School, 12th near Fitzwater.....	14..	22,000	1868
11 do .. Ringsold Grammar School, Eighth & Fitzwater.....	23..	20,000	old
12 5th Sec. New Edifice, 3d st., near Pine.....	21..	43,890	1870
13 do .. New Edifice, 6th, near Lombard.....	8..	14,000	1870
14 6th Sec. Grammar School, Crown & Race sts.....	18..	27,500	1868
15 7th Sec. Southwest Grammar School, 17th & Pine sts.....	21..	42,100	1868
16 8th Sec. Locust Street Grammar School, Locust st., near 12th.....	24..	old	old
17 do .. Hollingsworth School, Locust, west of Broad.....	20..	44,000	1869
18 9th Sec. Keystone Grammar School, 19th st., near Chestnut.....	18..	39,000	1867
19 10th Sec. E. Shippen School, Cherry st., near 19th.....	17..	22,500	1869
20 do .. Northwest Grammar School, Race st., bet. 15th.....	15..	old	old
21 11th Sec. New Edifice, 3d st., near Green.....	18..	35,000	1870
22 do .. Madison Grammar School, New Market st.....	12..	old	old
23 12th Sec. Saunders School, Callowhill & Dilwyn.....	10..	12,000	1867
24 do .. Ravoult School, Marla st., near 5th.....	10..	14,300	1869
25 13th Sec. Wyoming School, 6th & Coates sts.....	21..	44,375	1868
26 do .. J. Q. Adams School, Garden st., near Buttonwood.....	10..	18,600	1860
27 14th Sec. Kelley School, Wood st., near 11th.....	10..	14,000	1867
28 do .. Hancock School, Coates & 12th sts.....	18..	13,000	1868
29 do .. Conrad School, Melon st., near 12th.....	21..	23,000	1869
30 do .. Lincoln Grammar School, Coates & 20th sts.....	18..	25,000	1861
31 do .. Hoffman School, 17th & Wood sts.....	18..	26,000	1867
32 16th Sec. Jefferson School, 5th st., near Poplar.....	15..	old	old
33 do .. Lankenberger School, 4th & George.....	16..	19,000	1867
34 17th Sec. Ludlow School, Master & Lawrence.....	21..	32,000	1868
35 do .. Harrison School, Master st., near 2d.....	15..	old	old
36 18th Sec. Vaughan School, Marlborough & Thompson.....	18..	34,000	1867
37 19th Sec. Price School, Howard st., near Diamond.....	15..	16,000	1865
38 do .. New Edifice, 4th st. & Montgomery ave.....	18..	20,000	1867
39 20th Sec. Rutledge School, 7th & Norris.....	10..	18,000	1866
40 do .. Penn Grammar School, Mary st., near Master.....	15..	old	old
41 do .. Reynolds School, 20th & Jefferson.....	15..	20,000	1867
42 do .. Morris City School, 28th & Thompson.....	18..	12,000	1868
43 21st Sec. Andora School, Green Tree Lane.....	8..	15,000	1866
44 do .. New Edifice, Washington st., Manayunk.....	10..	15,250	1870
45 22d Sec. Rittenhouse School, Germantown.....	12..	old	old
46 do .. Franklin School, Germantown.....	10..	11,000	1870
47 do .. Chestnut Hill School, Chestnut Hill.....	10..	20,000	1870
48 23d Sec. Oxford School, Oxford.....	8..	4,000	1867
49 24th Sec. Belmont School, 41st & Oregon.....	18..	25,000	1869
50 do .. Heston School, 54th & Lancaster.....	15..	33,000	1868
51 25th Sec. Sherman School, Frankford Road & Somers st.....	10..	13,000	1868
52 do .. McClellan School, Edgemont & Neff sts.....	11..	15,000	1863
53 do .. New Edifice, 6th & Turner sts.....	8..	14,000	1869
54 26th Sec. Jackson Grammar School, 12th & Federal.....	10..	18,000	1862
55 do .. New Edifice, Fitzwater & 15th sts.....	14..	34,000	1869
56 27th Sec. Belmont Grammar School, 36th & Chestnut.....	10..	old	old
57 28th Sec. Forest School, Falls of Schuylkill.....	8..	15,000	1868

*Old.

SCHOOL POPULATION AND SCHOOL ATTENDANCE OF THE SEVERAL STATES, WITH COST OF SCHOOLS, PER LAST REPORT.

	Popn. in 1870.	School Popn.	No. Enrolled in Pub. Sch.	No. of Schools.	No. of Teachers.	Cost of Schools.	Date of Report.
Alabama,	997,500	249,375	160,000 (est.)	3,804	.....	\$502,156	1809
Arkansas,	486,103	121,526	100,000 (est.)	2,500 (est.)	2,000 (est.)	670,944	1809
California,	566,258	112,753 (rep.)	73,754	1,354	1,687	1,290,585	1809
Connecticut,	537,886	125,407 (rep.)	105,313	1,647	2,813	1,290,927	1870
Delaware,	125,015	31,254	.....	.....	.....	113,729	1870
Florida,	189,995	47,499	7,575	250	250	38,289	1870
Georgia,	1,179,886	294,971	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Illinois,	2,527,874	631,919	706,780	10,590	19,037	6,430,881	1808
Indiana,	1,676,046	419,011	462,527	8,881	11,826	1,474,000	1870
Iowa,	1,190,845	297,711	296,138	6,788	11,994	2,918,483	1870
Kansas,	382,307	90,577	68,681	1,707	1,159	506,711	1809
Kentucky,	1,323,087	330,772	160,446	4,209	.....	276,555	1870
Louisiana,	723,000	182,000	50,000 (est.)	483	625	724,243	1870
Maine,	630,423	157,606	126,946	4,004	6,007	1,091,258	1870
Maryland,	781,055	195,264	99,315	.....	1,905	1,217,653	1809
Massachusetts,	1,457,351	271,052 (rep.)	247,080	4,963	8,106	4,419,200	1809
Michigan,	1,184,296	374,774 (rep.)	289,587	5,052	10,249	2,401,518	1800
Minnesota,	335,000	144,414 (rep.)	102,086	2,521	3,775	823,571	1870
Mississippi,	834,190	200,000 (est.)	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Missouri,	1,703,000	425,750	249,729	7,000	7,146	1,548,257	1870
Nebraska,	123,000	32,619 (rep.)	13,893	782	521	86,483	1870
Nevada,	42,491	3,778 (rep.)	2,028	45	55	72,430	1870
New Hampshire,	318,300	75,595 (rep.)	52,199	2,529	3,781	323,179	1800
New Jersey,	908,514	253,227 (rep.)	161,689	1,438	2,820	1,619,718	1870
New York,	4,370,846	1,092,711	998,664	11,750	28,310	10,002,964	1870
North Carolina,	1,085,500	271,375	49,302	1,398	1,415	165,290	1870
Ohio,	2,652,302	663,075	740,382	11,714	21,626	6,614,816	1809
Oregon,	90,922	18,000 (est.)	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Pennsylvania,	3,517,272	879,318	828,892	14,211	17,612	7,676,286	1870
Rhode Island,	217,306	56,934 (rep.)	29,477	650	673	353,021	1809
South Carolina,	725,000	168,819 (rep.)	15,918	381	528	.....	1870
Tennessee,	1,258,326	314,582	185,845	.....	.....	732,795*	1868
Texas,	797,500	200,000 (est.)	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Vermont,	330,585	76,759 (rep.)	74,140	2,197	4,296	498,064	1809
Virginia,	1,269,607	320,000 (est.)	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
West Virginia,	447,943	111,986	59,028	2,308	2,283	329,152	1869
Wisconsin,	1,055,296	398,747 (rep.)	264,033	4,735	8,795	1,987,436	1869

* Expended in Tennessee for the two years when the free school system was in operation. No free school system now exists.

(Rep.) Reported by the school authorities. All others taken at twenty-five per cent.

STATES WITHOUT SCHOOL SYSTEMS.

	Pop. in 1870.	School pop., 25 per cent.		Pop. in 1870.	School pop., 25 per cent.
Alabama,	997,500	249,375	North Carolina,	1,085,500	271,375
Arkansas,	486,103	121,526	Oregon,	90,922	22,730
Delaware,	125,015	31,254	South Carolina,	725,000	181,250
Florida,	189,995	47,499	Tennessee,	1,258,326	314,582
Georgia,	1,179,886	294,971	Texas,	797,500	199,375
Kentucky,	1,323,087	330,772	Virginia,	1,269,607	317,402
Louisiana,	723,000	182,000	West Virginia,	447,943	111,985
Maryland,	781,055	195,264			
Mississippi,	834,190	208,547			
Missouri,	1,703,000	425,750			
				14,022,620	3,505,657

A SUNSET IDYL.

I.

A crimson globe lies in the West,
Cradled in cloud—a feathery nest,
If wearied sun could pause and rest.

And now before my raptured sight,
Beyond the far-off mountain height,
It sinks in its own crimson light.

The crimson shades to orange deep;
Then yellow waves in silence sweep
To where the emerald æthers sleep.

Last steals the blue, so soft, so light,
'Tis scarcely blue, yet scarcely white,
To meet the violet-gray of night.

II.

Oh, sea of crimson, purple, blue,
If only I might sail on you,
And float in dreams to regions new!

Oh, fairy realms by man untrod,
Belonging only unto God,
All undefiled by mortal clod!

Are there no homes in yonder land,
Of angel brothers no bright band,
To greet me with a friendly hand?

III.

As deeper grow on earth the shades,
And from my eyes the landscape fades,
I gaze through never-ending glades,

Where isles of gold in seas of fire
Kindle within me wild desire
To gain them even to expire!

Sweet vision of snow-drifted hills,
Down whose bright sides flow silver rills,
My soul with softest murmur fills.

IV.

Oh, could I like a swallow float
On yonder tiny, fleecy mote,
As in a swift, celestial boat!

If only up beyond the world,
Among the breezy cloud-wreaths curled,
I might one hour through space be whirled!

V.

Yon filmy flake of purple hue,
Alone, set in a sea of blue,
Melts gently, softly, from the view.

Above that dark and sombre bar
Of cloud, behold a tiny star,
Beaming upon me from afar.

VI.

There rises from the sun, though set,
A stream of light that lingers yet,
Like lovers that to part have met.

But now 'tis gone. I cannot stay
The lingering light, the feeble ray;
Farewell, thou dear, departed day!

VII.

Above, around, the evening gray;
Where fitful, throbbing sparks do play,
And, as they twinkle, seem to say,

"'Tis tears that dim our shining eyes,
When all we here most love and prize,
Your foolish race do but despise;

"We twinkle for we can but weep,
When sinful men to shelter creep,
And lay them down in thankless sleep!"

E. W. WATSON.

ALBERT BARNES.

THE death of this eminent Philadelphian minister of the Gospel, which took place on the afternoon of Christmas eve, was the fitting close of a noteworthy life. The obituary notices which have poured from pulpit, press, and religious convention have brought the leading events of his career before the public mind. All classes seem to have joined in the express of esteem or regard in more or less eulogistic utterances. It is not our aim to add another to these indiscriminate eulogies, but to attempt an honest estimate of the sources of the wide-spread influence exerted by one who shone so little in the qualities which keep men prominently before the popular eye. Mr. Barnes had the retiring and modest instincts of the scholar, rather than the popular gifts that shine in council and controversy; yet he was the most prominent figure in scenes of intense and excited interest. He had nothing of that openness of soul and freedom of utterance with which some men lay bare their whole inner life to the public gaze, and secure the public attention, yet a warm and affectionate regard grew up around his name and person in the hearts, not only of those who actually met him, but even of those who never saw his face or his country, and could not speak a word of his language. He will not rank in the history of exegetical scholarship among the great critics whose insight cast new and unexpected light on the page of revelation, yet his commentaries have sold by millions of copies, and have far outdistanced all rival works in the same field. His theological opinions were offensive to more than half of Protestantism through their decidedly Calvinistic character, and not less offensive to even the majority of Calvinists through his repudiation of views usually reckoned as parts of that theology; yet all join in the expression of their sorrow in tones and words which seem to express some hearty feeling of a loss sustained in his sudden death.

Mr. Barnes was born in the interior of the State of New York, on ground long occupied by settlers from New England. He himself was of the Puritan stock, but belonged to that part of it which coöperated in religious matters with the Scotch-Irish of the middle and western parts of the country. This coöperation began with the present century, when the Congregationalists and

Presbyterians divided the land after the fashion of Abraham and Lot. Each church polity was to allow the other exclusive control, so far as it was concerned, within certain territorial limits. For the thirty years that this plan of union was on trial, New Englanders thronged into the Presbyterian Church, bringing with them the views of polity and doctrine which were current in their own States. Heartburnings and jealousies arose on both sides. The New Englanders said, "You are depleting our churches, and we are receiving no equivalent. The current of emigration is all westward from us to you." The stricter Presbyterians said, "Yes; but we have the worst of the bargain, for you are spreading among us new-fangled doctrinal notions, of which we heard nothing when we made the compact, and you are breaking down our old polity. Your Hopkinsianism, Taylorism, and Emmonism will have superseded our old Scotch and Ulster Calvinism in a few generations, unless matters change, and the Westminster Standard will be a dead letter. Your free and easy church polity, which puts mere unordained committee men in the place of Presbyterian elders, and gives free play to your new 'Revival Measures,' threatens to sweep Presbyterianism off the face of the land." This, in outline, was the origin of the controversy which agitated the Church from 1830-40, and ended in disruption. The scenes attending that event were such as to make many regret that any such compact had ever been formed, but we think that the historical philosopher will regard, with approval, a measure which brought into close contact two of the most notable elements of the composition of the nation—the clever, gifted citizens of New England and the iron-willed, hard-handed Scotch-Irish of the Middle States.

Mr. Barnes was called, in 1831, from his first pastorate at Middletown, N. J., to the pastorate of the First Presbyterian Church, of this city. He had studied theology at Princeton, and had already spent five years in the pastorate. At the persuasion of older friends he had also begun the preparation of his "Notes" on the Scriptures. Our city was second only to Pittsburg in the fervid orthodoxy of its Presbyterians. Here was a young man, a graduate of Yale, and a native of that infected and suspected region of Central New York, who had been called to the pastorate of the oldest church of the name in the city. What the newspapers call his "antecedents" were very sharply scrutinized, and more than

enough was found to justify alarm. He had preached and published a sermon on "Justification," which contained decidedly "free handling" of Calvinistic doctrine.

To that system, as a whole, Mr. Barnes gave his decided assent, as the only one which seemed to him consistent alike with human experience and the revealed will of God. There was much in the staunchness and rigor of its general logic which seemed to him full of a rugged honesty; other parts, however, appeared to him as notably deficient in logical honesty—seemed to be mere phrases to cover unconfessed difficulties not charged with any real significance. To his mind they bore no meaning: they seemed to stand in no vital relation to the realities of things. His most notable mental characteristic was a certain intellectual conscientiousness, a judicial fairness of mind. He was not the man to give utterance to his convictions and conceal his doubts; he gave utterance to both with the same freedom and honesty.

His acceptance of the call to Philadelphia thus plunged him at once into a sea of troubles. The Presbyterian polity gives to presbyteries the right to refuse to install on the ground of doctrinal unsoundness, or to proceed with the installation. Dr. George Junkin, a native of Western Pennsylvania, was very appropriately the accuser in the case. The city pastors and their elders rejected the charge when presented in presbytery; to synod, where the country pastors of adjacent presbyteries had seats, Dr. Junkin appealed, and the appeal was sustained; a counter-appeal, to the Assembly of the whole Church, acquitted Mr. Barnes by a species of compromise, in which his expressions were censured as injudicious. Here the case ended, save as it gave an impulse to the movement which, in 1837, ended in the disruption of the Church.

The scenes of these years on the floor of the Assembly were stormy in the extreme. Never was any man more unfitted by temperament and disposition for such an atmosphere of strife. Others there were who rejoiced in it, but he could not. Dr. Beman, of Troy, who still survives, seemed quite in his native element in the debate, acting as leader of the New Englanders; and experienced members of Congress (including Henry Clay) declared that the displays of eloquence in the Assembly exceeded any thing on the floors of the national capitol. Dr. Beman was an ardent Democrat and a warm personal friend of President

Jackson, who was himself a Presbyterian. About 1836 he was calling at the White House to pay his respects to the President, and to express his sympathies with Jackson, who was then exposed to much obloquy. "Dr. Beman," said the victor of New Orleans, "to tell you the truth, what vexes me most just at present is the *strife and contention in the General Assembly.*"

In the quieter years which followed the Disruption, Mr. Barnes was best known in the field of Scripture exposition. His "Notes" on the whole of the New Testament and on four books of the Old have taken rank among the most widely-circulated books in the English language, besides being translated into several others. They will not compare with the great works of modern scholarship; they were not meant to do so. Their author was not a De Wette nor a Ewald, nor even a Schültens or a Lampe, yet his books mark a new era in the history of Scripture exposition. The rapid growth of Sunday Schools since the beginning of the century, and the impulse thus given to the popular study of the Bible, had created a demand for a new class of commentaries. The old English works were either too bulky and doctrinal or too scholarly and esoteric for the use of the people. Many writers came forward to supply the want, but by a principal of "natural selection" his works have survived all their early rivals, and bid fair to outlast many of later date. What most won them public favor was their manifest fairness of tone and their perfect adaptability to the popular wants. The class for whom they were meant found in them a plain solution of ordinary difficulties, and would have regarded the suggestion of new ones as a censurable work of supererogation. No one could read them without feeling that their author's main concern was to get at the real meaning of the Scriptures—that he was honestly trying to avoid stretching them on the Procrustean bed of a theological system. The reader might dissent or be unsatisfied, but he could not charge unfairness. Their style was easy and clear; the range of study evinced in them was sufficiently extensive for their purpose, which is saying much. They raised their readers to a certain height of exegetical intelligence, and did not spoil their work by trying to lift them too far. They were too plain and direct to require an effort for their comprehension. They were never—a rare virtue in commentaries—more unintelligible than the text which they undertook to explain. No reader need

exclaim of them as the old lady did of an annotated edition of Bunyan's immortal allegory, that she "could understand the Pilgrim's Progress well enough, but not more than half of Scott's 'Notes' on it!"

The churches may well be grateful to the author of Barnes' "Notes," even without regarding them as a finality. When the time comes for a more critical and thorough People's Bible-Work, these books will be seen to have prepared the way for it by extending the popular interest and enlarging the popular understanding of the subject. Guides and hand-books have their use in the world's work, even if the microscope and telescope open up to us fields of study of which the former tell us nothing. Mr. Barnes' books were popular guide-books through the Scriptures, while the close study of microscopic critics reveal new beauties in the minor parts and arrangements, and while telescopic critics, by taking in the whole range in a broad sweep, discern a grandeur and a unity in the whole system not otherwise perceptible.

His books were the result of an unwearied industry, which itself was part of his intellectual conscientiousness. No part of his time or of any other talent could he suffer to lie idle. His pastoral duties occupied the greater part of the "solid day;" so, the early hours of the morning were spent in the study of the First Church, once occupied by the courtly Dr. Joseph Wilson. While the great city was sunk in slumber, he was on his way to his work, often anticipating daylight—never letting it anticipate him. Once he was arrested by a watchman while making his way into the church, and the man would not be persuaded that he was the pastor. "He did not know Mr. Barnes personally, but he was sure that he was a man who would not be about at such an untimely hour." The results of such early study have never, we fear, been such as to reassure the advocates of very early rising. More than one laborious student has traced his partial or total blindness to this source. In Mr. Barnes' later years his sight failed him, while every other faculty seemed to retain its full vigor, and his general strength was such that he has been known to walk from Thirtieth and Walnut streets far up into Kensington, and walk home again after preaching. He had a consistent dislike to using the street cars on Sunday; so he would not have a carriage sent for him.

His books won him the regard of many who, in doctrinal opin-

ions and in local situation, seemed to be very far removed from him. Calvinists, who looked on him as unsound, and Methodists, who repudiated what he held of Calvinism, met here on common ground. He speaks through translations in several European languages, and the common people hear him gladly. The sexton of the First Church, while going to tend the fires one winter day, was accosted by two strangers, who asked, in imperfect English, if this were Mr. Barnes' church. On being told that it was, they said that they were Welsh pastors, and that his "Notes" were the favorite manuals in the Sabbath Schools of the Principality; might they sit down in the pulpit of the man whom they had so long revered. Consent, of course, was given, and as they sat in the spacious pulpit, which past generations thought stylish and grand, but ours regards as clumsy, they prayed, and sang a hymn of praise in their native Welsh, which some one describes as "a language half blown away by the wind."

His two books on Slavery, in its relations to the Bible and to the Church, were written in times when the advocacy of anti-Slavery views was a sure source of obloquy and abuse. They bear the marks of his intellect; they have not the illogical fervor of the ordinary abolitionist writers, but they push on steadily the great argument that the spirit of Christianity is thoroughly hostile to any system of enforced servitude. Perhaps they were not the less effective that they did not furnish the Pro-slavery papers with a string of "horrible abolitionist utterances," as a specimen of the whole.

It was Mr. Barnes' fortune to be several times engaged in controversial discussion—twice with clergymen of the Episcopal Church. That with the late Bishop Doane was conducted with the urbane courtesy which well became Christian gentlemen—a fact which he recalled with some feeling when an article in *The New Englander* involved him in another controversy with the not-so-urbane Dr. S. H. Tyng, Sr. This last discussion in regard to the logic of the Low Church party and their position, is chiefly notable from the fact that a very large proportion of that party now take precisely the view then urged by Mr. Barnes—that a thoroughly consistent "Prayer-book Churchman" cannot be a consistent Low Churchman. Dr. Tyng's position, however, is still maintained by himself and his friends.

By far more characteristic of Mr. Barnes was a more recent

controversy with Hon. Gerritt Smith, who unites Abolitionist with Universalist views.* The occasion of this discussion was a declaration in Mr. Barnes' published sermons, which is one of the most frequently quoted passages in theological literature. It is as follows:

"That the immortal mind should be allowed to jeopard its infinite welfare, and that trifles should be allowed to draw it away from God, and virtue, and heaven; that any should suffer for ever,—lingering on in hopeless despair, and rolling amidst infinite torments without the possibility of alleviation, and without end; that since God *can* save men, and *will* save a part, he has not purposed to save *all*; that, on the supposition that the atonement is ample, and that the blood of Christ can cleanse from all and every sin, it is not in fact applied to all; that, in a word, a God who claims to be worthy of the confidence of the universe, and to be a being of infinite benevolence, should make such a world as this, full of sinners and sufferers; and that when an atonement had been made, He did not save *all* the race, and put an end to sin and woe for ever.

"These and kindred difficulties meet the mind when we think on this great subject; and they meet us when we endeavor to urge our fellow sinners to be reconciled to God, and to put confidence in Him. On this ground they hesitate. These are *real*, not imaginary difficulties. They are probably felt by every mind that has ever reflected on the subject; and they are unexplained, unmitigated, unremoved. I confess, for one, that I feel them, and feel them more sensibly and powerfully the more I look at them, and the longer I live. I do not understand these facts; and I make no advances towards understanding them. I do not know that I have a ray of light on this subject, which I had not when the subject first flashed across my soul. I have read, to some extent, what wise and good men have written. I have looked at their theories and explanations. I have endeavored to weigh their arguments; for my whole soul pants for light and relief on these questions. But I get neither; and in the distress and anguish of my own spirit, I confess that I see no light whatever. I see not one ray to disclose to me the reason why sin came into the world; why the earth is strewed with the dying and the dead; and why man must suffer to all eternity.

* It may be worth mentioning here that John Brown, while on his way from Kansas to Harper's Ferry, called on Smith, and heard him preach one of his "occasional sermons" to his flock at Watertown. John was a Presbyterian of the highest Calvinistic type, and at the close of the discourse rose to criticise it. He expressed himself as perfectly hostile to such "rose-water Liberalism," and went on to state his own views of the truth at some length.

“I have never seen a particle of light thrown on these subjects that has given a moment's ease to my tortured mind; nor have I an explanation to offer, or a thought to suggest, that would be of relief to you. I trust other men—as they profess to do—understand this better than I do, and that they have not the anguish of spirit which I have; but I confess, when I look on a world of sinners and of sufferers; upon death-beds and graveyards; upon the world of woe, filled with hosts to suffer for ever; when I see my friends, my parents, my family, my people, my fellow-citizens; when I look upon a whole race, all involved in this sin and danger, and when I see the great mass of them wholly unconcerned, and when I feel that God only can save them, and yet He does not do it, I am struck dumb. It is all dark, dark, dark to my soul, and I cannot disguise it.”

Such words from an ordinary theologian would indicate a degree of dissatisfaction with his own theological views as would render an early change of them probable. He might long entertain such a feeling without allowing it any practical influence, but when he goes so far as to express it, something further is to be expected. Not so with Mr. Barnes. His perfect fearlessness of expression was but the outcome of his perfect conscientiousness of intellect. He felt thus, and it was right that he should say so. He and all who heard would be the better for his saying it. He would have said with Arnold of Rugby that the mind can feel as much peaceful content in the presence of a confessed difficulty as before an evident truth. Mr. Gerritt Smith may simply have thought that such an expression of feeling was a fine text from which to preach Universalism, or he may have had some expectation that a little more argument would end in Mr. Barnes' relinquishment of the Orthodox pulpit. In either case he was mistaken. He was met on equal terms and treated with the candor which was part of Mr. Barnes' inmost nature. The old utterances were acknowledged and restated in stronger language, and then with admirable dialectic skill the views of Mr. Smith were shown to involve a still more gloomy view of the future of the race. It was in the study of these letters that the present writer first came to understand the mental idiosyncrasies of their venerable author, and to feel the peculiar force of *his* appeal for fair play in controversy with the most hostile critics of Christianity. This last was made in a series of “Lectures on the Evidences of Christianity in the Nineteenth Century,” delivered before Union Seminary, in

New York, one of the most readable of Mr. Barnes' books. His work on the "Life and Travels of the Apostle Paul," and his incomplete revision of his "Notes on the New Testament," were his last literary labors.

The few years that elapsed since the close of his pastoral labors were not spent in idleness. No vacant pulpit but might command his services, and he was often seen in what had been his own. The colored churches were especially dear to him, and his life-long advocacy of the claims of their race made him a fit preacher to those with whom he so warmly sympathized. As a trustee of the University of Pennsylvania, he had rarely been absent from his place so long as his health permitted his attendance at the monthly meetings of the Board. When no longer allowed to go out at night, he became a regular and patient attendant at the annual examinations, striving in this way to evince his interest in the institution. Some years ago, we believe, he was offered the position of Provost, which had become vacant, but he preferred his place in the pulpit.

In late years a gift of quiet humor seems to have grown with his years, venting itself in hits which read less effectively than they were spoken. He visited the *very* orthodox Old School seminary in Alleghany City about a year before the reunion of the two Schools, and explained that he heard that "we were coming into some property here, and he wished to see if it was in good condition." The readers of one religious paper were startled by the publication of a dreadfully heretical obituary, which was really from his pen. Only a few read it close enough to see that the dear departed, who "suffered and died, although free from original sin and actual transgression," was a parrot!

When he was taken away, it was the garnering "a shock of corn fully ripe." He had lived to see a united Assembly meet in his own church, with only *his* name still in lively and honorable remembrance out of all that were prominent in the times of the division. Most of the rest were dead; some had sunk into comparative obscurity; many of his opponents were "shelved" in their Presbyteries for the part they had taken in the defence of slavery and the advocacy of the cause of the rebellion. When his name was mentioned, on the morning of the Assembly's adjournment, it was received with loud and continued applause.

He had served God in his day and generation—not behind

“his day and generation” in the advocacy of moribund abuses and anomalies—not far in advance of “his day and generation” in the advocacy of brilliant schemes of reform—but in it and with it.

Geht in ein bessres Schlafgemach;
Die Freunde folgen segnend nach
Hab Gute Nacht.

JOHN DYER.

SPAIN AND PROTECTION.

THERE are few European writers on Spain who do not indulge in some abuse of this country on account of its high protective tariff. One of these writers expresses himself as follows:

“The foreign commerce of Spain, as well as its industry, is rapidly increasing. *Unfortunately*, it is just as much checked by the tariff, which is nowhere in Europe so oppressive as here. More than one thousand three hundred articles are dutiable. Nevertheless, in spite of extensive smuggling, and although nothing has been done to increase the revenue, the latter has more than doubled during the past fifteen years.”—*Klæden*.

It is singular that free trade writers never succeed in proving to a fair-minded reader that a protective tariff will, 1, decrease the revenue; 2, keep industry and commerce from developing; while, on the other hand, they rarely fail, when quoting the statistics of free trade countries, to prove that free trade, 1, diminishes the revenue; 2, checks industry and commerce!

We ought to add, however, that this rule has an exception in the case when free trade logic is applied to England. England has such an enormous accumulated wealth, she is so far ahead—thanks to two hundred years of protection—of all other nations in manufactures and commerce, that it will take a pretty long period of free trade before her example will point the same moral.

As regards Spain, it is undeniable, that her national rise has been proportionate to the development of her manufacturing industry, and that this development has occurred during a period marked by a very high tariff. Free traders may cry out that her

industry grew in spite of that tariff; but other people, who are not committed to any special theory, will not fail to see that tariffs, growth of manufactures and commerce, and national progress, are generally found moving in one direction, while free trade, decline of manufactures and national retrogression are moving in another. At any rate, few will be made to believe that the increasing prosperity of Spain is due to the extensive smuggling, which is so much facilitated by the English, who hold Gibraltar as a smuggling depot, and by the Portuguese, who prefer national impotence to the efforts necessary to maintain a tariff. Portugal was once an important country. The famous free trade treaty of Methuen marks the point when her decadence began, and ever since then her course has been so rapidly downward, that at present her condition is in no respect higher than that of Tripolis or Morocco.

Spain is not yet the country and the nation we could wish her to be, but it would not be fair to judge her by an ideal standard. We will admit, even, that many features in her tariff law are bad, or, at any rate, not as good as we could wish them to be. Nor would we have it understood that we regard the mere establishment of a protective tariff as the only thing needful. We regard such a tariff simply as *one* of the most powerful measures an energetic and wise nation can take for the purpose of advancing its best interests. Experience alone can furnish the proof whether such a measure really tends to produce the desired result or not. Where there are rocks, the boring of an expensive tunnel may be the cheapest and best policy; in a plain, it would be absurd. Thus, for a country like England, a tariff may no longer be needed, because previous tariffs have entirely removed the inequality of the soil, although there are many indications which go far to prove that even England is not yet quite so level, politico-economically speaking, as free trade zealots would make her appear.

Experience has proven, as far as Spain is concerned, that with the establishment of a protective tariff the growth of manufacturing industry began. A few facts will prove this very clearly.

The loss of her colonies obliged Spain to rely on her home revenue for the expenses of government, &c. Having, under a system of free trade, reached the very lowest degree of national impotence, a long time was required to enable her to recover.

Fortunately, her rulers gradually established freedom of trade in the interior, and encouraged home industry by a tariff at the frontier. Thus, by degrees, manufacturing industry got a foothold in Spain, the immigration of skilful foreigners was encouraged and capital induced to flow into the country. Fifteen years ago Spain was yet very far behind, although she had done much to recover from her former abject condition. Since then her progress has been remarkable. According to Dr. Kløden, of Berlin, the free trade statistician already quoted, "Spain, which for so many years has, as regards its manufacturing industry, been far behind most of the other European States, has made a remarkable progress during the past twelve years or so.

"In the Northwestern (Baskian) provinces, a most energetic industrial activity has for some time past existed. Also in the provinces of Catalonia, Valencia, Galicia and Asturia, a real manufacturing industry has been developed."

In 1861, 218,500 workmen were engaged in various manufactures. The number was probably higher, as statistical operations are not yet carried on in Spain with the same degree of accuracy as in more advanced countries, and the complete figures pertaining to the industry of the Baskian provinces, for instance, had not been obtained. Of the total number, 52,859 were engaged in the manufacture of cotton goods, 41,639 in mines and forges, 25,185 in woollen factories, 22,107 in the manufacture of flour, 11,092 in foundries, &c. There were five hundred and sixty-three steam-engines, of 16,822 horse-power, over one-half of these, three hundred and ninety-six of 8,790 horse-power, in Barcelona alone, nineteen in Oviedo, sixteen in Valladolid, thirteen in Valencia, ten in Sevilla, nine in Gerona, &c. Their number has considerably increased since then. Of cotton spindles there were in 1857 already 783,285. Of these Barcelona had 710,424, Tarragona 43,514. We lack more recent figures, but have no doubt that the increase since then has been extraordinary. As early as 1861 there were 3,091 silk-looms, and more than 5,794 looms for woollen goods. Excellent cloth, rivalling the French, is manufactured in Manresa, Tarrasa, Sabadell, Igualada, &c. There were three hundred and fifty-five paper-mills, using 350,000 cwts. of rags, and producing some 37,000,000 of pounds of paper.

In no department the progress of Spanish industry is more apparent than in the production and working of iron. In 1832

this branch of industry had scarcely an existence in Spain. In 1861 there were in operation four hundred and twenty-nine establishments—furnaces, forges, foundries, &c.—employing 11,092 workmen and 3,151 horses. Since then the increase has been very considerable.

The total mining industry of 1863 was represented as follows :

	Spanish cwts. each 100 kilo.		Spanish cwts. each 100 kilo.
Iron ore,	2,226,761.	Copper ore,	2,456,371.
Lead ore,	2,695,989.	Zinc ore,	481,242.
Lead ore, containing silver,	403,395.	Quicksilver ore,	168,624.
Silver ore,	30,616.	Coal,	4,013,009.
		Other products,	935,767.

The total value of these was estimated at over 166,000,000 reals. Considerably more than one-fourth of all the lead produced in the world is at present furnished by Spain. No less important are the Spanish quicksilver mines. Of coal, Spain has an inexhaustible supply, and the mining of both coal and the most important ores is on a very rapid increase.

The production of forges and foundries was, in 1863, as follows :

	Metric cwts. each 100 kilo.		Metric cwts. each 100 kilo.
Cast iron,	245,954.	Zinc,	13,818.
Steel,	1,880.	Quicksilver,	8,342.
Lead,	459,917.	Soda,	39,961.
Lead, (argentiferous,)	263,689.	Sulphur,	23,465.
Silver,	8,928.	Other products,	5,757.
Copper,	32,565.		

Representing a total value of 276.77 millions reals.

These figures give quite a respectable look to the affairs of Spain, and it seems as though the people of Spain had reason to congratulate themselves on having escaped the influence of free trade England which proved so disastrous to Portugal. But Spain has yet to use great efforts before she can hope to rival such rapidly advancing countries as France, Germany, and even Russia. All these countries believe in protecting their industry. Their economical history clearly establishes the wisdom of such legislation as will enable a nation to develop its resources, to vary the occupation of its members, to call into activity the dormant forces of the mind, and to bring to light the hidden treasures of the earth.

CHAS. A. EGGERT.

MODERN MUSIC.

WITHIN a short time three languages have been enriched with works on the modern science of music. Helmholtz, in German, is the great father of the scientific discussion of sound, and his teachings have been repeated by Tyndall, in England, by Laugel, in France, and by Mrs. Seiler, in our own country. Seiler's work, "The Voice in Singing," is a practical treatise for teachers and pupils, and its cheap yet elegant form puts it at the command of all who are interested in the subject. It has lately reached a third edition here, and has been reprinted in England, Germany, and France.

Helmholtz, in the original German, is no longer a new book—but, like all really great good books, it has only gradually come to its true place in the eyes of competent judges. That such a man as Tyndall should proclaim himself Helmholtz's pupil is proof enough of the greatness of the master. As a full and complete exposition of his master's discoveries, Tyndall's book is thoroughly satisfactory, and he has a clearness and aptness of illustration which have earned for him the curious name of "The Dickens of Science." His book, however, like that of Helmholtz, is purely scientific, and, like that of Seiler, which is purely practical, appeals necessarily to a limited audience. Laugel, however, has addressed himself to the public at large, and has done it with that marvellous adaptation of the means at his command to the end in view which characterizes Frenchmen in all their literary operations. He has not gone into the extreme of either scientific or practical discussion, and a brief analysis of his book will furnish the material for a short popular sketch.

Harmonic music is one of the most recent conquests of our modern culture. Harmony was not known in the music of earlier ages; melody was the only element at their command, and the Greeks made an abundant and excellent use of it. With harmony married to melody, music has passed from the recitations of the ancients, through the choral services of early religious performers, to the varied growths of opera, oratorio, and symphony. This growth of music suggests the question of its further progress, and of the future of that beautiful art whose empire is every day growing larger and greater. Is music an art independent of others,

and equal in itself to its sister arts, architecture, sculpture, painting, or must harmony be the servant or the interpreter of thought, religious, dramatic or lyric?

In trying to answer these questions, the greatest modern musical geniuses have sacrificed every thing to the opera, and yet have succeeded in giving it a doubtful place between music and the drama. If the opera is superior to the symphony, that superiority is due to the human voice, which is the most supple, the most expressive, and therefore the most charming instrument. Little as opera owes to literature, true poetry owes still less to the opera, for the purely literary idea is lost in music. The help of scenery and costume is equally burthensome, for it implies conventional rules, and limits rather than advances the expression of dramatic life—of passion, love, hatred, prayer, reproaches, crimes, combats, jealousies—all the stock in trade of the modern opera. Harmony finds sufficient themes in a few simple ideas, supplied by the eternal truths of nature. Unlike other arts, music is subjective and objective at the same time; the sentiment of the composer ought to pass into his hearers, but it is transmitted to every one of them with different effects. Music suggests rather than expresses ideas; the stream of sound carries with it thoughts, emotions, desires, hopes, and leaves their impress as it flows on. Even in its most dramatic form, surrounded by all that can flatter the senses, music never takes the listener away from his own thoughts. The opera is the most sensuous form of musical art, but it does not exclude those forms in which the scene is transformed into our own inner consciousness, where the current of harmony carries the imagination to ideal heights, purifying terrestrial passions, softening grief, drying tears, and making all that is earthly heavenly. Musical art has therefore less to do in seeking new forms, when those it now possesses are so far from being exhausted, than in using those which the genius of its great masters has already given it.

In this spirit Helmholtz carried on his investigations, and, looking on sound as a particular kind of molecular movement, he applied his knowledge of mathematics to its analysis, and his knowledge of mechanics to bringing in a sensible form before the eye the physical result of that analysis. He has found a way to decompose sounds that are most complex, and to reduce them to their simplest notes, showing that nature does not produce simple notes, but that natural noises are concerts, made up of

chords and musical intervals. As a physiologist he has explained how the human ear analyzes sounds, and how it collects and transmits to the brain the unity of sensation produced by the accord of many musical notes in one. As a mechanician he has established the harmonic hierarchy of musical instruments, showing that the most docile are the vibrating strings, and that it was only with violins that Mozart and Beethoven could carry the human soul to the highest summits of musical emotion. Nothing touches us so nearly or impresses us with such resistless sympathy as do the rich and powerful notes of an orchestra of stringed instruments. The lyre is still the symbol of harmony—of that which combines sounds without noise, and gives music its soul.

The instrument of all instruments in music is the human voice. It is of all sounds the one which we are least in the habit of analyzing. We never think of it as any thing but a simple expression, a representative symbol, and it requires an effort of the mind to stop and reflect on its purely material nature. In spite of its extremely complex harmonic form, it is harder to analyze than any other instrument. The richness of the voice depends, of course, on the state of the throat and its apertures, and an infinitely small thing makes or unmakes those enchanting voices which live in the memory of all who have heard them. At the instant when the voice is born on the trembling lips it is composed of a series of vibrations attuned in a long harmonic series. The study and analysis of it shows its nature, its attributes and its power. In this way it has been possible to learn and to measure the quality and strength of the organ of singing in the act of uttering sound, and the correct conduct and control of the air flowing in vibrations of sound, as well as the position of the different parts of the mouth, which serve as a sounding-board to the voice.

The next step is the study of the ear, and Helmholtz is the first who penetrated the secret of that little apparatus, hidden in the depths of the head and by a strangely complicated anatomy. The outward ear only catches the sound; the secret is inside, in the very centre of a labyrinth, where all the vibrations from without are gathered together. The ear neither feels nor appreciates the geometric form of the waves of sound which come within its reach, but it recognizes in the general wave each of the particular waves which help to make it up. The simple waves,

corresponding to elementary notes, are arrested at the extremity of the auditory apparatus. There the ear decomposes them into separate sounds, just as the prism decomposes colors. The power to do this is the whole secret of the sense of hearing.

Everybody knows, or can learn by trying, how the notes of the voice are taken up and repeated by the corresponding cords of an open piano. The composite wave of sound which leaves the mouth of the singer meets all the cords of the instrument, but finds sympathy only in those which vibrate in harmony with the notes of the voice; each cord selects the wave which includes its own note, and holds it, leaving all the rest to pass by. Four, five or six cords will vibrate, although the wave issuing from the mouth is geometrically and materially one wave. The scale of the cords of the piano decomposes mechanically every complex sound into its elementary notes. A single wave makes several cords vibrate. This is exactly what takes place in the ear. The apparatus to which the wave of sound comes, after all its travelling, to be transmitted to the nerves, is a piano.

Anatomists have for a long time studied only the parts of the ear which are the roads for sound to travel over, and serve to transmit the wave of sound to the liquid in which the ends of the auditory nerve are laid. The microscope has lately shown three thousand little fibres—the filaments of the acoustic nerve. These are the cords of the little piano in the head. Those of them which can seize an elementary vibration of their own likeness do so by natural sympathy, and thus the sound is decomposed and distributed; but the elementary vibrations penetrate together at the same instant of time to the acoustic nerve, so as to produce on the sense of hearing simultaneous impressions, which unite in a single sensation, unless the will is strong enough—made so by training—to keep the impressions separate and distinct. The nerve piano is richer in feeling and power than the ordinary piano by the difference between the eighty-four strings of the mechanical instrument and the three thousand of the ear. It can appreciate the most subtle sounds, the most delicate variations in all the changes that are possible within the limits of audible sound.

It is this habit of perfect hearing that makes absolute silence painful. This nameless pain is felt in high mountain places, where there are none of the thousand noises that are heard in the solitude of a forest—a branch breaking, a bird flying, a leaf

falling, running water—all is silent. The ear is so unaccustomed to perfect silence that it creates noises. Hearing is of all the senses the one which has the most frequent hallucinations. Solitude has its noises just as distinct and as frequent as its visions.

The admirable delicacy of the organ of hearing is further seen in the facility and the certainty with which we recognize persons by their voices alone. The ear makes distinctions which no grammar teaches. It divines sex, age and nationality; it gets a sensibility which is so intense at times as to be painful. The page which is read with dry eyes and without any feeling draws tears of laughter or of sorrow by turns, as it comes from the mouth of Charles Dickens. The emotion of the human voice has an irresistible contagion. Eloquence will always be a sure means of carrying men's minds captive with an irresistible power.

The ear has greater power than the voice, for while the latter is limited to two octaves, or to two and a-half—and even the most perfect singers barely gain another octave—the ear is capable of appreciating all this, and as much more as can be supplied by other instruments.

Like painting and sculpture, music finds its material in the external world; as these arts combine form and color, it combines sounds. It has been said as a reproach that music was less ideal and more material than its sister arts, because it acted on the nervous sensibility rather than on the intellect; that it speaks not to the human conscience, but to the passions and the sentiments, and in a language which, by its exquisite suppleness, escapes all fixed limits, all precise rules, all moral control. To this it may be answered that music, better than the other arts, is free from the tyranny of the physical world, for sculpture and painting are limited to representation of realities, their work is fixed, without movement and in immovable forms, while music borrows its sounds from the material world; but it is free to dispose of them as it pleases. It combines them; its union is free and liberal, and its work is a perpetual creation. It leaves to other arts form and space, and keeps time only for itself, giving it to the listening ear by the voice, the breathing of an instrument, making it felt in its strength and in its softness as a living power.

Notes are the raw material for music, just as stone is for archi-

ture and color for painting. The art which groups them is the creation of the artist's mind. Pictures and statues are always the same in their unchangeable beauty. Music is movement itself. The intelligence of the spectator gives to the work of other arts their charm. Music supplies the emotions which touch the listeners without any conscious effort or action on their part. A curious instance of the varying effect of music is that adagio of Beethoven's, which he meant as an expression of peaceful, innocent joy, but played slowly, as it is the fashion to do nowadays, it gets a wonderful majesty; its simplicity becomes sublimity, and solemn and mystic.

Musical art rarely, and almost never successfully, imitates natural noises—the sighing of the wind, the roar of water, the fluttering of leaves. It creates a world of sound, governed by order, firm, fixed and precise. It finds means of expression and a new power in the harmonies and the contrasts resulting from this order, and it subjects itself to the tyranny of measure; it accepts the limit of rhythm, and it confines itself to the gamut. It is the perfect submission to these rules that produces pleasing harmony, and it is irregular violation of them that distresses the ear, just as sudden transition from darkness to light or a flickering light irritates the optic nerve. The dissonance in sound that makes bad music acts in the same way on the ear.

Music has its styles, just as architecture has; and as form and lines determine the one, the scale fixes the other. It is the form and line of sound. It varies with different people and at different times. Music reached its height within the last two centuries, and in this time it limited itself to two scales, the minor and the major. These in turn give the two elements of music—melody or the succession of sounds, and harmony or the combination of them, which produces the most wonderful effects. Music which is produced by a single sound at a time is melody; it becomes harmony when it combines the sounds and draws from their conflict or their agreement its means of expression. Melody and harmony are complements of each other, and mutually sustain one another in grand music; but taken separately they have their own characteristics, their own rules, their proper place. Melody is the centre around which the glorious confusion of sounds evoked by harmony revolves in order and submission.

Harmony is the creature of modern civilization and of Euro-

pean civilization exclusively. Melody was known long ages ago and in all countries. In Greece it attained all the perfection of which it is possible. Born, not as an independent art, but as a younger sister of poetry, as a modest auxiliary of declamation, it bore with it always the marks of its subordination. The ancient drama was in every respect unlike that of our own day, which seeks to reproduce on the stage all and only that which is natural and lifelike, and yet the spoken music of the Greek stage still pleases the popular ear in the declamation of popular actors and public speakers who stick to the rising and falling intonations. In all ages and in all countries music has begun in melody; in all others than those of Europe, and that in very modern times, it has stopped with melody.

Harmony is the next and final stage of its growth. Melody is transmitted in single sounds; harmony in almost illimitable variety. Notes are the elements of melody, chords of harmony. These chords have grown from time to time, and the harmonies with which the ear is familiarized have come together by slow, timid expressions, often at first rejected, then only accepted as doubtful, and finally made the familiar elements of modern music.

The growth of music has not been without its battles, its defeats, its triumphs, and in other respects the vicissitudes of other branches of our modern civilization. Starting with the simplest melody, it was enriched by the additional notes of the Greek lyre, by the hymns and chants of the early Christian Church, and grew into harmony first under the hand of the Flemish monk, Hurbald, at the beginning of the tenth century. Guy d'Arezzo, a great musical authority in the eleventh century, spread the knowledge of the new music in France and Flanders. The result was a more extended and varied kind of music, combining rhythm and harmony, increasing the number of voices in unison to five, and in church music seeking to represent by the singers the ages as well as the feeling of a numerous congregation. The new style soon ceased to be peculiar to the church, and in the profane world left its traces in the madrigals and dances of the fifteenth century. The fugue is the next step in the progress of harmony, without quite reaching its present power, but pointing the way to it by subordinating the melody.

But while this progress was being made, music had its difficulties and its battles over them. In the early Christian churches

the absolute liberty in melody went so far that every church had music of its own, unlike that of other churches of the same faith. Saint Ambrose made a collection of canticles and hymns from the large number borrowed by the Church in the East from pagan worship, and added to them others of later date. He prescribed these and their mode of singing, and for a time his rules were obeyed. Saint Gregory, however, was obliged afterwards to intervene, and to forbid all musical ornaments, rhythm and measure, as too earthy and contrary to religious emotion, which should ignore all time. The chants of the sixteenth century are the products of this reform, and it contributed powerfully to the progress of harmony. Luther in the Reformed Church and Palestrina in the Catholic Church labored at the same task, and the successful result of their labors is now unconsciously acknowledged as it had been unconsciously brought about.

The great Italian singers made the next step, for the voice is fitted to develop harmony by its rich and full harmonic notes far beyond those of any mechanical instrument. The opera was the first real expression of harmony. Recitative was invented by Jacob Peri, in 1600, in imitation of ancient music; adding chorus and solo to it gave, in the seventeenth century, the opera as it was written by Claude Monteverde and Viadana. The harmonic accompaniment subordinated to the movement of the melody was first tried, then practised, and finally made familiar by frequent use, until it became the basis of modern music.

Rameau is the real author of our great modern music. His success was founded on principles which are mathematically correct. That very basis, however, of calculation has done much to make modern music too artificial. It has facilitated composition and instrumentation, but at the price of harmonic purity, and by cultivating dissonances until they have become almost more natural than pure harmony.

Whether for good or bad, the piano has established its empire in music, because that instrument reduces to the minimum the inconveniences of a mechanical apparatus, and gives the greatest facility in its use.

Dissonances are less easily noticed, because the sound dies at the touch of the next note. Beethoven has used in his sonatas dissonances which would inflict torture to the ear on any other

instrument. A false note on the piano may pass unnoticed in melody, while on other instruments it is at once detected.

The decay of great singers, in number and in merit, is partly attributable to the ridiculous and unfortunate importance which has been given to the piano in teaching singing. The human voice, the finest instrument in the world, and the richest in harmony, has become the slave of an instrument which has no true notes, no pure sound. In the Italian school and in the churches of the sixteenth century the science of harmony grew out of singing. Now it is impossible to find any substitute for the exquisite freshness, the angelic purity, of the spontaneous intonations of the human voice. Harmony is made subordinate to an imperfect mechanism, and the natural purity of the voice is laboriously and systematically spoiled by the piano.

Where can modern singers learn their art? Nothing but the voice can guide the voice well or truthfully, and yet it is surrendered to the very instrument which gives least help and most trouble to a singer. The voice is sustained by chords in which all the elements are slightly inharmonic, so that it is impossible to know the exact note sought or got. The result is that the singer never knows how to strike a note without accompaniment, and yet that very accompaniment is changing itself and of course depriving the voice of certainty and purity of utterance. In the best opera houses there are no singers who can support each other without accompaniment. The famous trio in *Don Giovanni* was not considered difficult in Mozart's day, and now-a-days even the charm of his music finds singers unwilling to undertake it, although that charm is mainly due to his perfect knowledge of the human voice. Beethoven had no such advantage. He thought less of the voice than of the orchestra, and to it he gave new movements, new expressions and new powers. The vague majesty, the terror, the surprise, the tenderness, the melancholy of his music, carry it to the summit of all music, and show that in that art, as in all others, there is a sublimity possible at least to one. First of harmonists, he never lets the melody die under the weight of the accompaniment, and while his music appeals to the senses, it touches the intellect.

A real reform in music must begin by reforming the piano, which has done all the mischief; but who will declare war on that democratic instrument, which has made the taste for music

universal? and, as it is neither too great for melody nor too weak for harmony, it has become the interpreter of all kinds of music. Musical taste will never be reformed until the schools for teaching singing banish the piano, are blind to its seductive facility, and strengthen the human voice by forcing it to find a guide in its own harmony.

Choral societies can bring about this change by depending on their own strength, and by forgetting orchestral helps and supports. By these false aids they have learned to make wonderful transitions, and singing is less their pursuit than a bad imitation of mechanical instruments. It is time for the voice to return to the pure sources of music whence spring all harmony and all melody—the human voice itself. It is so for many reasons: it is susceptible of much higher culture than any instrument, it is in almost every person endowed with more or less natural aptitude for singing, and it is more grateful to the listener, whether he be untutored or a skilled musician. But it requires early, constant and scientific training; and to inspire respect for the knowledge which can supply it and zeal in the use of it, teachers and scholars must both turn to the real sources of musical science—the recent works of Helmholtz, Tyndall, Laugel and Seiler.

J. G. R.

ZEISBERGER'S MISSION TO THE INDIANS.

(FIRST NOTICE.)

In these years, when the old Indian policy is giving way to a better, and when even an American President rejects the principle that the red man has no rights that the white man need respect, a peculiar interest attaches itself to the labors of the brave men who devoted their lives to the work of civilizing and Christianizing the Indians of our country. Elliott's work in New England and Brainard's in New Jersey have long been familiar to a wide class of readers, and others of less note have been worthily celebrated. The names of Count Zinzendorf and his Moravians have long been associated in a general way with similar efforts, but the actual result of their work has never been put fairly before the public, until the publication of the work upon which this article

is based.* The book, apart from its great interest as a contribution to the heroic history of Christian missions, and as a portrait of a really great minister of the Gospel, has at once a permanent and a present value, because of the light it casts upon the character and possible future of the red races of our continent. The picture drawn in it is not a flattering one—*le noble sauvage*, “the noble red man,” and the other fanciful pictures drawn by romancers and rhymsters have no place in the story. The Indian is depicted just as he is—with so much of a sense of what is right as to be eager for praise for the very qualities to which he has the least claim, and with so little real moral principle that neither that desire of praise nor any other of his present motives can be relied on as a guarantee of upright conduct. Yet we think that no one can rise from the perusal of the story of the good German missionary’s labors without a more hopeful view of the possibilities and capacities of the race—without feeling that the Christian religion has been shown to be a real power for good among them when preached by men of fervid earnestness, dauntless courage, and sincere desire for their temporal and spiritual welfare. It is not uncommonly said that if you but scratch a converted Indian, you will find the old heathen warrior under the skin. The course of this story shows us how more than one converted brave was scratched more severely than an ordinary white Christian would endure, and yet bore it with a patience which was partly, perhaps, the stoicism of his race, but much more the result of Christian meekness and long-suffering.

Another notable point shown is the susceptibility of the race to new religious ideas. The belief in the unity of God or Manitou, the Great Spirit, and in the soul’s immortality, which now prevails so generally among the Indians, was not one which existed among them before their intercourse with the whites; indeed, it may be largely ascribed to the labors of the early Jesuit missionaries, being, perhaps, the only permanent result of their marvellous zeal and industry. The Indian languages seem to have originally possessed no word for the name of the Deity. Other religious ideas have also been adopted from Europeans, as the

* The Life and Times of David Zeisberger, the Western Pioneer and Apostle to the Indians. By Edmund de Schweinitz. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co., 1867. Pp. 747, 8vo.

existence of a Satan, or powerful spirit, of thoroughly evil character. They always believed in many small devils, but not in this great one, as is indicated by the theory that he has to do mainly with the white man. So, again, of the existence of future states of reward and punishment for the good and the wicked. They have even gone so far as to parody the Christian Gospel, declaring that Manitou had a son, while they rejected the idea of his suffering and dying as inconsistent with their savage standard of power and greatness. During the conspiracy of Pontiac, a new class of Indian prophets arose, preaching this new Gospel, which they declared they had learnt by passing into the spirit world, calling upon the people to give up their besetting vices and to purge themselves from their sins by scourgings and vomitings.

The author of this remarkable biography, Rev. Edmund de Schweinitz, a bishop in the Church of the United Brethren, is among the very foremost of the clergy of that small but estimable communion. He seems to have left no stone unturned to render his work complete and accurate in the highest degree. His careful use of MS. authorities, as well as of all the published sources, make his work *the* authority on the subject, and have enabled him to eliminate more than one fabulous story which had been put into circulation by less accurate writers. As a contribution to the national history, and especially to the early history of Pennsylvania, the work is invaluable, while the absorbing interest and the excellent style of the narrative should insure for it a wide circulation.

The great missionary was born in 1721, in Eastern Moravia, at the village of Zauchenthal. His parents were descended from the old Hussite church of the Bohemian Brethren. He received his early education at Herrendyk, in Holland, one of the stations of the reorganized *Unitas Fratrum*, but, to escape the rigid discipline of Count Zinzendorf's first followers, he ran away with a comrade, and the two made their way to Georgia, where the elder Zeisbergers had settled some years before. The troubles of the Spanish war of 1739 caused a division in the Moravian colony on the Savannah, and a part (including Zeisberger) set out in George Whitefield's sloop for Pennsylvania. At first they settled on land owned by Whitefield, in Northampton county, but some differences having arisen with their new patron, he ordered them off.

Their new site was chosen on the Lehigh river, ten miles farther south, and in 1741 Bishop Nitschmann, who had arrived from Europe, laid the foundation of Bethlehem. A year before this the missionary work was begun among the Indians of the North by a Moravian named Rauch, who landed at New York, and proceeded to Dutchess county, extending it from that centre into Connecticut and Massachusetts, with the aid of assistants from Europe. In 1742 Zinzendorf visited America, and made an excursion into the centre of our own commonwealth as far as the Wyoming valley, preaching to the Indians and winning the good will of many, but making no converts. A missionary class was formed among the young men at Bethlehem, and a competent teacher of the language appointed; Zeisberger, then in his twenty-third year, being one of the members. To perfect his knowledge of the language, he started to visit the missions in New York, but the missionaries had already been ordered from the field by act of the Colonial Assembly. Zeisberger and his comrade were put under arrest and hurried off, first to Albany, then to New York, and were only released at the intercession of Governor Thomas, of Pennsylvania. Disappointed in that direction, the little church turned its eyes toward the Wyoming valley as its next field, and Bishop Spangenberg determined to negotiate for that purpose with the Six Nations, who divided the supremacy of the middle States with the Delawares, and within whose jurisdiction Wyoming lay. He and Zeisberger accompanied a peace commissioner from Philadelphia to the capital at Onondaga, and the mission was doubly successful. The Iroquois were alienated from the French interest, and restored to peace with other tribes on the one hand, and, on the other, Spangenberg was authorized to occupy the site selected. They encountered almost every species of hardship and privation on the expedition. The New York converts were removed to a new village, in Carbon county, named Gnadenhütten, and still a station was opened at Shamokin, (now Sunbury,) in Northumberland county, on the great trail to the south. For years Zeisberger labored here, and itinerated in the Wyoming valley and along the branches of the Susquehanna. The success was encouraging: by-and-by old fields were reoccupied in New York and New England; a new station was established in Monroe county, at Meniolagemekah; an act of Parliament recognized the Moravian Church and opened all the colonies to her labors. Her Indian converts were numbered by hundreds.

A second, and a still more dangerous expedition to the capital of the Six Nations, was undertaken by Bishop Cammerhoff and Zeisberger, in 1750, with the view of establishing a station among the powerful Iroquois themselves. Again and again they were exposed to sudden death by the drunken fury of the natives, by drowning, by exposure to heat and cold, by the assaults of disease and by want of food. They travelled sixteen hundred miles through the wilderness, and secured the permission required, but not till 1752 was Zeisberger able to avail himself of it. In the meantime he had visited Europe and reported to Zinzendorf, narrowly escaping shipwreck on his way thither. His main purpose in going to Onondaga was to perfect himself in the Iroquois dialect, as it differed from that of the Delawares, but he found it impossible to remain among them. Again and again his life was in danger from the very people who had welcomed him among them, and conferred upon him the rights of membership in their tribes, but who were continually destroying their reason and conscience with rum and working themselves into drunken fury. He returned to Bethlehem. On a third visit to Onondaga, the persistent missionary found the Six Nations in the midst of preparations for a French war, and he was only able to perfect his knowledge of their language. His last was in 1754-5, when a mission house was erected, and the Gospel preached from lodge to lodge for ten months. His reception was more cordial, his stay seems to have been more agreeable, yet fruitless. He turned from the Iroquois to the Delawares.

The French and Indian Wars of 1754-5 were the beginning of a long series of misfortunes to the missions. The brethren were under sore suspicion as in league with the French, but one of the first events of the war was a sad refutation of the charge. The station at Gnadenhütten was attacked by French Indians, and nine white persons shot down or burnt to death, while one woman was carried into captivity. Zeisberger was on the way to the place to inform them of the approach of the Colonial militia, but was detained some hours by a party of frontiersmen, who arrested him as a suspicious character. Had it been otherwise his life would have been lost, as he was within sight of the settlement when the cries of a few escaped fugitives warned him of his danger. The Christian Indians offered to attack the enemy, but the missionaries refused to allow this. They made their way—

some to a new settlement in Wyoming valley—others to Gnaden-thal, near Nazareth. During the continuance of the war Zeisberger was mostly employed at his Iroquois-German Dictionary, as the times were unfavorable to new missionary efforts. When peace returned, he was busied at the existing stations among the Delawares in Lehigh and Monroe counties.

The peace which gave North America into the hands of the English made a great change in the position of the Indians. They were no longer the petted, flattered and subsidized allies of two rival European nations, but the subjects of one, and that one had now no reason to conceal her designs of occupying the whole Continent. The wise men among their leaders began to foresee the inevitable consequence of white policy, and to cast about for means to drive the whites off the Continent. Pontiac, the chief of the Ottawas, and the "king and lord" of the Northwest, organized a great conspiracy for this purpose, counting on the aid of France. Almost the whole Mississippi Valley was summoned to his standard, and nearly the whole line of frontier forts were taken at one blow and their garrisons massacred. Detroit and Pittsburg alone held out. In the meantime the new prophets had arisen with their new gospel to counteract the work of the missionary. They exhibited diagrams drawn on tanned deer-skins, showing the straight and direct road to heaven appointed for the Indian, contrasted with the circuitous one revealed by the Great Spirit to the white man, and designed for him only. They preached ceremonial flagellations and purgations, and a reform in morals. Some of them were thoroughly in earnest, and exerted no slight influence. Papunhank, in Bradford county, really awakened his people's consciences, and they sent to Bethlehem for a teacher. Zeisberger found them eager to hear, and was appointed from Bethlehem their resident missionary. He was helped somewhat by a visit from the great and good Quaker, John Woolman. At last, in the midst of the Pontiac Insurrection, the prophet and others were admitted to the church by baptism.

The settlers along the frontier suffered so terribly from the Indian warfare that their indiscriminating hatred of the red men rose to an uncontrollable pitch. The Moravian Indians were charged with harboring the enemy, and only the earnest entreaty of the missionaries repeatedly saved whole settlements from

massacre. The fierceness spread from the frontier to the cities; only the Quakers seemed to have kept control of their tempers. The settlers from Ulster had suffered most, and seem to have been most exasperated. The missionaries were obliged to keep a diary of the employment of every convert at every hour, and to furnish any who went out hunting with passes. The converts agreed to carry their rifles in such a way and to wear such dress as would readily distinguish them from the heathen. But at last the angry passions broke out, murder began, and the converts fled for refuge to Nazareth. The Governor had promised them protection, and the Council and Assembly ordered them to be disarmed and brought to Philadelphia. They were to be quartered in the large barracks at Second and Green streets. The faithful missionaries accompanied them, and during the entire route the curses and abuse of nearly all who met them alone welcomed them. The soldiers mutinied and drove them from the barracks as they were about to enter, and for five hours they stood, amid a jeering, abusive mob, on Second street, while the authorities debated what was to be done. Many Quakers came forward to shake them by the hand, and cheer them up. At last they were led, "like sheep among howling wolves," down Second street, and carried on flats to Province Island, then the summer quarantine of the port. After a time they were marched through New Jersey, with a view of taking them to the territory of the Six Nations, who had not joined in the insurrection, although they had instigated it. But when they had reached Amboy, the Governor of New York forbade their entering that province, so they were remanded to Philadelphia. An armed force was organized for their protection, mainly through the energy of Franklin, and the preparations were none too soon, for a large body of frontiersmen were on the march to destroy them. This body was brought to terms by superior numbers and the logic of Franklin, and persuaded to return home. The Indians were now in the barracks; smallpox broke out among them, and nearly half were carried to Potter's Field. On the return of peace, they were removed, (March, 1765,) first to Nain and then to Friedenshütten, in Bradford county, the settlement of the ex-prophet Papunhank, who had joined them at Province Island. So ended the Paxton Insurrection.

From 1765 till 1767 Zeisberger labored here with marked suc-

cess, the Iroquois having made a grant of land, and the settlement being continually visited by "wild Indians." A great "revival" took place, and considerable numbers were converted. The town was well laid out and prosperous. Zeisberger again visited Onondaga in the interest of the new settlement, but refused to stay.

This may be considered as the dividing point in the great missionary's life. Hitherto his labors had been in the eastern and middle parts of our commonwealth, but the influx of European settlers had gradually driven the great mass of our Indian population westward beyond the Alleghanies, and Zeisberger was soon to follow them thither. He was still unmarried, but he had risen year after year in the regard of his Church and in repute with the civil authorities. At first he had been only the comrade and interpreter who accompanied their bishop and prominent clergy on tours of missionary effort. Soon he himself became the leading person on such expeditions, and now he occupied the foremost place in her staff of laborers among the Indians. He had fairly earned this place, for he had made full proof of his ministry. No one surpassed him in mastery of the native languages, in perfect comprehension of the native character, in boldness and zeal, or in good repute among the savages themselves. The terse eloquence with which the Apostle to the Gentiles described his labors and sufferings in the ministry of the Gospel is not too strong to characterize those of this Apostle to the Indians, and in many a distant hunting-lodge he was known by his Indian name, and honored as one who shrank from no suffering or danger, that he might carry the good words to their race. He had what Paul thought a fine qualification for a minister—"a good report of them that are without." He had accompanied the Indian converts through the perilous and disgraceful scenes of the Paxton Insurrection; with the same fearlessness he had made his way, day after day, through the dense forests and across the pathless swamps of the frontier, where even the red man broke down in sheer exhaustion, or shrank back from paths where no trail had been broken. In all he bore himself with the same Christian meekness and patience, always referring for direction to the Mission Board of the Church, who invariably submitted all questions of prudence to his own judgment. His early comrade in mission work, Frederick Post, besought him to cut

loose from the Moravians, and to plunge out into the Great West, and labor independently to establish the kingdom of God among the Indians. He replied, "I am the property of the Church of the *Unitas Fratrum*," and turned again to his work. Post wandered over the whole continent, effecting nothing, and finally abandoned missionary work. Zeisberger was misled by no species of *ignis fatuus*. He labored on "in the calling wherewith he was called," evincing more real strength of character through this course than he could have done in any other.

If we have a single fault to find, it is with the excess to which he carried the principle of non-resistance. He seems to have taken Christ's words in regard to the smiting on the cheek in a literalness which reflects rather the exegetical methods of the Pharisees than the spirit of their great Censor and Opponent. The arm of the flesh does not prove a good implement to advance the kingdom of God—its influences are not spiritual—yet it has its place. We fail to see the Christian duty of letting the fruit of years of labor be scattered to the wind by a lawless mob, when a little cold lead would have taught better manners. We see only an exaggeration of Christian virtue when chiefs, whose names had been a wonder and a terror to all the tribes, are stripped and bound without a shadow of right on their opponent's side, and without a struggle on theirs, simply because they had become Christians. The Scotch-Irish Presbyterians of the Commonwealth get but hard measure from Bishop de Schweinitz; perhaps it is no worse than they deserve. But their Covenanter spirit, which held the field at Naseby, and turned back a French army from the indefensible walls of Derry, has not been wholly a curse to them. A little of the Covenanter might possibly have been an improvement in Zeisberger's character. The thought is especially suggested by his later experiences in the West, which must be reserved for another paper.

Perhaps, however, the nature of his mission required just such workers in that strange field—men whose strength should be perfect meekness of spirit. Nothing less than this, possibly, could have awakened the savages to a sense of the utter differences between the spirit of the Gospel and that of their revengeful heathenism. We can draw lines in the matter, and say how far submission should go, and when patience ceases to be a virtue. Could they have done it as exactly? Only total abstinence can

benefit a confirmed drunkard; perhaps only a non-resistant gospel met the needs of converted Indians. May we not hope for some equally great success from the members of the Society of Friends, whom General Grant's policy has brought into such close and friendly contact with a large part of the Indian race? They inaugurated on our continent an Indian policy of justice and kindness; only when their influence ceased to be paramount in our commonwealth did the Indians have reason to fear the action of government or the encroachment of its citizens. In the times of the Paxton Insurrection, some of them took arms to aid in the protection of the Moravian converts, and so bitterly were the whole body hated by the hostile party, that rewards were publicly offered for the scalps of prominent Quakers. They have always been the representatives of the philanthropic sentiment in our national history, and we augur nothing but good from the fact that they have been brought again into prominence in regard to the treatment of the red race. Not the least of these possible benefits has already been reached in the emulation excited among other bodies of Christians, who have come forward to ask that portions of the same fields shall be assigned to them also, a request with which the general government has been glad to comply. May we not hope for the day when the President's great ideal shall be a realized fact, and the Indian, "Christianized and civilized," shall no longer be a flying cloud of hostility and destruction on our western frontier, but an integral part of a peaceful, prosperous, and homogeneous people.

ROBERT ELLIS THOMPSON.

STARTING ON A PILGRIMAGE.

THERE is an "Early English Text Society" in London, which publishes, by annual subscription, selections from the valuable and curious MS. literature of Mediæval England, with a view to their philological and historical value. They give the following squib as found in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge, and date it "time of Henry VI," *i. e.*, in the earlier half of the fifteenth century. It seems to be the commencement of a long poem which never was finished, much to our loss. The picture

is realistic and life-like to a degree, showing that sailors' manners and the horrors of sea-sickness are much what they were four centuries ago.

Men may leave all gamès
That saylen to Saint Jamès
For many a man it gramès [troubles]
When they begin to sail.

For when they have take the sea,
At Sandwich or at Winchelsea,
At Bristow, or where that it be,
Their hearts begin to fail.

Anon the master commandeth fast
To his shipmen, in all the haste,
To dress them soon about the mast,
Their tackeling to make.

With "How! hissa!" then they cry;
What, how, mate! thou standest too nigh;
Thy fellow may not haul thee by,
Thus they begin to craik.

A boy or twain anon up styen,
And overthwart the sail yard lyen;
"Yeho! tallya!" the remnant cryen,
And pull with all their might.

Bestow the boat, boatswain, anon,
That our pilgrims may ply therein;
For some are like to cough and groan,
Or it be full midnight.

"Haul the bowline! now veer the sheet!
Cook, make ready, anon, our meat;
Our pilgrims have no lust to eat;
I pray God give them rest!"

"Go to the helm! what how no nere, (nearer to the wind),
Steward, fellow! A pot of beer!"
"Ye shall have, sir, with good cheer,
Anon, all of the best."

"Yeho! trussa! haul in the brayles!
Thou haulest not, by God, thou fayles!
O see how well our good ship sails!"
And thus they say among.

"Haul in the wartake!" "It shall be done!"
 "Steward, cover the board, anon,
 And set our bread and salt thereon,
 And tarry not too long."

Then cometh one, and saith: "Be merry!
 Ye shall have a storm ere a perry!
 Hold now thy peace, thou canst no whery,
 Thou meddlest wondrous sore."

This, meanwhile, the pilgrims lie,
 And have their bowlès fast them by,
 And cry after hot Malvessy,
 "Thou help for to restore."

And some would have a salted toast,
 For they might eat neither sod nor roast;
 A man might soon pay for their cost,
 As for a day, or twain.

Some laid their bookès on their knee,
 And read so long they might not see;—
 "Alas! mine head will cleave in three!"
 Thus saith another certain.

Then cometh our owner, like a lord,
 And speaketh many a royal word,
 And dresseth him to the high board,
 To see all things be well.

Anon he calleth a carpenter,
 And biddeth him bring with him his gear,
 To make the cabins here and there
 With many a feble cell.

A sack of straw were there right good,
 For some must lay them in their hood;
 I had as lief be in the wood
 Without meat or drink;

For when that we shall go to bed
 The pumpe was nigh our bedès head;
 A man were as good to be dead
 As smell thereof the stink.

[*Cetera desunt.*]



THE
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BOARDS OF CONCILIATION AND
ARBITRATION.*

I WISH to speak this evening with special reference to the amicable adjustment of the wages question, so as to do away with the present unsettled state of the Anthracite Coal Trade in Pennsylvania. The subject is of the most vital importance to the prosperity, I might almost say to the very existence, of our country, and one of particular interest to our State, where so much capital and labor is devoted to mining and manufacturing. Much of the matter which I shall present in this paper for your consideration has already appeared, though in a somewhat different form, in the Anthracite Monitor, which is the organ of the Anthracite Miners' Union. It would perhaps be proper for me to state here, in addition, that I am at present engaged as an operator in mining anthracite coal, and that consequently my views may not be so impartial as I should wish them to be; but any of my hearers, whose opinions may differ from those expressed in the sequel, will, I trust, make allowance for the difficulty experienced by one in my position when endeavoring to make an unbiassed exposition of the state of the case.

The first point to which I would direct your attention is the unsatisfactory (it would perhaps not be too strong an expression to say *barbarous*) manner in which the disputes arising so con-

* Read February 16, 1871, by ECKLEY B. COXE, before the Social Science Association of Philadelphia.

stantly between employers and *employés* in regard to wages, to the hours of labor, &c., are now generally settled. Let us take, for the purpose of simplifying our discussion, the case of a single mine or manufactory, reserving the question of the combination of all the workmen in a trade for another part of the paper.

If the demand for the article manufactured at the establishment increases, so as to cause either an advance in the price or larger sales of the product, or a combination of the two, the employer is naturally anxious to supply this demand, and is, therefore, obliged not only to keep all his old hands busy, but also to endeavor to obtain new ones. The *employés*, knowing that business is very active, and feeling that the proprietor of the factory is anxious to lose no time and that he is making money, seize upon this opportunity to make a demand for increased pay, either in the form of additional wages or in that of a diminution of the hours of labor. The same thing may occur when the demand for labor in other trades makes workmen scarce.

Under either of the above circumstances the operatives feel that they are not likely to be discharged, as their services are very much needed, and at the same time they know that they can easily find work elsewhere, if that should happen. If, on the other hand, the employer finds that the sales of his commodities are decreasing, that prices are falling, or that trade generally is dull, and, therefore, the number of laborers seeking employment is increasing, he is induced to offer less wages than he has been paying to his hands, as he feels satisfied that they will accept the smaller amount rather than risk losing their places and having them filled by some of those who have been thrown out of employment by the general depression of the trade. There is no doubt that the above circumstances would often justify one party in demanding more and the other in giving less, and, if both were infinitely wise and honest, no difficulty would occur. Such, however, is not the case; both parties are prone to take a very prejudiced view of the matter in question. The employer is too apt to imagine that he is paying too much, that men could be got for less wages, or that he is not making enough profit; and, on the other hand, the workmen are generally inclined to consider themselves very badly treated, to think their wages

much lower than their employer could really afford, or that by a sudden strike they could force him to give an advance. Both parties generally make their demands more exorbitant than they otherwise would do, in order to have a margin for compromising, as they express it. The result of such an exorbitant demand is but too often a surly and defiant answer, followed in many cases by a strike or lock-out. The only method at present in vogue in this country for settling such disputes is the barbarous one of resorting to force; that is, each party seeks to starve the other out. The employer hopes that, by stopping the works for some time, he will prevent the men from earning a livelihood, and that they will finally be compelled by hunger and want to accept his terms. The men, on the contrary, hope to be able to remain idle so long that their employer will be compelled to accede to their demands, in order to avoid great loss or total ruin. On the one side, bankruptcy stares the manufacturer in the face, on the other, starvation the workman. When the workmen in any branch of industry have combined together and formed a trade union, the strikes, instead of being confined to a single establishment, generally extend to several; and they are almost always longer and more determined, as the operatives who are idle are supported by those who are working, or by the reserve fund of the trade union. This sketch of the manner in which strikes generally originate, and of the way in which they are often settled, although very brief and imperfect, will suffice for the purpose for which I have introduced it.

If we pause to reflect upon this method of settling the difficulties which arise between two parties who are so dependent upon each other for their support as the capitalist and the laborer are, we find it difficult to realize that it is the one most in vogue in a civilized community and in the nineteenth century. If we were relating the history of some savage or half-civilized tribe, in which the old doctrine of "might is right" still retained undisputed sway, we should not excite the astonishment of our hearers by relating how employers had starved their operatives into submission, or how the workmen had resorted to intimidation, incendiarism, and even to murder, in order to frighten their employers into acceding to their demands.

Fortunately, however, the prospect is not so dreary in all directions; here and there bright spots are visible upon the

clouded horizon, which give promise of better days; there are a few oases upon the great desert of strife between capital and labor. The Boards of Conciliation and Arbitration, which have been introduced of late years with such great success in some parts of England, have roused the hopes of all true friends, not only of the workingman, but of humanity, and have encouraged them to look forward to an amicable and just settlement of this vexed question of capital and labor. The person, to whom, undoubtedly, the greatest credit is due for having first practically employed them for the purpose of doing away with strikes in England, is Mr. A. J. Mundella, whose remarks upon this subject and upon that of education were listened to with so much attention at the last general meeting of the American Social Science Association, held in this city. His views on this subject are worthy of careful consideration, as he was at one time a workman himself, and is now one of the largest employers of labor in England. Could any one familiar with the suffering, the crime, the destruction of property, and the loss of national wealth occasioned by the strikes which have so often occurred of late years in the anthracite coal fields of our State listen without a feeling of pleasure and relief to his clear and concise statements of the results of the establishment of the first Board of Arbitration for the lace and hosiery trades at Nottingham, England? I remember so well the general tenor of his remarks. "Gentlemen," he said, "eleven years ago we had, in the above-mentioned trades, about three strikes every year; since the introduction of the Board of Arbitration, which occurred at about that time, we have never lost half a day by a strike, the men have never been so well off, the mill-owners have never done better. This system has been tried with equal success in the Staffordshire potteries, the Cleveland iron districts, and several other places in England; it has been successful wherever an honest effort was made to introduce it." These facts are sufficient, I think, to convince us that Boards of Arbitration are well worthy of a trial, or, at least, of being carefully studied and discussed.

I now propose to examine for a few minutes the principles upon which they are founded, the manner in which they work in practice, and the good results which we may reasonably expect from them, if introduced into our coal-fields. I shall consider the subject under three heads, viz.: What are Boards of Conciliation

and Arbitration? What objections are generally made to them, not only by the *employés*, but also by the employer? What good results may we hope to obtain by adopting them? I shall hereafter use the expression, "*Boards of Arbitration*," instead of "*Boards of Conciliation and Arbitration*," as the latter is too long to be repeated very often; but we must never forget that it is conciliation which plays the principal rôle in this system of settling disputes.

Let us now consider the first question, *What is arbitration?* The object of Boards of Arbitration is to substitute for the old method of forcing one party to yield, through fear of ruin or starvation, to the demands of the other, be they just or unjust, the more rational one of discussing the wages question periodically and amicably, and endeavoring to harmonize the views of both parties by mutual concessions, or, failing in that, to call in an umpire or impartial third party, whose decision is to be submitted to by both parties. This is the theory; let us now see how it is carried out in practice. When any trade has agreed to adopt this institution, at the beginning of each year both the employers and *employés* select, by election, a certain number of their fellows—say six, eight, or ten—from each party, to represent them in the Board. Let us suppose that each party has selected ten delegates. At the beginning of the trade year, these twenty men meet together and organize the Board by electing a president and vice-president; one of these officers is generally taken from the employers and the other from the *employés*. A secretary is also chosen, who may or may not be a salaried officer, and who acts as clerk to the Board, notifies the different parties interested as to their decisions, and performs such other duties as may be required of him by that body. He need not be a member, as his functions are simply clerical. The first business which comes before the Board after it has been organized is the selection of an umpire, and this is one of the most important acts of that body. It is very important that this election should take place before any question has been discussed or any attempt is made to settle a dispute, as it will be much easier for them to agree upon a suitable person, if the election takes place before the parties have had their passions aroused by a discussion. It is very desirable, at least in my opinion, that the person selected should not be interested in any way, either as employer or *employé*, in the trade in

question. In fact, his decision would probably give greater satisfaction if he was wholly unacquainted with it. It is very difficult for any one who has been a master or workman to divest himself of the prejudices of his class; and, on the other hand, from too great an anxiety to be impartial, he may be unjust to the very person whom his feelings would naturally lead him to favor. Both the employers and the workmen would feel better satisfied with a decision of an umpire who had never belonged to either party; and, as we shall see further on, the questions to be decided by him require generally judicial rather than technical knowledge.

For the above reasons, a person of unimpeachable honesty and probity, of good mental ability, and in no way connected with the trade in question, would probably give the most thorough satisfaction to all concerned. Thus, in the Cleveland Iron district in England, they selected last year as umpire Mr. Thomas Hughes, of London, a member of the bar, well-known there for the qualities just mentioned, and also as a sincere friend of the working man, but better known here as "*Tom Brown, of Rugby.*" The choice proved, as might have been expected, a good one, and *steady work* without strikes has been the result. The greatest difficulty in successfully introducing boards of arbitration, is undoubtedly the fact, that so few persons can be convinced that it is possible to find any one suitable for the position of umpire who will be satisfactory to both parties, but if he be chosen before any subject has been discussed, the task is rendered much more easy, especially if he be not selected from the ranks of either party. The Board, being now ready for business, should fix certain days for its meetings, which ought to take place every two, three, four or six months, according to the nature and requirements of the trade in question. Of course, if any extraordinary state of affairs should render a meeting necessary before the day fixed for the regular one, the members could be called together at the request of one-third of their number, by the president or secretary. The duties of the body are two-fold, as its full name, "*Board of Conciliation and Arbitration,*" indicates. If any serious dispute arises between the workmen and their employers in the trade in question, it is referred to the Board for settlement, and that body first endeavors to harmonize the views of both parties, by a careful examination of the facts of the case, accom-

panied by a dispassionate discussion of the subject. The members first try conciliation, and in most cases that method is successful. If they find that at first their views differ widely, they postpone voting on the question until the last moment, both parties being unwilling to resort to the umpire, partly because a decision of the Board, without his intervention, is always more satisfactory to all concerned, and partly because neither party feels sure that he will decide in their favor. This is the great advantage of having an umpire—it prevents one side from refusing to listen to reason, and retiring behind an "*I will*" or "*I won't*." If, however, conciliation fails, arbitration is resorted to, that is, the services of the umpire are called into requisition; but even when he arrives, the matter is not submitted to him at once for his decision. He, too, tries conciliation. The members representing the two sides meet together in his presence and argue the question, very much as they would before a court of justice, those members demanding an advance or reduction first stating their case. Now the fact that both sides have agreed to abide by the decision of the umpire in the event of a non-agreement, has a tendency to make both contestants anxious for an amicable adjustment of the difficulty. Each one naturally asks himself, "am I altogether right?" "would an unprejudiced person look at this matter as I do?" "is it likely that the umpire will decide against me?" &c. And, unless the answers to these questions are perfectly satisfactory, he will probably be inclined to make some concessions, rather than run the risk of having a decision rendered against him. When the party making the demand has stated his case, supporting it by various kinds of evidence, such as abstracts from the books of those engaged in the business, by reports of the markets, evidence of witnesses, &c., the other side is called upon to make their reply, in which they are allowed to correct any misstatement of fact in the evidence produced by their opponents, and to offer evidence to sustain the position they have taken in refusing to accede, either in part or altogether, to the demand made upon them. The umpire, whose duty and desire should be rather to promote harmony than to make an arbitrary decision, would endeavor to point out to each party the weak points in their own reasoning, and the strong ones in that of their opponents, a misstatement of facts by any person in argument being, of course, corrected by one of the delegates representing

the other view. If, however, all efforts to arrange the dispute amicably should fail, the umpire would be called upon for his decision. Such cases have been found to occur very rarely in England, where this system has been tried for a number of years. It is very important that not only the umpire, but also the members of the Board, should remember that conciliation is always to be tried before arbitration, properly so called, is resorted to. The representatives of the two parties should meet as two merchants do, when one wishes to purchase what the other has to sell, and there is certainly no reason why the members of the Board, in dealing with each other, should not use the same courtesy as they would do in their ordinary business relations. When the difficulty has been adjusted, both parties should feel that they had made a fair bargain, which was perfectly understood by all concerned, and which they all intended to carry out honestly. Such, however, is not the case, when a strike has been brought to an end by our present method of settling such difficulties; the party who yields, through fear of ruin or starvation, mentally resolves to have his revenge as soon as he has an opportunity. You hear such remarks as these whispered among the unsuccessful contestants, "when prices rise (or fall) we will make them pay for this," or, "we will get even with them when winter comes round," &c.

This is all wrong; there should be no such bitter feeling between employers and *employés*; their interests are to a very great extent identical, and any great injury inflicted upon one is sure to react, to a greater or less extent, upon the other. They are both interested in keeping the trade, upon which they are dependent for support, in a good, healthy condition, by avoiding strikes, by showing their customers that they can depend upon being regularly supplied with the articles they need at fair prices, &c. Such a state of affairs tends to keep the works running without interruption, and prevents buyers from going elsewhere to obtain what they want, because they do not feel certain that they will be supplied at home. We now come to the consideration of another function of Boards of Arbitration, which is still more important than the one of settling disputes; it is that of preventing them, by carefully discussing all questions which may produce quarrels between the employers and their men, before they become of sufficient interest to one party or the other to cause a strike. We

all remember the old proverb, "*An ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure.*" If ten intelligent workmen and the same number of manufacturers or operators meet together regularly several times a year, for the purpose of discussing the state of the trade and settling amicably all disputes, they will soon become so thoroughly conversant with all the questions which are likely to produce strikes, and will so well understand how to adjust them, that the work of the Board will become a much easier one than it would at first appear to be. There are at present in operation in England two kinds of Boards of Arbitration, which differ from each other in one essential particular only, *i. e.*, in the power they have to enforce obedience to their decisions. Some Boards are organized under an Act of Parliament, which gives them the privilege of compelling both the masters and men to obey their decisions, when they have agreed to settle their disputes by referring them to such a body. The other sort of Boards of Arbitration have no such authority, and depend simply upon the good faith of both parties for carrying out the measures recommended by them. Although there is theoretically such a distinction, in practice it does not exist, as no appeal has ever been made to the legal authorities for aid in enforcing any resolution of the Board, and public opinion, in England, seems to be strongly in favor of the latter, or voluntary system, which is, I think, the only one likely to be popular in this country.

Let us now consider the objections generally made to Boards of Arbitration, not only by employers, but also by the workmen. Many of the former, when the idea of submitting their disputes with their operatives to such a body is first suggested to them, cry out at once, "*We will have nothing to do with it;*" "*we will have no interference in our business;*" "*we will not allow our workmen to dictate to us;*" "*we do not wish any irresponsible body to come between us and our employés,*" or, "*we have no means of compelling the men to abide by the decision of the board, if it is against them.*" The real reason, however, is, that the employer's first feeling is, that it is beneath his dignity to treat with his workmen as he would with any other party from whom he purchases or to whom he sells. When this prejudice has been overcome, the greatest difficulty in the way of the successful introduction of Boards of Arbitration will have been surmounted. The popularity of the brute-force method of settling the wages question

is on the wane, and purchasers of labor are gradually becoming more impressed with the advantage of adopting the conciliatory method in some form. Another objection, which has great weight with many persons, is the idea that it would be almost impossible for the workmen selected as members of the Board to understand the true principles of trade and of political economy, and that it would, therefore, be very difficult to get them to act intelligently in reference to any matter in dispute; that they would always demand more wages and never submit to a reduction. Such has not been found to be the case in practice; for, after having been for a short time a member of a Board, an operative will generally understand the state of the trade as well as his employer, and will take as practical and intelligent a view of any question in dispute as the latter.

I may quote here a few remarks made by Mr. A. J. Mundella at the Birmingham meeting of National Association for the Promotion of Social Science in England, held in 1868. At that time two papers were read upon arbitration, and they were followed by a long discussion of the subject, in which a number of employers, representatives of trade unions, workmen, and other persons interested in the question, took part. I shall, in the sequel, make several quotations from the proceedings of that meeting, and any one interested in this subject will find them well worthy of a most careful perusal. It was Mr. Mundella, as you are probably aware, who originally introduced these Boards into England, and he has been president of the Nottingham Board for nearly eleven years. He is well known throughout Great Britain as one of the truest friends of the working classes. He said:

“It is the greatest mistake to suppose you are going to make opinions harmonize with political economy before you discuss the question of wages; for Boards of Arbitration are the most efficient teachers of political economy I ever knew. Our workmen have become so shrewd from sitting down to discuss these matters, that I am sure no ordinary manufacturer is at all a match for them in dealing with trade questions; they know so well what they are about.”

On the same occasion, Mr. Samuel Morley, one of the large manufacturers of Nottingham, said:

“I rise to express my conviction of the exceedingly great value of arbitration. It is no mere *dilettanteism*; it is sound, honest

grappling with a great difficulty. Our firm employ four thousand persons, and therefore I am personally and practically interested in the matter. As the result of an experiment of eight years, we are now working in the most perfect harmony with our *employés*. Twenty-five years ago our machinery was in danger and our trade was subject to constant interruptions from differences between us and work-people; and, worse than either, there was a feeling of bitterness between employers and employed of which we now know nothing. . . . So far from the men feeling any prejudice, or thinking that any advantage was taken of them, I venture to say that, among the thousands of work-people who have submitted to the decisions of the Board of Arbitration in Nottingham, there are not fifty who do not regard it as existing in their interest and as one of the greatest blessings ever conferred upon them. Nothing in this movement touches either the existence of trade unions or the right to strike. Having been accustomed, as a manufacturer, to act with my brother-manufacturers—I will say, if you please, to combine with them—I claim for the workmen equal right to do the same. It is the abuse of trade unions against which I protest. Men have the right to meet and to sell their labor, as the result of their conference, for the highest price they can get."

We now come to the consideration of the objections which are made by those who suppose themselves to be acting in the interest of the workingman. They say, in the first place, that the employers being men of education, and knowing the secrets of the trade, will always be able to overreach the less well-informed representatives of the operatives in the Board. One answer to this objection is to be found in the remarks of Mr. Mundella, just quoted. There is, however, another, which I think is equally satisfactory: it is this: that it is not the interest of the employers to overreach their workmen in any way in the Board, for the moment the men feel that they have been deceived, or that advantage has been taken of their ignorance to obtain a decision against them, they will become dissatisfied with the Board and refuse to obey its orders. Another objection is, that the employers, being richer, might bribe the umpire to decide in their favor. This objection has never, I believe, been very seriously urged; for it is so obviously the interest of the employer to avoid doing any thing calculated to lead the men to distrust the impartiality of

the umpire or the fairness of the decisions of the Board that any such attempt would not be likely to be made. If, however, the umpire is chosen before any subject is discussed, and if care is taken to select some one in no way interested in the trade, and well known for probity and intelligence, both parties would feel satisfied that his decisions were dictated by a desire to do justice to all concerned.

The only other objection which I shall consider here is the following: that Boards of Arbitration would break up trade unions, and would, therefore, eventually leave the operatives without any organization to protect themselves from their employers, in case the latter refused to continue to take part in the Boards of Arbitration or to be governed by their decisions; for this reason it is assumed their adoption would be opposed by trade unions.

The answer to this question is simple but emphatic, "*Without a union of some kind, Boards of Arbitration could not be organized and kept working.*" The union represents the men, just as the Boards of Trade, &c., represent the operators or employers, and it is its province to see that proper persons are selected as delegates, to furnish these delegates with all necessary information as to the demands of the men, &c., as the Boards of Trade would do for the other delegates. When the Board of Arbitration has met and settled upon the rate of wages, the hours of labor, &c., the union would transmit to the different branches the resolutions adopted, and see that they were carried out by the men. It would be extremely difficult to introduce Boards of Arbitration in any district where no union of any kind existed among the workmen. Another answer to the same objection is, that Boards of Arbitration are advocated by almost every trade union in England.

In support of the last assertion I may quote here some remarks made at the meeting before referred to, by two gentlemen connected with trade unions. We find in the report the following passage: "Mr. Green, Chairman of the Birmingham Trades Council, believed that conciliation alone would not remedy existing evils. He could not understand so many men meeting and discussing points at issue unless they had some mode of finally settling the matters in dispute; and, therefore, he took it that arbitration, properly applied and conducted, was not arbitration enforced by Act of Parliament with a judge legally appointed, but arbitration in which there was mutual selection of a gentle-

man to act as umpire, and that he was very much in favor of. So far as his experience went, workingmen, as a class, were much more ready for arbitration and conciliation than employers were."

Mr. Wilkinson, Secretary of the United Glass Trade Society, said: "One of the leading ideas of arbitration was the cultivation of a conciliatory spirit between the parties concerned. Therefore he felt convinced that the voluntary plan advocated by Mr. Mundella was far preferable to the plan that could be legally enforced. Arbitration was not only important as regarded a settlement of immediate disputes, but it was also important in that it promoted better feelings between employers and workmen. It led the master to acknowledge that the workman had a right to discuss disputes on an equal footing with his employer. The workman was also duly influenced by the conduct of the employer in meeting his workmen fairly and discussing questions with them."

I think the remarks just quoted show that in England, at least, the trade unions are in favor of Boards of Arbitration.

We now come to the consideration of the question, "What is to be gained by adopting Boards of Arbitration?" The answer to it may be summed up in two words, "*steady work.*" But this portion of our subject is of sufficient importance to justify us in devoting a few minutes to a more careful examination of it. There are three points to be considered, viz., the advantage to the workman, the advantage to the employer, and the advantage to the general public and to the nation.

The great inducement offered to an employer to favor the introduction of Boards of Arbitration is the fact that they have been found to do away completely with strikes, suspensions and lock-outs, and with all the scenes of violence and bloodshed which sometimes accompany them. No person can appreciate more fully how great a blessing any institution would be, which would bring about such a state of affairs, than the coal operators of the anthracite region of Pennsylvania. How effective these Boards have been in doing away with strikes has been shown by the remarks of Mr. Mundella in reference to the Board at Nottingham, quoted at the beginning of this paper. His words are worth repeating, "*in eleven years we have not lost half a day by a strike.*" Is it necessary to add any thing to the latter statement? I think there are but few coal operators, in the anthracite region at

least, who would deem further argument necessary. But there are other advantages of almost equal importance. This system does away with much of the bitter feeling which so often exists between workmen and their employers. As the bargains are all made fairly and openly, and as there is no appeal to force, frame breaking, blowing-up of houses, burning of workshops and attacks upon individuals become things of the past. The amount of property saved from destruction, and the feeling of security, engendered by the knowledge that there is no hostility between employer and workmen, are certainly well worth taking into account.

There is a third point to which I would call attention, viz., the importance of regular and uninterrupted work in most trades and industries. If a manufacturer is liable at any moment to have his works stopped, or if he never feels sure that his hands will not demand higher wages when he has made a bargain to furnish a certain quantity of goods, he must be very cautious in making contracts, and is often obliged to refuse orders because he cannot undertake to supply the article wanted, at a regular rate, for a certain number of weeks or months. If he cannot furnish the goods as wanted, the purchaser goes elsewhere, and obtains them from some one who can.

The repeated stoppages of the works in consequence of strikes increase the cost of production of the manufactured article, for the general expenses of the business, such as rent, insurance, clerk hire, foreman's wages, &c., must be paid by a much less quantity of goods than they would be if the establishment worked steadily throughout the year. The increase of cost also limits the market. The above advantages of Boards of Arbitration should, I think, reconcile the employer to the new idea of treating with operatives in the same way that he does with other persons with whom he has business transactions.

The workman, however, is no less benefited than the employer, by the adoption of this new method of settling the wages question. As strikes, suspensions and lock-outs would be done away with, he would be able to keep his savings for his old age, or to educate and advance his children in life, instead of being obliged to spend them for the support of his family during the constantly recurring strikes. The expenses of the trade unions would be very small, consisting only of the salaries of the officers and of the outlay necessary for keeping up the organization, and he would

never be called upon to contribute to the support of other workmen in the same trade who were on strikes. In some places, where these Boards have been introduced, the yearly contribution to the trade union is now but about one-third the amount formerly paid every month.

The workman also avoids the temptations to dissipation and crime which beset him when out of work, particularly if on a strike. He can, of course, make much more money during the year, when working steadily; he has a better feeling towards his employer, which is an advantage not only to the latter, but also to the workman himself.

The whole nation is interested in the effort to do away forever with the present strife and antagonism between capital and labor, not only on account of the bad feeling and disorder to which it gives rise, but also on account of the absolute loss of wealth to the country in consequence of it. If a manufacturer's establishment is thrown idle by a strike, the difference between the value of the raw material which would have been used and that of the goods which would have been made is lost to the nation, even if there be no destruction of property by the riots which so often accompany strikes. All trades-people who supply the wants of the workmen suffer by such a stoppage, as do all those industries which are dependent upon the trade in which the strike occurs, either for their raw material or for the market for their goods.

Before closing this portion of my subject, it would not, perhaps, be out of place to say a few words about coöperation, as a means of settling the wages question. Coöperation is a word that is constantly used with very different meanings. Sometimes the establishment is owned by a portion of the workmen, who divide the profits among themselves, after all the hands have been paid in the ordinary way. The Amalgamated Engineers started, in England, several coöperative shops, the capital being furnished by the funds of the union, which is one of the largest and best-managed in the world. The hands employed were members who were out of work. The experiment failed, and the Association are opposed to, or at least do not favor, coöperation in either of these forms. I do not know that any coöperative establishment has ever been started, in which each workman contributed a part of the capital proportional to the wages he would receive, and in which the profits were divided in the same ratio. This is what

is generally meant by coöperation, but I do not think it would ever succeed in practice. Almost all coöperative establishments have eventually passed into the hands of a few stockholders, or have been obliged to suspend operations.

There is, however, another form of coöperation (using this word in an accepted, though perhaps improper, sense) which has been tried in some places to a certain extent with success, and which seems to me destined to play an important rôle in the labor question. I refer to an arrangement with the operatives, by which every person employed in a factory, for example, would be interested in making the establishment produce the greatest amount of the manufactured article of the best quality and at the lowest price. This could be done by agreeing with the workmen to pay them a certain fixed rate of wages per week throughout the year, each one receiving more or less according to his skill and industry, and to divide a certain percentage of the profits of the business with them, in proportion to the wages earned by each. For example, if the amount of profits to be divided among the hands was twenty thousand dollars, and the total amount which had been paid out in wages during the year was one hundred thousand, a workman who had earned six hundred dollars in twelve months would receive a dividend of twenty per cent., or of one hundred and twenty dollars at the close of the year. By such an arrangement every one would be interested in conducting the works economically, in avoiding strikes, in selling for as high prices as possible, and in seeing that every one attended to his work. Under our present system, whenever prices are high, there is the greatest danger of a strike; but, under the other, the higher the price the greater the inducement to the men to work steadily.

I do not wish to be understood as advocating coöperation instead of arbitration as a remedy for the present evils of the labor question, at least in the trade with which I am most familiar, viz., coal mining; for so long as the existing feeling of hatred and distrust between men and operators prevails, an attempt to introduce coöperation would not be likely to be successful. To make coöperation succeed, there must be a certain amount of respect and confidence between the employers and operatives, and I know of no better means of bringing about such a desirable state of feeling than Boards of Arbitration. They can be and

have been introduced with success after prolonged strikes, when the passions of both parties had been greatly excited.

If through the intervention of Boards of Arbitration the capitalist and the laborers should come to know, understand and trust each other better, it will then be time to consider whether cöoperation would not be better for all concerned. At present, I think that arbitration is much more feasible and much more likely to produce good results.

In conclusion, I will venture to make a few remarks upon the present state of the anthracite coal trade, and will endeavor to show, from the facts I shall refer to, how important it is that Boards of Arbitration, or at least some institution of an analogous nature, should be introduced among us for the purpose of bringing about a better feeling between the operators and the miners, and of putting an end to the strikes and suspensions which occur so frequently.

The mining of anthracite coal is one of the great industries of Pennsylvania, and at least fifty thousand men are employed in and about the mines. The total production, in 1870, was about sixteen million tons, but the mines could have produced twenty-five per cent. more, without over-working them, as there was a strike in Schuylkill county, one in Luzerne county, and one in Carbon county, during that year. It is difficult to say how much the production was diminished in consequence of these stoppages, as many of the miners belonging to the regions on a strike worked in the mines in other parts of the State, and thus increased the out-put from the operations which did not cease working. I think, however, that at least twenty million tons could have been mined and carried to market, in 1870, by the mining and transportation companies which were in operation in that year, had there been no loss of time in consequence of strikes, and if the coal could have been sold. The effect of these interruptions to work was not only a diminution in the quantity of coal sent to market, but also an increase in the price at which it was sold. It is undoubtedly true that individual operators were in some cases benefited by the latter result, but at the same time it is very probable that on the whole the trade and the transporting companies suffered by it. The iron trade is probably the largest consumer of coal, and upon that industry the increased price and the great irregularity and uncertainty of the supply have had a most per-

nicious effect, occurring, as they did, at a time when the price of iron was low. We hear on all sides that furnaces are being blown out, and that bituminous coal brought from the western part of the State is now being used, instead of anthracite, in rolling mills located but a few miles from mines of the latter fuel.

The owners of iron furnaces are growing tired of being obliged to pile up from five to thirty thousand dollars' worth of coal every time a report is circulated that there is to be a strike or suspension, unless they are willing to run the risk of being forced to blow out their furnaces for want of fuel. This *stocking coal*, as it is called, is very expensive; in the first place, there is the additional cost of unloading and loading it in places not intended for that purpose, as much space is required to pile up such a large quantity; then there is loss in the fine dirt produced by the extra handling of the coal, the depreciation in the value of the fuel when exposed to the weather, and the fact that when a strike is anticipated, the iron master is often obliged to buy much coal of inferior quality, which he would not otherwise consent to receive. The interest on the money required to purchase the stock kept on hand is also an important addition to the cost of production of the iron. Such useless expenditures benefit no one, and add greatly to the running expenses of a furnace. The same remarks apply, to a greater or less extent, to all industries which use large quantities of hard coal. In many places soft coal or wood is burnt instead of anthracite, although the latter would be cheaper if the quantity required could always be obtained at the ordinary price. If consumers could always be sure of procuring a regular supply of anthracite, at a price which would leave a fair profit for all concerned in sending the article to market, and which, at the same time, would vary but little, there would not be much trouble in disposing of all the mines could produce at present. Larger quantities would be burnt where it is already in use, and it could compete with soft coal and wood at a much greater distance from the mines than at present. Is it possible to bring about such a state of affairs by adopting Boards of Arbitration? I think it is; for if, by introducing them, we can do away with strikes—and such has been found to be the effect wherever they have been tried—the operator will be able to increase his yearly production very materially, and, therefore, to diminish the expense of mining and loading each ton. If a colliery is idle for a portion of the

year, many of the expenses are about the same as if it was running uninterruptedly: for example, insurance, interest on capital, taxes, salaries of clerks and foremen, pumping, watchmen, and feeding of stock. If, therefore, one hundred thousand tons are mined instead of seventy thousand, there is not only the additional profit on the extra thirty thousand tons, but there is also a great diminution in the cost of production as far as the above items are concerned. The same holds good for the transporting companies, if they carry two million instead of one million of tons—the expense is only about thirty to forty per cent. greater. If the men are sure of having steady work throughout the year at a fair rate of wages, they can work for a little less, live better, and save more than when they are idle one-third of the time, even though they may receive a little more per day during the eight or nine months they are at work under the old system. In addition, they would have but little to pay to their union, as the only expenses would be the salary of the officers, since there would be no need of levies to support other men on a strike.

We can now see how, by doing away with strikes, we could very sensibly diminish the price of coal; for the workmen could afford to take such wages as would render the average cost of coal twenty-five cents less, the operators could take twenty-five cents less for the general expenses and profit, and the railroad and canal companies could carry the coal for twenty five cents less. Thus the price of coal would be diminished seventy-five cents, and every body would be better off and better satisfied. I use these figures merely as examples; they are probably not correct, either absolutely or relatively.

That any arrangement by which the cost of coal to consumers could be diminished seventy-five cents, would be of the greatest advantage to Pennsylvania, New Jersey and New York, no one familiar with the present condition of the coal and iron trade in those States would doubt for a moment; and, judging from what has already been accomplished in England, Boards of Arbitration would, I think, tend to bring about this much-to-be-desired result. If there is no remedy for the present disorganized condition of the coal trade, the manufacture of iron with anthracite coal will soon cease to be one of the great industries of our Commonwealth.

Ironmasters have already begun to turn *their* attention to those

parts of the South and West where coal, iron and limestone are found in the same vicinity, and where they can have the mines under their own control. If the present state of affairs continues, they will soon bid farewell forever to Eastern Pennsylvania. Protection will not save us from such a fate. It is time that all those interested in mining and transporting coal, whether as operators, miners or railroad companies, should recognize the fact, that the present system of keeping up prices by strikes and suspensions is all wrong, and that however great the temporary benefit may be, the penalty must one day be paid in the gradual extinction of the iron and the other industries which use large quantities of anthracite coal for fuel.

But why should we not pause, and, before it is too late, make an honest effort to try these Boards of Arbitration, which promise to be of such great benefit to the miner, the operator and the transporting companies, without doing injury to any one, and whose good influence, if they should prove successful, will be felt not only in every large manufactory, but also in the humblest cottage in which anthracite is used as a fuel?

THE RING.

Look! in my hand a sparkling ring I hold:
A diamond, set aloft in virgin gold;
No pebble, no base metal; each is pure;
Each will the straining touch of time endure;
Nor will the gold grow dim, nor yet the light
Cease to burst, sunlike, from this diamond bright.
Each on the other for its all depends;
The circlet, the gem gone, its mission ends;
The diamond, with no setting, could but lie,
For safety, in some strong obscurity,
Unable, like an infant, to be trusted
Alone; perchance, occasionally dusted;
Poised 'twixt the thumb and finger for a minute,
Then to the safe, no sooner out than in it;
But set together, lo, the ring entire!
The polished gold flashing a ruddy fire;
Its crown of glory gleaming like a star
Seen in the distance and admired afar.

This fable teaches, as the school books say,
 What? Every thing within the light of day;
 The first thing that befell to man created,
 While yet in Eden he sojourned, unmated,
 This ring but typifies unto my mind
 The mystic union of our human kind.
 Call you the diamond woman? let it pass,
 Though sometimes you might find your diamond glass;
 Then man's the setting—man the back and foil;
 His the strong arms that do the mighty toil,
 Hold her above the dust, yet clasp her close;
 Or, if to look another way you choose,
 Woman's the gold—the true, tried, virgin gold,
 Who from unworthy paths the man must hold,
 Clasp 'round him arms of strength, because of love,
 Lift him aloft, even herself above,
 So sacrificing of herself that she
 Helps him to heights where she may never be.
 So each helps each; each gathers strength and hope
 With all the ills of life to better cope;
 So each grows brighter, till the darkest lot
 Thus lighted owns one shining, happy spot.

E. W. WATSON.

A SUNDAY IN GREAT SALT LAKE CITY.

THE Boston excursion party arrived at Salt Lake City, in the Pullman excursion train, at about nine o'clock on the evening of Saturday, the 28th of May, 1870. We were to remain there for twenty-four hours only, and many of our party preferred to stay on the train, where they had become quite domesticated; others decided to go to one of the hotels of the place, for the sake of a change. On our way from Ogden, we had been informed by an official of the Utah Central Railroad, an intelligent Scotchman, with whom we had some pleasant conversation, that there was to be a performance at the theatre that evening, and that we were invited by the management to be present. We were all glad of this opportunity to see something of the people among whom we were to make a short stay, and, as it was late, hastened from the station in order to be present before the entertainment should

close. There were not coaches enough for all, so that some of us proceeded on foot, to make our way through the darkness as best we might. Few persons were about; the houses being low, and almost hidden by the foliage, furnished little light for our guidance, and the great width of the streets added to that general impression of loneliness which one almost always receives when walking by night in a city one has just entered for the first time. The first thing we noticed was the refreshing sound of running water, which we heard in every street, and which we knew to proceed from the living streams brought down from the neighboring mountains, with so much patient industry, to fructify this once arid waste, and to sustain the population which have made it their now comfortable home. The theatre is a plain building, stuccoed, with two columns in front; it has a large, handsome stage, and will accommodate twenty-five hundred people. As we entered, the closing piece had just begun—a farce called the *Custom of the Tyrol*; the acting was poor enough, and there was nothing noticeable in the performance, except that it contained references to the old-fashioned notions of love and marriage, which seemed absurdly out of place in the midst of a community with whom the idea of marriage has, to say the least, become dissociated from every thing like poetry and romance. The house was filled with very ordinary-looking people; but Brigham Young was there, and other prominent men, with some of their wives and children. Returning to our hotel, the Townsend House, we obtained a comfortable room, and were glad to have a night's rest "ashore." Our first glance at the city, on Sunday morning, from our bed-room windows, was a pleasant one: the sun glistened on the snows of the Wahsatch and Uintah mountains on the south and east; the sky was bright and serene; the trees in front of the hotel cast a pleasant shade; the water in the little brook parallel with the sidewalk was clear and sparkling; the streets looked clean; and the buildings, while unpretending, were neat and tidy. The usual week-day traffic was suspended, and there was a Sabbath-day stillness, reminding one of New England and of home. Going to the dining-room, we found a plain, substantial breakfast ready for us; our host, Mr. Townsend, was in attendance, and several women waited on us; among these, one whom we had observed as very quick and energetic, and rather good-looking than otherwise, proved to be Mrs.

Townsend number three. We were told that of the four women who bear this name, number one lived apart, broken-down and dejected, number two superintended the bed-room arrangements, number three the cooking department, and number four had a separate establishment away from the city. Hearing that religious service was regularly maintained at Independence Hall, by a missionary bishop, the Rev. Mr. Tuttle, we determined to attend it in the forenoon, and, on entering the hall, found one hundred or more children, formed into classes, who, we were told, were for the most part children of Mormon parents, but of the disaffected class. After the Sunday-school was dismissed, the little hall filled up with a congregation composed largely of strangers in the city, and we heard an excellent sermon by the Rev. Dr. Potter, of Grace Church, New York, who was on his return from San Francisco, with a party of friends. At the same time some of our number had been in attendance at the smaller tabernacle, where one of the elders, in coarse language, had spoken at length on maternity as the chief end of woman. After lunch we all proceeded to the larger tabernacle, an immense building, oval in shape, with a circular, dome-like roof, which is said to seat five or six thousand people. The men and women sat apart. Facing the congregation was a large and powerful organ, with a choir in semi-circular seats on either side; in front of the organ were pews in which the presidents, elders and bishops were seated, and in front of these again was the sacramental table, with pitchers of water and cake-baskets containing white bread. The service began with—

"On the mountain's top appearing,
Lo, the sacred herald stands."

These words, so familiar to us all, and sung with much effect by a large and well-trained choir, reminded us of far-away sanctuaries where we were accustomed to worship. After prayer and other singing, the usual weekly communion was observed, and the bread was distributed among the congregation. While this was in progress, Brigham Young arose and said that although he was not prepared to speak, he would make some remarks. He talked for nearly an hour, stopping while the person in charge of the meeting offered prayer, and commenced the distribution of

the second element, and stopping again, for a moment, when it was his turn to partake of the cup.

Brigham Young's address was evidently given off-hand, but he spoke with a good degree of fluency; his manner was conversational; his gestures were awkward, but they were infrequent; his voice filled the hall, and he was listened to by all with the closest attention. He began by thanking some of the sisters who were on their way to the door with their children, whom they could not keep quiet, and requested that their example might be followed by others. He then said that he never rose to address an audience without feeling some timidity at the outset, and he had seen few public speakers who were not similarly affected, even when speaking to a small number or to a Sunday-school; he had given the matter a good deal of thought, and the reason seemed to him to be this:

"I find myself here on this earth, in the midst of intelligence. I ask myself and Wisdom, where this intelligence has come from. Who has produced and brought into existence, I will say, this intelligent congregation assembled here this afternoon? We are here, but whence have we come? Where did we belong before coming here? Have we dropped accidentally from some of the planets on to this earth, without law, order or rule? Perhaps some, in their reflections, have come to this conclusion, and think that is all that is known in relation to this matter. I inquire, where is this intelligence from, which I see more or less in every being, and before which I shrink, when attempting to address a congregation? This intelligence that is within you and me is from heaven. In gazing upon the intelligence reflected in the countenances of my fellow-beings, I gaze on the image of Him whom I worship, the God I serve. I see His image, and a certain amount of His intelligence there. I feel it within myself. My nature shrinks at the divinity we see in others. This is the cause of the timidity to which I have referred, which I experience when rising to address a congregation."

He then proceeded to say, that it gave him pleasure to speak both to his friends and to strangers, and that he would address the former first. To them, his brethren and sisters, he would say that they had professed to believe in God who reigns in the heavens, and who has set this machine in motion. "He governs by law. He has reduced His offspring, His legitimate offspring,

to all the sin, darkness, death and misery that we find on this earth. He has also provided means, and, in connection with the attributes He has implanted in us, has instituted ordinances which, if we will receive and improve upon, will enable us to return back into His presence." His exhortation, therefore, to the Latter Day Saints, was to live their religion—to live so that the Spirit of God would dwell in them, and that they might know for a surety and certainty that God lives. We knew that the Latter Day Saints were looked upon by the world as dupes, as a low, degraded, imbecile race, and so unwise and shortsighted, so vain and foolish, that through their enthusiasm they had embraced an error, and been duped by Joseph Smith. "Now let me ask you, if you trust to my faith, to my words and teachings, counsel and advice, and do not seek after the Lord to have His Spirit to guide and direct you, can I not deceive you, can I not lead you into error? Look at this and see to what mischief it would lead, and what an amount of evil could be done to a people if they did not live so that the Spirit of the Lord would dwell with them, that they might know these things for themselves. It is my request, my prayer, exhortation, faith, wish and earnest desire that the Latter Day Saints will live their religion, and that they will teach their children all things pertaining to God and godliness, that they may grow up into Christ, their living head."

He would next address his friends, or foes, no matter which—those who look upon the people there as a set of fanatics. He would ask the world of mankind, the greatest philosophers and the men of the most profound knowledge, where they get their knowledge. Was it inherent in them? Was it developed without any nourishment or instruction? Without the life and intelligence which come from the vision of the mind? Who influences the mechanic to bring forth this and that improvement in mechanism? Who taught Fulton that he could apply steam so as to propel a vessel? Did his mother, his schoolmaster, or his preacher tell him this? No, he would have spurned the idea. It was that invisible influence or intelligence that comes from our Creator, day by day, and night by night, in dreams and visions of the mind. The scientific and philosophic world get their knowledge from the Supreme Being, a portion of whose intelligence is in each and every one; they have the foundation, and they can improve, adding knowledge to knowledge and light to

light. This is what the Mormons believe. Is there any harm in it? Is there any harm in exercising faith in God? "We have faith; we live by faith; we came to these mountains by faith."

Here he diverged, saying that many men and women have an irrepressible curiosity to know how many wives and children he had. "I am now going to gratify that curiosity by saying, ladies and gentlemen, I have sixteen wives. If I have any more hereafter, it will be my good luck and the blessing of God. I have forty-nine living children, and I hope to have a great many more. Now put that down; I impart this information to gratify the curiosity of the curious."

"When they met Mr. Bridger* on the Big Sandy river, they were told by him that he would give one thousand dollars if he knew that an ear of corn could be ripened in the Great Basin, to which the reply was made, 'Wait eighteen months, and I will show you.' Was this said from knowledge? No; it was by faith."

After giving his ideas of God—that He really has eyes, hands, feet and ears, and that He has passions, loving and hating, and declaring that the Latter Day Saints believe the doctrine of the Old and New Testament, the ordinances instituted for the redemption of man, the gift of the Son and his atonement, he said that they also believe in the Book of Mormon and the Book of Doctrine and Covenants as having equal authority with the Bible.

He then made a singular assertion, to the effect that the Saviour, immediately upon his crucifixion, came to this continent, chose twelve apostles from among the people and did many mighty miracles. He organized a church here which maintained its purity for three centuries, serving God with an undivided heart, after which it apostatized. "The aborigines of this country are the very people whom Jesus visited, to whom He delivered His Gospel, and among whom He organized His Church." Was there any harm in their believing this, or in their endeavoring to observe the precepts of Scripture in their daily lives?

"Oh, but you say the Mormons are a strange people." Yes, they are strange; they do not believe in litigation or in quarrel-

* Mr. Bridger is an old trapper and guide, who went to the West forty years ago, in the employ of the American Fur Company, and is said to know more about that part of the country than any other white man now living.

ling; they take the low and degraded, and lift them up. If it would be any satisfaction to any one to know what advantages he had had, he would tell them that he had had the privilege of cutting down hemlock, beech and maple trees with his father and brothers; of splitting the rails and fencing the little fields—that was his education. Did he not go to school? Yes, for eleven days; that was the extent of his schooling. Is not the system praiseworthy, and does it not possess great merit, which will take the low and degraded, and elevate them in their feelings, language and manners? which will impart to them the sciences that are in the world, teach them all that books contain, and, in addition, teach them principles that are eternal and calculated to make them a beautiful community, lovely in their appearance, and intelligent in every sense of the word? Well, this is all in the Bible, and the principles of that book will do this for any family or nation on the earth.

He and his people are not anxious to obtain gold, except as they can obtain it by raising potatoes and wheat. To dig gold from the earth demoralizes any community or nation; but give them iron and coal, good hard work, plenty to eat, good schools and good doctrine, and they will be healthy, wealthy and happy. This explains the mystery of the Latter Day Saints; they follow the teachings of the Bible, the Book of Mormon and the Book of Doctrine and Covenants. The doctrines of these books are all alike. Does the voice of the Lord, as heard from the heavens, ever teach men and women to do wrong? Never. When you see a man or woman inclined to do wrong, and to do it under a religious influence, you may know that their ideas of religion are false. "His religion is false who does not have love to God and to his fellow-creatures, who does not cherish holiness of heart, purity of life, and sanctification, that he may be prepared to enter again into the presence of the Father and the Son."

"Gentlemen, this is the great secret in controlling the people. It is thought that I control them, but it is not so. It is as much as I can do to control myself, and to keep myself straight, and teach the people the principles by which they should live. Do all do it? No, and the consequence is we see wickedness in the land. Men do very wrong. Who is guilty? The Lord? No. The religion we have embraced? No. The counsel we have given? No." He then denied with much emphasis that the

crimes which have been so widely reported in the country as committed among the Mormons, could be justly charged on them, and claimed that their dependence was on God, who sits in the heavens, who has given His children the privilege of choosing for themselves good or evil, of legislating and acting as they please, and who will bring forth the results to His own glory. He and his people were trying to live the ordinances of the gospel, that they may glorify God and prepare themselves to build up His Zion on the earth, that the world may be filled with peace, knowledge and joy.

We have made the foregoing abstract of Brigham Young's discourse from a phonographic report which appeared in the *Deseret News*, of June 8th. The speaker had never had so many visitors before him in the tabernacle as on this occasion, and he evidently labored to make a favorable impression upon them. The coarseness which characterizes so many of his harangues was hardly perceptible in this; the past history and sufferings of the Mormons, which furnish the staple of so many of the exhortations of their preachers, were only alluded to once or twice by him; and although the style was rather after the Rev. Mr. Chadband, yet it must be admitted that, on the whole, the points were made with a good deal of shrewdness and plausibility, and as a defence of Mormonism, uttered in the hearing of Mormons, the address could hardly have been improved upon. Some of us who heard it, thought that it furnished us with the key to the secret of the power which this man wields over his people, as well as to his own character. It probably made the impression upon the saints which he designed it to make; for one of them sitting next to us said, as he concluded, "He speaks as one having authority; does he not?" We could not but admit that this was true in one sense at least; and yet what he said failed utterly to convince many of his visitors of either his sincerity or his honesty. We heard this man, the most absolute despot perhaps on the face of the earth, holding the persons, the consciences and the property of more than one hundred thousand people at his own absolute and irresponsible disposal, protesting that he controlled no one, that it was as much as he could do to control himself; we heard this man, in one breath, boasting of his shameless life, although, if Mormon testimony be taken, failing to tell the truth about the number of his so-called wives, and in the next, urging upon his

people holiness of heart and purity of life; we heard this man quote the Bible with a fluency which Satan might envy, and claim to believe it, and then degrade it by placing on a level with it two volumes of ignorant jargon, which he is altogether too intelligent a person to suppose, in his heart, possess one particle of authority as Divine. This man, so crafty in the exercise of his influence, so disingenuous in his statements of fact, so one-sided in his quotation of Holy Scripture, yet so authoritative to the minds and consciences of the ignorant people who sat before him and hung upon his lips, stood on that platform that day, in the judgment of many who heard him, as one of the most dangerous, one of the most depraved men now living. For the poor people, to whom he alluded, with so much cunning, as the dupes of Joseph Smith, not of himself, we could feel only pity and regret. Their sincerity, in most cases, surely, it would be impossible to question. Coming as they do from the degraded classes of Europe, and from the more ignorant of the United States; actuated by deep religious feeling, and knowing but little of the world, they are easily led by men who loudly profess their faith in the doctrines of the Bible, who promise them an inheritance as the peculiar people of God, and who invite them to citizenship in a country of which He is the King. One woman told a gentleman of our party, that when she heard the Mormon doctrines preached in Aberdeen, her soul flew towards them as a bird flies to the mountain.

The man who sat next to us in the tabernacle, to whom we have already referred, informed us that he had been a Mormon for twenty years; that he was born in Connecticut; that he came to Utah from Michigan, and that he had just returned from visiting his friends; they had treated him kindly, but seemed ashamed of his Mormonism, and would not talk with him about it; they were rich, "but," said he, with much feeling, "I would rather be a doorkeeper in this house of the Lord, than dwell with them in the tents of wickedness." He told us, further, that he read the Bible in his family, and that he was looking for the second coming of Christ and His reign upon the earth. We were much moved by the conversation of this man, apparently so humble and so devoted, and could not but deeply lament that even if his heart were right, his feet had become entangled in these fatal meshes. There were multitudes of others just like him, no doubt, but he

seemed more intelligent than the majority, for an audience less intellectual or less spiritual in their appearance it would be difficult to find anywhere. The women seemed to us apathetic, dejected and forlorn, and evidently felt the desolateness, if not the degradation of their position. That it is with the utmost difficulty that they can be kept in a state of submission, is clear from the fact that Young and his associates are constantly exhorting them to implicit obedience to their husbands, and to the denial of their own preferences—that is to say, to a crucifixion of their womanhood as they hope to attain a happy immortality. We fancied that they looked wistfully at their "Gentile" sisters as these came into and departed from the place of meeting, in company with gentlemen, receiving consideration and courtesy from them, their faces lighted up with hope, their carriage dignified and full of self-respect. Woman in Utah is little better than a slave. Some of our party visited several of the houses; they found that the easiest and best chairs were assigned to the gentlemen, the others to the ladies; the husbands sat at table with the guests; the wives waited upon them. "See," said one of these men, a "bishop," we believe, as he presented some visitors, among them two or three young ladies, to his three wives, "these are my wives, and you will take notice that they have not torn each other's hair out yet."* He then went on vulgarly to explain that his only object in getting married was to have a large family. In this manner they continually thrust their disgusting "institution" into prominence. The Turk does not intrude his polygamy upon you on every occasion; on the contrary, he constructs a lattice of secrecy and mystery around his harem, and does not allow its inmates to be made the subject of conversation. But the ruling class in Utah boast of the number of their women, make polygamy and its defence one of the leading subjects of their addresses, and divest the whole subject of marriage of every thing tender, elevating, spiritual, one might almost say, decent. From all that we could learn, the practice of polygamy is by no

* According to Mormon testimony adduced by Mr. Beadle, in his *Life in Utah*, hair-pulling is a common mode of warfare in pluralist households, and this seems to be confirmed by the earnestness with which this "bishop" assured his visitors that nothing of the kind ever took place under his roof.

means universal among the people, perhaps it is exceptional; it is not encouraged among the poorer classes, and a man would be forbidden to take a second or a third wife unless it were clear that he could support her.

The individual Mormon may hold property nominally, but he is taught that the Church has the supreme ownership in all that he possesses, and a paramount claim to the result of all his industry. He is required to pay annual tithes; he is assessed, from time to time, in addition, for special purposes; he is fined for real or alleged misdemeanors, and sometimes his property is confiscated altogether. All his earnings and all his expenditures must pay toll to the Church. Recently, stores have been opened all through the Territory, called "Zion's Cöoperative Stores," with signs upon them, bearing what would seem to be Brigham Young's crest, the bee-hive, and the inscription, "Holiness to the Lord." These have been established to monopolize the internal trade as against the "Gentiles," and to increase also the revenues of the Church. And by "the Church" is meant Brigham Young. The great ledgers, the strong safes, are in his office; he is his own Chancellor of the Exchequer, although he never unfolds his budget; he countersigns his own signatures, he audits his own accounts. It is supposed by some that he is immensely rich; he has been pronounced the richest man in the United States, and he is known to be one of the heaviest depositors in the Bank of England. But we were assured by a well-informed and highly-intelligent gentleman, living on the line of the Pacific Railroad, who comes in contact constantly with the Mormon people and their leaders, that Young is not as rich as has been asserted; that while his receipts are immense, his disbursements are very large also, and especially that the expenses attending his immigration enterprises are very heavy. Most of those whom his agents induce to emigrate from the Old World are very poor, and have nothing with which to buy their outfit or pay their travelling expenses; these must be provided for by the Church, and hence the necessity of keeping funds in London at all times and to large amounts. Then, too, the cost of irrigation and other territorial improvements is enormous, and must draw heavily upon the resources of "Zion." It is not likely that so astute a man as Brigham Young, having the opportunity to make ample provision for himself in the improbable event of his overthrow, or

for his numerous family after his death, has failed to avail himself of it; but it is not at all certain that he has accumulated for himself and his heirs the millions which have been sometimes reported to be his. Power, probably, rather than money, is the supreme object of his regard; and he values the latter chiefly as it enables him to retain the former.

We proceeded from the tabernacle to the train in the midst of a heavy shower, and found dinner awaiting us. In the evening, divine service was held in the *Palmyra*, one of the drawing-room cars. The congregation sang, with organ accompaniment—

"Thus far the Lord hath led me on,
Thus far His power prolongs my days,"

And the two excellent clergymen with whose presence we were favored offered prayers and made remarks appropriate to our circumstances. The evening closed with psalm-singing in good old New England fashion; and, before we retired to rest, the train had begun to move, and was carrying us, by the shores of the Great Salt Lake, back to Ogden, where we were to resume our journey on the direct route to the Pacific.

HAMILTON A. HILL.

THE VARIORUM SHAKESPEARE.*

EVERY reader of the PENN MONTHLY is no doubt familiar with the edition, or rather editions of Shakespeare, commonly known as the Variorum, although, perhaps, some knew them better as Johnson's and Steevens' Shakespeare. In either octavo or duodecimo, the twenty volumes of one or other of the editions from 1773 to 1821 hold a conspicuous place in "every gentleman's library;" and our fathers and grandfathers would sit down with entire contentment in its possession, satisfied that in their Variorum they had all that was known, if not all that could be known, about Shakespeare's text and meaning, with

* A New Variorum Edition of Shakespeare. Edited by Horace Howard Furness. Vol. I.—Romeo and Juliet. J. B. Lippincott & Co. Philadelphia.

every thing obtainable in the way of comment, criticism or illustration. And far be it from any true Shakespearian student now to deny the excellence and value of the great body of the old commentators' work. Mr. Furness, in his preface, pays a just and happily-expressed tribute to his predecessors of the old Variorum. Much undeserved contempt has been poured upon the critics of the last century by their successors of the present, who have profited by, even when they have not appropriated, the results of their labors. Many an ingenuous emendation, upon which some modern critic has plumed himself, will be found to have been originated by Theobald—"piddling Theobald"—who, from contemporary jealousy and posthumous ignorance, has come down to posterity, and is probably esteemed, by most who have not examined for themselves, a representative of ignorant and meddling criticism. Warburton's fine, æsthetic sense has often given the key to the true poetic interpretation and meaning of a passage, which many a learned critic since has blundered over in vain. Malone, schoolmaster though he was, has at least, from his schoolmaster's brain, traced out the grammatical construction of many a gnarled passage, which we should find puzzling enough without his help. And the much-abused Steevens, with all his faults of manner, temper, and occasional negligence, has given us a wealth of illustration from Shakespeare's contemporaries which we could ill dispense with.

The old Variorum, however, has been long out of print; a copy can only be picked up from time to time by a diligent hunting of bookstalls, or a careful scrutiny of the English second-hand catalogues, and the modern editors, who have begun their work with advantages beyond comparison greater than writers of the last century could compass, have created a fresh body of Shakespearian notes and illustrations, perhaps even greater in volume and superior in value to those of our old Variorum.

The modern editor starts from a great vantage-ground in the first place, merely from having before him the labors of his predecessors to start from. Many a difficulty is clearly solved, and a variety of conjectures and illustrations accumulated, before he begins his work. Besides this, the general advance of modern scholarship, and the universally greater accuracy attained in all modern studies, give writers of our days a great advantage. It is only apparently within a few years that the necessity of abso-

lute accuracy even, for instance, in so simple a matter as a reprint, seems to have become clear to men's minds; and simultaneously the faculty of close attention, which can alone secure accuracy, has been developed. Steevens' reprints of the quartos are full of blunders, and while in many ways useful, they were not instruments on which any absolute reliance could be placed. The accuracy of Booth's reprint, of Staunton's photo-lithograph, and other similar works, have stood every test, and thus modern scholars have obtained material to work upon, which, to our ancestors, was entirely inaccessible.

Another great help has been the great benefits we have received from the voluminous mass of careful and appreciative criticism by foreign critics and editors. The value of the comments of the Germans is universally conceded, and within the last two decades much valuable and sympathetic criticism on Shakespeare has been written in France. Of course the greater value of these foreign notes is rather in the æsthetic and imaginative parts than in matters of verbal interpretation and grammatical construction; but still they often help us even there. A translator is bound absolutely to put a positive interpretation on a passage, and to express the meaning he gives it in distinct language. We, reading a passage involved and contorted, as many of Shakespeare's finest lines are, see at a glance what he means, and go on, and it is not until some one calls us back to earth again, and makes us fix our attention to the words he uses, that we realize how difficult the passage really is, and how carefully and minutely it must be construed to obtain the sense from the words which we had instinctively given them. The Germans, too, speak a language not only closely allied to ours, but which is even more nearly related to the older forms of our tongue, so that frequently a construction or expression obsolete in modern English, and which puzzles us to understand, a German writer will render with the greatest ease, finding a parallel form in his own tongue. The advance of linguistic research, and the birth of the science of comparative philology, also place within the grasp of modern commentators, at every stage, a mass of knowledge of which the old editors had no conception.

So much for the necessity of a New Variorum Shakespeare. While duly grateful to the old writers, we have only to run over in the mind the list of modern editors and critics, since 1821, to

realize what a vast body of Shakespearian learning has, in fact, been accumulated since then; hardly accumulated, however, since, until Mr. Furness' book, it has lain scattered in as many different books as there are editors. Singer, Knight, Staunton, Collier, Verplanck, Grant White, Dyce, Keightley, Hazlitt and Halliwell are only some of the English and American writers; while among the Germans we have Delius, Ulrici, Gervinus, Mommsen and Bodenstedt; and among the French, Hugo, Guizot and Chasles. To have the results of all their thoughts and labors added to those parts of the old Variorum notes, which will always have a permanent value, joined to a text carefully revised and collated, with complete references to every difference in wording, this is what every student of Shakespeare has longed for, but which hardly any one, but in day-dreams, could have expected ever to see, so vast and patient was the labor it would necessarily require. And yet this, and more than this, Mr. Furness has actually given us in the volume containing *Romeo and Juliet*, just issued by Messrs. Lippincott & Co., of this city, and announced as being the first volume of *A New Variorum Edition*. It is a very handsome, large octavo volume, and contains, after a very interesting preface, where we get the longest piece of writing from the editor which he bestows upon us through the book, and a bibliography of the play—1st. The text, emphatically the best edition of the text in print, and, what can be found nowhere else, complete references to every difference in reading, with the names of the commentators who have supported each reading; at the foot of the page a complete, careful and elaborate digest of the labors of the great army of commentators. 2d. An exact reprint of Danter's, quarto, of 1597, which differs so widely, both in what it contains and still more in what it omits, from all the other texts, that it is impossible by references merely to give an accurate idea of it; and, 3d. A long appendix, full of matter which will be new to nearly every reader, and very interesting, including a long discussion on "*Runaway's Eyes*," containing, apparently, not only all that has ever been said, but all that can be said on that most interesting and disputed passage; an essay on the costumes of the period; Professor Allen's note on suppressed consonants, and a number of illustrative and æsthetic comments, principally by the German and French editors, on the story, plot and beauties of the play.

In fact, the completeness and accuracy of the work, as well as

its compactness, is so great that it is rather a difficult task for the critic to write about it after he has said that it is complete; that we have here what the Shakespearian student can get nowhere else, except from a complete Shakespeare library; after he has expressed his admiration for the care and impartiality of the editor, and his wonder at the amount of patient labor he has bestowed upon his work, there is little left for the critic to do but to confine his expressions of admiration and praise within such reasonable bounds as not to appear excessive to those who have not read the book. He will, I think, fail to find any thing omitted which ought to be in the book, while he will find, every few pages, at least, something which, if candid, he will admit is new to him.

As the critic, however, to vindicate his art, ought to find fault with something, the only thing I can find to complain of in this edition is the designation of Shakespeare as *Sh.* This abbreviation saves space, of course, and perhaps the incessant repetition of the poet's full name, which necessarily occurs in a commentary, is monotonous and fatiguing; but for all that I, for one, would prefer the Shakespeare at length; *Sh.* seems to me, if not disrespectful, too hurried for so handsome a book. Mr. Furness has been consistent in his use of this abbreviation; I think Shakespeare will be found to be no otherwise referred to, except in the title-pages and the preface.

There is, perhaps, one other thing we could desire; that is, that Mr. Furness had given us a little more of his own views, and not confined himself to setting before us the views of each contending editor so fully and so strongly that we are left at a loss to make up our minds between them, and vainly wish he would come down from the calm impartiality with which, like Jove, he marshals the contending hosts, and take a part, and tell us which side we should espouse. Particularly elaborate is the collection of notes on "Runaway's Eyes."* The notes on this passage show the

* *Jul.*—Gallop apace, you fiery-footed steeds,
Towards Phœbus' lodging: such a waggoner
As Phaëthon would whip you to the west,
And bring in cloudy night immediately.
Spread thy close curtain, love-performing night,
That runaway's eyes may wink, and Romeo
Leap to these arms, untalked of and unseen.

richness and value of the criticism here collected. The passage was originally thought unsatisfactory and unmeaning; now we have, besides several ingenious and beautiful conjectural readings, no less than four independent interpretations given to the original text, each of which is well supported, and gives a fairly satisfactory sense, while two are full of beauty. The old proverb says, one tale is good until another is told, and had either of these interpretations stood alone, I think readers would have been satisfied with it. Had we read no other, who would not be charmed with Halpin's beautiful argument that Cupid is the runaway? or, if we had not read Halpin, we should probably be satisfied with Douce's idea, supported very well by Gerald Massey, that Juliet herself is the runaway. Delius' construction of runaways as equivalent to runagates, and meaning vagabonds or spies, is well supported, although it seems to me prosaic. But to my mind, the most satisfactory interpretation is that which seems to have originated in Warburton's crude suggestion that the sun was the runaway, but which was fully brought out by George Lunt, (*Three Eras of New England*, cited page 385,) where he makes the runaways the horses of the sun, lashed into a furious course by Phaëthon.

The editor seems to have adopted, and probably rightly, the view that the quarto of 1597 is not to be looked upon as an original draft of the play, but rather as a stolen or pirated copy, taken down from memory after hearing the play performed. But still, pirated though it be, it is taken from an earlier form of the play than we now have; the omissions may arise from the imperfect memory of the auditor, or from condensations on the stage; but there are passages in this quarto of 1597 which are in none of the others, and which none but Shakespeare could have written. With all its imperfections, therefore, and coming, though come it does, from such a source, it is of great value and interest, and Mr. Furness has done all students a great kindness in reprinting it. While it is not necessary, as in the received text of *Hamlet*, to combine the folio and quarto texts to make up one play, and while Pope and Steevens, who made up a composite text, by inserting from this old quarto passages in the text which there is every reason to believe Shakespeare had intentionally omitted, deserve blame rather than praise for their labor, yet given to us, as the first quarto is in this edition, in its complete form, appended

to the received text, it is an invaluable addition to the book. Few things are more interesting, in studying the writings of any author, than to observe the development and working of his ideas when he re-writes or changes his first expressions; but it is especially pleasing and instructive with Shakespeare. Repeatedly, from a slight hint or incidental touch in his first sketch, he will, when he returns to his work, elaborate the most gorgeous images. We learn, apart from this comparison, also, the boundless wealth of his fancy and conscious genius when we see how unhesitatingly he strikes out the most interesting and beautiful passages, where, for dramatic or logical fitness, he has deemed change necessary, confident that he can put in something even more charming to supply what he takes away. Knight has said, justly, in a note cited on page 257: "The studies which Shakespeare's corrections of himself supply are among the most instructive in the whole course of literature."

The illustrative and æsthetic criticism which Mr. Furness has given us in the appendix is admirably selected, and is as charming reading as can anywhere be found in as many pages. The editor has done well, considering his limited space, to surrender most of it to foreign critics whose works are the most inaccessible to the reader. Among the English criticisms given, perhaps the most striking is Maginn's analysis of the character of Romeo, whom he sketches as *par excellence* "the unlucky man," who, with the best intentions, from impulse and undue hastiness, acts always in the wrong manner or at the wrong time; thus his well-intentioned interference between Tybalt and Mercutio is probably the cause of Mercutio's death, which Romeo must avenge, and thence came all his woes, while his impulsive readiness to believe, without investigation, that Juliet is dead and all is lost, is the direct cause of the final catastrophe. Of the French criticisms, Taine's is the deepest and the most appreciative. While Chateaubriand, of all men in the world, calls Shakespeare's descriptions inflated and distorted, and his language affected; and Lamartine, while appreciating much of the play, complains of the affectation of the style and the over-refinement of the expressions, Taine seems to have comprehended Shakespeare's style and use of language better than almost any critic, either German or English, and shows, by his analysis of it, just how so many critics fail

completely in understanding Shakespeare. Thus, he says, in a passage I wish I could quote entire :

"Shakespeare flies, we creep. Hence arises a style made up of *bizarreries*, of bold images, intercepted by images still bolder, ideas barely hinted at, overwhelmed by others a hundred leagues removed. . . . These utterances, so violent and so unpremeditated, instead of following each other smoothly and studiously, were poured out in crowds with all the facility and overwhelming abundance of ripples bubbling over from a brimming spring that rises higher and higher, and finding nowhere room to spread out or empty itself. There are twenty instances in *Romeo and Juliet* of this inexhaustible fancy. The metaphors, passionate exaggerations, pointed and twisted phrases, loving extravagances, which the lovers heap up are infinite. . . . All this may be explained in a word—objects entered into Shakespeare's mind all complete ; they can pass into our minds only disjointed, separated, piece-meal. He thought in blocks, we think in atoms. Hence, his style and ours are two opposite languages. We achieve precision and clearness, but miss the life. Shakespeare flung aside precision and clearness, and seized the life. Out of his complex conceptions he snatches a fragment, some fibre all alive and throbbing, and shows it to you ; you must divine the rest."

But the best and worst criticisms selected are probably among those from the Germans. Our Teutonic kinsmen, while at times showing the most wonderful adaptiveness and faculty of sympathetic appreciation, do at times, with their eyes open, walk into the most amazing pitfalls, and make with sublime unconsciousness the most absurd blunders. Perhaps the most beautiful of all the notes in the appendix is Strater's ; while his analysis of the principle of the composition of *Romeo and Juliet*, and the arrangement of the play, in a manner, to a musical symphony, are perhaps over-fanciful, yet no one can read it carefully without profit and a fuller perception of the harmony and the beauty of development of the drama.

Very beautiful and suggestive are also the criticisms of Kreyszig, Rotscher and Ulrici, although the last seems somewhat too severe in his judgment of poor *Romeo*. But what shall we say of Tieck, who, in the midst of a most admirable and appreciative analysis, after saying, as we must all admit, that *Romeo's* tem-

perament is more gloomy than that of Juliet, startles us by adding, "but in good fortune, as in bad fortune, he is violent and rough." Romeo, that "tassel gentle," violent and rough! Impulsive and hasty he is, but where rough? But if Tieck surprises us by his judgment of Romeo, what shall we say to the learned Gervinus' opinion of Mercutio? Gervinus likes Romeo well enough, but he says "Mercutio, a perfect contrast to Romeo, is a man without culture, coarse, rude, ugly; a scornful ridiculer of all sensibility and love, of all dreams and presentiments; one who loves to hear himself talk."

Now, although it would seem improbable and contradictory to our preconceived notion, Mercutio may, like Mirabeau, John Wilkes and other wits, have been ugly, and as we have no authority on the subject, we may consent to Gervinus elaborating Mercutio's personal appearance from the depths of his internal consciousness. But Mercutio a man *without culture, coarse and rude!* Either we have been asleep all our lives long, and all English-speaking critics as well as stage traditions utterly astray—for with all of these Mercutio is the model of a well-bred, witty, light-hearted "gentleman"—or the learned Gervinus has here made a most unaccountable mistake. No one in the play holds Gervinus' opinion of Mercutio, except the nurse, whom perhaps Gervinus copies. Seriously, either from anxiety to originate something new, or from being ignorant of the finer shades of meaning in our language, and therefore failing properly to comprehend Mercutio's speeches, we have here a truly learned writer, whose criticisms are everywhere famous, falling into a blunder of which no schoolboy ought to have been guilty. If Gervinus had condescended to read the English commentaries, which the Germans sometimes do not deign to do, preferring to depend solely on "that God-given power vouchsafed to us Germans before all other nations," he would certainly have seen that if he was right, Shakespeare was wrong, and had made a clownish buffoon where he intended to make a humorous gentleman—Thersites instead of Mercutio. He would have seen that Mercutio's character was already fixed in the story from which Shakespeare took his plot, and that he was prized for the same traits, though more feebly expressed, as Shakespeare's Mercutio is prized. Thus the old poem, cited page 52:

“One cald Mercutio,

A courtier that eche where was brightly held in pryce,
For he was courtious of his speeche and pleasant of devise.”

As an antidote to Gervinus, we must turn to Coleridge's estimate of Mercutio, given by our editor in the foot-note, page 52: “Wit ever wakeful, fancy busy and procreative as an insect, courage, an easy mind, that, without cares of its own, is at once disposed to laugh away those of others, and yet to be interested in them—these and all congenial qualities melting into the common copula of them all, the man of rank and the gentleman, with all its excellences and all its weaknesses, constitute the character of Mercutio.”

Professor Allen's note, in the appendix, page 429, deserves special notice. Sidney Walker has abundantly proved the existence of the rule, of which he was the discoverer, that “s,” and the other sibilants, when immediately following other sibilants, were, by writers of the Elizabethan age, omitted, both in pronouncing and spelling. Professor Allen proposes the extension of this rule to gutturals and dentals. I think his argument, as to dentals particularly, as to the omission, or rather elision, of “the” after a preceding “t,” very strong. To the instances he cites of this elision, selected from some half-dozen plays only, may be added, from Richard II. III, iv. 57:

“As we this garden. We at ' time of year,
Do wound the bark, the skin of our fruit-trees,”

where “the” is evidently omitted or elided on this principle, as Professor Allen says, to avoid the repetition of difficult or disagreeable articulations. Here the effect of retaining “the” would be particularly harsh, as there are dentals both preceding and succeeding. There is a line only a little further on in the same play where “to” is, perhaps, elided in the same manner, (*Id., id.*, 76:)

“What Eve, what serpent hath suggested ' thee,
To make a second fall of curséd man?”

But this is doubtful, as we can obtain a fair sense from the passage by treating “thee” as directly governed by “suggest.”

I do not think the case for the rule so well made out as to “r” and “n,” nor am I entirely satisfied with the examples the Professor cites to prove its existence there. Thus, in the passage from Macbeth, where he reads:

"The near' in blood,
The nearer bloody."

making near stand for nearer, the "er" being elided. I cannot see that this view is called for by the sense. Near is itself a comparative, from the old Saxon *ne*, nigh, and might well be thus used in the first line, while the double comparative was given in the second line. Shakespeare uses "near" as a comparative elsewhere. Thus, in *Richard II.* III, ii. 64:

"Nor near nor farther off, my gracious lord,
Than this weak arm."

Besides, there is nothing so harsh or repugnant in the repetition of "n" or "r" as in that of dentals or sibilants. With regard to the dentals, however, at least, and particularly in the demonstration of the elision of "the," "thy," "thou," &c., Professor Allen's note must stand unassailable, and take its place with Sidney Walker's rule among the fixed principles of construction of the writings of our old authors.

The volume concludes with a very interesting condensed version of Lope de la Vega's Tragic-comedy of "Castelvines Y. Monteses." Here all at last goes merry as a marriage bell. The friar finds Romeo, or rather Anselmo, in due time, and tells him the secret of Juliet or Julia's trance. Julia awakes just before her lover reaches the vault, and a long and romantic conversation ensues between the lovers, in the dark, before Julia can be satisfied of Anselmo's identity. There is a subordinate plot, too, with another pair of lovers. In fact, the plan of the drama is such as to delight the heart of a Tate or a Cibber. If there are any persons still disposed to think, with some early critics, that Shakespeare did not make the best possible use of his materials, they should carefully study Lope de la Vega's version of the story, and Gœthe's arrangement of Romeo and Juliet for the Wiemar theatre, (Appendix, page 443,) and then, seeing what Spain's ablest dramatist has done with the same materials, and how the profoundest genius of recent times has touched Shakespeare's handiwork only to mar it, learn to doubt the possibility of Shakespeare being improved.

Among the criticisms which Mr. Furness has collected in the foot-notes it is very gratifying to see much valuable matter which he has selected from various articles in magazines and reviews,

and which, without his care, might never have been added to the body of Variorum notes. Among these is a very ingenious and beautiful extract from the Cornhill, on presentiments, on page 257, among the foot-notes on "the flattering truth of sleep," Act V. i. 1, for the preservation of which every one will be grateful.

It would be an endless though pleasing task to refer to and commend the exhaustive collection of notes on each passage that deserves attention, and this article has already run to too great length. The appearance of the next volume of *The New Variorum* will be eagerly looked for by all lovers of Shakespeare.

R. L. A.

"THE GRAY LUIK O' LIFE."

POPULAR writers on æsthetics have often suggested how different the world would be if it had been constructed on purely utilitarian principles, without the rounded harmony of form, the brilliancy of color and the music of sweet sounds which give delight to every creature that is capable of perceiving them. What a change it would be if the whole range of hues were toned down to a Quakerly drab, if every shape were stiff and angular, if every taste were a mere insipidity, every sound in the grand diapason were raised or lowered to one monotone. The existence of the manifold differences shows us that something more and higher than materialist uses are the great ends of creation—that the world is the expression of what lies beyond and behind it, and has been made what it is that it may be suggestive of what it is not.

The hardest utilitarian, we suppose, would hardly look forward to such a change with unmixed pleasure; if he had any say in the matter he would begin to find out that his doctrines involved a great many moral and æsthetic corollaries that had not been thought of, or at least had not been insisted upon with much emphasis. He would evince a knowledge of high aims of utility, and a real sympathy with man, for which we had not given him credit, and which he had never professed to possess. The most utterly prosaic of mortals would find that the poetry of outward

things had been near and dear to him, when he was most insisting on their prose.

There exists, however, one notable class of minds for whom this great change has as good as taken place. To them existence is become permanently or for a time as colorless, as tasteless, and as devoid of harmony as the most utilitarian mind could conceive it. To them, as to poor "Cosmo Cupples," in George Macdonald's novel, an inward witness of the spirit has been given that "the gray luik o' life is the true ane,"—the one that they are to believe in and realize. As a patient recovering from the jaundice sees every object tinged with yellow, so their inward eye has taken a dull, grayish hue, which it imparts, if not directly to outward nature, yet to the whole range of facts in human existence, and so, indirectly, to the very surroundings of existence. The state of mind which most people have experienced under the pressure of some great sorrow or disappointment is, in a less intense degree, the daily tone of their lives. Days, years and months pass away, in which the greatest blessing that they could implore would be their annihilation out of the sum of existence. Such periods may be longer or shorter; they may even make up the sum of a lifetime. They cannot be traced to outward causes, nor can a period be put to them by merely outward remedies. They are not the result of bodily disease, while they often produce it. They are not even the consequence of any set of views or opinions, being found in persons who cherish the very brightest hopes of the future of the race not less than in those who take more "gloomy views." They vary in intensity, from mere fits of what our forefathers called "the vapors" or "the spleen," and what we call "the blues," up to a positive monomania. The single expression which unites them all is that which we have quoted from the mouth of the old librarian—"the grey look of life."

Let not the reader suppose that we are trying to carry him bodily through the wards of an insane asylum or an hospital. The medical aspect of the matter is one of which we know little, and care to know no more. The people of whom we write are those whom no physician would vote to deprive of their liberty, whom to shut up in an asylum would be to empty some of our best-filled pulpits, thin out the bar and our other professional, as well as our mercantile circles, of their brightest ornaments. A

large proportion, not merely of the wisest and cleverest, but even of the merriest and wittiest of our cultivated classes would be in the number of the proscribed. For a peculiarity of this phenomenon of hypochondria is its very general association with great intellectual power of any kind, giving rise to the belief which Dryden has well expressed in a much quoted line—

Great wit to madness sure is near allied.

So true is this, that if a great library were to be purged of the works of those who have suffered from this "grey look of life," many a work of great power, brilliancy and popularity would be banished, and the department of wit and humor, if it contained such, would be the emptiest of all. Bloodless satire and superficial farcical humor would be left in sufficient abundance, but most of the great and true humorists who have touched the world's heart would be gone. We should still have George Colman and Peter Pindar, but Burton and Sterne, Lamb and Hood would be in exile. Even Carlyle, the greatest humorist of all, would be gone, in the company of many of his favorite heroes,—Abbot Samson, Luther, Cromwell, and so forth. Every one has heard the story of the London physician who was called in to prescribe for a person who was suffering from hypochondriasis. "You should go and see X. Y., the great comedian; if he makes you laugh as he makes me, it will do you more good than any medicine." "Alas, Doctor, I myself am X. Y."

The root of this mental malady—as we may call it in view of some of its worst excesses—is an undue introversion of mind, an excessive subjectivity. It seems to be especially prevalent among the races of northern Europe, and still more in the Norse branch than the Teutonic. In the latter its existence has been, with some truth, ascribed to circumstances. The great Thirty Years' War has left the traces of its horrors and atrocities upon the German people ever since. As Dr. Trench well notices, a new, deeper tinge of sadness than formerly, has pervaded their literature and character. Their church poetry, from the time of Luther, and even from that of Tauler, had been in the main joyful and hopeful, but it now became subjective and moody to a degree. There are some who are partial exceptions,—Paul Gerhard, for instance, catches much of the spirit of Luther, but even with him the inward feeling predominates over the outward fact. But

much of this tone had existed at an earlier day, Luther himself being an example, with the difference that he fought it as a suggestion of the devil and overcame it in great measure. Indeed, he had found the true cure—escape from himself. He says in the Table-Talk (*Tisch-reden*)—"I have often need to talk even with a little child, in order to expel such thoughts as the devil possesses me with. . . . When I am assailed with heavy tribulation, I rush out among my pigs, rather than remain alone by myself. The human heart is like a mill-stone in a mill: when you put wheat under it, it turns and grinds and bruises the wheat to flour; if you put no wheat, it still grinds on, but then 'tis itself it grinds and wears away. So the human heart, unless it be occupied with some employment, leaves space for the devil, who wriggles himself in, and brings with him a whole host of evil thoughts, temptations and tribulations, which grind out the heart. . . . All heaviness of mind and melancholy come of the devil, especially those thoughts that God is not gracious unto him, that God will have no mercy upon him, &c. . . . Heavy thoughts bring on physical maladies; when the soul is oppressed, so is the body. Augustin said well: *Anima plus est ubi amat, quam ubi animat*. When cares, heavy cogitations, sorrows and passions superabound, they weaken the body, which, without the soul, is dead, or like a horse without a driver."

And yet the man was not one of gloom and moodiness; on the contrary, he takes rank above all the other Reformers for the breadth and geniality of his character, the warmth of his affections and his kindly interest in all human affairs. It was well for him that he strove after that wholesome objectivity of character which made him fly from solitude and kept him happy in being busy. Had he ever become a mere mystic, like his master, Staupitz, or like the two old Germans whom he praised so heartily, Tauler and the author of the *Teutsche Theologie*, the effect upon his character and influence would have been very great and by no means beneficial.

Some, who are beset by the same mental trials, have not the same practical wisdom. They find their resources in day dreaming—building castles in the air, *chateaux en Espagne*. They turn away from God's world as a weary delusion and a failure, to find refuge in a world of fancies and dreams. Every thing that brings them back to daily life becomes distasteful; they look forward to

every duty with an inward shrinking which passes all description. A blunder in expression or a *faux pas* in behavior they can never forgive to themselves, if they are conscious of it. These, or even a slight from another, will "stick in them like pins." In society they are *distract*, and, in a peculiar sense, double-minded. They see as though they saw not and hear as though they did not hear. You think you have their attention, but the vacuity of their gaze betrays their absence in mind. Only Luther's cure can benefit them—the pigs, if needs be, before solitude and the devil. Believing in this last personage and his real influence as firmly as Luther did, though not so promiscuously, we are inclined to think he is not far wrong in connecting him with solitude. The demoniac of Gadara made his dwelling among the tombs, away from men, and has had his counterpart in more than one wild man of modern times, whom some impulse has hurried away from home and society, plunging him first into solitude, and then, by degrees, into utter bestiality. This is one of the impulses of the hypochondriac—he longs for some far-away place of refuge where no eye of man shall see him and he shall be left to the communion of his own thoughts. One of them sighs:

"Oh, for a lodge in some vast wilderness—
Some boundless contiguity of shade!"

The same conception has a strange fascination, greater or less in degree, for them all. Not that, my brethren; Luther's pigs sooner than that.

It is with perfect conformity to truth, therefore, that Tennyson depicts, in his *Palace of Art*, the experience of such a mind when the wish has been granted, and it has not only solitude, but an abundance of all the beautiful things possible to such a state. Hypochondria, which prompted the wish for isolation, punishes it by an influx of new horrors:

"Deep dread and loathing of her solitude
Fell on her, from which mood was born
Scorn of herself; again from out that mood,
Laughter at her self-scorn.

"And death and life she hated equally,
And nothing saw for her despair
But dreadful time, dreadful eternity;
No comfort anywhere.

“Shut up, as in a crumbling tomb, girl round
 With blackness as a solid wall,
 Far off, she seemed to hear the dully sound
 Of human footsteps fall.”

Luther is not the only instance of a great man breaking through these clouds; there are multitudes of others. In all cases where the will is strong enough and rightly guided, this is the final outcome, leaving the character a deeper, broader, finer one, for the encounter and the victory. When a man learns to rule his moods, not to be ruled by them, he attains to true self-mastery. Carlyle writes of the greatest hero in his great gallery, the great Protector, under the date 1623:

“In those years it must be that Dr. Simcott, physician in Huntingdon, had to do with Oliver’s hypochondriac maladies. He told Sir Philip Warwick, unluckily specifying no date, or none that has survived, ‘he had often been sent for at midnight;’ Mr. Cromwell for many years was very ‘splenetic,’ often thought he was just about to die, and also ‘had fancies about the town cross.’ Brief intimation, of which the reflective reader may make a great deal. Samuel Johnson, too, had hypochondrias; all great souls are apt to have, and to be in thick darkness generally, till the eternal ways disclose themselves and the vague abyss of life knit itself up into firmaments for them. Temptations in the wilderness, choices of Hercules and the like, in succinct or loose form, are appointed for every man that will assert a soul in himself and be a man. Let Oliver take comfort in his sorrows and melancholies. The quantity of sorrow he has, does it not mean, withal, the quantity of sympathy he has, the quantity of faculty and victory he shall yet have? Our sorrow is the inverted image of our nobleness. The depth of our despair measures what capability and height of claim we have to hope. Black smoke, as of Tophet, filling all your universe, it can yet by true heart-energy become *flame* and brilliancy of Heaven. Courage.”

These facts, given in Carlyle’s way and with some qualifications with which we have no agreement, furnish, we think, what his biographer does not notice—the best explanation of Oliver’s death-bed, over whose comparative gloom pious Jacobites and Tories have gloated. Of Johnson, Carlyle says:

“Nature, in return for his nobleness, had said to him: Live in an element of diseased sorrow. Nay, perhaps the sorrow and

the nobleness were intimately and even inseparably connected with each other. At all events, poor Johnson had to go about girt with continual hypochondria, physical and spiritual pain. Like a Hercules, with the burning Nessus' shirt on him, which shoots in on him dull, incurable misery—the Nessus' shirt which is not to be stript off—which is his own natural skin. Figure him, then, with his great, greedy heart and unspeakable chaos of thoughts, stalking, mournful as a stranger, on this earth, eagerly devouring what spiritual thing he could come at."

It is of no use to multiply cases, but some cannot well be passed by. Cowper's hypochondria, amounting to madness, has long formed a text on which literary sermons have been preached on the pernicious influence of certain views in theology. The truth is that Cowper would have been gloomily mad had he never met John Newton, nor heard of Calvinism. Any or no belief would have been equally good as a peg on which to hang hypochondriac fancies. Charles Lamb was a Unitarian, yet both he and his sister suffered hidden tortures from the same cause, and both were mad for a time. Thomas Hood and Lord Byron are equally strong instances of the malady, in the absence of any theories or ideas that might be expected to predispose them to it, although, indeed, it is part of the Stowe-Byron romance that his lordship was a very orthodox disciple of John Calvin. Lady Byron herself was a Universalist, yet a more confirmed hypochondriac never lived; not only the recent revelations of her own authorship, but also the accounts given of her manner and bearing show this. It is about time that religious opinions were discussed on their own merits, and their general influence on society, and not merely with reference to their possible influence on abnormal types of human character.

The most complete and characteristic instance of the influence of "the gray look of life" on human character and the literature which reflects it, is given by the Brontë family. In their case it seems to have been hereditary, and shared by all three sisters. A sister novelist, Mrs. Gaskell, has given us a very well written biography of them, making Charlotte her main theme, but through a misapprehension of this main-point has crowded into it as much well-meant misrepresentation and benevolent slander as could well be brought into the same number of pages. This is because she set herself to seek in outward things a reason for what was

really caused by an unfortunate mental twist in the subjects of her biography. Let us each count it as an unnoticed mercy that we do not appear in the pages of Mrs. Gaskell's *Life of Charlotte Brontë*. The single brother and the father of the three gifted girls get especially hard measure from the excellent woman, but in truth they rather deserve the reader's pity for themselves.

Of the prose writings of the sisters we shall speak only in regard to those of Charlotte. If the reader has never read Emily Brontë's two novels, we simply advise him never to do so. Charlotte is the healthiest and strongest mind of the three, because the most objective. Her novels take the very first rank in English literature, but what thoroughly healthy mind ever conceived the plot of *Jane Eyre*, or drew such a mental picture as that given in the story of her escape from Rochester's residence to that of her cousins? Shirley is more wholesome, because less autobiographic, but it is a great blunder. It is an ideal picture of what she conceived her sister Emily would have been; had the circumstances of her life been different, *i. e.* had she been born into the wealth and position, which eat out the heart of many a noble woman by a forced idleness, rather than to that struggle for a livelihood, through which thousands of women carry a merry face and a glad heart. We do not say that better circumstances would not have exerted a genial influence upon Emily Brontë; far from it. The bare, bleak neighborhood in which she was born and brought up, the manners and character of her rude Yorkshire neighbors, the scenes of distress associated with her earliest recollection, the uncongenial and ill-managed school in which she was educated, the slights and offences that her naturally proud spirit met in her career as a governess, all these helped to intensify her moodiness of mind, but they altogether did not weigh so much in producing the final result as did the natural and innate bent of her intellect. Charlotte Brontë contradicts herself even in *Shirley*, by her portrait of Lucy, who has had none of the disadvantages that Emily had to contend with, but who is a perfect type of the hypochondriac.

Her fourth story, *Villette*, (we have skipped *The Professor*,) is more of a real autobiography than any, and better repays psychological study. Her own career in the schools of Brussels is more than faintly imaged forth in it. The description it contains of the mental horrors which came down upon the heroine's mind in

the long vacation solitude has no equal in literature, not even in the infinite dreariness of Dante's *Purgatorio*. It is too real and lifelike to be any thing but a transcript from actual experience. It is not like the tone of subdued sadness that runs through the works of Thackeray, where a sorrowful face speaks behind the laughing mask; neither is it like the graphic, careful and sympathetic studies of the subject *ab extra*, by Macdonald, in Eric Ericson and others of his characters. It is the thing itself.

But it is in the poetical works of these gifted sisters that we find the best illustration of their mental character. The best English critics have pronounced the little volume * of their poems to contain some of the finest poetry ever written by a woman's pen. No three characters were ever more fully presented to the gaze of the reader than are the three sisters in these poems, and a careful reading of them is quite sufficient to explain correctly what Mrs. Gaskell has theorized about with so much injustice. Charlotte's poems are, as might be expected, objective and wholesome as compared with the others, being mostly stories in verse, so we shall not quote them. Emily's are dark, brooding, mournful, yet withal wonderfully candid. The tone of the third sister varies greatly, the worst being represented by that on page 92:

O, God! if this indeed be all
 That life can show to me;
 If on my aching brow may fall
 No freshening dew from Thee,—
 If with no brighter light than this
 The lamp of hope may glow,
 And I may only *dream* of bliss,
 And wake to every woe;
 Wandering and toiling without gain,
 The slave of others' will;
 With constant care and frequent pain,
 Despised, forgotten still;
 While all the good I would impart,
 The feelings I would share,
 Are driven backward to my heart,
 And turned to wormwood there;

* Poems of Currer, Ellis and Acton Bell. Philadelphia, Lea & Blanchard. 1848.

If clouds must *ever* keep from sight
 The glories of the sun,
 And I must suffer winter's blight
 Ere summer is begun ;

If life must be so full of care,
 Then call me soon to Thee,
 Or give me strength enough to bear
 My load of misery.

She often writes better than that ; more hopefully, as well as more poetically, as on page 56 :

I mourn with thee, and yet rejoice
 That thou shouldst sorrow so ;
 With angel choirs I join my voice
 To bless the sinner's woe.

Though friends and kindred turn away,
 And laugh thy grief to scorn ;
 I hear the great Redeemer say :
 " Blessed are ye that mourn."

Hold on thy course, nor deem it strange
 That earthly cords are riven ;
 Man may lament the wond'rous change,
 But " there is joy in heaven !"

But the darker tone is the more permanent one with this gentle soul. Here is a part of one on " Views of Life," page 141 :

In vain you talk of morbid dreams ;
 In vain you, gaily smiling, say,
 That what to me so dreary seems,
 The healthy mind deems bright and gay.

I lately saw a sunset sky,
 And stood enraptured to behold
 Its varied hues of glorious dye :
 First, fleecy clouds of shining gold.

These, blushing, took a rosy hue ;
 Beneath them shone a flood of green ;
 Nor less divine the glorious hue
 That smiled above them and between.

I cannot name each lovely shade ;
 I cannot say how bright they shone ;
 But, one by one, I saw them fade ;
 And what remained when they were gone ?

Dull clouds remained, of sombre hue;
 And when their borrowed charm was o'er
 The azure sky had faded, too,
 That smiled so softly bright before.

So, gilded by the glow of youth,
 Our varied life looks fair and gay;
 And so remains the naked truth
 When that false light is passed away.

There's "the gray look of life," with a vengeance; almost an anticipation of the very words. Of Emily's poems we shall especially notice those in regard to day-dreaming, which constituted her one enjoyment, because these poems largely explain the others. She thus addresses the fancy, page 131:

. . . . [I] gave my spirit to adore
 Thee, ever-present, phantom thing,
 My slave, my comrade and my king.

A slave because I rule thee still;
 Incline thee to my changeful will,
 And make thy influence good or ill;
 A comrade, for by day and night
 Thou art my intimate delight.

My darling pain, that wounds and sears,
 And wrings a blessing out from tears,
 By deadening me to earthly cares;
 And yet a king, though prudence well
 Have taught thy subject to rebel.

And am I wrong to worship where
 Faith cannot doubt, nor hope despair,
 Since my own soul can grant my prayer?
 Speak, god of visions, plead for me,
 And tell why I have chosen thee.

Again, she writes, and with greater power, (page 115,) combining the two facts that we have spoke of:

Yes, Fancy, come, my Fairy love!
 These throbbing temples softly kiss,
 And bend my lonely couch above,
 And bring me rest and bring me bliss.

* * * * *

And this shall be my dream to-night:
 I'll think the heaven of glorious spheres
 Is rolling on its course of light,
 In endless bliss, through endless years.
 I'll think there's not one world above,
 Far as these straining eyes can see,
 Where Wisdom ever laughed at Love,
 Or Virtue crouched in Infamy.

Where, writhing 'neath the strokes of Fate,
 The mangled wretch was forced to smile;
 To match his patience 'gainst her hate,
 His heart rebellious all the while.
 Where Pleasure still will lead to wrong,
 And helpless Reason warn in vain;
 And Truth is weak, and Treachery strong,
 And Joy the surest path to Pain.

And Peace, the lethargy of Grief;
 And Hope, a phantom of the Soul;
 And Life, a labor void and brief;
 And Death, the despot of the whole.

Not a pleasant literary study, perhaps, yet not an unprofitable one. Its lesson, rightly read, is that these inherited or acquired predispositions of mind, when yielded to by the will, and strengthened by habit, may be the source of the most acute mental suffering; and that nothing tends more to give our world the aspect of a moral Sahara than the habit of constructing another, and what seems a better, in the regions of the fancy. The only sure antidote is that of the old Cilician Jew: "Let every man mind not his own things only, but the things of others." Wealth, position and comfort would not have made Emily Bronte a happy woman; a warm and cordial interest in the welfare and the belongings of others would have done it, if that interest had been fostered into a mental habit, and made the law of her life. Macdonald, in *Guild Court*, portrays the cure wrought upon a precocious little girl, who suffered under this mental misery, first, by the contemplation of "Him," as she called Christ, and then by intercourse with a cheerful little waif, taken from the streets by a good-hearted neighbor. We have no doubt that he is right; that the breadth, the fulness, the tenderness, the strength, the calmness of the Son of Man present, at once, in a real and objective shape, that perfection of act and character for which many fly

to the world of dreams. This is among the benefits which accrue to us from the Christian Gospels; here is the Ideal which is no day-dream, but a concrete, living personality, whom we instinctively recognize as an actual character, more truly Man than we ourselves are men. Nothing can form a substitute for that; not the æsthetic tastes and objects with which the soul shut herself in, in Tennyson's "Palace of Art;" not the wide and broad range of knowledge and abstract wisdom that Solomon mastered and found it vanity; not the most cheerful and hopeful set of views and opinions about the future of the race. He is the reality; these are—

Idle as a painted ship
Upon a painted ocean.

JOHN DYER.

ANNOUNCEMENT.

WITH the present number the extensive publishing and book-selling house of Porter & Coates become the publishers of the PENN MONTHLY, the "University Press Company" having ceased to act in that capacity. No direct change is made thereby in the literary management of the magazine, but it is believed that the new relation will afford new and more extensive facilities for realizing the ideal of literary excellence and popular adaptation, after which the editors have striven. We shall strive to make it (1) a magazine *for all times*, by securing the discussion of topics of permanent interest in a thoughtful and suggestive way, and with such attention to æsthetic form as shall entitle these essays to the name of literature; and (2) a magazine *for our times*, in especial—not by appealing to the humor of the moment or following the literary fashions of the day, but by a serious discussion of those problems of life, literature and society, which peculiarly belong to the nineteenth century. It is in the spirit of both these purposes that we have resolved to begin a department for the brief and impartial review of our current literature.

Upon our success in these efforts will depend the enlargement of our magazine in size, until it shall be equal in this respect to the usual monthly issues of the periodical press. In the mean time we are determined to be behind none of them in quality.

NEW BOOKS.

THE POETS AND POETRY OF EUROPE. By Henry Wadsworth Longfellow. Philadelphia: Porter & Coates. 1871.

The English language is comparatively deficient in the class of literary compilations which the Germans called *Haus-schatz*, and which present in a single volume a rounded and complete view of some one class, or it may be some one period of literature. We have had, indeed, "Selections" enough, beginning with the "Elegant Extracts" of last century, but most of these read as if they had edited themselves; there is no idea in them, no order; the whole is a picture of nothing, unless of the good or bad taste of the compiler. As a rule, men who have ability enough to judge of good literature and to write salable English have not cared to use their abilities in this direction.

We have some exceptions, however, especially in America; Dana's *Household Book of Poetry*, Mills' *Specimens*, and Cleveland's *Manuals of English Literature*, are very creditable attempts to supply the want. But the most notable book of this class in the English language is Prof. Longfellow's *Poets and Poetry of Europe*, now over a quarter of a century old, yet still without a successor or even a rival. It is a book in whose compilation the poet, the scholar, the master of modern literature are equally represented. The work is encyclopedic; it is a grand geography of this great section of the "world of letters." He must be well read indeed, who does not here meet with some new face; and very peculiar must be the literary taste which does not meet with something to gratify it in the vast range from the ballads of Denmark and the sagas of Norseland up to the mystical raptures of John Scheffler and St. Theresa.

Mr. Longfellow has drawn upon the whole range of English translators from Continental poets, choosing wherever he found what suited his purpose, prefixing brief notices. Many of the best translations are his own, and have taken their place in his poetical works. They are so good that we could wish that they had been even more numerous. Since 1845 other pens have been enriching this department, and in the new edition just issued by Porter & Coates, of this city, the reader will find a supplement which bears the date 1870 and adds 140 pages to the original 776. Here we find reflected the new and warmer awakened interest in regard to certain poets, as the Spanish Calderon or the German Heine; or in certain periods of poetry, such as that early Italian age of which Rossetti has translated so much; or of certain classes of poetry, as the German hymn-writers, who in our day, for the third time, have busied the pens of English translators. Had the size of the book permitted, no doubt this supplement might have been made very much larger; but enough has been added to give a rounded completeness to the whole work.

The book reflects wonderfully the unity of mankind, showing the substratum of humanity which underlies all varieties, which is in all inspired with the same thoughts and feelings, animated by kindred hopes and fired by the same passions. Especially is it one of the monuments of Christian culture, telling in its very silences how thoroughly one set of influences have pervaded the best and brightest minds of all Christendom.

THE "BAB" BALLADS; OR, MUCH SOUND AND LITTLE SENSE.

By W. S. Gilbert. Philadelphia: Porter & Coates.

Next to good sense the best thing in literature is good nonsense—nonsense that is conscious of its own character and contented with it. The nonsense that mistakes itself for sense, and apes the authority of sense, is too abundant in all departments of literature, from philosophy to fiction, to be in special demand. The best nonsense that we have had for a long time is Mr. Gilbert's *Bab Ballads*, republished from the columns of *Fun*, first in London, and then in this city, by Porter & Coates. They would thaw out the jaws of the stiffest utilitarian by their sheerly ridiculous verses and illustrations. Their model seems to have been Thackeray's nonsensical poem about the three sailors who ate up all their provisions and were on the point of cannibalism, but some of them surpass even that exquisitely senseless piece of doggerel. To the American reader, who is not well acquainted with English periodicals, many social allusions and flings must need explanation, and not a little of the slang calls for a glossary; but the great bulk of the book appeals to no local sympathies and feelings,—it explains itself, as do the grotesque pictures. As Mr. Gilbert is still working the same vein with no diminution of his powers, we hope to see a second series of his "Ballads" in book form.

THE MODERN JOB. A Poem. By H. Peterson. Philadelphia:

H. Peterson & Co.

From H. Peterson & Co. we have Mr. Peterson's *Modern Job*. For our own part we prefer the original poem, which was "favorably reviewed" in our pages last year, to this modern parody of it. A single point marks the difference between a great work of art and a second-class imitation; no one could state the arguments of Bildad, Elephaz and Zophar more powerfully and eloquently than is done by the Edomite poet himself, although his sympathies are all on the other side. But Mr. Peterson's "Job's Comforters" are about as weak-minded a set of logicians as ever opened their mouths. The hero—Job Goodman—is a Pennsylvania farmer from Montgomery, a part of our State which merits close study as the adopted home of more than one set of mystical religionists from Germany, such as the Schwenkfelders on the Perkiomen, and the Separatists or Behmenists on Falkner's Swamp, (*Falkner's Schwamm*). But the author makes but slight use of local coloring.

ÆSCHYLUS. By R. H. Coplestone. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co.

From Lippincott we have Mr. Coplestone's *Æschylus*, one of a series of small and pithy manuals designed to interest English readers in the great classic models of literary excellence, by sketches of the authors, their times, and their works, and excerpts from the best translations of the latter. *Æschylus* has an especial interest for most readers; his dramas are the oldest compositions of the kind in European literature, and they alone, in all the range of classic literature, compete with the Hebrew writings in true sublimity. Their author was an Athenian soldier, who fought at Marathon and Salamis, and his *Persians* is a picture of that great victory of Hellenic over Barbarian power and vastness of resource. In less than two hundred pages Mr. Coplestone has given us a compact

and readable account of the whole subject, beginning with a sketch of the Greek Theatre. He has availed himself largely of Canon Plumptre's fine translations, but would have found some worth using in Bulwer's Athens.

SAN DOMINGO. Pen Pictures and Leaves of Travel, Romance and History. From the Portfolio of a Correspondent in the American Tropics. By DeB. Randolph Keim. Philadelphia: Claxton, Remsen & Haffelfinger. 1870.

In the present condition of public excitement on the subject of San Domingo, any authentic information is desirable; so the present work comes before the public very seasonably.

It is written in an easy, conversational style, and contains a large amount of valuable information as to the history, institutions, soil, &c., of the country, as well as amusing accounts of accidents, adventures and occasional anecdotes of individuals the author met with on the island.

Chapter XV is devoted to a history of the negotiations of the United States Government for the purchase of the Bay and Peninsula of Samana, with a description of the bay and a table of distances from different ports of the United States; and the last five chapters are occupied with a description of the topography, productions, climate, population, trade and commerce, and the government, military force, &c., of the island.

We have also received from Messrs. Claxton, Remsen & Haffelfinger, **THE HEIGHTS OF EIDELBERG.** A Novel. By M. H. Tatem, author of *Glennair*; or, *Life in Scotland*, &c., &c. Second Edition. Philadelphia: Claxton, Remsen & Haffelfinger. 1871.

WHO WAS SHE? or, the Soldier's Best Glory. A Novel. Philadelphia: Claxton, Remsen & Haffelfinger. 1871.

THE CELEBRATED SPEECH OF GENERAL THOMAS F. BURKE, delivered May 1, 1867, in the Court House, Dublin, on being asked, by Lord Chief Justice Whiteside, why sentence of death should not be pronounced against him. New York: American News Company. 1871.

THE MANUSCRIPT RECEIPT BOOK AND HOUSEHOLD TREASURY. Second Edition. Philadelphia: Claxton, Remsen & Haffelfinger. 1870.

LITTLE MARY AND THE FAIRY. By Harriet B. McKeever. Philadelphia: Claxton, Remsen & Haffelfinger. 1871.

THE PIGEON'S WEDDING. By H. B. McKeever. Philadelphia: Claxton, Remsen & Haffelfinger. 1870.

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AMERICAN BIOGRAPHY.

If history be philosophy teaching by example, then surely biography is history taught by examples; a short essay showing the comparative position which it should therefore occupy with us, and the fitness of its cultivation here, before we begin to collect the mass of materials which we dignify with the name of American history, may very well serve to excite the attention of able minds, and persuade them to execute the duties of biographers more, and more efficiently, than hitherto.

Mr. Hume has laid down the business of history, not quite as briefly as is desirable, but as precisely as can be expected. "Most sciences," he says in his *History*, "in proportion as they increase and improve, invent methods by which they facilitate their reasonings, and employing general theorems, are enabled to comprehend, in a few propositions, a great number of inferences and conclusions. History also being a collection of facts which are multiplying without end, is obliged to adopt such arts of abridgment to retain the more material events, and to drop all the minute circumstances which are only interesting during the time, or to the persons engaged in the transactions." If these be accurate rules for the guidance of historians, it is not easy to see what duties are left to be performed by biographers, nor what position is due to biography, happily called the handmaid of history. It can hardly be an inferior one, because almost, without exception, there is more favor shown it by the mass of readers; it can hardly be its equal, because not one of the many biographers whose labors delight and instruct us—not a

Boswell nor a Lockhart, not a Sparks nor a Marshall—not one of them pretends to claim for his productions the respect or reverence willingly granted to every book with history labelled on its back or prominent on its title-page, though there has not been spent on it a tithe of the labor, the diligence, the industry, the acumen—though there is not in it an appreciable part of the skill in winnowing the chaff from the seed, in exhibiting the truth, in marking the uncertain, in detecting the false—all necessary ingredients to perfect the labors of a useful biographer.

American biography has just begun to lay claim—and fairly enough—to the high rank which in England, and in France especially, this delightful branch of elegant literature has always possessed. Here, however, there is a strength and a firmness, a roundness and a fulness, an accuracy and a truthfulness, which have been preëminently wanting abroad. A great part of the falseness of French memoirs, just as it is the principal cause of the intense virtue and proper behavior of nearly all “English lives,” is due to the interference of family interest, the continued presence of family patronage, or the fear of family anger and the infliction of family resentment. Fortunately, a sense of honesty is kept alive in the minds and in the pens of our family biographers, by the knowledge that the acts, and very often the writings, even the most private, of the person of whom they may treat, no matter how illustrious or how obscure, are pretty sure to be known in some other quarter of our Union than that in which merely their family interest exists. The diversity of our political interests really seems to extend to interests that in themselves are personal, but which become general as soon as they are made historical. No one, therefore, is sure that his opinion or notion of some great man’s conduct will not be opposed, corrected and overturned. There is, besides, great difficulty in coming down from our school-boy reverence for great men, as we are often obliged to do when there is any attempt to be made at a sketch of their lives, and their thoughts, and their works. The shock of the descent from an ideal great man, to that familiar appearance which marks his first approach to greatness, as one finds it in the first part of his research, is not easily overcome in the gradual progression which we trace slowly, and very often very tediously, up to the high place or great fame which first caught the eager gaze and fixed the studious attention of a would-be biographer.

He is (so he thinks, at least) compelled, in honesty, to give up the life of a hero, whom he has found out to be only a commonplace man; sometimes he feels tempted to pass over all his every-day look, and to turn towards the public only his bright and shiny side. This is one of the common errors of American biographers, and the reader of one of their productions, no matter how gracefully written, leaves it with no accurate, clear, distinct apprehension of any one or other marked characteristic, and with only a very poor idea of the real force and weight of the man whose life was no life to him in the telling, and whose real merit he is therefore too apt to depreciate. When this same sort of writing is applied to the lives of authors and thinkers, the labor of the biographer—it boots little how earnest or industrious he may have been—is thrown away; for instead of giving us an account of the life of his mind, he has simply told us that which was no more interesting than the same relation of any of the unnumbered throng who are only born to die, and he has forgotten that we can take interest only in the very few who

“ Like gleanings of an olive tree still show
Here and there one upon the topmost bough.”

Mr. Carlyle has given us the best course for such an one; he says, in a notice of the life of Robert Burns, “ If an individual is really of consequence enough to have his life and character recorded for public remembrance, we have always been of opinion that the public ought to be made acquainted with all the inward springs and relations of his life. How did the world and man’s life, from his position, represent themselves to his mind? How did existing circumstances modify him from without, how did he modify these from within? With what endeavors and what efficacy rule over them, with what resistance and what suffering sink under them? In one word, what and how produced was the effect of society on him,—what and how produced was his effect on society? He who should answer these questions in regard to any individual, would, as we believe, furnish a model of perfection in biography. Few individuals, indeed, can deserve such a study, and many lives will be written, and for the gratification of innocent curiosity, ought to be written, and read and forgotten, which are not, in this sense, biographies.” There can hardly be any occasion for apologizing for the quotation (a happy fault, if aptly

done) of a passage which affords such capital rules to simplify the duties of a biographer, and nothing can better serve the purpose of a text, to suggest a few thoughts on American biography, and to show why it is that

“Men’s evil manners
Live in brass—their virtues we write
In water.”

But an objection may be made, that while these rules apply to the lives of men whose literary and mental labors chiefly interest us, or to those who have been great and useful without doing or suffering personally, they do not furnish such minutiae of the heroes or tyrants or travellers, or what not, whose busy, active, bustling, changing lives and adventures are their chief interest. It is a rare thing to find a historian who will condescend to the unimportant narration of processions and ceremonials, yet the conduct of one or another famous personage, upon just such occasions, is very often a strong mark of character, and after the principal and leading events of a man’s life are known, it is these which chiefly interest men, and most frequently are made the occasion of the memorials by which honest and honorable anxiety to perpetuate greatness or goodness is oftenest and best shown. But anecdotes, facetiae, and such relations may as well be left to the ingenuity of biographers for proper introduction, as they now are to tradition-mongers for safe keeping. That biography which, of all others, should be in its execution, as it is in its subject, the great example for all succeeding times, is simply, too simply, “confined to a biographical sketch, introducing events and incidents in their natural order, with no other marks or reflections of his (the author’s) own than such as seemed necessary to preserve just proportions in the parts and a unity in the whole.” We are, to be sure, referred to Washington’s writings for his real life; but they are too massive in proportion, and are too stately and too solemn to be much read. Besides, they fail to show the great virtues of their author in any case where there is real modesty and real worth—which can be best done, and, in Washington’s case, can only be done by a full revelation of his private and familiar intercourse; family letters and State papers all go to make up the necessary and true memorials out of which history is to be framed, yet it is hardly fair, when looking for a familiar

and lifelike representation, effective both in its simplicity and its truth, to be referred to that which may be described as forming a gigantic statue in which the face alone has *traces* of familiarity—and even that is lost on us, because the limbs are either wrapped in outlandish garments or left in a very startling and uncomfortable nakedness. Preferable to this would be familiarity through an autobiography, because whatever other objections there are, it must be true after a certain manner, even in spite of the writer himself—though the reader has to be a penetrating and careful one to tell where it is that the truth is told fairly and fully, and where it is after a shabby, equivocating manner; it is often hard to see where there is an effort to conceal the principal characteristics which will come out, or whether the real truth is, either by design or accidentally, slurred over and concealed, for the honestest man is never sure that he knows himself. Rochefoucauld explained this very cleverly when he said, “*Quelques découvertes que l'on ait faites dans le pays de l'amour-propre, il y reste encore bien des terres inconnues.*” In spite of this self-conceit, it is plain that every man ought to be the best authority for his own thoughts and motives, and as for his account of his own conduct and action, if he was a really considerable personage, there is very little fear that his misstatement or his carefully-planned deception will last long; and for one successful attempt of this sort, there are scores discovered by clever critics and by careful readers, and so managed that all their strength and usefulness are preserved intact, while their industry and perseverance are often rewarded and repaid (to us as well as to them) by making out of them lasting monuments and useful memorials, that now and then may serve to supply materials for, and that always will lighten up and help, real sober history.

Our biographers too often forget the uses and the lasting excellences of a good life; they are apt to begin with too extended a plan, to become wearied when difficulties and obstructions detain and mislead them, and then to dwindle down into mere retailers of simple deeds and dates, without adding or looking for the origin or motives of the former and without elaborating and displaying the relations and influences of the latter. An elegant biographer of an interesting time, Mr. Roscoe, has mentioned the necessity of such generalization with equal grace and truth. By it, he says, we get at “the opinions of men of genius, ability and

learning, who have been agitated with all the hopes and fears to which such events have given rise, and have frequently acted a personal and important part in them. . . . By such means we seem to become contemporaries with those whose history we peruse, and to acquire an intimate knowledge, not only of the facts themselves, but of the judgment formed upon such facts by those who were most deeply interested in them." (Life of Leo X.) In this way we should succeed in getting at the details of the manner in which a particular man produced an effective and important influence upon the outward and visible working, the regular as well as the unusual occurrences of State, the invisible changes and the great revolutions which are for the most part recited in dry histories or in dull State papers. These soon cease to interest even the most zealous student, and make up an unmanageable mass of raw material, not capable of being moulded, even by the cleverest writer; so that what drippings may fall to our share come, too often, through the hands and after the interference of some industrious book-maker who aspires to be a historian.

Most American biographers are ignorant of what one of the best of their number has so well said: "The history of the Revolution is not written, and cannot be till the biographies of the men who made the Revolution are completed." Most of them treat of men who lived in the heroic age of America, and they should therefore study the well-distributed light and shade of the Life of Joseph Reed, partly because it is not unlikely that a large part of General Reed's fame is due to the excellence of his biography, but chiefly because it is *graceful* and good. It is a fault to make the lives of men who all acted together stand each by itself, and it might and ought to be corrected, so that we should not, as we now do, have very different accounts (and all pretending to be original statements) of events about which doubt and uncertainty ought to have ended when the parties on either side died out; such is now the case, almost without exception, in every one of the numerous squabbles—very few of them deserve the dignity of a better name—which grew out of the unwise legislation of the men who had been such wise warriors and such prudent patriots. While the restless energy of some and the desperate genius of others who took leading parts in our great struggle have been frequently and well recited, there are very few accounts of the contentions and differences which marked the period between the formation of the

Articles of Confederation and the adoption of the Constitution. A full and fair account of the life of some man who was an active partaker in all this is very desirable ; but it should be some one not so far removed above common motives as Washington was ; nor should it be the life of Adams, who was the diplomatic leader of the Revolution ; but that of some stirring and active man, subject to the ordinary influences, the personal rivalries and the lively jealousies that were so strong and so characteristic then, and have left traces, even to this day, of the fierceness and roughness of our peaceful Revolution.

One of the most serious errors, and yet it is almost the commonest, into which our biographers fall, is a want of judgment in the use of authorities. It is much easier to trust to what is written, and printed, and at hand, than to hunt up old and forgotten sources of information ; it is, besides, much more convenient to show for one's authorities, books in every one's possession or papers accessible to everybody than industriously and critically to collect and collate new means of describing some well-known man, which may perhaps make some part of his career less famous, as it is made more like what an ordinary man would have done in the same case, or it may entirely contradict the usual current of opinion on one or another remarkable act. There are some really great men, whose part in the politics or diplomacy of a great nation may have been of the utmost importance, productive of such consequences that their influence, whether for good or bad, demands a full and clear account of all the circumstances connecting them with the time in which they lived and the people whom they benefited or injured ; there may have been but one act on which hinged all their greatness, but a short time which showed them other than the multitude around them ; and there will have been formed, almost of necessity, an opinion in regard to this man, and this act, and this time, which no biographer will willingly overturn, or even when sure of his own correctness undertake, without hesitation, to correct and change, no matter how far it may be from what he knows is the truth. It is for doing this in just such a case that we are so much indebted to M. Guizot, and he has pointed out the difficulty of writing and the importance of writing well the account of such a man's career, in a few simple but happy phrases : " Monk is one of those whose talents and even vices have but a day or hour for the development

of their full energy and dominion; yet they are the men whom it is most important to study, for the rapid drama wherein they took a leading part, and the event which it was in their sole power to accomplish, can be through them alone made thoroughly intelligible."

But in most cases, besides the difficulty of finding new authorities and making new opinions out of them, there is a risk, and a very serious and considerable one, in determining the amount of trust to be put in those at hand, some of which may have grown into popular favor and belief too, while an accurate examination may prove pretty convincingly that others of less importance in the eyes of most readers may really be those to which most confidence is to be given, both in receiving actual statements of facts and in getting at the judgments or opinions of contemporaries.

In every case where a book is relied on, the author's relation to the men whose actions he describes should be ascertained; his fitness to judge of their motives, if he states them, or his purpose in neglecting to do it, if by so doing he may influence the judgment to be formed of them, should be tried; his sources of information, their directness, and the nature and amount of his own treatment of them should be measured and weighed; whether he took all that came to hand or was in the habit of cutting and shaping to suit himself; his purpose, whatever that may have been, in perpetuating the means and method of accomplishing some act which perhaps, but for him, would never have obtained its good or bad fame, its reputation, or whatever may commend it to later times and writers; these should all be sought after, and though it would be almost a desperate hope, yet the very effort would in some measure secure its own accomplishment; and in the very purposing to find all this, even if it end as it begin, there will of necessity have been a comparing and judging that will serve greatly to help a sound mind or to strengthen a wandering one.

The simplest characteristic of any thing set up for an authority, the slenderest influence affecting any thing that may be a source of information, the slightest peculiarity of style, or the merest breath of uncertainty, the shade of an unfair influence—all are to be fully, fairly and carefully weighed and considered by every honest biographer. Even the difference of sex is not without its

importance, and a clever essayist has done the state some service in describing wherein a woman is more serviceable in the use of her pen than a man. A careful reading of his description (it is in the *Essay on the English Novelists*) and a careful use of the rules one may deduce from it, will be of service in judging of the merits and reliability of the memorials which women are more apt to perpetuate—not always of men truly great, but even of those of a very ephemeral reputation; the perpetuation of their weaknesses, in itself absurd, makes the same office ridiculous in regard to persons whose every act is of interest.

But none of these characteristics or peculiarities are at all difficult to any but the very inexperienced. Care and attention will soon show to which of these or the many kindred faults the book or the writer leans, and how, in using the one or trusting to the other, there is need that pains be taken always to guard against too implicit a belief or too ready a dependence. But there are repeated instances of books—of books of biography too, more than any other subject, pretending to fairness and impartiality—in which, nevertheless, there is a covert determination, under a guise of familiar and intimate acquaintance with all the needful facts, to perpetuate a one-sided and prejudiced account of some one, not generally the real subject of the book, but one who is often of more real importance and more earnestly inquired after. It is not unfrequent, in a fair life of a king, to see a terribly distorted character of his prime minister; or, in the account of a great embassy or negotiation, to write all the acts of the leader fairly and to distort the conduct of some subordinate secretary or assistant, ostensibly, but, as subsequent events may show, the real originator and the chief dependence. The difficulties of such cases, and they are very plenty, are not, like other simple errors, which need only to be shown to be avoided, and yet no positive rule will be of any service; the large discretion which is entrusted to every biographer must then be used, but very painstakingly.

Every one acknowledges, and very willingly, the purposes to which the innumerable instances of the predominating influence of a powerful, an accomplished, or a fortunate individual on the character and manners of the age in which he lived should be put, as well as the great usefulness, and in fact the necessity of perpetuating, not only the particular circumstances which, first

or last, were thus effective, but the minuter details, the more familiar conduct, the commoner as well as the greater incidents, the patent and the latent defects and advantages, intentions and actions, all that go to make up a career; these are, however, rarely perpetuated; the very endeavor is uncommon, and successful execution is *rarissima avis in terra*.

A much better description of this prime virtue was given in a fine review of the *Life of the Earl of Peterborough*, by Eliot Warburton, himself *facile princeps*:

"In biography," it said, "all diligence and research are vain, unless accompanied with the power of conceiving and reproducing a distinct picture of the men, manners and times about which one is writing, that power of seizing upon characteristic details which is the *sine qua non* of both novelist and biographer, of Fielding and Boswell. . . . It is no use taking up a subject for biography, unless the author has both the power and the will to familiarize himself with the places that subject lived in, the books he read, the hours he kept, the friends he saw, and so forth; and so to acquaint himself with the individual and his times, as to be able to discriminate between what was peculiar to the one and what was common to the other."

After referring to the great advantages which novelists possessed in all these respects, and noticing in particular that familiar passage in *Henry Esmond*, on the old-fashioned way of writing history, he continues: "The great masters of fiction are the comparative anatomists of the mind, and will build you up a life of thought, emotion and action from a scanty basis of history, just as Owen will construct a perfect monster by induction, from two or three casual bones." The only excuse—if excuse is needed—to be offered for the plentiful use of these quotations, is twofold: first, that it is a duty to discourage, both by precept and example, the vicious practice of unacknowledged quotations; and then, that no essay pretends to be more than a means of conveying, not only the ideas of the writer himself, but of as many as may have treated of the same matter, where they give light or help to his particular subject, and that not to those readers only who are conversant with it, but to all who feel a scholarly, or even a more general (and more commendable) interest in the variety of subjects, which nothing but the taste of a number of readers can limit. It is the consciousness of these things that enables a

reviewer with a clear conscience and an easy pen to strengthen his own weakness and want of shape by the force and beauty of some better writer, and the only condition or restraint that he must impose upon himself, is the guarantee of the truth and aptness of whatever he begs, borrows or steals; if he does it, or tries his best to do it, gracefully and (what is better) usefully, he may fairly expect kindness and consideration from his readers, and may be pretty sure that they will

"Be to his faults a little blind,
And to his virtues very kind."

There is, in biography, one thing which can only be determined by the writer as to his fitness, by the readers as to its appropriateness, and that is the choice of whom to write. We do not mean in cases where it is either a filial duty or an affectionate memorial, where it is a piece of job work or an unmeaning effort at fine writing, but where it is sought to preserve traditions which are lovingly cherished, of some good and gentle and virtuous one, or to perpetuate the active career of some man whose associates were, if he was not himself, active participants in an historic age or period, or where there is an anxious desire (there cannot be a more praiseworthy one) to give some account of the outer life of some man of genius, whose writings are the precious heirlooms common to all posterity, in which all the activity of his mind is treasured up, and on which hinged the vicissitudes of his daily concerns. But while all are cognizant of the usefulness of good examples, it is not an easy task to separate dignified and noble actions which we know to be the result of grand designs and elevated sentiments, from the mere effusions of passion and the effects of temper, which are in appearance important, by reason of the considerable station of the actors, or still more, the great distance of the time when they are recorded from the time when they were enacted, lending dignity, as this always does, even to the commonest actions, and inducing us to hunt up reasons for most unaccountable vagaries, as well as to find meanings in the most trivial actions of great men, or rather of men in great stations. But because we find that a great soldier became famous for fear of blame rather than for a real ambition, or a patriot to make his own fortune rather than to advance that of his country, or a statesman rather to degrade his fellow-citizens than to elevate and advance and enrich, this does not

entitle us to be satisfied with a simple narration of events, leaving to conjecture or to personal research the connection and influence with other and very different transactions of the same period. It is this, however, which has had so great a share in lowering the rank of American Biography, and it was this method of isolations, this system of imperfect histories, against which Lord Bacon earnestly and beautifully pleaded; with his simple and eloquent recommendation of biography, this paper may at least claim the merit of a graceful conclusion. It is from the Second Book of the Advancement of Learning: "For Lives, I do find it strange that these times have so little esteemed the virtues of the times, as that the writing of lives should be no more frequent. For although there be not many sovereign princes or absolute commanders, and that States are most collected into monarchies, yet are there many worthy personages that deserve better than dispersed report or barren eulogies. For herein the invention of one of the late poets is proper, and doth well enrich the ancient fiction; for he feigneth at the end of the thread or web of every man's life there was a little medal containing the person's name, and that Time waited upon the shears; and as soon as the thread was cut, caught the medals and carried them to the river of Lethe; and about the bank there were many birds flying up and down, that would get the medals, and carry them in their beaks a little while, and then let them fall into the river; only there were a few swans, which if they got a name, would carry it to a temple, where it was consecrated. And although many men, more mortal in their affections than in their bodies, do esteem desire of name and memory but as a vanity and ventosity,

'Animi nil magnæ laudis egentes;'

which opinion cometh from that root, 'non prius laudes contempimus, quam laudenda facere desivimus;' yet that will not alter Solomon's judgment, 'Memoria justi cum laudibus, at impiorum nomen putrescet;' the one flourisheth, the other either consumeth to present oblivion, or turneth to an ill odor. And therefore in that style or addition which is and hath been long well received and brought into use, 'felicis memoriæ, piæ memoriæ, bonæ memoriæ,' we do acknowledge that which Cicero saith, borrowing it from Demosthenes, that 'bona fama propria possessio defunctorum,' which possession I cannot but note that in our times it lieth much waste, and that therein there is a deficiency."

THE FOUNTAIN UNCOVERED.

(Undine.)

BACK in terror, pale and silent,
Fell the servants, while the water
Rose majestic from its centre,
 White and wonderful and dread,
And they saw a woman weeping—
Yet her face close-veilèd keeping—
In the doorway saw her enter
 With a slow and noiseless tread.

At the knight's own door she pauses,
With her finger lightly taps she
On its panel, while within it
 Stands the master in a dream.
Oh, how like Undine's soft tapping
Came the sound of fingers rapping—
Louder, clearer, every minute,
 Till his dreamings real seem.

Then he roused and cried out, "Enter!"
And within the polished mirror
Saw a veilèd figure moving
 Toward him with a solemn mien.
Saw a woman, silent weeping,
Yet her face close-veilèd keeping;
And half fearing, wholly loving,
 Knew it was the lost Undine.

"They have opened up the fountain,
And I cannot stay my coming—
Though my heart be almost broken,
 I have come and *thou must die.*"
"Back! away!" His hands outspreading,
At a word her presence dreading.
"Look not on me, give no token
 Of thy name!" his bitter cry.

"Show me not that face of horror—
Draw not back the veil that covers
What I fear to see, but slay me,

Veiled and covered from my sight.
 Let no form of Hell strike terror—
 Death will punish all my error;
 Haste, nor longer here delay me;
 Strike me dead with all thy might.”

“Oh, alas! wilt thou not see me?
 Once more see me ere the life-light
 Fades from out those eyes, oh dearest—
 For I am the very same
 Whom thou lovedst and didst marry,
 In the days when thou didst tarry
 On the Island in the forest,
 And Undine is still my name.

“If I charmed thee then, oh, dear one,
 Beauty has not from me faded;
 In my eyes are tears, not anger,”
 And she stopped with sobbing breath.
 Then the knight took heart, and weeping,
 Cried, “Oh! God, into thy keeping
 I commend me; let me see her;
 Would her kiss might be my death.”

Then she threw her veil back, smiling
 Like a queen of wondrous beauty,
 Sent to do the hardest duty
 That could fall to mortal lot.
 And the knight stooped down to kiss her,
 And thought once how he should miss her
 In the worlds to which he hastened,
 And within her arms was not.

* * * * *

Then there fell an awful silence,
 And they heard the sound of footfalls,
 And the door was opened slowly
 While for fear they held their breath;
 For they saw an angel weeping,
 Her bright face unveiled keeping,
 And thus spake the vision holy—
 “I have wept him to his death.”

E. W. WATSON.

THE CHINESE IN CALIFORNIA.

WE saw our first Chinaman, if we remember rightly, far up on the Sierra Nevada, on the eastern side. As we advanced, we noticed a sprinkling of Chinese among the lookers-on at the stations, and groups of them at work on the line of the road; and their little shops in the towns, and their small tent settlements, prepared us for what we were soon to see in San Francisco—a section of China inserted into that cosmopolitan mosaic.

The story of the Chinese immigration need not be repeated here, nor will we dwell on the important service performed by Chinese laborers in the construction of the Central Pacific Railroad. The number of these people who are now upon our Western shores, is variously estimated at from sixty to seventy thousand; and of these, fifteen or twenty thousand live in and around San Francisco. In the city they occupy mostly what is known as the Chinese quarter, but they are met at every turn in all the streets; they have their own shops, in which they can procure every thing they want for food or clothing, like that to which they have been accustomed in their native land; their own temples, their own places of amusement, and their own places of dissipation. They are employed to a considerable extent as house servants; they have almost a monopoly, as we should judge, of the washing and ironing of the city, and they are engaged in some of the factories, although the jealousy of the workingmen of other nationalities has been successful in banishing them from many of the manufacturing establishments. We saw them in shops, in factories, in the street, on the railroad, and among the gold washings; and without exception they impressed us as quiet, well-behaved, intelligent and industrious. This was the character also which was given of them by all of whom we made inquiries. The proprietor of one establishment in which several hundred are employed, told us that he pays them a dollar a day, and that they serve him better than the men did to whom he used to pay three dollars and a half; they do not become intoxicated, or spend their employer's time in discussing political questions or the rights of labor, but they may be depended on, during working hours, for steady and faithful work. They are both anxious and quick to learn, and our language especially they acquire with

facility. The streets and alleys in which they live, although confined and narrow, are much more wholesome than the more neglected portions of our eastern cities. In a word, they seemed to us to be a desirable element of population, an element the introduction of which, by proper methods, into our country should for every reason be encouraged. And yet we were pained to notice that these people, although they mind their own affairs, take care of themselves and ask no special favor, are hated, proscribed and persecuted, not by all the citizens indeed, but by those classes with which they are brought into the closest relations of contact and competition. They are subjected to the same hard and cruel lot, and are made victims to the same spirit of caste, as, until recently, were endured by the colored man everywhere in the northern States. Their trials begin at the moment of their landing on our shores. On the same day which witnessed the hospitable reception of the Boston party by one class of the citizens of San Francisco, a cargo of passengers from Hong Kong was very differently received by another and altogether different class. The details of the two appeared side by side in the paper of the following morning, and we could not help therefore being impressed by the contrast between them. The first has been described at length in many of our Eastern journals; let us see what was the character of the other:

“The Chinese passengers who arrived on board the British ship *Niagara* were landed yesterday. When the disembarkation commenced a large crowd of men and boys lined the Vallejo-street wharf, and by their gestures and general demeanor it was apparent that they intended to give the new-comers a hot reception. The Harbor Police were stationed on the wharf, and on the different streets through which the Chinese would pass, to prevent the threatened outrage. This precaution had the effect of diminishing but not wholly preventing the abuse of the Chinamen by young scamps who infest the Barbary coast. As a number of Chinamen were passing the corner of Broadway and Front streets, they were saluted with a shower of stones and other missiles, while one of the whites attempted to carry off bamboo canes from a wagon. He was caught by Officer Langan, who marched him to the City Prison. At the corner of Sansom and Pacific streets the roughs gave full swing to their barbarous proclivities. There were no policemen here, and the Chinese were entirely at the

mercy of the mob. As they approached, whether on foot or in wagons, they were pelted with stones, pieces of wood, filth taken from the gutters, or any thing upon which hands could be laid. When a Chinaman singled himself from the rest to retaliate, he was certain to be cruelly kicked and bruised, and rolled in the streets. Several were severely injured, and a little China boy, about ten years old, was so unmercifully abused that even the roughs themselves felt startled at their own acts. Before the police arrived the cowardly wretches sneaked away, and made their escape. Such conduct is not only revolting and inhuman, but it calls for some prompt action by which the barbarous wretches who perpetrated the outrages can be arrested and made an example of, and thus teach others that here there is equal protection for all under the laws."

No wonder that the Chinese merchants of San Francisco have joined in a circular to their fellow-countrymen at home, urging them to abandon any plans which they may be forming for coming to the United States, until public opinion shall be somewhat modified respecting them, and the officers of the law shall find it possible to protect them.

We had been told that the Mission Woollen Mill, the largest in the State, was about to dispense with Chinese labor, under the threat that otherwise the buildings of the Company would be burnt to the ground; and that the boot and shoe manufacturers, with one exception, where the business was carried on at a distance of several miles from the city, had already dismissed their Chinese workmen under similar intimidation; and we had been disposed, as coming from New England, the reputed home of freedom and of equality before the law, to manifest some righteous indignation at all this, and to point out, perhaps not without some self-complacency, the mischievous consequences of permitting such an unjust and wicked spirit thus to exhibit itself in a community. But while we were in California, news came of the ebullition of hostile feeling with which an endeavor to introduce Chinese labor into Massachusetts had been met, and we were advised that political and other influences were being brought to bear to withstand the movement and make it unsuccessful. It was intimated also that the enterprising manufacturer at North Adams, who had supplied himself with a small colony of Chinese workmen, in self-defence against the combination which had been

formed to control if possible the internal economy of his establishment, had been obliged to provide watchmen at his own expense to guard his buildings against incendiarism, because of the unwillingness of the authorities to interfere for the protection of his property. We confess that we found a difficulty in explaining the compatibility of this with the traditional position of our good State on every question involving individual liberty of action and the supremacy of law over force. We knew that the brutal treatment of the passengers of the *Niagara* was simply the logical sequence, the last result, of a condition of public sentiment anywhere which would exclude the Chinese from participation in any calling in which there was a disposition to employ them; and as we could not be sure that similar violence might not be attempted in New England before the struggle should cease, we were led to reflect that the disgraceful scene, the description of which we have quoted, was not so much the fault of a newly-developed civilization as the vicious product of unsound views on the rights and relations of labor held by workingmen and inculcated by their political leaders. In a banking house which we visited just before starting for home, one of the partners said to us, in substance: "I hope that after this we shall not hear any thing more from Massachusetts about freedom or equality, for her people evidently are no more advanced than the rest of the country." Our reply was that there are differences of opinion in Massachusetts or elsewhere upon political and social questions, but the large majority of her citizens are at heart opposed to tyranny in every form, and when they shall see the question in its true light, will sustain the employer of Chinese labor and the laborer employed in any arrangement which they may choose to make between themselves mutually for wages and for work. Let us hope that the prediction thus ventured will prove equally true of California and of Massachusetts, and of every other State between the oceans.

It is hardly more than half a century since the Spencean philanthropists in England petitioned Parliament to do away with all machinery, in order to protect the workingman and to secure the monopoly of labor for him. There was violent opposition to the introduction of gas, on the plea that its general use would ruin the oil business and the whale fisheries; so too, both in England and in America, when railways were first projected, it was de-

clared that horses would become almost valueless, and the hay crop would hardly be worth the gathering. In these and other instances men have been led to see the folly as well as the futility of their endeavors to arrest the progress of industrial and social improvement, and have been obliged to confess that changes from which they anticipated destruction to themselves or their class, have brought large benefits to mankind at large and to themselves in particular. So it will be, doubtless, in reference to the present Chinese immigration into the United States; it is bitterly opposed by men whose own advent to the country fifteen or twenty years ago was earnestly deprecated by the workingmen of that day; but in the lapse of time it will be accepted as another of the series of movements indispensable to the speediest development of the national resources, and really in the interest of the industry no less than of the capital of the country.

It was a new thing to visit an idolatrous temple upon the soil of Christendom—a Joss House in the United States. There are two or three of these in San Francisco, and they deserve mention. The one we saw consisted of a small apartment up one flight of stairs in the rear of a shabby-looking tenement; it was approached by a narrow alley and was not easily found. It was ornamented with a cheap kind of lacquer work, behind which were two or three hideous images, and contained a shrine or altar. Joss-sticks, or bamboos, are burnt before these idols, for the purpose of securing forgiveness and absolution for those who present them. Near the entrance stood a stuffed wolf, his eyes and mouth open, and before him was laid food, which, we were told, it was supposed in China that the animal would eat, but here the worshippers had begun to believe differently. The aspect of the place was anything but impressive, and although it was kept in good order, we could not hear that it was much resorted to by the Chinese residents, or that much interest was manifested by them in the maintenance of their national religious observances.

On the evening of the same day we went to the Chinese theatre, a dingy, unattractive place on a side street. Our party occupied almost the entire gallery, the body of the house being filled with Chinese. We were present by special invitation, and it was understood that, in our honor, the performances were to be more than usually elaborate. The performers wore long robes of silk, richly embroidered, and masks with heavy beards. The female

parts were taken by boys. The opening piece, as we were informed, had something to do with a Masonic festival, but we failed to understand the plot, if there was one. The stage consisted of a platform, in the rear of which was a plain curtain, and behind this the actors retired at intervals, but there was no attempt at scenery. On the back part of the stage was the orchestra, in which were violins, gongs and iron triangles, which kept up without cessation the most harsh, violent and dissonant clangor that ever distracted the tympanum of human ears. To this painful din the voices of the performers kept time with snarls and screeches and other hideous sounds, stopping occasionally to stroke their long beards with an absurd affectation of gravity, opening their eyes meanwhile to the utmost width, and then striding back and forth on the platform, for the purpose, as we supposed, of displaying their costumes. Between the two pieces there was some posturing, which was well done, including double summersaults and other marvellous convolutions of the body. Our curiosity was soon satisfied, and we left before the performances were much more than half over, feeling that in what we had witnessed we had had an illustration of the spirit of paganism in one of its harshest and most repulsive forms. There had been nothing tasteful, beautiful or poetical, to commend itself to the eye or the ear, nothing certainly of occidental art; but, on the other hand, we had been half-deafened and stunned by the unmusical and discordant sounds, vocal and instrumental, to which we had been listening.

So far from allowing this mess of paganism unwithstood to exert a positive influence in the community, the Christian people of San Francisco are moving aggressively and energetically against it. Missionaries are employed to go among the Chinese, and make them acquainted with the precepts of the gospel, and almost every church has its Chinese Mission School.

The day after our visit to the Chinese temple and theatre, we attended the Chinese Sunday-school connected with the Church of the Advent. We found about seventy youth and young men gathered there, their ages varying from fifteen to twenty-five; they were dressed according to the fashion of their country, each having his pigtail either coiled upon his head or hanging down his back. In the classes they were taught the usual lessons, but much of the time was spent in common exercises for the whole school, either in reciting the Commandments, the Creed or some

passage of Holy Scripture, or in singing anthems and hymns; sessions are held on week-day evenings for instruction in reading, history and other studies. With the singing we were much pleased; if the music to which we had listened the night before was harsh and heathenish, this was truly harmonious and Christian. They chanted the *Gloria in Excelsis*, and closed with Heber's Missionary Hymn, singing the lines,

"The heathen, in his blindness,
Bows down to wood and stone,"

with as much emphasis and unction as if they had never themselves met with an idolator or seen an idol. One of our party addressed the school, his words being translated, paragraph by paragraph, by a young man of most interesting appearance and soft, gentle manners, who is preparing for the ministry of the Episcopal church, with the purpose of laboring among his fellow-countrymen, either in California or in China. It may be said in this connection that we all became greatly interested in the Chinese countenance and expression. We had been accustomed, before having opportunity to observe it closely, to consider it as dull, heavy, without animation and without variety; but we corrected our judgment in this regard. We hardly met once with what would be called a bad face during our visit, while we saw very many which we thought beautiful. There is often a mildness, a tenderness in the eye which is quite touching; and in conversation the face lights up with a smile and with an expression of intelligence almost fascinating.

These impressions which our party received in its contact with the Chinese seem to have been shared in by a Boston clergyman, now on a tour round the world, who wrote, in a private letter from Hong Kong, almost at the precise date of our visit to California, as follows: "One thing strikes me with delight—the human countenance, as seen in many of these Chinese men. I have fallen in love with five or six Chinamen's faces. The expression is beautiful. We have no idea of them, I think, from the specimens we see at home."

On another Sunday we visited the Chinese school connected with the Rev. Dr. Scudder's church. We found one hundred and twenty or thirty scholars, all males; for, unfortunately, the few female Chinese who come to the United States belong, with rare

exceptions, to the debased class, and cannot be brought into these schools as at present organized. Here there was secular instruction, geography and other branches, being taught to some extent; but the religious character of the exercises was the predominant feature, and the singing was very pleasant.

HAMILTON A. HILL.

ZEISBERGER'S MISSION TO THE INDIANS.

[SECOND PAPER.]

THE year 1767 was pivotal to the life of the great missionary. He was still laboring at Friedenshutzen on the Susquehanna, in Bradford county, when news reached him that some Indians in the western part of the State had expressed a desire to hear the Gospel. The Delawares at that time occupied our western frontier and Eastern Ohio, having been driven successively from the Delaware and the Susquehanna by the advance of the whites. In their new home they were the guests, and in some sense, the tenants of the Wyandots of the Sandusky, and were neighboring to their protégés, the Shawanese, on the Muskingum. The latter had been brought by the Mohicans from Florida to Pennsylvania, after being reduced to a mere remnant, and had been adopted by the Delawares, whom they accompanied in their migrations. Of the Delawares, the worst and most degraded tribe were the Monseys, who had settled along the Alleghany and Beaver rivers and in the oil regions of Pennsylvania.

It was from these last that the Macedonian cry for light came, and Zeisberger was not the man to be indifferent to it. The Senecas, through whose country he passed, gave him a kindly welcome when he disclosed his Indian name, but strove to persuade him to abandon his visit to the wicked Monseys. He reached Goschgoschünk, in Venango county, their capital, and proposed the establishment of a permanent mission. Only the voice of Wangomen, one of the new prophets, was raised in opposition, but in the anarchy and degradation of the people, he had become their virtual chief. With the boldness of an apostle, Zeisberger rebuked the preacher of lies and overawed him into acquiescence. In the following spring he returned with the mis-

sionary Senseman and three families of converts, and began a new and Christian village at a point between the two heathen ones. For a time all was complacency, but when the actual claims of the new gospel were made known, the fiercest opposition was aroused. Threatening messages from their old suzerains, the Senecas, were forged, a round of heathen feasts and incantations were begun, the lives of the missionaries were repeatedly in danger. Even an outward reform of morals was attempted, and a rule made against the introduction of spirituous liquors, but broken by the heathen. Then a brother of the heathen prophet, Glikkikan, an Indian of very remarkable powers of mind, was sent for. He had silenced the Jesuits and Post; he was to silence Zeisberger also. But a native preacher, Anthony, set meat before him, and taking the first word, urged the Gospel with such force that the heathen had nothing to say. When he returned again from a more western town of the Monsey Delawares, it was to profess his belief in Christianity, and to offer the missionaries a site for a station in Lawrence county, on the Beaver. The Christian party had been growing in strength; converts had been baptized; but the opposition of the heathen was so fierce and their morals so vile, that the offer was accepted. In April, 1770, they parted with the heathen, and, strange to say, in a very peaceable way—the latter being ashamed at last of their behavior. They floated down the Alleghany, past Fort Pitt, whose settlers gazed with mute amazement at the party, then followed the Ohio to the mouth of the Beaver, and ascended the Beaver to a place above the Shenango, where they built Friedensstadt, (or "City of Peace.") The heathen capital was at the present site of Newcastle, on the Shenango. They were followed by other parties of the Monseys, who could no longer endure the abominations of Goschgoschünk. Even the heathen prophet sent to beg for a reconciliation, and offered to naturalize the cause of Christianity by adopting the missionaries as Monseys, which was readily agreed to, and an umpire appointed to settle all differences. Glikkikan left Newcastle and settled at Friedensstadt, to the rage and disgust of his sovereign. Jungman took Senseman's place; a great revival began and meetings continued till midnight. At Christmas their hearts were gladdened by several baptisms.

In March, 1770, Zeisberger visited the main body of the Delawares on the Tuscarawas, in Ohio, and preached the first [recorded]

Protestant sermon in that State, giving the heathen prophets their deserts. In June, the new church at Friedensstadt was dedicated, and the converts numbered one hundred souls. In July he returned to Bethlehem to meet a delegation from the Mother Church in Germany, and found that a Gnadenhutten, on the Susquehanna, had been added to his old Friedenshutten in Bradford county. The acquisition of the whole country by Pennsylvania, and the civil wars between rival squatters, made it desirable to move the Susquehanna converts to the West. Zeisberger offered them a home among the Delawares, and the offer was accepted. Early in 1772, he returned to Friedensstadt, and paid another visit to the Ohio Delawares, in the course of which he found on the Tuscarawas a beautiful site for a town in the midst of those ancient remains of forts which are still the puzzle of our native antiquarians. The Delawares having invited him to fix a station among them, he asked and obtained this site, and then returned to welcome the Susquehanna converts in Lawrence county. By their arrival the mission force was greatly increased—John Heckwelder being one of the new teachers. At a mission conference Zeisberger and a committee of Indians were appointed to revise the hymns and liturgy of the church, and the occupation of the new site was resolved upon. The new town was begun at once, and by August the homes and the church were finished, and the first church bell resounded through the woods of the Ohio wilderness. Another conference adopted a series of nineteen strict rules of life for the converts. From Zeisberger's revised liturgy we quote the Lord's Prayer in Delaware:

Ki Wetochemellenk Awossagamewank! machelendasutsch Ktellewun-sowoagan. Ksakimawoagan pejewiketsch. Ktelitehewoagan leketsch talli Achquidhakamike, elgiqui leek talli Awossagame. Milineen juke Gischquik gunigischuk Achpoan. Woak miwelendamauwineen Ntschanauchsowoagannena elgiqui nilana miwelendamauwenk nik Tschetschanilawequengik. Woak katschi npawuneen li Achquetschiechtowoganink; schukund ktennineen untschi Medhikink. Alod knihillatamen ksakimawoagan woak ktallewupowoagan woak ktallowi ilipowoagan li hallamagamik. Amen.

We forbear to translate it, as we do not flatter ourselves that this will be a literary novelty to more than a very few readers, while we are sure that it will be a linguistic novelty to all. We especially commend it to those who think that the use of long

words when short ones will serve their purposes, evinces a superior degree of culture and refinement.

A third station, the ever memorable Ohio Gnadenhutten, was begun in 1772 by a native assistant, farther down the valley, and Zeisberger made an unsuccessful attempt to establish a station among the Shawanese on the Muskingum, who were such devoted believers in the new Indian gospel of flagellation and purgation, that their capital went by the name of Vomit-town. Among the Ohio Delawares striking results were accomplished, but the conversion of a great chief, Echpalawehund, excited great opposition, and threats of expulsion were heard. As a counter-movement, as in the days of Julian the Apostate, a rigorous moral reform was inaugurated by the heathen, and twelve *censores morum* were appointed, who began their work by a general staving in of rum casks; but the movement soon came to nothing.

In Lawrence county, Friedensstadt was so overrun with drunkards from (what is now) Newcastle, that another migration was agreed upon, and its people were distributed between the two Ohio stations. Netawetwes, King of the Ohio Delawares, became greatly exercised about Christianity and its division into sects; he resolved to visit England and ask the king about it—with which view he bade the Governor of our State have a ship ready for him. His greatest chief and counsellor, White Eyes, the glory of the Delawares, who had made the grand tour down to New Orleans and round by sea to New York and Philadelphia, was filled with ambitious conceptions of the future of his people. Through the influence of Glikkikan, his most intimate friend, he was virtually converted to Christianity, but never entered the Moravian Church.

Lord Dunmore, of Virginia, in 1774, seized on Western Pennsylvania and began a series of encroachments in Ohio, which plunged the frontier into a war with the Shawanese, which only the influence of the missionaries kept from spreading to the Delawares. Logan and Cornstalk were the Indian leaders; and in a hard contested battle on the Scioto, the latter was defeated. The border militia would have devastated the country had not White Eyes persuaded Dunmore to make peace. During his absence the position of the missionaries was exceedingly critical, and rumors of the defeat of the Virginians led to their virtual outlawry by the national council, which declared that the Delawares

would never receive the Gospel. Zeisberger's spirit rose to the occasion, and he demanded that the Christian settlements, now embracing four hundred souls, should be admitted to equal rights as an integral part of the Delaware nation, and that the most absolute religious liberty be established. On the return of White Eyes, he rebuked the king and council most sharply, and declared that he would never sit in their council nor lodge at their capital until they retracted their declarations against Christianity and acceded to Zeisberger's demand. He proceeded at once to Schönbrunn to tell the missionaries of his ultimatum, and expressed his wish to visit England and ask from the king a guarantee of the country then occupied by his nation. In 1775, the council acceded to the demands of Zeisberger and White Eyes, voted to recommend the Delawares to accept Christianity, to remove the capital down the river so as not to hamper Schönbrunn. It was even proposed that implacable heathens should be required to move off and organize a town of their own.

With the beginning of the Revolution, a wise and humane Indian policy was adopted by Congress. Three departments—North, West and Southwest—were organized, and Colonel Morgan placed over the second, with head-quarters at Pittsburg. The treaty which he concluded with the Indians in October, 1775, strictly pledged them to strict neutrality, as persons whose interests were not concerned. White Eyes, with other avowed Christians, participated; and soon after he started for Philadelphia, and about six months later, returned with the news that Congress had agreed to send the Indians a missionary and a school-teacher, of any other church that they might select, as well as mechanics to instruct them in the arts of civilization. The Moravians were not a sufficiently influential body to further the views of the ambitious chief, and he thought that his people would be better aided by some more powerful church, his intercourse with Dunmore having turned his attention especially to the Episcopalians. Zeisberger was justly offended, and the Delawares were unanimous in rejecting White Eyes' plan, as not only officious but illegal, and informed Colonel Morgan of their decision. In the mean time a new Christian settlement—Lichtenau—had been begun near the capital, and had grown very rapidly, being noted, as were all the Moravian villages, for its neatness and good order. They seemed to convey the spirit of Nazareth and

Bethlehem into the very depths of the wilderness, and to reproduce the simple beauties of the Saxon Herrnhut among the wildest savages. The gain was material as well as moral, and traders and visitors looked in amazement on *wealthy* Indians, who depended no longer on the chase, but on their broad and well-tilled corn-fields, and their enclosed pasture-lands.

The four years that followed the Declaration of American Independence, were years of trial and anxiety. British agents were spread along the whole frontier, disseminating false reports of the fortunes of the war, and the intentions of the colonists. The war fever was again and again excited among the young men; part of the Monsey converts apostatized under its influence, and it was years before they were all finally brought back to the church. The effort of the British at Detroit, to unite all the Indians against the colonists, would probably have decided the struggle had it succeeded at first, but the majority of the Six Nations, as well as Delawares and their dependants, remained more or less firm in their neutrality, until after the surrender of Burgoyne had decided the contest. Then the war party obtained the ascendant, for the old king died in 1776, and White Eyes in 1778. The Christians formally renounced their connection with the Delawares, who had joined the league for a border war, and an attack upon the latter, in 1781, forced them to fly to the Wyandots for safety. The Christian settlements were thus left on the debatable land between two hostile frontiers, and shared the usual fate of those who occupy that position. The British accused them of "correspondence with the rebels," which was so far true that at the instance of the Delaware council they had written to Pittsburg of raids projected by the Wyandots and others, and had preached to the warlike Indians against the cruel massacres which disgraced their warfare. The Americans accused them of being half-way houses for war parties, which again was so far true that they lay on the trail to the frontiers, and had no means of resisting the war parties when the latter helped themselves to what they wanted. Already Zeisberger's life had been twice threatened, and at one time missionaries who had wives or children were obliged to take them back to Bethlehem.

In 1781, there were six missionaries on the Tuscarawas, surrounded by the moral and material results of years of labor,

when an expedition to break up the settlement was planned at Detroit by British agents. The Wyandots under their half king, and accompanied by two British officers, reached Gnadenhutzen in June, and by hypocritical professions prevented the flight of the teachers. By-and-by their purpose was announced; the Christian Delawares must leave their homes and their growing crops and remove to the Sandusky. A firm refusal to even consider the proposal until after harvest, was met by open violence; the missionaries were seized, stripped and bound; their families brought together; their houses plundered; their papers and other property destroyed. They then submitted to the inevitable, and began the march of twenty days through the almost pathless wilderness and nearly impassable swamps. Then, without a word of explanation, they and their converts were left in the solitudes of the Sandusky, in a bare and unpromising country, to make a home for themselves. Four missionaries and three assistants were summoned to Detroit, to answer charges preferred by Captain Pipe, the head of the warlike Delawares; and after a wearisome journey, made such answers as secured their dismissal. Even Pipe was so touched by their sufferings, that he did not press his accusations, and Major de Peyster apologized for the outrages inflicted upon them, disclaiming all responsibility for the way in which his orders had been executed. They returned to the Sandusky to find their people suffering from famine and cold. Some scattered through the wilderness to pick up any bare subsistence that might offer; a large party—one hundred and fifty in number—went back to the Tuscarawas, in the spring of 1782, to garner their corn-crop and bring it to the Sandusky. While they were absent, at the instance of the Wyandots, the converts and their teachers were summoned to Detroit. Zeisberger sent out messengers, but no answer came back from the Tuscarawas; again he sent, again no answer. At last news came that *three-fifths of the party had been massacred in cold blood by the American militia.*

He would not—could not believe it. Not until he was at the mouth of the Huron, and about to sail for Detroit, did he give credence to the confirmed report, that those whom he had so often warned of the approach of the savages, had surpassed those very savages in the atrocity of their cruelty.

A party of the Wyandots had murdered a family of Wal-

laces, cruelly impaling one of the children. The whole frontier was roused to fury, and the strange, implacable border hatred of the Indian, as such, was aroused. About ninety men from the Monongahela settlements set out at once. The Christian Delawares were warned of their danger by the Wyandots, and had fixed on March 7th for their departure. On the morning of the 6th the militia reaching Gnadenhutten, while they were busy in the fields, reassured them by hypocritical professions of friendship: they ate and slept that night together, and on the morrow Martin, a national assistant, hastened to the youngest settlement at Salem to report the arrival of white friends, and returned to tell their colonel that the Indians there accepted his protection. A detachment was sent to bring them; they gave up their arms gladly, and accompanied the troops. When they came on the bloody traces of recent murder, their eyes were opened, but they were at once seized and bound.

A series of ridiculous charges were preferred against them, which they answered directly and sufficiently. A vote was taken as to their fate, when only sixteen or eighteen white men voted to carry them to Pittsburg as prisoners, an overwhelming majority demanding their execution on the spot. One party proposed to set the houses on fire and burn them to death, but the majority voted to tomahawk them and carry off the scalps.

"Although startled when informed of the fate which awaited them, the Indians soon recovered their self-possession. Solemnly protesting their innocence, they nevertheless declared themselves willing to die, and asked no favor other than time to prepare for death. This was granted, and the following morning fixed for their execution.

"There now ensued a scene that deserves to find a place in the history of the primitive martyrs. Shut up in their two prisons, the converts began to sing and pray, to exhort and comfort one another, to mutually unburden their consciences and confess their sins. Abraham, surnamed 'the Mohican,' took the lead in humbling himself under the mighty hand of God. . . . As the hours wore away, and the night deepened, and the end drew near, triumphant anticipations of heaven mingled with their hymns and prayers.

"At last the morning broke. It was the eighth of March. Impatient to begin the work of blood, the militia selected two buildings, which they want only called 'slaughter-houses,' the one for the killing of the men, the other for the slaughter of the women, and brutally called to their captives, who continued to

sing and pray in exultant tones, whether they would not soon be ready. 'We are ready now,' was the reply. 'We have committed our souls to God, who has given the assurance that He will receive them.'

"Several of the men immediately seized Abraham, whose long, flowing hair had attracted their attention the day before as fit for making 'a fine scalp,' tied him and another convert with a rope, and dragged them to the appointed house. There they were deliberately slain and afterwards scalped. The rest suffered in the same way, two by two. When all the men and boys were dead, the women and small children were brought out, two by two, as before, and despatched with the same systematic barbarity. Judith, a venerable widow, was the first among these victims. Christiana, another widow, who had been an inmate of the Bethlehem 'Sisters' House' in her youth, spoke English and German fluently, and was a woman of education and refinement, fell on her knees before Colonel Williamson and, in English, besought him to spare her life. 'I cannot help you,' was his cold reply. Tomahawks, mallets, war-clubs, spears and scalping-knives were used to effect the slaughter, in which, however, only some of the militia appear to have taken an active part. . . . It was a butchery in cold blood, as leisurely and dispassionately as when animals are slaughtered for [in] the shambles."

Six native assistants and the wives of three of them, nineteen other men and twenty-one women, eleven boys and twelve girls, were known to be among the victims. New Schönbrunn escaped by a timely alarm. The act went unpunished. Congress referred the matter to our State; our Legislature voted an inquiry and never made any. A still larger party of militia started out to attack the rest of the Christian Delawares on the Sandusky. The Wyandots and the war party among the Delawares surrounded and attacked them, defeating them with great slaughter, and taking many prisoners, whom they put to death by slow tortures, in revenge for the massacre at Gnadenhutten.

Thus Zeisberger saw the fruits of his labor scattered in his old age. Many converts suspected him of treachery—for were not these militia the men with whom he had been in constant correspondence? Others rejected Christianity itself, because its professed disciples had been guilty of such enormities. When Zeisberger attempted to rally the remnant of the community upon lands granted for their use by the Chippewas in Michigan, many refused, and pushed westward to the Twightwees. On the other hand, the massacre at Gnadenhutten excited the very warmest

sympathies for the mission in many quarters. The Christian composure with which its victims met their fate evidenced the capacity of the Indians for Christianization. The news of the atrocity exercised by the agents of both nations towards the Moravians thrilled England with indignation, and very substantial aid was forwarded from that country. Congress secured the lands in the Tuscarawas valley to the Moravian Church in perpetuity. When peace was restored, only the hostility of the heathen Indians to the plan prevented the restoration of the stations. During 1789-91, a station was occupied at New Salem, on the Huron river, and great success attended the mission operations. Warned by the unmistakable tokens of an impending war, it was again removed into Canada—first to a tract of land at the mouth of the Detroit river, [or strait,] then to Fairfield, on the Thames river, (1792-8.) This last town is still occupied as a Moravian station. But in 1798 Zeisberger and a party from Fairfield determined to return to his beloved valley of the Tuscarawas. October 4 they reached Schönbrunn, and soon after founded Goshen, some seven miles northwest of the old site of Gnadenhutten. His last years were spent in ministering to this little settlement and to the white settlers who had settled elsewhere in the valley. He met with new difficulties, through the greater influx of unscrupulous white traders and the spread of intoxication. Once and again the old fire would blaze up in a way that reminded men of his youth, when he faced hostile councils and awed savage enemies by a look and a word. But the fire was dying out, and at last, November 17, 1808, he died peacefully, in the eighty-seventh year of his age and the sixty-second of his missionary labors. Let the story of his life be his eulogy.

THE LIFELESS KINGDOM.

THERE has been a misconception of very long standing between the so-called theoretical or scientific men and the practical men of the world. The scientific men having for their object the attainment of truth for its own sake, without reference to the great interests which their knowledge once obtained would further

or impede, have seemed to practical men too visionary; and where both classes have been striving together towards the same goal, the scientists have seemed to their comrades to loiter too much by the way, and to indulge too much in speculations on side questions or matters of secondary importance, while the practicals, neglecting the "*reason why*," have ever striven manfully forward to *accomplish*, intending to leave solutions and discussions of an abstract kind entirely to their speculative brethren.

This misunderstanding has its foundation in the different aims of the two parties. The one cares nothing about the commercial value of the knowledge it attains, the other has no time to waste on splitting hairs. But the breach has been widened by weak men of both factions, those on the scientific side affecting a contempt for the ambition to achieve mere wealth, and those of the other side pretending to attach no importance to the results obtained by the study of the laws of nature when those results cannot be shown to have a direct bearing on the condition of the world of botany.

A prospector who has devoted years of his life to the search after valuable mineral deposits, doubts the utility of mineralogy, "for," he argues, "it is of no importance to me what the minerals may be called or how they may crystallize, I know when a mineral contains pay and when it does not, and, more than this, I do not care in what formation a mineral vein occurs, but I have by my experience a far better knowledge than that, and that is, when a vein is worth working and when it is not. Can geologists and mineralogists do more?"

There is some truth and a great deal of error in this statement. At the outset this practical man does not deny that the sciences he mentions may do as much (with *some* practice of course) as his experience. My purpose in this article is, 1st. To show that a proper union of both theory and practice will accomplish more than either by itself; and 2d. That such a knowledge of the theory of mineralogy as shall prove of the greatest assistance to prospectors is easily attainable, with a little trouble, by those most ignorant of science.

Let us see then what we have to do before attempting to do it.

As many are aware, this science of mineralogy is not older than the present century, and may be said to have been originated

by the great German philosopher, Werner. It is true that from the earliest ages men had observed the differences between rocks and minerals, and had even given names to them, as Jasper, Chalcedony, (from Chalcedonia in Asia Minor,) Sardonyx, onyx (from Greek *ονυξ*, a finger-nail, meaning a gem striped like the finger-nail,) Alabaster, (from Arabic *olub astar*, "casts of the stones of a wall in the cement," because it was used as a mortar,) and the like, and had even attempted in some degree to account for their origin, calling quartz "crystal" or "congealed water," &c. It may be of interest to learn the meanings of a few of these familiar old names of minerals. Opal is from the Greek word *οπαλλιος*, signifying "the white stone;" Marble (Latin *marmor*) is from the Greek *μαρμαριων*, "glimmering," on account of the little shining crystals through its mass; Diamond is from the Greek *αδαμας*, (*adamant*), "the hardest substance;" Ruby from the Latin *rubeus*, "red;" Sapphire from the Island of Sapphirine in the Arabian sea, where the gem is supposed to have been first discovered; Hyacinth and Heliotrope perhaps from their resemblance in color to the flowers of the same name; Topaz from the Island of Topazos in the Red sea. (This gem was originally called Chrysolith or "Gold Stone" by the ancients, but the mineral which is known by that name now is called in mineralogy Olivine or Peridot.)

It will be seen how liable to mislead was such a nomenclature based on those properties of the respective minerals which, though the first to be observed, were in few cases really characteristic.

Thus a "green stone" might be equally well applied to carbonate of copper, (*malachite*), emerald or blood stone. The "white rock" might be used with reference to lime, magnesia, sandstone, gypsum and feldspar, as well as to the watery quartz for which it was employed. The "glimmering rock" would be equally as applicable to mica, heavy spar, calcite, pyrites and quartz, as to crystalline limestone or marble, for which it stood. This kind of nomenclature, however, has lasted down to the present day, and even a worse system than this is common, viz., giving newly-discovered minerals the names of men more or less distinguished. "White stone," "green stone," and "striped stone," although wanting precision and exactness, are infinitely better than "Jonesite," "Smithite," "Brookite," "Jamesonite,"

and "Williamsite," because the former at least mean *something*, and the latter names mean nothing.

But after all it makes but little difference what names the minerals bear, so that some system of arrangement is adopted whereby they can be determined without the aid of chemistry. This system is my first objective point, and the second is the demonstration that such a system is practicable to all.

The first great discovery was, that certain minerals composed of certain chemical elements combined in known proportions, always crystallized in the same forms. This was the first step toward a science of mineralogy, because it recognized a necessary and intimate relation between the substance of which a mineral was composed and the form in which it appeared; in other words, it inaugurated a study by the help of which a man could say, "Show me whatever mineral you have, and I will tell you of what chemical elements it consists." The value of such a system to the practical man must be apparent. Instead of being obliged to carry untold pounds of the minerals whose nature he must ascertain from the assayer, a little knowledge of the general rules of mineralogy, and a little experience of the many forms in which oftentimes the self-same mineral occurs, will enable him in most cases to set his doubts at rest, and settle the nature of his mineral by a careful examination of its properties in the field.

If we begin at the beginning with a definition of the word "mineral," we find that Naumann, one of the most distinguished mineralogists of the present day, says: "By the word mineral, I mean every rigid or liquid inorganic body which is, as it appears, an immediate product of nature, and which has been produced without interference of organic processes or of the human will."

This may be illustrated by the few following examples. Water is, in a strictly scientific sense, a mineral; because it is the immediate product from nature's own hand, not possessed of nor created by any vital force, nor has it been brought to its present state by any interference of man. A piece of glass is, however, no mineral, no matter in what shape it appears, because it has been produced by the will and power of man. A piece of nature's crystallized or uncrystallized alumina is a mineral, because its chemical composition is constant, and it owes its existence to the action of forces of nature which are independent of man; not so, however, that same piece of alumina when cut or worn as the

ruby or sapphire; it is no longer, strictly speaking, a *mineral*, though it undoubtedly is a gem, and its chemical constitution has not been changed in the cutting, but man's hands have filed down the angles and edges which are peculiar to it in its natural state, and substituted surfaces which are unnatural to it, but which, by reflecting the light more perfectly, add to its brilliancy as a precious stone. And here the difference between a *mineral* and a *rock* must be defined. A piece of inanimate matter of definite chemical constitution must have three sets of characteristic properties. The one set may be called its chemical properties, that is, its behavior, as a chemical substance, to acids, heat and the like, and these properties are expressed by percentage of the various elements in its composition—its *formula*. The second set comprises the *physical* properties of the body, *i. e.* its weight, color, lustre, hardness, cleavage, &c.

The third set of properties is called the morphological (from the Greek word *μορφη*, "a form.") It includes the manner or system of crystallization of all those minerals which crystallize; and with those that do not crystallize, it implies their texture and structure, by which is meant whether their surfaces are rough or smooth, granular or glassy, divided into little groups of grains like a bunch of grapes, or the same in all their parts.

In this sense, therefore, every mineral has a definite chemical constitution, a fixed type of occurrence, and certain peculiarities appreciated by touch, taste, sight or smell, which distinguish it from all other minerals.

A rock is a body composed of these minerals just as a mineral is composed of chemical elements. It possesses the characteristics of the minerals which compose it, and is given a name for convenience, since experience has shown that certain minerals are almost always found together, whereas others never occur in the same locality. Thus mica, quartz and feldspar are found together, forming huge mountain-chains the world over, and are named, for convenience, when they appear massive, "granite," and when they are stratified, "gneiss." A rock may therefore be said to be a more or less constant union of certain minerals. This is expressed by saying that the mineral is *homogeneous* and the rock is not, which means that each part of the mineral possesses all the chemical, physical or morphological properties of every

other part, whereas one part of a rock shows the characteristic properties of one mineral and another part those of another.

At the time the science of mineralogy was founded, chemistry was also but just born, and it is natural that the oldest mineralogists should have laid more weight on the form than on the substance of a mineral; but this has been changed by the rapid advance of chemistry, which has even outstripped her sister science in the race. Mineralogists are divided to-day as to the best means of classifying the science, that is to say, on the question of making order out of the confusion of a thousand minerals, and arranging each according as it has or has not certain properties. The difficulty lies in determining which qualities of a mineral should be called the most important? The chemists say the chemical constitution is more important than the form. This is the school of Rammelsberg. The followers of Breithaupt maintain, on the contrary, that while the chemical constitution of the mineral must ever undoubtedly determine its value or worthlessness, its use and application, that what the practical man wants is a knowledge of the morphological and physical properties of the mineral or those which he can distinguish at once by his senses, since no prospector can be supposed to go about with a chemical laboratory on his back. Whichever way this question may be decided, its solution in no way concerns us, and we can go on to the subject in hand.

It is agreed, then, that each *mineral*, whether "ore," "stone," or metal, has some characteristic properties about it which distinguish it from every other mineral, and those who have not looked into the matter would be astonished to learn how few there are which cannot be detected with ease by means always within the grasp. The aid of chemistry must, of course, be called in to decide upon the presence in the mineral of very small quantities of some element not belonging there, as in the case of a trace of sulphur in iron or the existence of a small percentage of gold in a silver mineral, but it is of great advantage to the practical miner to be able to determine what the *mass* of the rock in his hand is.

By looking at these properties of minerals a little more closely, it may be found they can be made useful for practical work. Of course the chemical properties are omitted, and now the old, clumsy method of analysis of minerals by the wet way or by sol-

ution and precipitation has been almost entirely replaced by the substitution of a little instrument called the "blowpipe," by means of which, intense heat is brought to bear on a small piece of the mineral to be examined, and its nature is disclosed from its behavior with and without certain substances, its fusibility, color, &c. The blowpipe was originally used for soldering pieces of lead pipe together, and received its present beautiful application from a Swedish gentleman. It is now used not only to ascertain *what* is in the mineral, but the *amount* of each substance.

Those properties which are called the physical properties of a mineral may be stated as follows:

1st. *Cleavage*. It is a curious fact that every crystallized body can be cleft or broken in some directions more easily than in others. The result is that a smart blow with a hammer often decides which of two minerals you have before you, as the cleavage of the two is most likely to be very dissimilar. The figures which result from cleavage of this kind are called "cleavage forms," and the plane surfaces which enclose such forms, "cleavage planes." Now these cleavage planes always bear a certain relation to the forms in which the mineral appears when crystallized, and they offer a more certain guide than those crystal forms themselves, for nine minerals out of ten are either uncrystallized or else they are so battered and planed down that their original form is almost obliterated, but they always retain their cleavage. As examples of cleavage take mica, which always splits off in thin sheets and offers much more resistance when cut at right angles to these sheets.

When minerals are broken forcibly in directions where they show no cleavage, the result is a fracture which always shows an uneven, irregular, usually furrowed and indented surface.

The next physical property is the

2d. "*Hardness*" of minerals or the resistance they oppose to being cut with a knife. But as hardness and softness are mere relative things, and what is a hard thing to one man is a soft thing to another, mineralogists have been obliged to agree on certain minerals as standards, and have numbered those beginning after the softest from one to ten. The scale at present generally in use is: Talc, 1; Gypsum, 2; Calcite, (or lime-spar,) 3; Fluor-spar, 4; Apatite, 5; Feldspar, 6; Quartz, 7; Topaz, 8; Corundum, (or the Ruby and Sapphire,) 9, and the Diamond, 10. These

numbers are merely arbitrary, of course, and it is very difficult to ascertain the exact hardness of a mineral, but for all practical purposes this table is the best.

There is another point connected with the cohesion of minerals which is often very important, and that is whether they are elastic and brittle or malleable and ductile. Take, for example, a piece of pure lead and a piece of pure calc-spar. The hardness of the two is nearly the same, one being about 2 and the other 3—but how very differently they cut! You may insert a *thick wedge* into a piece of lead and it will not split nor crumble, whereas calc-spar will do both. Malleability refers to the fact that you can hammer the mineral out into thin plates, and ductility that you may draw it into thin wires without its breaking or splitting.

3d. Next comes the *Specific Gravity*. This means for all solids and liquids their weight as compared with an equal bulk of distilled water at the temperature of 60° Fahrenheit. Thus, if it be stated that that feldspar called albite has a specific gravity of 2.62, it means that if equal bulks of the mineral and pure water at 60° Fahrenheit were obtained, the former would weigh 2.62 times more than the water.

4th. *Magnetic properties*. This is the power to attract or repel the poles of the magnetic needle. A common example is the magnetic iron ore found in Berks county, and in many other places.

5th. We pass over the optical properties of the minerals, or their capacity to decompose the sun's light, when transmitted, into its three normal colors, and to distort images. A familiar example is the Iceland or double refracting spar, which is nothing but calcite or calc-spar. Properties of this kind can of course only be observed in transparent minerals. Next comes—

6th. *Iridescence and the play of colors*. This is a very distinguishing peculiarity in those few minerals in which it occurs. The fire-opal and precious opal, and the feldspar known as labradorite, also the catseye, are examples of these two properties.

7th. *Color*. It will seem strange to most of the uninitiated that this property of the minerals should be so long neglected; but the reason is that the color of even the same identical mineral is, in most cases, the most variable and least to be depended upon of its properties. Hornblende, for instance, may be white, red, green, brown, yellow, gray, or black, transparent or opaque; and the same is true of turmaline, and include the majority of min-

erals. But there are certain minerals which never appear but with one color, and in that case their color is of importance. Malachite, (carb. cop.,) green; magnetic iron ore, black; iron pyrites, yellow; realgar, red; azurite, (carb. cop. and water,) blue, &c. These are all compounds of the heavy metals. Some minerals rapidly lose or change their color when exposed to the air, so that a fresh surface must be seen.

To facilitate the recognition of these colors in such minerals a scale has also here been agreed upon. It is unnecessary to recount all the varieties of each color; but a list of the colors themselves may be appropriate here, with that one of the varieties considered the purest type of the color.

But first be it said that *lustre* and color always go together, and are the first properties which strike the senses. It were impossible to define precisely in what a metallic lustre and a glass lustre differ; but differ they do, very greatly, and so widely that the youngest child would always select lead, iron, tin, gold, &c., from feldspar, quartz, mica and calc-spar. The rule in determining a mineral is, therefore, first to satisfy yourself whether it has metallic or non-metallic lustre. If it has metallic lustre, it must be either red, brown, yellow, white, gray, or black. It must be remembered, too, that this is no strictly true division of the colors, for, strictly speaking, black is the absence of color or no color, and white is a mixture of all colors; but it is a list convenient for the use of the mineralogist.

If the mineral have not metallic lustre, then it may be white, (snow,) gray, (ashes,) black, (velvet,) blue, (Berlin,) green, (emerald,) yellow, (lemon,) red, (carmine,) or brown, (chestnut.)

8th. Next in order comes the power of certain minerals to become electrified when rubbed or warmed, and to attract small bodies. Sulphur is one of these.

9th. Lastly come the taste, smell and feel of certain minerals. Those that taste salty, sweetish, bitter and acid are such as are soluble in water—for instance, rock-salt, blue-stone, &c.; those that stick to the tongue when touched by it—magnesite, &c.; sulphur and asphaltum smell strongly without being disturbed, while flint, native arsenic, &c., have a peculiar odor when struck by a hammer. Again, some minerals have a peculiar greasy feel, as talc and graphite; others give the peculiar sensation of chalk, and are called chalky, &c.

All the important physical properties of the minerals have thus been disposed of, and it will merely be necessary to recapitulate them before going on to the morphological: 1st, cleavage and fracture; 2d, hardness and brittleness or malleability; 3d, specific gravity; 4th, magnetism; 5th, power of developing electricity when rubbed or warmed; 6th, iridescence, or play of colors, if any; 7th, color of a fresh surface; 8th and last, the effect produced upon the senses of taste, smell and touch.

By carefully applying all these physical tests to any mineral, it must be brought under one or the other of the grand divisions to which we shall come presently. For example, a mineral is handed to you which is brown, has *unmetallic* lustre, is as hard as quartz, is so broken that the crystallization cannot be determined, is not unusually heavy, and does not appear to cleave or split in one direction more easily than in another.

Now these are observations which every one can make with the aid of a small pocket-knife in three minutes, and it reduces the mineral in question to one of these seven—obsidian, (natural glass,) quartz, chalcedony, idocrase, garnet, axinite and turmaline. In this case, you can observe further if the lustre be in any way oily or not; if so, it is quartz, idocrase or garnet. Observe now, carefully, if the weight seems greater than that of an equal mass of quartz; if it is, you have a garnet; if not, it lies between idocrase and quartz, which can almost always be distinguished from each other by the speckled appearance of the former.

Here is another case, which concerns more commercially valuable minerals, and is also more likely to come under observation. A rock is handed you, containing a very dark-colored mineral of metallic lustre, and you are asked to determine it. Having satisfied yourself that the lustre is metallic, look carefully to the color, and remark whether it is really black, bluish-black or brown. Suppose it to have a slight trace of blue, then try the hardness, which you will probably find not great, and observe whether, when you cut it, the particles break off or adhere to the rest of the mineral on both sides of your knife, or in other words, whether it is brittle or malleable. Very few minerals are malleable, and none with the color above referred to, and a hardness of about 2 or 3, except the sulphuret of silver.

This must suffice for the physical properties, with the inser-

tion of one test which was omitted. It is the *streak* of a mineral or the color of the line made by the point of your knife in scratching it. This streak is sometimes entirely different from the color of the mineral, even on a freshly-broken side, as in the case of realgar, which is a beautiful carmine-colored mineral, but gives a lemon-yellow streak.

The morphology of minerals has been left to the last, because the greater majority of those which are obtained for determination are not distinctly crystallized, and must be discovered from the characteristics above mentioned. When, however, minerals are crystallized, their morphology is second to none other of their three sets of properties in importance.

Many persons have been frightened away from the study of mineralogy by the awful-looking figures, and the cabalistic letters accompanying them, to be found in Dana and elsewhere; but it can be proved to you that the mineralogist does not make a greater use of geometry than does the carpenter of mathematics. Volumes have been written on the derivation of one crystal from another by means of the differential calculus and the higher mathematics, but with little result attained.

The study of crystallography is the study of the forms in which different chemical substances occur. Now these forms having been carefully studied and arranged, like the minerals themselves, under different heads, it has come to light that there are seven different systems, under one of which every symmetrical body having length, breadth and thickness, must come. Without models and specimens to illustrate the nature of the differences between these great systems, it would be useless to endeavor to explain them, and might seriously endanger the success of any attempt to convince one that the subject is not difficult.

Take it for granted, then, that we know the crystal systems apart. Now comes in that great law, that "every mineral crystallizes in one system, and in no other." There are a few exceptions which must be observed, but they are so rare that they can all be readily counted. So that when we get the crystal form and a couple of physical properties of a mineral in line, the mineral is determined.

The names of these seven systems are the isometric, tetragonal, hexagonal, rhombic, monoclinic, diclinic and triclinic. In point of fact, however, no minerals have ever been observed to crystal-

lize in the sixth, or diclinic system, so that this system is omitted from most works on mineralogy.

Taking it for granted that the task of distinguishing any crystallized mineral as belonging to one or the other of these systems is understood, the question of structure and texture is now to be considered.

It has frequently been noticed in mines, or in cellar walls, how water, containing lime in solution, trickles through small crevices in the rock or wall, and either evaporates, leaving the lime in little clusters of round lumps on the surface from which it escapes, or hanging a moment before it drops to the ground, allows a thin crust to form on its outside, and when it escapes, leaves its shell as it were behind it. The next drop hangs from the lower extremity of this shell, and *its* shell forms a continuation of the former downwards, while the drops which have fallen, containing also much of the lime, yet evaporate on the ground and grow upwards in the shape of a mound to meet this growth of little shells of water-drops growing down.

This growth of little water-drop shells is called "stalactite," and the mound which grows upward from below "stalagmite." The structure of minerals of this kind is always irregular and icicle-like, and has given the name to a number of forms in which minerals occasionally appear. Then, oftentimes, a mass of crystals are seen so hemmed in and squeezed together, that they sometimes crystallize *through* each other, and out of a thousand specimens of this kind, probably not one can be found showing all its sides. Opposed to this, may be seen but few crystals on a piece of rock, beautifully formed and perfect in all their parts, looking like jewels set in a jewel-case for exhibition. A very important distinction is to be understood between the amorphous, crystalline and crystallized structures. Amorphous means "without form," and is applied to such minerals as have constant chemical and physical properties, but were never found crystallized. As instances, take opal, graphite, turquoise and common coal. Crystalline minerals are such as indicate, from little flashes of light as you turn them over in the sunlight, that they are composed of crystals, but whose crystals are so small that the magnifying-glass or microscope must be used to discover them. Crystallized minerals, of course, are those whose forms are easily seen by the naked eye.

Many persons are interested in mines and minerals, and have, perhaps, wished to consult Dana, (which, for the initiated, is undoubtedly the most complete mineralogy in existence,) but few understand what he says when they have found the mineral.

To take a practical case, suppose you wished to know what Dana said of the chloride of silver. He calls it corargyrite. After the name, (which occurs page 114,) come all the different names by which the mineral has been known in Europe and elsewhere. Then comes the word isometric, which means that this mineral crystallizes always in the first or (according to him) isometric system. Then comes a list of observed forms, in which you are referred by letters and figures to the pictures of the crystals of the isometric system on page 33 of his Introduction. These references and figures can be easily understood by devoting a little time to learning the elements of crystallography. Dana will scarcely answer the purpose. G. means specific gravity. B. B. means before the blowpipe. Comp. the chemical composition. Take another case: Amphibole, or, as it is commonly known, hornblende. First, the name Amphibole, then its other names; then the name of the system to which it belongs, (monoclinic;) then the forms *in that system* which it assumes, reference being made back to the Introduction; then the physical properties, &c.

It has been stated that the first great discovery was the constancy with which certain minerals always took certain forms. There are, nevertheless, a very few striking and curious exceptions to this rule, which remain a mystery to mineralogists. By a crystal *system* is meant all those crystal forms which can be obtained from the representative type, (the octahedron, for instance,) by substituting planes for edges and angles, supposing the alternate sides to disappear and the remaining planes to be produced or increased till they intersect each other and form a new figure, &c. All such forms are said to be derivable from the typical form. No crystal of the rhombic system can be derived from one of the isometric system, or from any but another crystal of the same system. Carbon, for example, exists in three forms, as the diamond, transparent and usually colorless, the hardest of the gems and always crystallizing isometrically; graphite, one of the softest of minerals, black, and hexagonally crystallized, and common coal, never crystallized, and always brown or black and opaque. Yet the most careful investigation has failed to

show any chemical difference between these. If sulphur be melted in an earthenware pot, and allowed to cool until a crust is formed over the top, and this crust be then punctured and the liquid sulphur poured out, on breaking the vessel containing what remained behind and examining it, a vast number of monoclinic needles will be seen; whereas, it is well known that sulphur crystallizes in nature rhombically, and even these monoclinic brown crystals, if exposed to the air for a day or two, will turn to the usual sulphur-yellow and crumble into fine rhombic crystals. Another instance may be mentioned which must be familiar to almost every one. The carbonate of lime crystallizes in crystals which may be compared to a long box, the top of which has been pushed a little forwards and to one side, so that only a part of the lid is directly over the bottom. This form is called a rhombohedron, and is a half-hexagonal pyramid. Now, sometimes, absolutely identical carbonate of lime occurs in long, needle-shaped crystals, and is called arragonite, crystallizing rhombically. Iron pyrites, too, which is the double sulphide of iron, and almost always appears in cubes of the isometric system, occurs sometimes in rhombic crystals resembling the head of a spear.

This eccentric behavior of these minerals is called di-morphism, meaning "two forms," because they occur in two entirely different characters. Dimorphism is then the power which identically the same chemical substance sometimes possesses, to crystallize in two entirely different forms.

Isomorphism, on the contrary, (*ισος*, "same," and *μορφη*, "form,") is the capacity of two entirely different chemical substances to appear in exactly the same crystal forms. As examples, fluor-spar salt and galena always appear in cubes, while some other minerals always appear in rhomboids.

Before the classification of minerals, it will be necessary to recall a few chemical facts. All chemical elements are divided into light and heavy metals, and a few substances which are not metals at all, such as sulphur, phosphorus, &c. The heavy metals include all those known in common life as metals. When, therefore, the term "light metal" is used, it is intended to designate potassium, sodium and lithium, (whose oxides form the familiar alkalis, potash, soda and lithia,) strontium, barium, calcium, magnesium, aluminium, glucinum and yttrium, whose oxides are the alkaline

earths of chemistry, and three of which are familiarly known as lime, magnesia and clay. The oxides of both heavy and light metals, as well as of those substances that are not metals at all, may be either acids or bases, that is, they may change the blue color of litmus to red, (acids,) or restore it when thus reddened (bases.) The non-metallic elements are called metalloids, though wherefore can hardly be explained, for the word implies that they resemble those metals, which they do not. A union or combination of an acid with a base is called a "salt."

With this explanation the following classification of minerals—though not like Dana's—may be more easily understood, if not, in reality, better. Naumann, after showing that differences in crystallization should be used to separate species, says, "we have already in the differences of the elements themselves the beginning of a classification, for they are divided into metals and metalloids, and the former again, into heavy and light metals. The heavy metals are the real representatives of the mineral kingdom, and to them belongs the centre of the line, whatever the arrangement may be. Now as oxygen and sulphur are the two elements which form the greatest number of compounds with the metals, it seems but rational to place all the oxygen compounds of the metals on one side and all the sulphur compounds on the other. Water and ice being the nearest approach to native oxygen which we have, should be at one end of the line, and native sulphur, at least, near the other."

In the chlorides, oxides and fluorides, the difference between heavy and light metals is so very marked that they must be arranged in separate groups. Double salts, containing one light and one heavy metal, are grouped together and called amphotere, (from the Greek word ἀμφω, "both.") The silicates and aluminates are so different from all other classes of minerals, that they must be arranged in a class by themselves. Each one of these classes further can be subdivided into minerals containing water, and those that are anhydrous, or without water. The amorphous minerals, or those which never occur in crystals, have been placed as much as possible by themselves. Note, when in the following the term "*salt-like*" is used, it means like a combination of acid and base of light metals, such as common salt, carbonate of lime, &c.

I. Class—Oxides of the metalloids, or elements of neither light nor heavy metals, *i. e.* water, ice, &c.

II. Class—Alkaline earths and similar combinations, such as oxides, chlorides and fluorides, of the light metals. These are colorless bodies, or may be stained with any color, no metallic lustre. Some of them look like stones (*i. e.* silicates) and some like salts, (*i. e.* common salt, &c.)

III. Class—Haloids. For the most part colorless or stained minerals, never resembling the heavy metals and their compounds, but mostly like salts. The chemical constitution of the haloids is a combination of acid and base of light metals. All are light.

IV. Chalcites. Bodies whose color is constant, mostly salt-like, never resembling metals. Chemically they are compounds of an acid of a light metal and a base of a heavy metal, or *vice versa*.

V. Geoliths, (from $\gamma\eta$, "the earth," and $\lambda\theta\omicron\varsigma$, "a stone," because they constitute the greater part of the stones and rocks of the world. These are silicates and aluminates of the alkalies and alkaline earths, that is, of the oxides of the light metals. Low specific gravity and very hard.

VI. Amphoboroliths, (from $\acute{\alpha}\mu\phi\omega$, "both," because both a light and heavy metal enter into their composition.) Silicates and aluminates of both light and heavy metal oxides. Higher sp. gr. than the preceding class, usually of a dark color, very hard. Stony, never metallic look.

VII. Metalloliths. Silicates and aluminates of the heavy metals. Higher sp. gr. than Amphoboroliths. Hard and stony, never metallic lustre.

VIII. Tantaloids. These are combinations with oxides of the heavy metals of the very rare acids, tantallic, didymic, &c. They have higher sp. gr. than metalloliths and half metallic lustre. They are fortunately as rare as their formulæ are complicated.

IX. Oxides of the heavy metals and similar combinations, such as chlorides, fluorides, bromides and iodides of the heavy metals. These have a still ascending sp. gr., are all opaque and of dark color, hard, have generally metallic lustre, and characteristic streak.

X. Metals. The centre of the system. All of high sp. gr., opaque, and have metallic lustre.

XI. Galenoids, (like galena.) Sulphides, selenides, tellurides of heavy metals. All have metallic lustre, high sp. gr., are dark-colored, give black streak, and are opaque.

XII. Class Pyritoids, (like pyrites,) sulphides, arsenides, and antimonides of the heavy metals, are either yellow, white or red. All give black streaks and have metallic lustre and pretty high specific gravity. Harder than galenoids.

XIII. Cinnabarides (like cinnabar or the sulphide of mercury.) Sulphides of the heavy metals. Either half-metallic or unmetallic lustre, inclining to diamond-lustre, mostly translucent and not hard except zinc.

XIV. Metalloids, themselves. Sulphur, diamond, graphite, &c.

XV. The anthracides or inflammable substances, principally hydro-carbons, all burn. Coal, amber, asphaltum, &c.

The advantage of this system is that a mineral can be placed, as soon as examined, where there are but few which can be confounded with it. Then, again, with the exception of those troublesome anthracides—the last class—which it is difficult to bring in properly anywhere—the XIV classes form a complete circle, commencing with the oxides of the metalloids and ending with the metalloids themselves. The heavy metals are in the middle, and the other classes are so arranged that the nearer they come to the metals, the more they resemble them in lustre and weight—two qualities that can be immediately determined.

With such information given, the mineral may be disposed of in the following manner:

The mineral is hard, has no metallic lustre, no streak, (or white streak,) and is harder than fluor-spar, but not so hard as feldspar, and crystallizes in the rhombic system. If it has no metallic lustre, it can be in any of the classes but numbers VIII, IX, X, XI, XII and XIII. There are about fifteen minerals that answer this description as to lustre and hardness, but only two of these crystallize rhombic, and they are bronzite and calamine. Now comes in a remarkable peculiarity which calamine has in common with a very few other minerals, and that is to crystallize differently at its two extremities. Accordingly, if the mineral in question shows this peculiarity it is calamine; if, on the contrary, it shows a slight tendency to mother-of-pearl lustre on one of its planes, it is bronzite.

Or another case, which actually occurred. Certain parties at Salt Lake imagined that they had discovered a large deposit of anthracite, and several thousand dollars were expended in fitting up an expedition to go out to the locality of this supposed anthracite and explore it, stake out a claim and bring back specimens. It went, and a small specimen was handed to a mineralogist for his inspection. Let us suppose that we got this specimen for examination. It was black, about as hard as feldspar, had an oily lustre, no signs of crystallization, and a curved surface of fracture, and gave no streak.

Now these properties differ from those which anthracite would have shown, in the following particulars: 1. The lustre of anthracite is half-metallic, that of this mineral oily. 2. Anthracite gives a black streak, this mineral gives none. 3. Anthracite has a hardness of only $2\frac{1}{2}$, or between gypsum and calc-spar, while this is as hard as feldspar. There are three properties in which these two differ, and when I add that the mineral in question is nearly half again as heavy as anthracite, it will not astonish you to learn that this mineral would not burn and anthracite does, as we all know. Now, having found what it is not, how shall we find what it is? Very simply. Its hardness and weight indicate that it is a combination of silica, its lack of crystal form reduces it to either opal, pearlstone or pitchstone, and its oily lustre proves it to be neither of the two forms, but shows it to be pitchstone.

PERSIFOR FRAZER, JR.

NEW BOOKS.

THE PROSE WRITERS OF AMERICA; with a Survey of the Intellectual History, Condition and Prospects of the Country. By Rufus Wilmot Griswold. New edition, revised and enlarged, with a Supplementary Essay on the Intellectual Prospects and Condition of America, by Prof. John H. Dillingham. Pp. 700. Portraits. Philadelphia: Porter & Coates.

This is another of the encyclopedic works on modern literature which this young and enterprising firm have added to their list, and not the least interesting to the American reader. When Sidney Smith, writing over fifty years ago, in the pages of the *Edinburgh Review*, asked, "Who reads an American book?" there was some justice in the question. True, we could boast of a great metaphysician and theologian in Jonathan Edwards, an accomplished essayist and *avau* in Benjamin Franklin, a novelist of some power in Brockden Brown, and political writers in Adams, Hamilton, Ames and Jefferson, who were not unworthy of mention in the same breath with Edmund Burke. But the day has passed when the question could be more than an empty sneer, and more than one American book has commanded more readers than even Sidney Smith's brilliancy ever secured for him, and has achieved a more lasting place in English literature than any thing from his pen. Mr. Griswold's book, as a rounded and symmetrical view of what has been achieved in the department of prose literature, has held a high place since its first appearance, twenty-five years ago. This new edition, besides being a careful revision and correction of the original work, contains a supplement of some hundred and fifty pages, adding the authors who have won their spurs during the last quarter of a century, and bringing the record down to December, 1870. This seems to have been done with equal judgment and greater impartiality, if not so copiously as by Dr. Griswold in the first part of the work—though, indeed, there is less need of copiousness in regard to authors whose books are still "in print." It is just here that the whole work has a greater value than when first issued, as presenting materials, not now accessible elsewhere, for an estimate of the intellectual state and growth of the nation, and in keeping the older popular favorites still before the public in the best specimens of their style and power. The publishers have done their share to make a handsome, legible and durable book, while the literary contents make it a most desirable supplement to the most complete libraries. If we have any fault to find, it is that Dr. Griswold's valuable biographical notices are often written in the eulogistic tone which was current in 1845, while our more critical age judges more severely.

COMPLETE POETICAL WORKS OF MRS. BROWNING. 2 vols. Philadelphia: Porter & Coates. 1871.

Mrs. Browning is one of those writers who excite ardent admiration in some readers, without awaking others from indifference. She is, like Thomas Campbell, a unique in literature, standing in no close relation to any of her contemporaries. We think that posterity will ascribe to her the possession of true genius, while making allowance for tricks of manner, which have been caricatured by her American imitators. Her poems are gaining in interest, rather than losing, now that the great cause, to which she gave so much of her thoughts and her hopes, is crowned by the final emancipation of the Italian peninsula. She had, indeed, much of the spirit of the poets of the old Hebrew prophetic order—pouring her whole soul into the struggles and questions of her time. "Casa Guidi Windows" will always possess a deep interest as a study of an abortive Italian revolution, and many of her late lyrics are valuable monuments of the great "War of Liberation."

The present edition is both tasteful and inexpensive, needing only for its completeness what all editions need—an exhibit of the varieties of reading which distinguish the earlier edition of her poems from the later. Like Tennyson, she was always repolishing.

HEAVENWARD LED; or, The Two Requests. By Jane R. Sommers. Pp. 488. Philadelphia: Porter & Coates.

While giving the authoress credit for the best of intentions, we cannot regard her book as a permanent or very valuable addition to our light literature. The story is a religious fiction of the evangelical school, and not inferior to most stories of its class; but the plot is full of cheap and unnatural antitheses of character, and the general style exhibits little power of delineation. Yet even good intention and the absence of evil is something in a novel of our times.

TOPICS OF THE TIME. By James Parton. Pp. 401. Boston: James R. Osgood & Co. Philadelphia: Claxton, Remsen & Haffelfinger.

Mr. Parton is one of the few American writers who aspire to combine literary eminence with public criticism. In England the class is very large. Thomas Carlyle heads the list; John Ruskin and Charles Kingsley are among the foremost of his followers. In America the list is not near so large as it might be; probably because the propensity to grumbling is not so strong here as in England, possibly because the national palate does not relish censure as keenly as eulogy. Even Mr. Parton is not a mere "fighter of anomalies," but he comes nearer to that position than any other of our writers. The papers of his present volume have already been before the public in the pages of our magazines, and some of them created no small amount of excitement and discussion when they appeared in that way. "Our Roman Catholic Brethren" set our whole "religious world" by the ears; "The Government of the City of New York" startled the whole country by its picture of local abuses, which have since been completely eclipsed by grander rascalities in the same quarter. Four papers touch on matters of national policy. "How Uncle Sam Treats his Servants," for instance, is a plea for civil service

reform; and "International Copyright" puts very forcibly the side of the case to which Mr. Carey is opposed.

Mr. Parton's statements must always be taken with some allowance for his straining after effect, and for the unfairness with which he assumes and pleads side issues while apparently urging the main question. He cannot touch on religion without putting in a word at every turn for his own views, and as surely as revenue questions are touched on there is a fling at the protectionists. With these great drawbacks, he is a wholesome, stimulating writer—part of the salt of the earth in social matters.

THE SILENT PARTNER. By Elizabeth Stuart Phelps. Pp. 302.

(Same publishers and booksellers.)

Miss Phelps is a modern who dares to write sizeable books, and follows both her grandfather (Moses Stuart) and her father (Prof. Phelps) in this literary audacity. Her three stories ("Gates Ajar," "Hedged In" and the present volume) are hardly big enough to make one volume of the common size, and one always wishes for more when she is done. Yet she has always something to say—a cause to plead. Here it is the wretched state of the mill-hands of Massachusetts, and the possibility of doing something to raise their life above that of "dumb, driven cattle." The heroine is a Miss Kelso, a silent partner in a factory and a sweet, young philanthropist who works (book) wonders among her own sex. The style of the story reminds us of *Margaret Howth*, if it is not high treason to charge a New Englander with imitating a Pennsylvanian. There is a flavor, too, of Andover orthodoxy about the book that may conciliate critics scandalized by the (alleged) Swedenborgianism of "Gates Ajar."

REGINALD ARCHER. A Novel. By Anne M. Crane Seemuller, author of "Emily Chester" and "Opportunity." Pp. 386.

(Same Publishers and Booksellers.)

The gist of this story is the Emersonian motto on the title-page—"The essence of greatness is the perception that virtue is enough." In accordance with that maxim and the great Transcendentalist's essay on "Compensation," Mrs. Seemuller sets herself to so exhibit the workings of society and conscience, as to show that a real moral order underlies human doings, and that moral laws avenge themselves. We must think it unhappy that she has chosen the easiest way of enforcing her moral—the life of a great scoundrel and *roué*. Reginald Archer is a man of striking qualities and great powers, who has made up his mind that virtue is not enough for him,—does not suit him at all. He sponges off his brother, wins a rich wife and makes her unhappy, and carries on his vicious courses until he meets a violent death at the hands of an outraged husband. His brother, Tom Archer, is the foil to the hero, a man of wholly and purely disinterested goodness, who thinks virtue enough even without the rewards of virtue, and is as a living confutation of all attempts to classify mankind as either knaves or fools. Even his character and the goodness of some other personage, do not relieve the general unpleasantness of the story. The authoress should not abuse her knowledge of Scripture by quoting it in irreverent connections, as on page 43 and elsewhere. Even scamps have sufficient sense of propriety to avoid such quotations, so that there was no literary necessity in the case. Yet she is a writer of more than ordinary, if not of the highest power.

A MANUAL OF ANCIENT HISTORY, from the Earliest Times to the Fall of the Western Empire. By George Rawlinson, M. A. Pp. 631. New York: Harper & Bros.

This is a reprint of an English book on a subject in regard to which our own literature is exceptionally poor. Mr. Rawlinson's is the only manual in the language which professes to give within the compass of a single volume an outline of the very latest results of modern inquiry and research. His name has long been connected with investigations in regard to the great empires of the Euphrates valley, and with the only good and scholarly translation of Herodotus. The great defect of his present work is, that it is based too much on the pragmatic *Handbuch* of Professor Heeren, which belongs to the early part of this century, a circumstance which gives a too matter-of-fact cast to the whole work, whereas modern taste calls rather for general truth and philosophy. To the same cause we may ascribe the German-like copious lists of *urkunden* or authorities appended to each section, lists which scholars do not need and others cannot use, covering, as they do, the literature of the subject in Greek, Latin, Italian, French and German, as well as English. But, with all drawbacks, the book is a valuable addition to our historical literature, and may contribute to the extermination of thousands of delusions current among general readers. For it is notable that Rollin is still a widely popular manual in America, and that Plutarch has his profound admirers among American scholars, even. Mr. Rawlinson's method and bias are conservative enough not to shock any orthodox sensibilities.

THE MUTINEERS OF THE BOUNTY, and their Descendants in Norfolk and Pitcairn Islands. By Lady Belcher. (Illustrated.) Pp. 377. New York: Harper & Bros.

The history of the mutiny of the crew of an English man-of-war, and the consequent settlement on an island in the Pacific Ocean, is a romance of real life that possesses a permanent interest. The story has much of the attractiveness that belongs to fictions of the Crusoe-school. The mutiny was provoked by a degree of cruelty and tyranny not then unusual in the British navy; it was led by the mate, Fletcher Christian, brother of the distinguished editor of *Blackstone's Commentaries*, and descended from the old Manx family who figure so much in the history of the Isle of Man. It was characterized by no unnecessary cruelty, the offending officers being put into a boat with the provisions and nautical instruments necessary to insure their reaching a place of safety. An English expedition to arrest the mutineers actually secured one party of nine, and two of these were executed for their crime. Nine settled on Pitcairn's Island, under the leadership of Christian, marrying native wives, and founding a small but unique community, which still exists, and is characterized by the utmost purity of morals, forming a solitary British post in that part of the ocean. Sir John Barrow told the story, some forty years ago, in a volume which had a very large circulation, and is still in demand. Lady Belcher's book supersedes his, as she had the use of documents unknown to him, and brings the narrative down to 1869. Her style is not always of the happiest; some parts are made up too much by the free use of the scissors; and the whole account of the trial in England might have been greatly abridged, as it possesses no more general interest than any other mutiny trial. But the book will interest many readers, young and old.

THE ARTIST'S MARRIED LIFE; being that of Albert Durer.
Translated from the German of Leopold Schefer. By Mrs. J.
R. Stodart. Revised edition, with Memoir. Pp. xxvii, 204.
New York: James Miller. Philadelphia: Porter & Coates.

Mr. Miller is publishing a "Library of Choice Reading" at seventy-five cents a volume, of which these two books are a part. The first of the two was part of the multifarious labors of Victor Cousin in the fields of Metaphysics, Education and History. Philosophers seldom make good historians, as they come to their work with too many prepossessions, but the Eclectic school should form exceptions. The great French Eclectic certainly was an exception. So brilliant and powerful was his historic imagination, that it was said of him that he was more thoroughly in love with Madame de Longueville than were any of her contemporary admirers. His present work is a picture of the French Court (as gathered from innumerable writers of gossippy memoirs) during a period full of intrigue and complicated plotting. It is hardly a pleasant theme, but the charms of the historian's style go far towards making it such.

Very different is Leopold Schefer's charming fiction in regard to Albert Durer,—a picture of tender and beautiful sadness. The story is similar in construction and style to Miss Manning's beautiful fictions—"Mary Powell," "Deborah's Diary"—but is executed with a much firmer and bolder hand, often reminding us of Jean Paul, and possessing the value of a treatise on art. It is an artist's picture of an artist, full of brotherly sympathy and subtle understandings.

THE APPLE CULTURIST, (with Illustrations.) By Sereno Ed-
wards Todd. Pp. 331. New York: Harper & Bros.

Agricultural literature continues to grow, in spite of the sneers of "practical farmers"—that is, traditional plodders. One feature of its new growth is, the complete and specialistic division of its branches, each writer laying out his strength on a single subject. The days of the *Scriptures de Re Rustica*, when the classic Catos and Columellas spread themselves over the whole field, is gone by. Pomology, for instance, is a science by itself, and he who can write a good book on Apples has fulfilled his calling. This most popular of fruits is really one of the most difficult to acclimatize and keep in actual productiveness, as any one knows who has wandered through the fruitless orchards of some Western regions, or seen the steamboats of the Mississippi laden with the products of Egypt and Missouri in course of transportation to the colder prairies, or has witnessed the ceaseless efforts to propagate some variety in certain unfortunate localities. To be a good apple region (as is also the case with Michigan) is not a whit less fortunate than to be a good wheat region. Even our Eastern farmers are realizing

that the orchard is not the one branch of their business that will profitably "run itself." Mr. Todd, seems to our inexperienced eye, to have done his work in the compilation of this manual very judiciously and fully. His works on wheat culture, on country architecture, and more general topics, have already made him known as a successful author in this field.

GLIMPSES OF SEA AND LAND, during a Six Months' Voyage to Europe. By Mary L. Evans. Pp. 361.

A Quakeress' impression of Europe, sent home in letters to young friends. Quakerly plainness of style is the finest taste, but our authoress affects in some places the verbal frippery and gew-gaws of "the world's people," and revels in a womanly abundance of adjectives; yet her writing has freshness, if not power of description. She is sometimes misled by guides, as when she points out the pulpit of Holyrood House, where Knox "thundered forth his sermons," in "invective and uncourtier-like crimination," in the presence of Queen Mary. Knox never preached before Queen Mary, or at Holyrood House, as every reader of his rugged but magnificent "History" knows. It was in council that he made the Queen cry, or rather furnished her with an excuse which was no reason.

"WHAT SHE COULD," [and]

"OPPORTUNITIES," a Sequel to "What She Could." By the author of "The Wide, Wide World." Pp. 339 and 382. New York: Robt. Carter & Bros.

Of these books for young people, the first is externally a specimen of improvement in binding, and inwardly has an idea running through it—the necessity of reaching the poor by more direct methods than that of benevolent machinery and organization. To the readers of *Robert Falconer* the idea will not be new, but it needs many more preachers. The other volumes, like all of Miss Warner's books, have no harm in them, though we have never, since we read *Queechy* with youthful trustfulness, met with one of those angelic little girls who are so much wiser and better than grown people.

SECRET HISTORY OF THE FRENCH COURT under Richelieu and Mazarin; or, The Life and Times of Madame de Chevereuse. By Victor Cousin. Translated by Mary L. Booth. Pp. 172.

EMMA PARKER; or, Scenes in the Homes of the City Poor. Pp. 408. New York: A. D. F. Randolph & Co.

THE
PENN MONTHLY.

MAY, 1871.

LOCAL TAXATION.

THE equalization of taxes has become a subject of so much importance in the United States, in the last decade, that it has attracted a larger share of public attention than at any former period of our history. It is well that it should receive such attention, not only on the part of those who are chosen to enact laws, but by every citizen, in order that by examination, thought and discussion, a system for raising the necessary public exactions shall be adopted which will be equal on the subjects of levy, and at the same time so adjusted that the producing power of the country will not be paralyzed or crippled.

National taxation bears with equal pressure in all portions of the country, but each State has its own system, differing each from the other, and in some States, as in Pennsylvania, the same laws do not apply to all portions of it. States and cities having a wise regard for the prosperity of their inhabitants, the encouragement of enterprise and improvements, and engaged in honorable rivalry for advancement, can not disregard the tax systems of each other; for taxation, entering, as it does, into the cost of production of the article taxed, or the price at which it may be sold, will demand an adjustment to enable successful competition to be maintained. This is especially true at this time, for the large public debts contracted during the late war, the enhancement in the price of materials and labor, and the tendency in all portions of the country to make large public expenditures, renders the consideration of the subject one of primary importance.

With a view of calling further attention to it, I have prepared this paper, which, while it may contain some general suggestions on the subject of taxation, will have particular reference to our city, referring to some of its peculiarities as they have occurred to my mind, and their effect in the application of a revenue system.

The first point to which I wish to direct attention is, that Philadelphia derives nearly all her revenue for municipal expenses from taxation of real estate, and that this system has been maintained with more local difficulties than would be encountered in any of the cities of the first-class in the United States.

My reason for this statement is, that we have a more extended surface, both of ground built upon and rural territory within the corporate limits, with property at a more moderate value, than any other city in the Union, whilst the expenditures of a city, in many of its heaviest and continuous outlays, are increased in the proportion of the extension of the improved surface.

It is the opinion of every person acquainted with the values of land in the cities of the United States, that it is at a lower price and comparatively cheaper in the city of Philadelphia than any other city, not excepting the new cities of the West whose population exceeds one hundred and fifty thousand. The reason for this value as compared with Western cities, whose boundaries may be extended indefinitely, is not plain, but may probably be accounted for in the fact that their rapid growth in population and commercial business, and high rates of interest paid for money, justified high rents for their improved property, and in the belief that the population and business of those cities will multiply in the future, high and even prospective values are maintained for property of which future years only can prove the real value.

A comparison with the older seaboard cities like New York and Boston, where land has been held for two centuries through times of expansion and depression, is perhaps the better test, and we find the reason in the fact, that whilst those cities are circumscribed on many sides by impassable boundaries and limited in the quantity of ground for building purposes, our large and level surface enables building extension to be made without difficulty or limit to the north, west and south, and that the quantity of ground being unlimited, holders cannot exact the prices which are obtained in cities whose building surface enables them to im-

prove in one direction only. A further reason will be found in the fact that the leading business of the city of Philadelphia is manufacturing, and that of New York and Boston, commercial. Commercial business must concentrate in certain streets or sections of a city, and the larger profits induce high values; but the extended surface in Philadelphia has afforded the manufacturer abundant ground to select eligible locations for his business, and having choice of location over wider space than the business of cities that are more largely commercial, the number of locations from which he may select cheapens the market value, and high or exorbitant prices can not be obtained. Again, a majority of the buildings erected in the extension of the city are two and three-story dwelling-houses suitable for homes for families of the industrial and laboring classes, and this fact being recognized by landholders, the price of ground can not be advanced, except in choice locations, beyond the proportionate sum which the value of such houses will warrant for the ground, usually varying from one dollar to four dollars per foot ground-rent.

The introduction of the system of passenger railways, (of which we have one hundred and eighty-four and one-quarter miles within the city limits,) affording rapid and cheap transit, and rendering distance from point to point over our great territory of less importance, has also contributed in keeping the values of many localities from rising.

With ground at moderate prices, perhaps there is no large city in this country where labor and materials for building purposes are more abundant or cheaper, and the first value of the improvements will in the main be regulated by the cost of construction. Nor is the capital necessary for construction of dwelling-houses wanting. Men of large wealth, though rarely undertaking expensive building operations themselves, show great willingness to advance to builders the means of extending improvements, thus year by year multiplying the number to an extent equal and often in advance of the demand. The supply being equal to the demand, the prices of the improvements are moderated, and the rental value is regulated by the supply and value.

From the facts above stated, it is easily understood why property in this city is cheaper than in other cities.

Within the corporate limits of the city of Philadelphia we have

one hundred and twenty-nine and one-eighth square miles of territory, or eighty-two thousand seven hundred acres—an area larger than London, which has seventy-four thousand and seventy acres. Of this area, traversed by six hundred miles of streets and roadways, (three hundred and thirty of which are paved,) the built-up portions, including Germantown, Frankford and Manayunk, cover about twenty square miles, or twelve thousand eight hundred acres. The actual value of the real estate returned for taxable purposes, for 1871, of the whole city, is four hundred and ninety-one millions eight hundred and forty-four thousand and ninety-six dollars, (\$491,844,096.)

Now, in order to convey a correct idea of the amount of surface requiring municipal expenditures here, as compared with the two cities above-mentioned, we will give the comparative figures. The area of the whole city of New York is only twenty-two square miles, or fourteen thousand five hundred and two acres, and of this surface only six thousand five hundred acres is built upon. The taxable value of the real estate of New York—averaging about sixty per cent. of the actual value—for 1870, is seven hundred and forty-two millions one hundred and thirty-four thousand three hundred and fifty dollars, (\$742,134,350.)

The area of the city of Boston, including Roxbury and Dorchester, recently annexed, is nine thousand nine hundred and two acres, less than one-half of which is improved, and the taxable return of the real estate, for 1869-70, three hundred and thirty-two millions fifty-one thousand nine hundred dollars, (\$332,051,900.)

It will thus be seen that the area of the city of Philadelphia is nearly six times larger than New York and nine times the size of Boston, and that the surface built upon is much larger than that of those two cities combined. These are facts that must be considered in estimating expenditures and the ability of the city to make them. It will be noticed, that whilst the area for municipal care is much larger in Philadelphia, the taxable value of the real estate is relatively much less than in those cities. That increased surface makes additional expense, will be evident from the fact that the frontage of each square of houses requires continuous expense for repair of streets, street-lighting, cleansing streets, police, pipe, &c. I know that the impression is common, that every block of houses erected is a clear gain in taxation, and a result is

spoken of as though the revenue was to be increased without additional expense. If these houses are erected on ground, the frontage of which is already graded, paved, lighted, watched, &c., and they are of the value of five or ten thousand dollars, this impression would, in a measure, be well-founded; but the extension of small houses covering new territory, whilst they add something to the revenue of the city, if we add to the annual surface expense which they require, public school accommodations for the population, will not, in footing up the balance-sheet, be found to be a gain in this light.

How much of our improved surface is covered with small houses yielding a proportionably small revenue, may be seen from the fact that, by a recent enumeration of the dwelling-houses in the city, no less than thirty-seven thousand one hundred and sixty-three were two-story brick, stone and frame houses, and when it is known that many of the seventy thousand one hundred and seventy-two three-story houses are small in their dimensions, and what is commonly known as six-room houses, a fair estimate may be formed of the extent. And that this class of buildings is proportionately increasing is evident from the fact that, of thirteen thousand five hundred and thirty-seven dwelling-houses erected in the years 1868, 1869 and 1870, seven thousand two hundred and seventy-six were but two-story buildings.

In inviting attention to this view of the city in the light of revenue, it is not in a spirit of regret that the facts are as we have stated them. Cities are not built for the tax-gatherers, but for the people; and whilst taxation is necessary, in all civilized communities, to sustain the government, to preserve the rights and promote the comfort of the people, to educate the children, who, in the future, will succeed the present generation in levying the tax, the ability to raise money must be considered as well as proposed expenditures. From the peculiarities of our city, it will be seen that it requires much closer calculation and a much larger amount of work to be done with the money than can be raised by the same tax-rate on like surface in either of the two cities above mentioned. That more is done on a smaller amount of money in this city than in most others, I have no doubt, from a comparison of the amounts raised and expended here and in other places; but it is requisite that these facts should be kept constantly in view, and, notwithstanding this peculiarity, if the ex-

penditures are judicious, the amount of money necessary to be raised for ordinary expenses will be ample. On the other hand, if money is appropriated and used for ordinary and extraordinary expenditures without carefully considering the ability of property-holders to pay the taxation which must follow, discontent is as inevitable as it is with an individual who contracts expense without regard to his sources of income.

For the people, the cheapness of property, and our peculiarities in respect to many of our improvements, is an advantage possessed by them over the great majority of the inhabitants of other cities. It has furnished a separate dwelling-house for each family, provided with such conveniences as can only be obtained in large cities and towns, giving to each family a habitation which may be called a home, and the condition of the poorer classes in this respect contrasts singularly in our favor when compared with many other places. Morality is greatly promoted in providing a separate habitation for each family, and this can only be fully realized by a visit and examination of one of the large tenement-houses, at places where they furnish the homes of the poor, and contrasting the condition of the hundreds of men, women and children crowded under one roof, with the occupants of our small dwellings.

The selling value of property being moderate, enables the humblest citizen, by a few years' savings, to be his own landlord, to possess his own "castle;" and to such an extent has this been taken advantage of by people of all conditions in life, that whilst there are no accurate statistics of the number of persons in the several cities who own and live in their own dwelling-houses, with some knowledge of the relative number here compared with other cities of the United States, I believe it can be asserted, without fear of successful contradiction, that in proportion to the population, Philadelphia contains a larger number of persons who live in houses owned by themselves than any other city in America. If this be true, and there can be no doubt of it, we may go further and say, that we have more than in any city in the civilized world, for the ownership is more divided everywhere in America than in older countries.

The number of persons who own their own homes in the United States would be a most valuable and interesting statistic,

and it ought to be one of the inquiries made at the taking of the census.

Philadelphia need have no fear of her standing in this enumeration, and permit me here to suggest, that in view of the imperfect census that has been recently taken under the old law of 1850, a new census of the country should be taken in 1876, to mark our exact progress in the first century, under an amended law that will enable a better execution of the work, and gather statistics that will be not only interesting but valuable to the people. The expense of such a new census would be no valid objection, as it need not necessarily be great, and could not occur again on a like occasion for a hundred years.

In England, and in many of the older States of this country, real estate owners are year by year becoming less in number. The real property being thought the most secure investment for capital, people with large fortunes purchase, and seldom part with it. No doubt this is a wise conclusion for the interest of the few, and the hundreds of millions invested in French stocks and bonds, thought one year ago to be one of the best and most profitable investments on the continent of Europe, and now valuable, is a confirmation of this opinion.

But in Philadelphia the number of real estate holders is annually increasing. Whilst much property is held here by capitalists for investment, there is not such a tendency to aggregate it in the hands of the few, as in many other places. The reason for this may probably be found in the fact that commercial property, until the past few years, yielded moderate returns in rents, and the trouble attendant on the ownership of numbers of small houses in collections of rents, &c., has not invited such aggregations; yet let the cause be what it may, the more general distribution of the real estate of the city is better for the people, better for society, and better for the government, than a smaller division and extensive tenantry.

As we have remarked above, the cheapness of homesteads has enabled many to own their dwellings, and they have been greatly facilitated in doing this through the aid of our ground-rent system and building associations. People who own the soil naturally feel that they have a greater interest in the community, in its welfare, peace and good order, and they are fixed more permanently to it as a place of abode, and the laborer or mechanic

who is working to secure or pay for a home, is inspired with more ambition than one whose abode is in tenement-houses, which can have no attraction to any man or his family. The system of separate dwelling-houses for every family is in itself promotive of greater morality and comfort, but the opportunity of poor men to secure the ownership is an honorable incentive to industry and frugality, and whilst their families are benefited in many ways, the whole community is also, in possessing better citizens, better laborers, and mechanics of more skill. This is one secret of Philadelphia's superior workmen. The advantages given to them are incident to our cheap surface, and in no other large city can they be obtained to the extent they are here.

The moderate prices of property is one inducement for the location of manufacturing establishments. Manufacturing will tend to concentrate where it can be done best and cheapest, and an important consideration is cheapness of location. We have the surface, the natural advantages, and the opportunity to advance that great interest to an illimitable extent.

I have not adverted to the income and expense of the unimproved suburban property of which we have so large an extent, as the continuous expenses are not uniform in all portions of it, and it would be difficult to draw a parallel with such property elsewhere.

It may be remarked, however, that suburban surface is necessarily a field requiring much outlay in the preparation of it for future improvement, and the cost of culverting and bridging streams, repairing roads, conveying water and gas from distant points, paving, macadamizing in advance of improvements, renders the application of the facts stated in regard to the yield and expense of the built-up portions quite as applicable to the suburbs. The idea sought to be conveyed, therefore, is, that increased surface improvements make increased surface expenses to a city, that the facilities for extension in Philadelphia being unlimited, cheapens real estate, and that a tax-rate on property at actual value does not produce as much revenue as like property would at actual value in other cities, but that the people, as owners or occupiers, are benefited by this condition of real estate, in being furnished with more comfortable dwellings at cheaper rents, with all the advantages for employment, recreation and education which any city can offer.

The next suggestion which I will make is, that the central property does not produce the revenue to the city which might reasonably be expected from property in the heart of so large a population. This is the result of causes other than those above stated. The value of central property must be measured by the revenue it is capable of producing, and large revenues can only be justified by commercial business concentrated in the business centre of a city.

If we could have maintained the commercial supremacy we once had in our grasp, Philadelphia of to-day would have been a city of perhaps double the present population—for there is no reason that we should not have developed the manufacturing interest at the same time to the extent it has been and combined both sources of wealth and prosperity within the circle of our limits. I know the opinion is often expressed that cities must lead in one branch or the other, and that they cannot combine both at the same time; but no reason can be assigned for this except that it has so happened that from location or want of facilities and natural advantages to foster both interests, the one for which a city was best naturally adapted has been developed to the neglect of the other. We can easily account for the fact that commercial values of property in insular cities will greatly retard the growth of the manufacturing interest, for in average years the competing manufacturer must regard economy in location as well as in every other particular; but with our surface, as we have before shown, this objection could not apply, and the surrounding country, of which we are the heart, would supply additional territory for extension and location whenever it become necessary.

The decline in the commerce of our port has often been attributed to the prevalence of yellow fever in our city at intervals from 1793 to 1800, diverting trade temporarily and afterwards permanently to New York. This may have been an accidental cause in first turning the scale, but the main reason, I apprehend, was that the magnificent harbor of that city was open to the sea at all seasons of the year, whilst the severe winters of the early part of this century closed our river with ice for months, and the projection of the Erie canals ten years in advance of our own canals, gave her the direct highway for transportation of merchandise to the West long in advance of us, and subsequently the earlier adoption of a system of railroads centring there, made that city

a great market and attracted to their wharves the packets and foreign steamships. The adverse circumstances that caused the decline of our commerce do not now hold, and we ought to recover much of our lost prestige, and can do it if the effort is made with courage and confidence.

Ice-boats, unknown in 1826, render a permanent ice obstruction of the river impossible, and our great lines of railway arriving and starting at tide water, gives us an advantage in the carriage of the import and export freight of the country by the shortest route without expensive lighterage.

This is our present opportunity and should not be lost, and I have said this much with a view of presenting its relation to the subject of local taxation. A shipping merchant of New York, who recently examined our tax laws, was astonished at the favorable contrast they presented to the enactments of other States, and on inquiry being made what in his opinion was the reason we had not profited more by them in foreign trade, his reply was that we did not make our advantages sufficiently well known.

Let it be known, therefore, that whilst other States tax ships, the property of individuals or firms, as personal property at the market value of vessels and at the rate of the city or town where they are registered, the laws of Pennsylvania permit its citizens to whiten every sea with their vessels without asking tribute. Let it be known that our Legislature is willing to relieve the stock and bonds of steamship companies incorporated by Pennsylvania, engaged in foreign trade and making our port their home, from all State taxation, which will better enable them to compete with lines owned by foreign capitalists, who pay no tax on the capital employed in their lines.

How favorable this is to us is best expressed by Mr. Wells in his very able report, recently made on the revision of the tax laws of New York, in which he says: "Let us suppose the projection of a new line of steamships to run between the city of New York and Europe in competition with existing lines now controlled by foreign capitalists and registered under a foreign flag. If the nationality of the company is to be American and its location New York city, the State, city and county would have or have authorized the levying, during the past years, on the whole accessible capital or property of the company in the form of *vessels*,

wharves, storehouses, machine shops, offices and *floating capital*, a tax of \$2.27 on the hundred dollars of value."

Let it be known that the port charges, including wharfage, harbor dues and pilotage of our sister city, are constantly rising, and vessels ploughing the Delaware are subject to only one-half the exactions demanded there.

Let it be known that merchants may here establish their business with no other taxation on capital than a classified State tax on sales which is light compared with taxation elsewhere.

How we will be benefited is best shown by the effect of a large concentration of commercial business upon the values of real estate in other cities. The great opportunity offered for extension of business and multiplication of profit in cities where the course of trade flows gives a higher rental value to property favorably located, while the actual value is advanced by the income it is capable of yielding, and the larger business warrants improved architecture, which not only adorns the streets, but enhances the taxable value of the property without increase of expense to the city. Thus we find that by suffering that interest to slumber here, much of our wharf and eastern (central) property will not bring prices paid for it many years ago. A revival of the commerce of our port, and its effect on the general mercantile business of the city, would change this condition of property thus located and advance the value of our nine miles of wharf lines, cause the erection of improved store buildings and new warehouses, and at the same time the property owners will be better able to pay increased taxation by reason of the larger revenue derived from it. The best illustration of the effect of commercial values is the city of New York, where it is centred most largely. In illustration I have and shall refer to that great city most frequently, recognizing it as the commercial metropolis and our nearest neighbor, and the city most frequently quoted by our citizens in favorable or unfavorable comparison with our own.

The taxable return of the real estate of the wards situate between the Battery and a line drawn across the city south of Union Square, for 1870, was three hundred and eighty-eight millions of dollars, (\$388,000,000,) which is calculated to be about sixty per cent. of the real value, and would indicate an actual value of six hundred and forty-five millions of dollars, (\$645,000,000.) This, of course, embraces the business portion of the

city, but covers a space of only two thousand eight hundred acres, and a tax-rate of \$2.25, (rate of 1871,) upon the assessor's return, yields a larger sum to the treasury than is produced by a tax-rate of \$1.80 upon the real estate return of our entire city at a higher average valuation. The seven lower wards, which cover a space of only nine hundred acres, and extend from Canal street to the Battery, are returned at a valuation of two hundred and four millions four hundred and sixty-five thousand seven hundred and twenty-five dollars, (\$204,465,725,) which would indicate an actual value of three hundred and forty millions of dollars, (\$340,000,000.)

The next point I will present is, that, notwithstanding the local difficulties of raising municipal revenues mainly from real estate in Philadelphia, the adherence to that principle in taxation has been one of the chief sources of her prosperity, and no departure from it should be made that would impose new burdens, by direct or indirect taxation, upon the capital and labor employed in the commercial and manufacturing interests.

Upon this point, involving the question of general taxation of personal estate, there has been much discussion of late, disclosing opinions widely different, but the consequences of a change are of so much moment to our future, that it is of the first importance to understand where the effects of a change in our subjects of tax will reach; and it should also be understood that if the principle of taxation which we now have is in the main correct, and possesses advantages clearly seen by those who reside elsewhere and have felt the evils and oppression of a different system, that the continual agitation of a change is calculated to deprive us of much of the benefits which might be felt in attracting such persons for abode and the pursuit of business, and who are deterred by the apprehension that a new system is to be adopted.

The arguments of those who advocate a system of general taxation of personal estate, may be fairly stated to be that all property owes to the State and municipality tribute for protection and security, and it is but equal justice that the owners of property of each and every kind should pay in taxation according to the value of the property owned by them.

This, theoretically, would seem to be a statement of a principle that was just, and there can be no difference of opinion that the first part of the proposition is correct. All property does owe

tribute to the State for protection and security, but States holding the right of exaction have, at all times, claimed the right to so discriminate in the exercise of it, that the interests of the whole people shall not be injured by the strict and arbitrary enforcement of the inherent power or right which it possesses. Thus you find, in some States, property of equal value taxed at different rates of tax or exempted from all tax, and in England they reserve the right to tax personal estate for local purposes by a statute, the execution of which has been postponed by Acts of Parliament, from time to time, for several centuries. Should a public emergency render it necessary, the right is inherent in the government, but the time and manner of exercising or enforcing it is also an inherent power.

As to the second part of the proposition, that the owners of property should pay in taxation according to the value of the property owned by them ; if this be true, then all property should pay the same rate of tax, and you can make no discrimination in rates without injustice. If this be true, it is just as much a violation of equal justice to tax a pleasure carriage one per cent. on the hundred valuation and a mortgage three-tenths of one per cent., as it would to tax the carriage and exempt the mortgage from tax altogether. But, if it is admitted that tax-rates must be made so as not to impose a rate on one class of property that is levied on another from motives of policy or the ability of the owners to pay, then the truth of the proposition is surrendered ; for if it is just to tax one value or income at one rate, and another enjoying the same protection and security, at one-half or one-quarter that rate, it is equally just, for like public reasons, and, if the interests of the whole community are promoted by it, to discriminate by exempting the latter property altogether. Again, it cannot practically be enforced, and if the theory is correct, there is no use of contending for a theory against the teachings of practical facts. For example, if justice demands that the holder of a mortgage debt shall pay a tax of one dollar on each hundred of the principal sum of the mortgage, this tax should be paid by him out of the lawful interest he receives ; but when it is known that he requires the mortgagor to pay all taxes levied upon the debt or its income, and that the borrower must pay more taxation to support the theory that the mortgagee is paying it, the theory fails

because the tax is not paid by the person who should pay the tribute for protection.

No proper judgment of the question can be formed by individuals, unless they divest themselves of supposed immediate individual interest, and view it broadly, as if the community were one person with one common purpose and interest, and it will be found that those great, underlying principles, which are beneficial in their application to the community as a whole, will also be for the ultimate benefit of each individual member of it. Real estate owners often hastily conclude that, as the enlargement of the subjects of levy would produce more money at a less rate of tax, and consequently, the property held by them would be relieved of a portion of the charge it is made subject to, that they would profit by it, and rapidly form an opinion favorable to such an enlargement, based upon this one controlling fact. On the other hand, owners of personal estate, knowing that a levy upon them may diminish their income and cause annoyance by vexatious inquiries, as hastily form adverse opinions. But if the owners of real estate look at the question broadly, they will find that if this tax proved injudicious, what was a seeming present gain to them would ultimately result in a great loss, for their property is fixed and immovable, and would be most affected by any law that depressed the business of the city, or made capital necessary for the mercantile or industrial interests hard to obtain, except at exorbitant rates of interest. The statement of the principles involved in this has been so well expressed by one of Philadelphia's most public-spirited and enlightened citizens, now temporarily sojourning in Europe, in a letter written recently, that I quote it as a clear and concise statement of the principle which should be the basis of all opinions as to the amount of tax you can place upon personal estate without injury to all property, and if this is well considered, sound conclusions must follow. He says: "Real estate derives its value exclusively from the concentration upon it of capital and labor, and as capital and labor are both capricious and movable, whilst real estate is fixed, the value of real estate is proportioned to the power it has of attracting capital and labor to it and fixing them upon it."

There can be no doubt that this is the true doctrine, and thus understood, it becomes a practical question. Studied from this point, it is not that owners of all property, real and personal,

shall be made to pay the same amount of tax according to its value; but how much can it be made to yield, and at the same time sustain and improve the value of real estate.

The principle may be illustrated by the custom of merchants who are watchful of their own interest in the successful conduct of their business. A wholesale merchant in the dry goods or grocery business invests his capital in merchandise, and it would seem but justice, that, as each line of goods in his store or warehouse requires the investment of a portion of his capital, that he should be entitled to the same profit, according to the value, from one article that he receives from another. Practically, this cannot be obtained. If he had a monopoly of the articles sold, it might be; not having a monopoly, competition in business compels him to sell with such line of profit as will secure customers. On some goods, he will have a certain per centage of profit; on others, a lighter profit; and it is well known that in each of the branches of business above referred to, there are certain staple articles which are continually sold without profit. The care, attention and risk necessary in the purchase, storage and disposal of these last articles is as great as upon those he receives a profit from, but in order to attract customers, make his business, as a whole, valuable and successful, he willingly conforms to the requirements of the trade and deems it no injustice to himself; for, if he did not offer such inducements, customers would not seek him, or would be driven from him, and he would be restricted in the sales of other goods on which a profit was made. Each line of goods, therefore, performs its office, and the articles sold without profit contribute as much to his income by attracting and retaining customers, as those on which it is charged. And again, taking a practical illustration, a man having a capital of one hundred thousand dollars, purchases a patented article, the merits of which are unknown to the public, and for which he pays fifty thousand dollars; he spends the remaining fifty thousand dollars in advertising and in making the use and advantages of the article known, and by this means is enabled to sell large numbers of them, and is rewarded by a profit three-fold the amount paid for it. Seemingly, that which yielded the return was the article sold; but it cannot be said that the money spent in advertising it and making it known, whereby the customers were attracted to it, did not contribute as

much to the profit and income, for without that, the article would have been valueless to the owner.

This is the relation of capital and labor to real estate. Capital and labor alone give value to it. Labor produces wealth, and, in turn, capital employs labor; and if capital is driven to other points from any cause, the population must seek other points for business or employment. Real estate in cities is only valuable for occupancy, and is enhanced in value by the advantages which the prosperity of the city or the location in the city imparts to it. If, for any cause, this city should be deprived of one-half of the commercial and manufacturing capital now actively employed in it, no argument is needed to convince any mind how depressing an effect it would have on the value of real property. On the other hand, if, by encouragement, the same active capital could be doubled, an enhancement in values as certainly follows.

Before considering further what new taxation can be imposed on personal estate in this city, let us first examine the amount of tax that is now collected from it under State laws.

The Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, unlike New York and Massachusetts, assesses, levies and collects the great bulk of tax for State purposes by its own officers; thus corporations and corporation loans are taxed and the corporation required to make a sworn statement to the Auditor-General, and upon his adjustment the tax is paid directly to the State Treasurer.

Wholesale and retail merchants are taxed under a classified schedule on the amount of their sales. This tax is assessed by State appraisers and paid to the City Treasurer as a State officer.

National bank stock is assessed by the State assessors and the tax paid upon their assessment.

Only a small portion of the duty is imposed upon the local assessors in requiring them to return the values of furniture, horses, pleasure carriages, mortgages and solvent debts.

The taxes imposed by the State are upon personal property and personal sources, and real estate is released from all State taxation.

In the States of New York and Massachusetts, the requirements for State purposes are apportioned by a rate on all property, real and personal, in the several counties, and the counties are charged with the collection of it.

Our State system of levy and collection is far preferable to that

of the States just mentioned; for example, the tax upon corporations being assessed and paid by the company directly to the State officers, is attended with no expense and admits of no evasion of returns, as can be done where the mode of return is to require the stock in the hands of the holder to be returned to assessors, and Pennsylvania corporations, owing their existence to the franchise granted by the State, should pay whatever taxation they are capable of contributing to the Commonwealth to which they owe its life. By the Pennsylvania system this tax is paid on all the dividends, or in case no dividends are made, then on a valuation of all the stock, and the State revenue is increased by a full return; and, hence, the State is able to apportion taxation so as to bear most lightly on the producing interests of the Commonwealth. The amount of revenue collected for the year ending November 30, 1870, was \$6,336,603.24.

Of this sum not less than \$2,600,000 was derived from the property of citizens of our city, and this estimate is believed to be below the real amount; for if we could accurately know the value of stocks held by our citizens in corporations situate in other portions of the State upon which taxation was paid, it is probable the gross sum would reach \$3,000,000.

Now let us compare this result with the system of New York.

As remarked above, in that State the duty of collecting the State tax is imposed on the counties and levied on all property, *real* and *personal*.

The return of real and personal estate for 1870 was

Real estate,	.	.	.	\$742,184,350
Personal estate,	.	.	.	305,292,699
Total,	.	.	.	\$1,047,427,049

The personal estate here returned at a tax-rate of \$2.25 per hundred, (\$.60 7-100 of which is State tax,) would net, after deductions for discount, abatements and delinquency, probably not much over \$6,000,000. In the same year the amount of State tax paid by the city (which covers the county,) was \$5,581,601.85.

It will thus be seen that whilst in that city the State tax is paid from collections on the *real* and *personal* property, that in Philadelphia the State tax collected from *personal sources* releases real estate, and if we take into consideration the revenue derived

by this city from a small amount of personal estate, (\$154,000,) the addition to the city resources in New York over the receipts from real estate, by their system of State and county taxation, is but a few hundred thousand dollars more than would be gathered by our method. This presents a fair parallel, for the amount of State tax required in the two States are about the same per capita, and the aggregate revenue of the State of New York being \$11,827,225, the proportion paid by the city would relatively be about the same as contributed from taxation of property of the citizens of Philadelphia to the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania.

The amount apportioned for State tax in the city of Boston for 1869-70, was \$1,232,583.

This indicates that the revenue of that city from personal estate, in excess of the amount paid for State tax, was much larger than in New York; but as we are unable to state how far the requirements for State purposes in Massachusetts, and its relative apportionment upon the city of Boston is equivalent to our own, no calculation is here presented of the amount there derived from personal estate in excess of taxes on realty, compared with our own city. The statement of these facts become important as the table of taxable property of the two cities above-named are so often presented and compared with our own city statement, as though they represented results in the three cities, of the same system and principle of State and city taxation, and the inference is drawn, that the city of New York gained for municipal expenses all the money collected on personal as well as real estate, and that like property in Philadelphia contributed nothing. Figures will not lie, but people must understand what they are intended to represent, to know the truth they are intended to convey. New York would be benefited, if she would change her system to a principle similar to our own, as the present mode is there admitted to be vicious, demoralizing and hurtful of the productive interests of the State. In our State system, whilst some of the taxes have not been wisely levied, in the main they are judicious and discriminate, so as to raise revenue without being felt onerous. The very fact that they are so often forgotten in the discussion of new taxation, is proof of how lightly they are felt by the mass of the people. To render the respective tables comparable, they must be accompanied with the explanation we have given.

The State being able to release to the city real estate for its

own revenue exclusively, is an important advantage we possess. When there was a State tax on real estate in Pennsylvania (as now imposed in other States) there was a continual struggle in the several counties to avoid paying an undue proportion of the tax, or, rather it may be stated, that each county struggled to pay the least amount, and the county authorities were greatly embarrassed in attempts to equalize the valuations in the townships or wards of the county, from the apprehension of the people that it would result in additional payments to the State by the county. Every assessor in office in the State, since 1842, has taken an oath or affirmation to value and return the real estate at "actual value," and yet, until the year 1868, when the law was enforced in this city, in no county in the State was the average valuation over thirty-three per cent. of the actual value, and in many the per centage was much less. Since that time some other counties have followed our example. The advantage of a full valuation is, that every property-holder can form a judgment of the correctness of his assessment, for he knows the rule of valuation; but when the same law was complied, or, rather, not complied with, and the assessor guessed at a sum for return, irrespective of value, it was impossible to have equality, much less approach it.

With our State system of taxation deriving revenue from personal sources exclusively, real estate must mainly furnish the means for municipal expenditure in Philadelphia, unless we conclude to experiment on our vitality to ascertain the exact amount of pressure on capital that is required to drive it from us, and prevent it from seeking us from other places.

Why this must be, is evident from the kind of personal property taxed where a higher rate of interest is obtained for money. It will be found to be in addition to the property now taxed for city revenue, corporation stocks, mortgages, loans, solvent debts, ships, machinery and merchandise, or capital in business.

Can you raise any considerable revenue in addition to that now collected from these sources without dispelling capital, making the rates of money higher, injuring the business interests of the city, and, by flight of business and population, injuring the productive value of real estate?

Corporation stocks are now taxed for State purposes, either on dividends, if they declare them, or stock, if it yields no dividends;

and whilst it is a species of property that should contribute whatever taxation that can be reasonably exacted, a candid examination compels the conclusion that the majority of the corporations now contribute as much tax as can be fairly expected from them. Others, yielding larger dividends, have the ability to pay more, but it would be unwise for counties at this time to attempt a general taxation of stocks, for it will be remembered that the repeal of the State tax on real estate was only justified by the large income yielded to the treasury from this source, and some of the corporations have been very restive under the taxes now imposed. A local tax levied upon the stock, would, in all probability, induce a movement to be relieved of State taxation, and if this should prove successful, no benefit would ultimately accrue from it. The Commonwealth can levy and collect on corporations much better than counties, and as the counties are equally responsible for the demands of the State for its purposes, whatever additional taxation can be gathered from corporations generally, should be paid into the State treasury, at least for the present time. Where the debt of the State is paid or largely reduced, a system of distribution to counties can be made of moneys collected from the property of its residents in corporations not local, and a transfer of the revenue from such as are purely local to the counties, with power to collect the tax from the corporation directly.

Real estate owners would not be benefited by the taxation of mortgages or ground-rents. The owners of property subject to a mortgage, mortgage-debt or ground-rent, would be obliged to pay all such taxation, and the only result would be, that the class of real property owners who are least able to afford it, would pay a larger tax because they were debtors.

The same may be said of private loans. There are few public loans in this Commonwealth on which a tax can be levied. The States have no authority to tax the loans of the United States government. The new loan of Pennsylvania is issued free from all taxes and the major portion of the city loan free from the payment of tax by the holder. The small portion of it that is taxable is rapidly becoming due, and the amount is growing less each year. The State collects a tax from corporation loans or bonds, and it is not probable that authority would be given to the city to tax them so long as this State tax is required.

Under the head of solvent debts the larger portion of the indebtedness to be returned would be money loaned on promissory notes or negotiable instruments; and this leads us to consider whether it is advisable to place any new form of taxation on the manufacturing and commercial business.

After the war of 1812-14, when it was evident that the commerce of the city was waning, the people of Philadelphia gave great attention to the building up of the manufacturing interest, which was greatly stimulated by the war. The location of the city was favorable for its development, and it had many natural advantages, and the large surface offered cheap locations for the building of mills and factories; but there was one other advantage that interest has had here over manufactures in other States—whether the result of accident or design—that, whilst local taxation reached every dollar that was invested in the business in New York and New England, whether it was in the building, machinery or working capital, in Philadelphia the building was taxed just as any other building would be, but the working capital untaxed. In estimating the value of the building, the value of the machinery was not included. When it is understood that in New England nearly all the manufacturing is done by companies, and the taxation is one, two or three per cent. (and instances are given where it has been higher) upon the entire capital, it cannot be doubted that the Philadelphia manufacturer has an advantage in competition to the extent of the difference in taxation. This policy we still continue, and the city has not been made poorer by it; on the contrary, it is her great interest, which employs the greater portion of her industrial population, who in turn occupy dwelling-houses and give value to them, and we are to-day the city of the first importance in manufacturing in the United States. I know instances where persons engaged in manufacturing in this city have changed their location for other counties of this State, and were much surprised to find that, where they had fewer conveniences, and had reason to expect taxation less on equal value of mill and machinery, by a different system of valuation (including machinery) it was in fact much higher.

If we desire to encourage the growth of the business in our city, this policy will not be departed from; and there is a reason for it beyond the competition of other portions of our country.

The principle of valuation of factories and mills in England is the same as in Philadelphia. The English manufacturer pays tax on his building only, and the machinery and working capital is free from taxation. Our manufacturers must compete with foreign manufacturers, and that with more expensive labor and a higher value of money, and it is the interest of our whole population that the competition should be successfully maintained here. And again, if we do our part in making the cost of production as cheap as possible, we can with consistency ask our government to protect us by a duty on imports, so that the fabrics of the American manufacturer may at least be placed in our own market with an equal advantage with the product of the cheap labor of Europe.

And it is also important that experimental taxation should not be placed upon capital in commercial business at this time. After a long struggle, there are more cheering indications that a favorable tide is now turning in our favor than at any period for many years. As we have before remarked, many of the obstacles to our growth as a commercial city have been removed or have passed away, and the establishment and maintenance of a line of European steamers is all that is needed to vastly improve our importance as a market and distributing centre. That our merchants have always been more favorably taxed on their business than those of other cities there can be no question, and if this advantage can assist in promoting our commercial prosperity, let it be known, and it will be one great inducement in the attraction of mercantile capital to us.

There has been a general depression in business throughout the country for the past year. It is the weakness that is felt in the process of recovery after the feverish state it has been in during the last ten years. Appearances now indicate that strength will be gathered from this time; and thus you will find that favorable or unfavorable local taxation will have a greater effect in attracting or diverting it than at any former period of our history. In consequence of the large debts incurred during the war and the increased price of labor and material, taxation everywhere is heavier than it was ten years ago. During, and for some years subsequent to the close of the war, business was so much affected by the disturbed condition of affairs and the fluctuation in the price of gold, that it was difficult to adjust it in any settled course.

But now it starts with a new lease of life and upon a more economic basis than for years, and taxation will be considered in its location more than formerly.

This will require great caution everywhere in the *adjustment* of taxes, and if that is properly done so as not to duplicate or triplicate them on the borrower or consumer, in the end more pecuniary benefit will result to the people of that community, of all conditions in life, that has the best adjustment of taxation to encourage industry, trade and commerce, than could possibly be obtained by an indiscriminate levy upon all kinds of property under a false theory of equalization.

As we have shown before, by a general levy the mortgagee will require the mortgagor to pay, so when commercial paper is sold in the market, it would be charged market rate based on taxes—and instances may be cited almost indefinitely, where the tax is shifted from the one protected on to the shoulders of the active, improving or business men who are the largest borrowers of capital, and this condition must follow; for the retired capitalist, for instance, who lends his capital, will shift the tax or invest the money in exempt bonds, of which he has a large choice.

There is nothing that will so silently yet certainly dry up the sources of prosperity of a community as taxation injudiciously imposed, and I do not know how better to illustrate this than by an instance in the history of our own tax laws in the change in our auction duties.

The facilities which auction houses offer importers, manufacturers, distributors and consignors as a prompt medium for the disposal of goods, have made them a necessity in any large commercial city, and their beneficial effects extend beyond the business which they transact; for by attracting traders from all parts of the country they in turn become the customers of its merchants. The auction business of Philadelphia, in the first quarter of this century, was the most important in the country. Large sales were made of teas, coffee, indigo, dry goods, &c., and attracted to our city merchants from widely distant places. By the Act of 1790, a duty of one per cent. was laid on sales of all goods. This was in excess of the duty in New York, which was one-half per cent. for goods, wares and merchandise imported from any place beyond the Cape of Good Hope, and three-fourths of one per cent. on all other foreign and domestic goods. The

maintenance of this business would seem to have been essential in the struggle for the preservation of our commerce, and wisdom would have dictated that it should have been reduced to at least the duty of other States, or better far to have repealed it altogether and offer an inducement to offset what seemed our then natural disadvantages. The State did lend her great resources to open a highway to the West and North, in which she spent \$40,000,000; but in looking for new sources of revenue, the auction duty, in 1826, was made one and a half per cent. One per cent. more on East India goods than the duty of New York, and three-quarter per cent. on many other goods.

Can any one wonder why goods were consigned to that market? Can any one wonder that for years much of the foreign shipping that sailed into New York was owned in Philadelphia? This law remained long enough to permanently injure us, and was modified thirty years after its enactment, but it is yet objectionable, and the difference on some articles prohibitory. It ought to be further modified, or better still, repealed, as it yielded only \$34,838.47 in 1870. No question of protection can arise, as that must be imposed at the Custom House. After goods leave there it is only a question of what city shall be their market.

Other examples could be mentioned of the effect of injudicious taxation on the productive interests, but fortunately we are now freer from them than most other localities, and we should be watchful that they do not multiply. No new taxation should ever be imposed without a careful inquiry as to the furthest extent that it can be reimposed on others, and what the effect will be where it ultimately rests.

There is one other view of general personal taxation which has not been adverted to, and that is, being mainly invisible property, it is accompanied with much vexation to the owners in compelling them to expose their private estate to the public, and is always, in large communities, accompanied by great frauds and evasions of return, causing more dissatisfaction on the ground of unequal payments than where no returns are required to be made. This is inseparable from the system, and it is too well illustrated in the failure of the officers of the general government who are farthest removed from the people and in a rigid execution of the law are not so likely to be embarrassed by local influences, in

their efforts to secure a satisfactory return of incomes, to need further remarks.

The limits prescribed for this paper will not permit a more extended discussion of this point.

When invited to read a paper upon local taxation, I thought it important to present fully to view the point first discussed; not that its statements may be new to many, but I have so often found intelligent citizens, in the discussion of expenditures that were proposed to be made, quote other cities, losing sight of the comparative differences as I have endeavored to present them; and as it appeared to me to be the starting-point in all opinions formed, it was important that it should not be lost sight of, either by those who ask or those who authorize expenditures. And here let me add, that it has no particular reference to any expenditure now made, or contemplated. The city must provide for the necessary conveniences, comfort and protection of its people, and it will not do, in the rivalry of attraction, to neglect what can be done to compete with others; but in accomplishing that, our local peculiarities must be taken into consideration.

And upon the last point much more might be said; and as we have before remarked, it resolves itself into a question of judgment as to what amount of tax may be placed on the several kinds of property to promote equality, and with least injury to the interests of all. In its very nature it admits of a difference of opinion. But there, also, opinions ought not to be hastily formed, and without taking into view other taxes now imposed on some of the property, and the ultimate effect of new impositions upon the business and employment of our people and the future of our city.*

THOS. COCHRAN.

BIOGRAPHY OF A SALMON.

IN writing the life of so distinguished a person as Sir Salmo Salar, one should commence with his parents, mentioning their habits and manners, and then go on to record his birth and edu-

* Read before the American Social Science Association, April 20, 1871.

cation. So let us begin out at sea. Not beyond the Gulf Stream—for the inhalation of that tropically-heated current would prove as baneful to any species of *Salmo* as the noxious night-vapors of a rice field would be to a Vermonter—but scarcely, if at all, beyond soundings, where, on their fat pastures, herds of these lordly fish acquire that flesh and flavor for which they are so justly celebrated.

Alas! we have but very few of them now along the coast of our Atlantic States. But let us get a little northing—three or four days' sail will suffice, with a fair wind—and follow a school of these symmetrical silver-sides as they "set in" for the bay or estuary that receives their natal stream, which pours down over rock, rapid and fall as it seeks the ocean level. Gradually, in the late vernal or early summer months, they approach, feeding still on marine small fry, soft crustacea and the eggs of the order of animals known as *Ichinerdomata*, until they find smelts and sparlings along the shore and in the bays. With miraculous instinct they recognize an old-remembered tincture in the water, that comes down from the gravelly shallows where they emerged from the ova, and with resistless energy they stem rapids and leap cataracts six, eight or ten feet, to reproduce where they themselves were born.

Even in their oceanic brightness, the short, delicate head of the female, not larger than a lady's hand, and the long head with incurved snout and its cartilaginous hook, of the male, bespeak the opposite sexes.

The summer is passing, and the angler, who, in June, hooked and lost the silver-sheened, fresh-run fish of twenty pounds, may hook it again in August and bring it to gaff, of leaden hue or brownish tinge and minus five or six pounds the weight it brought from sea. It feeds not after it enters the river. The little troutlings and fry of its own species are safe from the predatory tyrant, who, in his ocean home, would have devoured a score or two of them for his breakfast. It may come to the brim of the flood and gulp in the fly that floats along, or may rise at the salmon-fisher's counterfeit with some faint recollection of insects it fed on in its youth; but no vestige of food is now to be found in its shrivelled stomach. Such is the law of its nature, and it came here in obedience to the command of the Ruler of Nature.

From the middle to the latter part of autumn, one may see

them in pairs, meagre and bereft of their lustre, on their spawning grounds. The female laying her broad caudal on the gravel and by rapid strokes displacing it. The male, in the meantime, with dire intent, charging amongst hordes of piratical trout which hover around to devour the precious salmon seed as it is sown, and returning again to his mate. The excavation made, the mother of thousands exudes her eggs. After the male has shed his fecundating milt over them, she covers and leaves them to the care of Dame Nature.

Lingering for a brief space to recuperate somewhat from the exhausting effects of spawning, the pair join others journeying sea-ward, and on their marine feeding-grounds regain their lost flesh and flavor and add a yet larger per centum of weight, again to ascend their native river and reproduce as before.

A hundred days may elapse, or, in colder latitudes, six or seven months may pass before the little pellets in the gravelly nest are rent and the wee things come forth. Helpless creatures! Will one in a thousand escape the many dangers to which they are subjected, and in four years or so rise to the angler's fly, a salmon of twenty pounds, and hurry him along the rocky shore and come to gaff after an hour's hard fight or smash his delicate tackle?

Mr. Stoddart and other English and Scottish authorities think not. These observers estimate that of the eggs of a salmon, laid naturally, one-third become parrs,* two-thirds of the parrs become smolts,† one-twentieth of the smolts become grilse‡ and one-tenth of the grilse become salmon. Thus showing, that out of fifteen hundred eggs, in the ordinary course of nature only one produces a mature salmon; or, that of twenty thousand eggs, at the end of the third year, the produce in adolescent fish is only seven salmon and seventy grilse. This is another wise law of nature; for if all the eggs in time produced adult fish, the ocean, above a certain parallel, in a half century would be a moving mass of salmon.

A salmon produces about a thousand eggs to each pound of its weight. Each little creature born of them is weighed with a sack of pabulum beneath its abdomen, which it has to carry through

* Fry under a year old.

† Young salmon ready to go to sea.

‡ A young salmon on its first return from sea.

with diminishing weight until it is finally absorbed. This may be for six, eight or ten weeks, according to the temperature of the water—the colder the longer. How many such would a hungry trout or other predatory fish devour at a single meal? And so all the way through its term of parrhood. How many voracious fishes also feed upon the smolts at sea as they grow to be grilse? Without taking into account seals and even bears that prey upon the adult salmon, from the estuary to the falls that bar their ascent.

The little bag of provisions having fulfilled its purpose, instinct comes in to teach the young fish what it must feed on. With wonderful powers of vision it rises at the smallest insects, and seizes lava of microscopic minuteness beneath the surface. Through all its gradations in growth, from the time it begins to earn its own living until it assumes the silvery vesture of the smolt, and is ready to depart for the first time for briny depths, it is known as a "parr." And all this time it lives on the same food and has the same habits and appearance of its congener the trout, and is easily taken by the careless observer for the same. The difference, on close examination, is easily discerned. The parr has a greater curvature of its dorsal line; its scales are more brilliant and imbricated, and the vermilion spots on its sides fewer and smaller. It may don its bright robing when a year old, or not until the following summer. When it puts it on, however, it soon after commences its journey to sea. And still beneath its silvery exterior, if one removes its scales, are to be found the bars or finger-marks of its parrhood.

The most wonderful thing connected with its growth now takes place. A marked smolt has been known to go to sea a fish of two or three ounces, and return, in eight or nine weeks, with the same mark to distinguish it, a grilse of eight pounds, although its usual increase is between three and four pounds, and its sojourn at sea a year or more. In rare instances smolts remain at sea two years, passing through their grilsehood and becoming mature salmon before they return to their river.

How can we sufficiently extol that delight of the angler, the rollicking hobble-de-hoy or frolicksome maiden grilse! as full of restless life as its human analogue, and as indiscreet in its disposition to take the gaudy lures presented. At this period it may be as large as a small mature salmon, but is known from the lat-

ter by its general conformation, and its peculiar markings, some of which are the spots on the gill-covers.

Persons not conversant with the history of the salmon, may ask what authority we have for such assertions concerning its miraculous growth from its smolthood. We can only say in reply, that all intelligent anglers ought to know that systematic modes of marking salmon, during their growth, are common in Scotland and Ireland, as clipping or putting a ring in the adipose dorsal-pin, and other ways which have been described by Mr. Frank Buckland.

There are some strange facts connected with the adolescence of salmon. The males are always a year in advance of the females in this respect. The eggs of a mature salmon may even be fecundated with the milt of a parr a year old, while the female is not pubescent until it becomes a grilse. Such is the rule in Europe. On this side of the Atlantic, although the males are found a year sooner than the females, either sex are a year older before they become so. That is, the male parr or smolt is never found with milt, and the female grilse does not reproduce. She must become a mature salmon before she is adolescent.

I have, hanging against my wall, a glass-covered frame, in which is arranged—if I may so call it—a biographical ladder of salmon fry, from the egg to the smolt of a year old; each step, from the bottom, showing the fish a month older. It is from the salmon nursery of Mr. Samuel Wilmot, near New Castle, Ontario, Canada. This gentleman, in the winter of 1869-70, placed in his hatching-troughs four hundred thousand salmon eggs for artificial hatching, and last June turned into his creek over a hundred thousand young salmon, which he had kept in ponds supplied by the creek, for more than a year. The past winter he hatched over a half-million of eggs, and besides multiplying salmon in Lake Ontario, is furnishing them to stock rivers within our own border. From this establishment we have received, for the purpose of trying the experiment of acclimating salmon in the Delaware. If we are successful, an important problem will have been solved, and the river which forms the eastern boundary of our State will furnish another article of delicious piscine food in addition to our shad.

THADDEUS NORRIS.

THE RACE AND THE INDIVIDUAL IN THEIR PARALLEL DEVELOPMENT.

The intellectual progress of individuals follows nearly the same course as that of nations, although the steps of the progress may succeed each other with far greater rapidity. In consequence of the influence of the opinions of past generations upon the views of the present, through the working of literature, language, institutions and traditions, each man's mind may pass, in a short time, through successive modes of thought, which, in the course of history, have been slowly unfolded one out of another. The intellectual revolutions of centuries are compressed into a few years of a man's youth; a man's moral conceptions, as they are in our own time, are affected by those of the Greeks, of the Latins, and of the earlier times of our own country; not to speak here of the influence of religion, greater than all the rest.—*Dr. W. W. Whewell.*

The teacher who can discern the presence of the indwelling spirit of the form of life embodied in a language, deals no longer in "dead vocables," in his instruction, or in the petrifications of a past age of thought; but he sees in it one cycle of the life of each pupil before him; for each individual passes through all the phases of humanity, and runs the circle of all nations, past and present; and if he has the skill to present the forms of each language, and the different languages, in the order of the unfolding states of the pupil, he will find an active sympathy between the life of the language and the life of the pupil; and thus the pupil will be carried on from step to step, on the wings of delight, by an orderly process of growth. He will retain, with greater ease, the mere forms and ultimate facts of language; and through them, he will receive much of the life and culture of the age and people who used the language.

* * * There are no *dead* languages. In the Latin and Greek we have not only the record of the affections and thoughts, the heroic deeds, the love of beauty and strength, the philosophy and art [of those peoples,] but we have the Greek and Roman mind, not as the aroma of an embalmed body or a pressed flower, but their specific laws of thought. The relation of their ideas to each other runs as an organizing force through their language, determines the arrangement and dress of their words, the peculiar structure of their sentences, and gives proportion and form to the whole structure.—*Chauncey Giles.*

The same way by which the race reaches its perfection, must every individual man—one sooner, another later—have travelled over.—*Lessing (or Thaez.)*

THE conception of development is the golden cord upon which we are learning to string all the facts and phenomena of our knowledge. The growth of the good into the better, of the strong into the stronger, the dead into the living, the alive into larger life, is seen to be the omnipresent law of creation in all its kingdoms. Order itself is only growth, and so is life. Knowledge in its accumulations was once arranged and assorted into a matter-of-fact and mechanical form; now its arrangements are based on dynamical principles, as part of a great process which began in the remote past and is stretching forward to the remoter future. The earth itself is not a fixed, dead fact any longer; but a minor star in the course of geological development. The huge masses and forms upon its surface are the monuments of vast collisions and convulsions in the past, and the processes of nature are the

methods by which yet vaster if more quiet revolutions are daily accomplishing.

The orders of organized life present a great panorama of successive development. They all seem to strive upward to those orders that lie just above. "The metal at its height of being seems a mute prophecy of the coming vegetation, into a mimic semblance of which it crystallizes. The blossom and flower, the acme of vegetable life, divides into correspondent organs with reciprocal functions, and by instinctive motions and approximations seems impatient of that fixture, by which it is differenced in kind from the flower-shaped Psyche [or butterfly] that flutters with free wing above it. And wonderfully in the insect realm does the irritability, the proper seat of instinct, while yet the nascent sensibility is subordinated thereto—most wonderfully, I say, does the muscular life in the insect, and the musco-arterial in the bird, imitate and typically rehearse the adaptive understanding, yea, and the moral affections and charities of man. * * * Who that has watched their ways with an understanding heart, could, as the vision evolving still advanced towards him, contemplate the filial and loyal bee; the home-building, wedded, divorceless swallow; and, above all, the manifoldly-intelligent ant-tribes with their warriors and miners, the husband-folk, that fold in their tiny flocks on the honied leaf, and the virgin sisters with the holy instincts of maternal love, detached and in selfless purity—and not say to himself, Behold the shadow of approaching man, the sun rising from behind in the kindling morn of creation! Thus all lower natures find their highest good in semblances of that which is higher and better. All things strive to ascend, and ascend in the striving." Or to look inward: "The lowest class of animals or *protozoa*, the *polypi*, for instance, have neither brain nor nerves; their motive powers are all from without. The sun, the light, the warmth are their nerves and brain. As life ascends, nerves appear; but still only as the conductors of an external influence; next are seen the knots or ganglions, as so many *foci* of instinctive agency, which imperfectly imitate the yet wanting centre. And now the promise and token of a true individuality are disclosed, both the reservoir of sensibility and the imitative [initiative?] power that actuates the organs of motion (the muscles) with the network of conductors, are all taken inward and appropriated; the spontaneous rises into the voluntary, and

finally, after various steps and long ascent, the material and animal means and conditions are prepared for the manifestations of a free will, having its law within itself and its motive in the law—and thus bound to originate its own acts, not only without, but even against alien stimulants.”*

But science has ascertained not merely the universality of this law of development, but also the essential identity of its operation in spheres of action apparently the most alien to each other. It has shown, for instance, in the embryotic life of the highest form of sentient existence a series of development corresponding to the successive evolutions of lower forms of existence, or, as the poet saw it in vision—

“A soul shall draw from out the vast,
And strike his being into bounds;
And, moved through life of lower phase,
Result in man—be born, and think,
And act, and love.”†

So in the history of the race it sees repeated, on a grander scale, a thousand minor experiences. The world's story is no longer a chaos of conflicting interests and selfish passions; a great growth underlies and gives vitality to its movements, bringing order out of anarchy and harmony out of temporary confusion, lifting man ever higher in the scale of being and the command of power.

“Through the cycle of the ages one increasing purpose runs,
And the thoughts of men grow wider with the circling of the suns.”

The study of the vital development of the human race as a whole dates from the eighteenth century—a century of beginnings. Augustine and (following him) Cocceius and Bossuet had attempted the same topic on the theological or theocratic side—not, indeed, without notable results, but their labors can hardly be called scientific. They reasoned *from* principles, not *to* them. The Italian, Vico, and the Germans, Lessing (or A. Thaer) and Herder, may be regarded as the founders of this new science—the philosophy of history. In later times they have been worthily followed by Comte, Hegel, Bishop Temple, Baron Bunsen and

* S. T. C. *Aids to Reflection*; (Am. Ed.) Pp. 180-1, 166-7.

† Tennyson's *In Memoriam*, (*sub fine*.)

others, with varying results, while none have surpassed Vico's "Scienza Nuova" (1725.) The work written or edited by Lessing is itself too theological in its animus to have more than a suggestive value, and the most suggestive thing about it is its title, "The Education of the Human Race," (*Die Erziehung des menschlichen Geschlechts*, 1780.) The title suggests a great and fruitful analogy which has never been worked out, furnishes a broad and worthy conception of the whole subject. It is an expression which embraces what is best and most positive in hostile theories, presenting man himself as the centre of the science, and the evoking of his powers as the great method of progress; while it also indicates the presence of another Power, a higher Will, as the educator. It enables us to avail ourselves of the law already indicated, that development is essentially the same in the most diverse spheres, just because there is—

"One divine, far-off event
To which the whole creation moves"

on many parallel lines of development. We can therefore move safely here, and find abundant fruit in studying the analogy which exists between the development of the race as a whole and that of the individual mind. We must, however, broaden our conception of what education is. It is not here the instruction of persons of a receptive age, who possess such social advantages as enable them to devote their years to this special work, that make up the classes of the great teacher. Even our broadest conception of culture is not broad enough to sum up the results of the process. The means include both those that we ordinarily recognize and those that we pass by with indifference, and even some that we regard as real hindrances. The school is the world, is all human life; the scholars are all sorts, ages, nationalities and conditions of men, who, by idleness and by rest, by work and by play, by sorrow and by laughter, hunger of soul and hunger of body, battle and festival, folios and newspapers, proverbs and myths, religions and languages, commerce and the workshop, the fine arts and the coarser arts, laws and leaders, ballads and epics, heat and cold, food and clothing, births and deaths, strifes and marriages, enmities and friendships, governments and anarchy, are in training toward the one great end—the perfection of man as man. All human activities, all social arrangements, all geographic and

climatic varieties, all historical events, all adversities and prosperities, all sciences and all philosophies, are (as Humboldt expresses it) only the scaffolding to one edifice—man.

The question at once occurs, in what order shall we arrange the great congeries of facts that make up the race's history, so as to compare development in this sphere with that of the individual. There are three theories: (1.) It is said by Schlegel and others, that the Bible furnishes such an order, presenting the Hebrew civilization and culture as the oldest and the only divine type in the midst of a great mass of confusion. In this theory we have another of the many attempts to make the Bible serve a purpose for which it was never intended, and settle questions of which it takes no cognizance. The Bible has done good service in perpetuating and extending the conception of the race's unity, and the possibility of a world's history. It forms the central monument of the primitive ages, and (we believe) a most reliable one. But it nowhere claims that the Hebrew language, culture and civilization were those of the primitive world. Its authors were too well aware of the actual relation of the Hebrew people to their neighbors to have made such a blunder; if they had made it, it would have been readily exposed by modern philology, which shows that Hebrew stands midway between the Arabic and the Syriac, being older than the latter, and younger than the former—and that it was the language of the Edomites, the Moabites and the Philistines, as well as of the Hebrews.

(2.) The new science of Anthropology comes forward to present us with an order of historic development, depending upon the implements used in the chase, war, and at home, as these were fashioned before or after the discovery of metal. The chief monuments of the world's earlier history it regards as passed away with the decay of extinct races, and now to be sought at the bottom of Swiss lakes, or under French gravel-beds, or in lonely caves. Upon these slender indications it has built up a stately structure of hypothesis, and Mr. Helps, in his *Realms*, has tried to fill up the interstices from his imagination, showing how primitive society was developed under the impulses of an origina-tive mind.

(3.) More conformable to the general analogy of things is the philological view, that every grade and type of civilization that ever has existed on the face of our earth, still does exist in some

community of living men, and that the order of the development may be traced in the structure and form of living or historical languages. The process of development has not gone on at the same rate in all communities; in some it has never begun, in others it has passed but a single stage. While the Anglo-Saxon race holds the highest round of the ladder that has ever been reached, every other round is still occupied, down to the very lowest. While we claim to be well advanced in historic manhood, we can, by means of language, trace every step back to nations still in their infancy. So in geology, we do not need to dig down thousands of feet in a single spot to ascertain the geological formation of the earth. The "earlier formations," the "lower strata," the "primitive deposits" always "crop out" in some place, and obviate the necessity of digging.

I. Older than any stone age is that vast congeries of human beings which we call China. The family is here the largest unit that possesses any real or vital unity. The "Empire" is a vast collection of families, which even the superior political genius of the dominant Tartars never has succeeded in forming into any firm and homogeneous whole, and to this day it is as lawless and noisy as a nursery. Only the childish fiction that the Emperor is the father of his people, secures any respect for his authority. Superficial observers have admired and superficial philosophers have eulogized this people; but tradition, philology, and sociology unite in assigning to it the very lowest place in the scale of historical development. So far as external influences have not modified it, it represents the very infancy of the race. Its language is the lowest and least developed mode of human speech, being devoid alike of alphabet and grammar. Tones, as with children, are its most significant means of expression; *chong* has fifty meanings, according to the inflexion given the voice in uttering it. Its twenty-four thousand written characters are hieroglyphic, being addressed to the eye alone, not to the ear through the eye, and each of them represents a whole conception. Its words sustain no definite relation to each other, and are all of one (or rather of no) part of speech. It is impossible to arrange them so as to form a logical sentence, with subject, copula and predicate—which is the great end of grammar. They have no case and tense endings like the older grammar, nor copulative particles like the modern languages. In practice they are strung

together, like beads on a string, and the whole meaning is guessed from their juxtaposition.

A sentence is not an organic whole, any more than the people is so; the parts are as separate as the grains of sand in a sand-heap. The language can only be compared to the prattle of an infant in its first efforts at articulate speech, and the wonderful nonsense talked by mothers in reply has a striking analogy to the pigeon-English which forms John Chinaman's first effort at occidental speech.

The whole social state of the people coincides with this. Their virtues are the virtues of children. No social tie except the family is of real binding force; no family tie except the filial one. No virtue is universally recognized, except duty to parents. The motive to avoid disgrace and seek honor is that credit may be reflected back on a man's father, and this reverence is the basis of all respect paid to the political powers that be. Buddhism, Mohammedanism and Christianity have introduced new and larger religious ideas; but the truly national and primitive religion, which existed before the times of Confucius, but received a great impulse from him, is the worship of deceased ancestors. To this day only the Confucian religion is recognized by the state, which assigns all national trusts and honors, in the same way that we assign school prizes and premiums. The older a Chinese grows the more childish he becomes, and in the mature ripeness of age he may be seen indulging in what are with us the sports of children. If he be a moderately bad boy, the government punishes him after a fashion monopolized by western children, and escaped by cherubs, unless he is rich enough to buy a substitute. Even the penalty of death may be escaped in the way which was once not unknown in European school-rooms, by the suffering of some poorer victim.

But what effectually stamps the Chinese as the inferiors of the peoples whom the geographers rank below them is the almost utter want of spontaneity and freedom in their social life. Coleridge, in words already quoted, points to this as the standard by which the higher forms of life are distinguished from the lower—the fact that the higher is more a law unto himself. To the Chinese every act of his whole life is prescribed by an inexorable law from without. From the cradle to the grave, the national etiquette tells him what to do and what to omit doing. Nor this

a mere accident in his position; such a system could only have come into existence through being itself a necessity to the people. The Chinaman only escapes from it into free spontaneity through ceasing to be a Chinaman, or through the magic of his great anti-Confucian enchanter—opium. No other people are so utterly subjected, soul and body, to the control of external law, because none are so utterly childish in their mental status.

II. From the Chinese to the nomad is commonly thought to be a great step downward in the scale of civilization; it is really a great step upward. From an artificial and soulless order we pass to a hearty and lifelike disorder, which is a promise of better things to come. Language marks the step and its importance—from monosyllabic it becomes agglutinative. There is not, as yet, a true grammar; but compound words are formed, of the most astounding length, which indicate the slightest modification of the leading idea by tacking on a new syllable. This is the first step to grammar, which comes into existence when some of these compounding additions are reduced to mere grammatical terminations.

In the tribes of these nomads (Tartars, Malagese, Indians, &c.) as in their language, there is no division of labor, even while there is subordination to a recognized head. They lie spread over large portions of our own continent, over Central and Northern Asia and a large portion of European Russia; they seem to have been the original "deposit" in Europe, and to be still represented by the Basques of Spain, the Ugrians of the Baltic. About the time of the fall of the Roman Empire and at later periods they visited the Mediterranean in delegations known as Huns, Magyars, Ottomans, Turks, &c. They were probably the Lake Dwellers of Switzerland, over whom anthropologists make so much ado.

In mental history they represent the intermediate period of transition and disorder, in which the mind is passing from the order enforced by purely external rule and compulsion to that in which the inward principle of right and order begins to assume its proper sway; the period in which the merely obedient child passes into the measurably intelligent youth. Their literature is of the rudest and wildest, corresponding closely, in its tales of magic, wizards and genii, to the fanciful tales which delight the older occupants of the nursery.

III. From the nomadic and tribal people, who speak agglutinative languages, it is an easy transition to the political peoples, whose languages are grammatical. History and philosophy alike trace the transition. Moses and Samuel tell us how the twelve tribes of Hebrews, and how these again were compacted into an organized national society. So the philologist can trace in every grammatical declension and conjugation the presence of what were once independent words, but have now become through frequent use mere grammatical appendages of other words. In each case—in politics as in grammar—there is manifest a growing division of labor. We can trace this transition alike in the Shemetic languages of Eastern Asia, the classic languages of modern Europe, and the three great groups of Northern Europe, which have sprung from the Sanscrit of India. Let us look at each separately.

(1.) The Shemetic group embraces nine languages, which are (in the order of their antiquity) as follows: Ancient Egyptian, Arabic, Amharic or Ethiopian, Hebrew, Aramean or Chaldee, Armenian, Syriac, Rabbinical Hebrew, and Coptic. It represents the human spirit as developed mainly on its religious or ethical side, showing the awakening of the moral consciousness of the race. (a.) In Egypt this appears in characteristic wonder and awe—delight in mystery. The sphynx is its emblem of life; it writes its thought, half-hiding it in those hieroglyphics which repeat themselves in the puzzles of every child's magazine. It sports with its newly-realized constructive powers, heaping the Nile's banks with those pyramids, which every child rebuilds in the mud-pile of the street or the sand-castle of the sea shore. Its building is for the sake of building, not for farther use. It rejoices in puzzles like the labyrinth, with all a child's delight in mysteries of circumstance and combination, that still finds vent in a thousand curious toys. (b.) In Judea the ethical purpose is higher and stronger. It is youth just realizing that two great ways converge at its feet—that it must choose one and leave the other untrodden. This is the standard: "Choose ye this day whom you will serve." As Dr. Arnold puts it in one of his Rugby sermons: "I have often observed that the early age of an individual bears a great resemblance to the early age of the human race, or of any particular nation; so that the characters of the Old Testament are often more suited, in a Christian country, for

the instruction of the young than for those of more advanced years. To Christian men, looking at Jacob's life, with the faults recorded of it, it is sometimes strange that he should be spoken of as good. But it seems that in a rude state of society, where knowledge is very low and passion very strong, the great virtue is to be freed from the dominion of the prevailing low principle, to see and to resolve that we ought and will live according to knowledge, and not according to passion. The knowledge may be very imperfect, probably is so: the practice may in many respects offend against knowledge, and probably will do so: yet it is a great step taken; it is the virtue of the man in such a state of society, to follow, though imperfectly, principle, where others follow instinct or the opinion of their fellows. * * * None can doubt that amongst the young, when they form a society of their own, the great temptation is to live by impulse or according to the opinion of those around them. It is like a light breaking in upon darkness, when a young person is led to follow a higher standard, and to live according to God's will. Esau, in all his faults and amiable points alike, is the very image of the prevailing character among boys—sometimes violently revengeful, sometimes full of generosity; but habitually careless, setting the present before the future, the lower gratification before the higher.”*

(2.) In the classic group the intellect has the upper hand, as in the growing boy it does over-master conscience. (a.) The Greek is the school-boy of the race, overflowing with life and vigor, not yet initiated into its deeper mysteries of sorrow, pain and the victory that comes of defeat and disgrace.† He is but a school-boy,

*The Christian Life, pp. 124-6, (Am. Ed.) Compare the use made of these two by Stanley, Arnold's pupil and biographer, in his History of the Jewish Church.

† Very notable are the words of Christ to the Greeks, who at the last Passover requested an interview with him. The Evangelist John tells us that he abruptly addressed them in the words: "Except the grain of wheat fall into the ground and die, it abideth by itself alone; but if it die, it bringeth forth much fruit. He that loveth his own soul shall lose it; and he that hateth his own soul in this world will keep it unto life eternal. If any one would serve me, let him follow me; and where I am there will also my servant be." Lange, whose translation we follow, explains his words as "intended to correct the Greek view of the world. . . . Human nature does not attain in this world a true and essen-

in his keen enjoyment of life, his almost unconscious acceptance and appreciation of the beautiful, his readiness to disregard any law but his own fancy, his longing for frolic, his distaste for the darker aspects of nature and life. That most characteristic of Hellenic achievement, the Anabasis to Babylon and the retreat of the Ten Thousand, reminds us of nothing so much as the helter-skelter race of a crowd of school-boys over field and fence to and from a forbidden apple-orchard. The Peloponnesian war repeats itself in spirit in the street wars between the boys of rival schools, rival clubs and rival districts, and Pericles is the model of the school-boy's favorite leader to this day. Socrates is the too ostentatiously good and thoughtful boy, whom every play-ground would "send to Jericho" as a prig. The Greek religion reflects the spirit of the people. In its earlier theogonies the spirit of India was still predominant, just as in the Homeric poems society is still monarchical, and democracy appears only in the ugly person of the much abused Thersites. But when the Hellenic religion was thoroughly naturalized in its spirit, then Apollo, ever fair and young, the god of rosy health and cheerful song, became the centre of all religious feelings and aspirations. (b.) The Roman is the school-boy of the "upper sixth form," who has new views of law and order, and means to keep "the fags" in their place, as Tom Brown might put it. Law and authority are the great ideas of Roman history. Their great monuments are the juridical institutions and conceptions which they have planted deep in the mind and the history of Europe. When they borrowed from Greece her philosophic conceptions, it was to conform them to Latin ideas; Epicureanism in the mind of Lucretius became an assertion of the law and order of nature against the arbitrary conceptions of paganism; so of the Academic philosophy in Cicero, and the stoic philosophy in the

tially beautiful appearance by the aid of poetry and art; but it arrives at the true and the beautiful by passing through death into a new life. . . . Thus even nature [in the grain of wheat] protests against the Hellenic fear of death, against the Hellenic isolation of the personality in the outward individuality. . . . The law of life in God's kingdom of this earth is a condition of transition from the old life to the new, [so] believers die with Christ in order to walk in new life with him. The peculiar essence of Hellenism consisted in avoidance of death and the cross in the embellishment of the present life."

Memoranda of Marcus Aurelius. They valued abstract wisdom in so far as it taught them how to govern themselves and others, and even Christian doctrine in the great doctors of the Latin church became a new and higher *law* of life. The Roman represents the period of this growing apprehension of a law and an order underlying life—the period when boyhood passes into manhood through a realization of life's aims and responsibilities.

(3.) If we had space to enter upon the later period of history, the task would be a more difficult one. It is harder to judge of a civilization which still surrounds us than of one that has passed away. Feudalism and Chivalry we can see as the development of the sense of honor in Mediæval times, while the Renaissance, the Industrialism and the Democracy of later times are but still more advanced classes in the great University of the race. We may note the deepening and broadening conception of humanity—of the claims of man as man upon his fellows—which has characterized the later stages, and has awakened a zeal—not always according to knowledge—to bring up to the front the less advanced branches of the race. These are but great strides in the grand march of the peoples, as they advance under the ever new impetus imparted by Christianity.

We have covered enough of the field, however, to show how striking the analogy between the two courses of human development, the education of the individual man and the race of men. There is one direction in which these facts have a practical bearing—the question of the most effective methods of education; for there is one Teacher whose results are sure, whose methods we are bound to respect, whose wisdom in the choice of an end and prudence in the selection of means are beyond all question. If it is asked by what methods He trained man in the first and most plastic stages of his existence, in order that we may ascertain what means are best suited to develop the mind of the individual during the like stages, the answer is not far to seek: *language* is the great and characteristic landmark of human progress; its gradual development marks the upward and onward stride of the human mind. The study of Hebrew, Greek and Latin (in this order) might be naturally expected to render a like service in the training of one mind that they rendered to multitudes. The first makes the greatest demand on the student's power of memory,

which grows weaker as he grows older; the second meets and develops his sense of the beauty of things and the living force of words; the third, as the best example of the government and grammatical order of words, accords with his opening sense of the authority of law at a later period.

A similar plea might be made for the pure mathematics and the higher philosophy, (dialectics,) as being the great mental stimulants of the Greek and Roman thought; and a good word might be said for Froude's plan of training up students in a knowledge of the law and ideas of jurisprudence. So for the arts and music, the developers of the imaginative power, completing the good work begun by Mother Goose and her compeers of the nursery.

But many favorite branches of instruction are ruled out by the same canon, unless Providence made a great mistake in training the race. The exact sciences, and especially geography, were known in but faint outline, and formed no part of the general training of the people. What was known or thought of the earth was calculated rather to excite wonder than to round off a general knowledge. So, too, commercial arithmetic was an all but impossible study to generations that developed geometry to a full completeness, yet never invented any easy system of practical business calculations. Yet this, with geography, wastes nearly half the time of our common schools, although man was left in comparative ignorance of them both for many generations, and suffered thereby no hindrance to his mental development. As to the first, one actually needs little more than a knowledge of the multiplication table, of the four primary rules, and of a few of the processes of mental arithmetic. The second can only be taught profitably in its most scientific and philosophical form, and in relation to all cognate sciences, as what Germans call *Erdkunde*. The crass and dry abstracts that occupy the attention of schools are a mere weariness of flesh and intellect; their effect, if any, could only be to puff up the learner with a semblance of knowledge, which his first actual acquaintance with any large part of the earth's surface would show him to be an utter vanity. Indeed, it may be reckoned among the benefits of travel that it so utterly explodes all school-learnt conceptions of geography. Here, also, we must admire the wisdom of the Great Educator, in con-

trast to the unwisdom of lesser teachers. In what He does and in what He omits He shows that His ways are not our ways, because they are deeper, broader, higher, wiser.

ROBERT ELLIS THOMPSON.

HOW NOT TO DO IT.

THE great struggle for popular rights has been a struggle for public or common law against private law or privilege, (*lex privata*.) It is this that marks the democratic tenor of modern society as contrasted with the entire feudal system of the middle ages. "Equal before the law" is the general formula of our civilization. The whole French Revolution, for instance, was primarily a rebellion against privilege, and privileged classes are the last monuments of the feudal system, as they were once its chief characteristic.

That the whole genius of the American system of government is antagonistic to privilege, is a point on which all men are agreed. The recent Civil War is in no respect more thoroughly a source of popular satisfaction than in this—that it wiped away a whole host of unjust and oppressive privileges, and made an oppressed and an oppressing class "equal before the law." The old state of things was formulated in the words of Chief Justice Taney, that one class of Americans "had no rights that" another class "were bound to respect." That formula is not quite out of date with us; it is still in great force against an unoffending class of immigrants on our Western shores; but the counter-formula—"equal before the law"—is yet destined to overcome it. Public law against privilege is *the* American idea.

In one department of the government, however, the idea of privilege still prevails, although the most strenuous efforts have been put forth in behalf of equality. That department, indeed, is very exceptional in its character. It is a puzzle to almost all who form theories in regard to the nature and the end of civil government; it will fit into no political system, except that of some socialist dreamers. The duty of a government is to defend the rights of property and person and conscience against foreign

or domestic invasion, and to provide such opportunities of education as shall extend and perpetuate social intelligence and morality. That perhaps covers all the ground claimed by most theorists, and yet in all civilized nations the government has still another important function; it is the national letter-carrier. The most advanced and enlightened government has never shown any willingness to abdicate this function, even if it has not proved remunerative. Nay, most free peoples, while bitterly antagonistic to all other monopolies, are quite willing to secure to government a legal monopoly of this department, and to forbid the regular transportation of sealed letters which do not bear the proper number of national postage stamps. A few zealous enthusiasts for individual freedom may have raised their voices in protest, and a few practical men, in hours of provocation at governmental short-comings, may have assented to their incriminations; but the great mass of men appear fully resigned to the government carrying on this monopoly, which has as little connection with our ideas of governmental duty as has the baking of bread or the publishing of newspapers.

In this anomalous branch of the American government, the congenial conception of privilege clings fast when banished from every other; for monopoly and privilege are congenial ideas. In other countries it is not so. Within this present century the privilege of free use of the English mails was abolished, and Tom Hughes tells us that the duty of paying his own postage stamps is the last moral idea that the Englishman of our days will give up. In the old times of dear postage, when Rowland Hill had not yet wrought his marvels, the case was very different. Readers of old books of social and religious correspondence will recollect the excuses given for not writing at once in reply to a letter, that some gracious M. P. had "promised a frank," but was not at hand to keep his word just then. One English squire franked a whole pack of hounds across England through the mails, if not the mail-bags; while to send the heavy folios of such books as Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion* from one end of the island to the other, was nothing out of the way in franking. It is in America that this generous practice still survives, and that one class of well-paid national officials (to pass by others who are no officials) possess a privilege that public opinion has compelled the nobility and gentry of the unpaid English parliament to abandon.

It is in the American post office, spreading its operations over half a thinly-settled continent, and making its appearance every year on the wrong side of the national "budget," that this costly abuse still perpetuates itself. In spite of protracted and persistent agitation, in spite of appeals from the heads of the department, in spite of the strong and decided protests of the best organs of public opinion, the abuse holds its ground, and we are told periodically how members of Congress frank home their week's washing to the prairies of the West or the shores of the Lakes, or turn a lively penny by serving in recess as mailing agent for some quack's circulars.

It is not, however, with a view of exposing the enormities of the system, or exciting the popular indignation against it, that we have taken up the subject. It is rather to show how the popular representatives managed to defy popular sentiment in smothering the recent bill for the abolition of the Franking Privilege. The general outline of the procedure is well known; the bill was brought up first in the more popular branch of Congress, and there passed by a considerable majority. Its reception in the Senate foreshadowed its fate from the first. From the day of its first presentation down to its final rejection with jests, jeers and laughter, no one had any reason to anticipate anything but its defeat. The thing was well arranged. Representatives who had any fear of facing their constituencies with a bad record, might vote with perfect confidence for the bill, as it was never meant to become a law. The Honorable Senate would take care of that, without any fears of their constituency before their eyes. For Senators are directly responsible to only two classes—the politicians who compose our legislatures, and the politicians who edit our newspapers. The first class needed no appeasement, for the Franking Privilege is part of the party machinery. To have no Member of Congress to frank circulars and appeals in the next heat of a campaign, is one of the misfortunes of a political defeat. The whole mass of working politicians understand this perfectly, and that to abolish the Franking Privilege is to abolish a very convenient weapon of party warfare.

The second class calls for more careful notice. At the beginning of the anti-Franking agitation the newspaper editors were squarely on the side of the agitators. A large minority of them, including their best and ablest members, continue there unto this

day. But when the terms of the proposed bill were actually made known, there was an ominous silence among hosts of them, who have never since opened their mouths on the subject. The present writer was at that time in a position to observe the startling change from vociferous outcry to dumb silence, and at first could not tell what to make of it. The reason of the change was that the bill really proposed to abolish the Franking Privilege, by whomsoever exercised. Not Congressmen only, but all others were to cease to make free use of the national mails, and no class makes a larger free use of them than do the minor newspapers. The law as it stands seems constructed to bribe the Fourth Estate into silence, and this innocent-looking Bill sharply reminded them of the fact. At present the country newspapers send all their papers free within the limits of their own counties, not paying one cent for the privilege. They send and receive their exchanges on the same terms, securing for next to nothing the materials from which their columns are chiefly filled. To abolish *their* Franking Privilege would be to wipe more than half of them out of existence, as it would bring them at once into competition with the newspapers of the large towns and cities. The farmer is too shrewd to pay for a village newspaper just what a larger one from the city or some large town would cost, so the government virtually taxes the latter half a dollar a year in the form of free postage for the former. On the other hand, even the weekly papers of the cities enjoy no advantage except free exchange. They must pay full postage, if it be but to carry their issues round a corner.

So Congress said: "Gentlemen of the Press, we will roll your log, but you must roll ours. If our Franking Privilege goes, yours must follow it; if yours stays, ours must stay also." The point of that argument was very clear, and the outcry of abolition was abated by the enforced silence of whole hosts of its loudest advocates. The bill was quietly smothered in the Senate, which thus closed another act in the great comedy of "HOW NOT TO DO IT."

"How to do it" is the question for another campaign on the subject. We hope that something has been contributed to the solution of the problem, by pointing out the real difficulty.

NEW BOOKS.

ON REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT AND PERSONAL REPRESENTATION. Based in part upon Thomas Hare's treatise entitled "The Election of Representatives, Parliamentary and Municipal." By Simon Sterne. Philadelphia: Lippincott. 1871. Pp. 237.

THE STUDY OF GOVERNMENT. By George H. Yeaman. Boston: Little, Brown & Co. 1871. Pp. 713.

The increased attention of the reading and of the writing men of this country, to the science of politics, is well illustrated by the two new volumes of Sterne and Yeaman. The one has given, at prodigious length, and with painful diffuseness, an encyclopedia of political science, covering in its range universal as well as American history, and drawing upon the literature of the subject to such an extent, that a bibliographical list of the volumes cited, would have shown an exhaustive catalogue of the publications of political writers in English and French. The praise that is due to such industry and to the high aims of the author, it is easy and pleasant to give. That he set before him as a model in his task, both as a literary example and as a scientific study, Maine's Ancient Law, is proof that Mr. Yeaman was in earnest, and aimed at a high standard of perfection. His own modest confession of dissatisfaction with the result of his labor disarms criticism, and makes it clear that he is conscious of his shortcoming. The source of trouble, however, is not far to seek. Mr. Yeaman has collected a vast body of authorities on which to support his statements and his reasoning, and he is not willing to give his conclusions without showing all the processes by which he reaches them—his progress, therefore, is labored and slow; it leaves his reader very far in the advance. His scaffolding is so elaborate, that it is next to impossible to see his building under it, and the roof on, and the windows all in, and the house in itself habited; it is almost inaccessible to the general public—who are likely to turn from it in despair to much less desirable "palaces of truth," easier to get into and more readily used for every-day work. Apart from the matters of style and questions of literary workmanship—which are material and important, particularly in a volume intended especially for "the youth of America"—there is a dogmatism as well as a positive statement of the author's opinions and belief as matters not open to discussion, that lessens the value of his discussions and arguments on subjects still open to both in his mind. The reader, and particularly the student in political science, seeks processes of reasoning rather than positive conclusions, and the author who goes beyond the few well-established truths in the art of government, weakens his own endeavor to establish a science in government. Still more fault is to be found in Mr. Yeaman's confusion between abstract truths and methods of reasoning on political subjects on the one hand, and the multifarious expositions of these and kindred truths by political writers, both those who speak *ex cathedra* and the large and largely antiquated class of theorists who undertook to lay down universal rules and manuals for governing everywhere. We have outgrown the old tradition of ready-made

constitutions, and begin to trace out in political, just as in physical characteristics, the local influences of race and history. Mr. Yeaman has given us very valuable results of his long stay in Copenhagen, and he would have done well if he had made a distinct volume of his practical studies in government and administration in Europe, showing us especially those branches of it which could best be applied here to our daily needs and wants. His account of the "Court of Reconciliation," in Denmark, is curious and novel, and its good effect may best be shown in the statistics of its labors. Every case before being litigated must go before such a court, and in a period of five years, from 1860 to 1864, the whole number of causes presented to the court, was 183,628.

Of these were reconciled	123,897
Postponed or continued	2,544
Permitted to go to formal legislation	57,187
Actually litigated in other courts	25,967

These and other such practical examples deserve to be set out at length, but by themselves, and not as part of a work on the theory of Government.

There is a chapter devoted to the theory of our late rebellion and its legal and political results, which is largely tintured by Mr. Yeaman's original Kentucky home thoughts, and in the speeches, congressional and campaign, given in the appendix, there is a very good summary of the views of a Southern "loyalist," but the whole discussion is without scientific value or interest, and has added both to the size of the volume and to its defects. The chapter on political parties, with strong support of civil service reform and minority representation, on principle, as well as authority, is, of itself, a saving clause, and the reprint of early pamphlets on Prize Law and Naturalization may well be excused by the soundness of the author's views on the subject, but they only tend to lessen the scientific character and oneness of the work, and to heighten our regret that it had not been diminished in size, and its substance given in volumes arranged according to subject and on system. Mr. Sterne has made a very useful contribution to our political literature, but he has fallen into some of the errors which have deprived Mr. Yeaman's book of much of its value. Mr. Sterne intended, originally, merely a reprint of Mr. Hare's volume on Personal Representation, but wisely determined to discuss the subject from the standpoint of our own American requirements and conditions. Unfortunately he has never given up all of his first plan, and we never feel sure whether we have Mr. Sterne in Hare's skin, or Mr. Hare in Sterne's feathers. Then, too, Mr. Sterne has endeavored, in the small compass of his volume, to point out the sources of many of the mischiefs of our political system, and to suggest the reforms proposed by our theoretical law-menders. Mr. Fisher's, Mr. Goepf's and in Denmark, Mr. Andrae's schemes, are all set forth in concise terms, but the application of any or all of these plans would be rather revolution than reform, and great as are the admitted evils of existing systems, we want to try to reform them before we abolish them for something else, which may in the end prove to be equally subject to the tricks that are not vain of the "men inside politics." Mr. Sterne's denunciations of "party management and professional politicians" are hearty and well weighted, but still he does not show that any of the plans suggested would do away with the awful corruption of municipal government in New York. His indifference, or worse, to Civil Service Reform, shows that he confuses reform in administration—which is the possible result of legislative action and popular pressure for it—with constitutional changes. For these, there must be elaborate and special studies—for the former, a loud and

strong appeal from the people to Congress, and to this end the Penn Monthly has devoted its columns steadily and steadfastly, and the efforts made in Congress, and the State Legislature, to secure at least some measure of administrative reform, show that such appeals as our articles on "Civil Service Reform," "Arbitration," have produced an effort.

It is, therefore, unwise in a serious student of political science—and as such we gladly welcome and commend Mr. Sterne—to seek to heighten the value of his own theoretical measures by depreciating the value and practical importance of working and attainable legislative reforms.

The task undertaken by Mr. Sterne, like that of Mr. Yeaman, and like every other effort to broaden and deepen the study of political science, is one that needs all the support and sympathy that we can get and give to it, for government must be based on principles, and not, as is too much our practice, on the narrow and unstable foundation of expediency. Still, every man who studies, and thinks out the causes of our political degeneracy, should apply himself to some practical cure, some possible remedy for such of the evils as are within actual reach and subject to legislative treatment. If Mr. Sterne had added to his eloquent anathema of our local plagues, a sketch of a law to regulate primary elections, he would have given us a more useful lesson, and his book a greater recommendation than any praise that we can give to his ingenious balancing of the comparative merits of the various schemes for minority representation, and his nice comparative analysis of the plans of Hare, Fisher, Buckalew and Andrae. The appearance, however, of two such volumes, shows that the public mind is open to instruction on higher theoretical politics, and we claim for the Penn Monthly a modest share in the merit of having brought out and put together authors and readers who seek to carry on the studies that we have begun and encouraged.

THE DAUGHTER OF AN EGYPTIAN KING. Translated from the German of George Ebers, by Henry Reed. Lippincott & Co. 1871.

Since the publication of Bulwer's "Last Days of Pompeii," many attempts have been made to popularize and *realize* the story of life among the ancients as it really was. Very few of these attempts have succeeded, the work either partaking too much of the ancient diction and form of speech to be easily assimilated by the reader, or presenting the politicians, intrigues and modes of thought of our own day under the names of Philemus, Danae and Hipparchus.

Indeed, the production of a novel which shall avoid this Scylla and this Charybdis is attended with such difficulties that no one but an enthusiast would attempt it. Especially are these difficulties encountered in the attempt to reproduce such a work in the English language. There is an ancient flavor about German, a variety in the forms of expression, an admissibility of the familiar second persons singular and plural and a word-cementing power which, being akin to that of the ancient languages themselves, permits of successful transplanting of whole phrases and expressions without serious change, and these exotics take root in their new soil and bloom nearly as naturally as in their native sod. Not so when transferred to our Anglo-Saxon mould. It is true that such expressions as

"Him [he?] who helped my fellows to him have I shown favor,"

"Him who was mine enemy have I chastised,"

are perfectly intelligible and are suggestive of the language of the Psalms; but they would be far more wearisome to the English than to the German reader, and could not fail, if uniformly employed in reproducing the expressions of our Asiatic ancestors literally, to make a novel heavy and unreadable.

Of the two evils, the author has chosen the least, and his translator has rendered him with fidelity to the spirit and just enough deviation from the letter to produce the effect originally intended.

The following is an argument of this really remarkable novel:

Aristomachus, a Lacedæmonian who had been appointed by the Ephori to carry a present to Cræsus, in acknowledgment for a gift he had sent to the temple of Apollo Hermes, and who, in a storm on the Icarian sea, had lost all but his life, had reached the island of Samos with difficulty, and returned home to be unjustly accused by his enemies of having sold the gift to Samian merchants, and inclosed in the stocks, had cut off the fettered foot and escaped to Lydia, whence he had come to Egypt.

Phanes, an Athenian who had been chosen by King Amasis as captain of the body guard and commander of the Greek mercenaries in Egypt, had been condemned to death and had had his sentence mitigated to banishment through the influence of the king, who gave him three weeks in which to leave Egypt.

At the opening of the story these two friends are discovered aboard an Egyptian boat. Aristomachus is stout, hardy, laconic and brave—in short, the ideal Spartan. Phanes is twenty years younger than his fellow-passenger, graceful, active and eloquent. He introduces his friend to the house of Rhodope, an elderly but still beautiful woman, who, after a checkered life, was left a widow by Charaxus, the brother of the immortal poetess Sappho, and divides her time between hospitably entertaining strangers (more especially her countrymen, the Greeks) at her villa and taking care of her granddaughter Sappho, left an orphan.

At the banquet types of different nations are introduced. A Sybarite, a Jew, Theopompus, a Milesian trader residing in Naucratis, and Callias, a new arrival from Athens. Phryxus, a Delphian, has also brought a scroll from the oracle to Aristomachus.

Callias announces the approach of the Persian embassy, and relates the last news from Athens. Philoinus, the Sybarite, gets very drunk, insults his hostess and is knocked down by the wooden-legged Spartan.

Phanes tells Rhodope that he has written for his children, a boy and a girl, to come to Egypt; that it is too late to countermand the order and impossible to await their arrival, and begs her to provide for them and save them from the malice of his enemy Psamtic, Amasis' son.

The Persian embassy arrives. Bartia, Cambyse's brother, Cræsus, Prexaspes, Darius and Zopyrus being the principal nobles. Amasis explains to Cræsus how he is baffled and watched by the priesthood. At a royal feast he is interrupted by his son Psamtic in a way to offend him.

Psamtic comes next day to beg permission of his father to destroy Phanes; really because the latter once thwarted his evil designs against Sappho, but avowedly because Phanes knows that Nitetis, the heroine, whom the Persian embassy is about to conduct back to Babylon as the wife of Cambyse, is not the daughter of Amasis and Ladice, but of the dethroned king Hophra. The king launches at his son the bitterest reproaches, and informs him of his evil horoscope, and then, smitten by remorse as he sees the effect his words have produced, grants him permission to wreak his vengeance on Phanes.

After the house of Rhodope has been surrounded, while Phanes

and various members of the Persian embassy are banqueting, the ex-captain escapes, in the clothes of Gyges.

Tachot, the real daughter of Amasis, is enamored of Bartia, and he of Sappho, to whom he swears never-dying love. The embassy returns with Nitetis, and shortly after its departure Amasis has an attack of blindness and piety, and Tachot goes into a decline.

Cambyses on seeing Nitetis, falls in love with her and she with him. He eschews his harem and former favorite, Phædime, and commands Boges, the chief eunuch, to give no orders to Nitetis.

Mandane had been assigned as maid to Nitetis, and by means of a stratagem of Boges, her lover Gaumata, who looked marvellously like Bartia, has a secret meeting with her at Nitetis' window on an evening when the king, already jealous of his brother Bartia, had forbidden every one to enter the gardens. It was so arranged that Cræsus, Hystaspes father of Darius, and other Achæmenides, saw Gaumata and were obliged to testify to the fact. Araspes, Darius and Zopyrus, who were with Bartia during the whole of the time, try to prove an alibi, but all are arrested and condemned to death along with Cræsus, who incurred the king's displeasure by some plain talk in regard to his cruelty.

But Boges, in the excess of his caution, undoes his plan. He provides assassins to follow Gaumata, who has left Babylon, in order to kill him and thus cover up the plot. They attack him between the third and fourth stations from Babylon, but the harmamaxa of Phanes approaching at that moment the Athenian springs out of it and rescues Gaumata, who declares his name. On the morning of the execution Phanes reaches Babylon, the mystery is cleared up and the prisoners saved.

But Nitetis, who has been condemned to be the slave of the concubines, has taken poison and dies. Phanes discloses to the king the true parentage of his lost Nitetis, which leads to a war with Egypt.

The Egyptians are defeated at Pelusium. Psamtic, as king, is de-throned, the cities are all captured, but Cambyses, still envious of the popularity of his brother, has him murdered.

Darius has long been enamored of Atossa, Cambyses' sister, but the Magi having interpreted a dream of the king's to mean that his sister shall be a great queen and the mother of mighty kings, Cambyses takes her to wife.

From remorse at his brother's murder, and drink, he afterwards goes mad. The priests and Achæmenides revolt in Persia and hail the lopedared Gaumata as their king, the Magi asserting that Bartia has not been murdered but that Gaumata is he. Cambyses dies while on the road home to punish the rebels.

Prexaspes, the murderer of Bartia, is strongly persuaded by the Magi to make a public declaration that he has never killed Bartia, but that he recognizes in Gaumata the second son of Cyrus. On occasion of a public festival he ascends a high tower, and in presence of a vast multitude, proclaims that he is the slayer of Bartia, and after imploring the people to choose Darius as their king, he casts himself down on the stones below.

Meantime Darius, Zopyrus and the faithful few force their way into the castle and slay the pretender and his friends.

Immediately after Darius is proclaimed, the king takes his sweetheart Atossa to wife, and lives to produce the great Xerxes and build up the political and military glory of his people to a point never before reached in Persia.

This very imperfect outline will serve to give the reader a hint of the

story, and perhaps suggest the exceeding ingenuity of Ebers in the use of his materials.

In his preface the author apologizes for the occasional anachronisms which appear in the form of speech and line of thought in several places throughout the work, and says: "With the meagre intelligence which we possess of the private life of the Greeks and Iranians in the sixth century, B. C., it is not possible even for the erudite historian to avoid the use of materials which belong to the domain of phantasy. . . . If I had wished to depict purely antique people and conditions I should have been partly unintelligible and partly dull to the modern reader."

Of these anachronisms the following is an example:

"By Jupiter Lacedæmonius, you Rhodope are worthy to be a Spartan."

"And an Athenian," said Phanes.

"An Ionian," cried the Milesians.

"A noble born daughter of Samos," said the sculptor.

"I am more than all this," exclaimed the inspired hostess. "I am more—much more. *I am a GREEK.*"

In other words this means:

Was ist der Griechin Vaterland
Ist's Spartenland, Bœotienland?
Ist's an des Alpheus goldenem strand?
O nein, nein, nein
Das Vaterland muss grösser sein.

The learned gentleman may well say, "It is not possible to withdraw oneself entirely from the prejudices peculiar to the country and age in which one lives."

Although there can be no question that his statistics in regard to costume and dress are correct, it excites a smile on the part of the "lay" to read that Bartia's "pantaloons gathered in at the ankles half-covered his bright-blue leather shoes," and that "Ladice wore a delicate lace robe over a gold embroidered scarlet dress"—("very chaste," we almost expected to find added.)

We learn from the preface that this Rhodope of Naucratis is the original heroine of the two popular fables Cinderella and Lorelei.

Mr. Reed has rendered all these difficulties with great success into his and our vernacular, giving, as we have mentioned, as nearly as possible, the same impression as that conveyed by the original novel. If we have a fault to find with his part of the work it is that some few passages are omitted which have considerable merit, but by far the greater number of omissions are both judiciously selected and skilfully made. In the original there are also foot notes and an appendix to each of the three volumes, which were wisely expunged, though a magazine article which treated of them and sifted the information they contain, would be interesting and instructive.

We congratulate Mr. Reed on his first appearance before the public, and both hope and believe that the talents of himself and Mrs. Wistar will do much to turn the taste of novel readers from the meretricious romance of the "East Lynne and Granville de Vigne" order to a better and higher literature.

ON THE GENESIS OF SPECIES. By St. George Mivart, F. R. S.
Pp. 314, with illustrations. New York: D. Appleton & Co.

The Darwinian controversy on the origin of species seems to be passing into its second stage. The era of unqualified reprobation and advocacy is already passed—that of criticism and appreciation arrived. At least three English theologians—F. D. Maurice, Peter Bayne and Charles Kingsley—have accepted the doctrine that species have been evolved from each other by natural processes and not created simultaneously—an opinion advocated by St. Augustine and the philosophical Fathers, St. Thomas Aquinas and other mediæval scholastics, and by Suarez as well as other modern doctors. On the other hand philosophers like Huxley and Spencer concede that the Darwinian theory of natural selection, (i. e., the development of species through the survival of the fittest and the destruction of the weaker in the struggle for life—a theory urged by Empedocles and combatted by Aristotle,) is not sufficient to account for the origin of species. Mr. Mivart's book, which is thoroughly scientific in its method, is devoted to a proof of this last position. He surveys the whole field, proving that Darwin's theory (though valuable in itself) does not account for all the facts which indicate the presence of "an innate power and evolutionary law, aided by the corrective action of 'natural selection.'" The logic is close and exact; the style less brilliant than Darwin's; the method patient and careful. The last chapter on the relations of Evolution to Theology merits careful thought and study on the part of the clergy. From the tenor of the author's quotations, we should suppose him to be a Roman Catholic, but perhaps wrongly. We hope to notice the argument more fully next month.

LITERATURE AND LIFE (Enlarged Edition) [and] SUCCESS AND ITS CONDITIONS; [both] by Edwin P. Whipple. Pp. 344 and 333. Boston: James R. Osgood & Co.

Of these two volumes of essays from the pen of one of our most thoughtful critics, the first is of a more miscellaneous character. It is the influence of literature upon life as illustrated by the cases of Dickens, Bryant, Wordsworth and other instances. The second is both newer and more definite, and illustrates better the continually ethical drift of its author's thinking. Its key-note is, "reality succeeds, shams fail," a lesson well worth the learning in this age of quackery and puffery. We can think of few better and more wholesome books for young men, carefully working out, as it does, with abundance of illustrations and all the graces of a pure English style, the vital conditions of success in life. Nothing is farther from our ordinary conception of a sermon than one of these essays, but they are all lay-sermons of a very effective style, and it would be well if such an ethical tone were predominant in our lighter literature. The author is not always as accurate as we are sure he would like to be; instance his account of Janet Geddes, p. 85-6.

MECHANISM IN THOUGHT AND MORALS. Oliver Wendell Holmes.
Phi Beta Kappa Address. Pp. 101. Same Publishers.

A string of ingenious thoughts, illustrated by ingenious quotations, on the great debatable line that runs between the spiritual and the material world—a border land with which Dr. Holmes is especially familiar. He

is an Eclectic, who hears both sides of the controversy between materialist and anti-materialist, and then leaves the whole matter *sub lite*. Witty and suggestive.

MY SUMMER IN A GARDEN. By Charles Dudley Warne. Pp. 133. Same Publishers.

A clever brochure, by the editor of *The Hartford Courant*; apparently a travesty of Mr. Greely's very successful book, "What I know about Farming." The theme is not quite new as a subject of comic treatment, since both Mr. Cozzens and Gail Hamilton have anticipated Mr. Warne; but it is so fruitful of new comic situations, that he cannot be regarded as harping on a worn-out string.

WILLIAM WINSTON SEATON, of the *National Intelligencer*. A Biographical Sketch, with Passing Notices of his Associates and Friends. Pp. 385. Same Publishers.

That man is truly to be pitied who writes the biography of an editor, because he has so much material for making a book, so little for depicting the life of his subject. The present biographer has steered between Scylla and Charybdis with passable success, but the result makes us regret that Mr. Seaton was not his own biographer. He was a contemporary of Washington, yet lived through the civil war; he was descended from the haughty Seatons of Scotland, yet, for many years he edited the national organ of our Democratic party. He was a conservative in politics, but a zealous member of the most liberal of the Christian sects, which explains why this biography comes to us from Boston and not from Baltimore. The book contains some sketches of personal interest, but casts little new light on public affairs.

THE DAISY CHAIN OR ASPIRATIONS. A Family Chronicle. By the Author of "The Heir of Redcliffe," &c. Two volumes. Pp. 314 and 309. New York: D. Appleton & Co.

Miss Yonge's novels have stood the test of time, and are now reappearing in an illustrated and beautifully bound edition. Their authoress is a Tory and a High-Churchwoman of the Oxford school, but she has found multitudes of readers among all classes, even in Republican America. Her books are confined to a very limited range of life and thought, but they are, at once, wholesome and interesting. They are the very antipodes of the class of sensational books which have been poured out by certain lady novelists for the last ten years.

THE
PENN MONTHLY.

JUNE, 1871.

THE SLAUGHTER OF THE INNOCENTS.*

If I understand the objects of the Social Science Association, this is neither the time nor the place for any attempt at rhetorical display, and I conceive that when the Chairman of its Committee on Public Health asked me to lecture here this evening, that he intended me to deliver a plain, matter-of-fact discourse. The subject selected is one in which I have a special interest, and one which is of no small importance to the community and the State. Here in America, it sometimes seems as if we set little store by human life, and in some places there is a wanton waste of existence which the authorities fail to recognize or at least refuse to arrest. This is partly due to the fact that the vast tide of emigration from the densely peopled countries of the old world has not yet failed us, and because this supply has been ceaseless, because we have progressed so rapidly, and in a short time assumed a leading position in the list of nations, it seems to most persons probable that our resources cannot be easily exhausted. But in the turnings and overturnings of empires, we know not what may come, and ere another half-score of years have been added to the past, the vast supplies which we have been receiving from Germany and Ireland may be cut off, and then the American nation will be forced to rely upon its own resources to people the vast plains west of the Mississippi, and to work out fully the interesting problem whether we are or are not to be a

* An Address on "Infant Mortality, and the Necessity for a Foundling Hospital in Philadelphia," read before the Social Science Association.

permanent people. If it has not now, infant life will then have a political value, and sage legislators will be aroused to the importance of the subject, about which we intend to speak to-night. That this will come soon, is not unlikely, and it will be interesting to observe the influence of the recent Franco-German war upon emigration from the latter country. It may have augmented it during its progress, and this may continue until affairs there are permanently settled, but the waste of human life among the male portion of the population has been so great that it is most likely that it will be materially diminished for some time to come. If now, Great Britain should be plunged into war, and the supply from Ireland cut off, we would occupy a new position before the world. Already in some portions of New England, and even in Philadelphia, during some of the earlier years of the last decade the deaths exceeded the births, and during the year just closed the latter exceeded the former only four hundred and forty-four in this city.

This is, no doubt, partly due to emigration from the Eastern to the Western States, but this will not account entirely for the facts, and it may yet become a serious question whether the Anglo-Saxon race is adapted for life in this country with its variable climate, and it may yet become a very serious question, whether the American will become a permanent nation if emigration is cut off, for it is beyond doubt that though our people are not physically weak, the number of children born to native parents is small, and is decreasing every year. This is true not only of those families who have lived in this country for three or four generations, but it is more or less true of the immediate descendants of our Irish and German emigrants, for in few instances is the number of children of individuals of the second generation equal to that of the first, while in the third it is apt to grow still less. These facts have served the late lamented Dr. Hunt, of Great Britain, for a paper upon the national prospects of the American people—a paper remarkable for its thoughtfulness, and one which is entitled to grave consideration, as coming from the President of the London Anthropological Society.*

These dangers at least make infant mortality important politi-

* The late Dr. Knox treats of the same subject in his brilliant but paradoxical way, in his "Races of Man."—Ed.

cally, and thus the subject becomes interesting to every citizen of this great and wonderful country. If in the future we should have to rely upon ourselves, every infant born into the world has become, if its life can be preserved, a source of wealth to the State, and it will be another to go forth with a strong arm or a brave heart to subdue the far West—that land, which with its rich soil, its inexhaustible mineral resources and grand water-courses, is almost an empire within itself.

But important as this is, there is another view, and if the State and the community refuse to recognize the rights of outcast and abandoned children, philanthropic persons know that these waifs of humanity are living beings; that they are as capable as any of becoming useful in the world; that they are moved with them by the same emotions, by the same hopes and fears, by the same loves and hates; that they are immortal souls, inheriting with them the same eternity.

The subject has assumed a new importance in this city during the past few months, owing to an attempt to awaken public interest in favor of the erection of a Foundling Hospital in Philadelphia.

During the year 1870, several long editorial articles were published in the public journals in regard to this matter, all of them taking the affirmative side of the question.

While we expect to speak more or less fully upon the whole subject of infant mortality, the matter to which we wish to direct especial attention is the death-rate among illegitimate children, and particularly among those who are generally and officially denominated "foundlings."

In discussing this subject, two propositions may be accepted as true: 1. That every human life is of political importance and ought to be made a source of wealth to the State. 2. That it is important for the State that children born in it be reared in such a manner as to secure most thoroughly their full physical, mental and moral development.

That the former of these propositions is true is generally conceded, and it is so manifest that it needs no further discussion. The second seems to follow the first in regular order, and is almost equally obvious; yet every one who understands the condition of American society and has studied these subjects at all, must have been convinced that the matter is sadly neglected and

even unthought of by the vast majority of persons. Yet it is a great principle in the economy of nations that low physical, mental and moral development detract most rapidly from national strength and usefulness.

If the first of the three be true, then, when an individual becomes the subject of disease, instead of being a source of wealth, he becomes a tax upon the community in which he lives; moreover, his offspring, by inheriting his infirmities, may themselves suffer, and so with his children's children, until a whole family may cease to be productive and become positive consumers of the energies of others. This principle applied to races or nations is obvious enough, and in such a grand total would be observed by all, but when applied to individuals it is too often forgotten. No one can tell how many persons in this great city are to-night depending upon public and private charity for their support, and no one can tell how many of these are ill from diseases acquired in infancy through neglect or ignorance upon the part of their parents or guardians. Such statistical information cannot be obtained, but I am impressed with the opinion that if the truth could be learned, it would prove most startling.

The mental and moral education of outcast children is equally important to the community and the nation at large—for the higher is the development of the one and the more thoroughly the other is secured, the greater will be the capabilities of the individual for usefulness, the more likely will he be found walking in the paths of virtue. It is too true that sin may find its way to gilded mansions, but it is a fact patent to all that the important outbreaks against public order are among the lower classes, and that among these vice seeks no longer to hide itself, but before the world openly boasts of its existence. Upon the outcast among the lower orders the public money is squandered, and by them hospitals, houses of correction and prisons are demanded, and it is with the uneducated and abandoned children of the lower classes that these are filled to overflowing. We, in America, where few statistics are to be obtained, know nothing of the proportion of illegitimate children and foundlings among the inmates of our public institutions, but some information upon this subject has been collected abroad. Hill, in his work on crime, writes, that Mrs. McMillan, who had charge of the female department of the Glasgow prison, states that a majority of the large number of

female prisoners who had come under her care were illegitimate. In France, in 1853, it is said that of 5,758 persons in the bagnios of that country, 391, or 6.09 per cent., were illegitimate, and that 146, or 2.53 per cent., were foundlings. At the same time there were 18,205 persons in the State prisons, of whom 880, or 4.83 per cent., were illegitimate, and 361, or 1.43 per cent., were foundlings.

This statement, however, gives no very definite idea of the frequency of crime among the general population and among the special class of which we have been speaking. Much more important is the fact that one out of every 1,300 Frenchmen becomes the subject of legal punishment, while one out of every 158 persons who were formerly foundlings is to be found in prison. The assertion is made that the same proportion holds good in the houses of correction, and probably also in almshouses.

Accepting them as true, the statement that every infant life has a political value, and that it is to the interest of the State to insure the thorough physical, mental and moral development of her children, let us turn our attention to the study of the statistical information which we possess in regard to the death-rate among children in the community at large, and afterwards to that of the separate class which we may denominate abandoned infants or foundlings.

According to the returns of the Board of Health of Philadelphia, there were born in this city, during the five years ending December 31, 1870, 85,957 living infants and 3,933 dead. During the same period there died, among the living infants, 19,227 children one year old or under, or a mortality of 22.36 per cent. during the first year of life. Of those that died when they were between one and two years old, there were 6,409, or of all the living children born in this city during that period, 25,636 died before they were two years old—a mortality of a fraction more than 29.82 per cent. Between birth and the age of five years, 31,662 died, or a mortality of a little more than 36.81 per cent.

This death-rate is certainly startling enough, and the mortality is largely confined to the first year, as has already been shown. To make this more plain, of the 31,662 persons who died before they reached their fifth year, 19,227, or a little more than 57.24 per cent., died during the first year of life. This result is obtained by examining the figures as above stated, and is no doubt rather

small. The source of error is in the record of births, the value of which is unfortunately much impaired by the carelessness of some medical practitioners in making returns. This is greatly to be regretted, and Mr. Addicks, the Health officer, calls attention to the fact in his last annual report, and urges greater care in future. The register of deaths is no doubt reliable, as no one can be buried without the proper certificate; and hence, we have another source of information in the comparison of the percentage of deaths.

Of all these that occurred in Philadelphia there were:

	1 year and under.	1 to 2 years.	2 to 5 years.
1865,	25.01 per cent.	7.98	9.57
1866,	26.73 "	8.70	8.43
1867,	31.04 "	7.60	6.72
1868,	31.31 "	8.56	6.22
1869,	29.24 "	8.65	8.74
1870,	27.63 "	7.90	8.74
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	170.96	49.39	48.42

The relation of these percentages for the six successive years is as follows: Of every 268.77, 170.96 are one year or under, 49.39 between one and two years old, and 48.42 between two and five years old; or in other words, of every one hundred children dying in this city during that period, 63.23 were aged one year or less, and 36.77 were between one and five years old. There is, therefore, a disparity of over five per cent. in the two calculations.

Our mortality among infants is about the same as that in New York, as is shown by examining the reports of the Board of Health of that city. If we compare it with that of other countries, it appears somewhat excessive. According to Farr, 65,464, or 16.69 per cent. of the 392,224 children who were born in England in 1867, died before the completion of their first year—an excess against Philadelphia of 5.57 per cent. This difference is not more than is perfectly natural when we remember that all England is included in the calculation, and that the 16.69 per cent. is the combined result of a city and rural population. On the other hand, our mortality compares very favorably with that of the Austrian empire—in the whole of which, according to Ritter von Rittershain, of Prague, 25.36 per cent. of all the

children born between 1855 and 1861, died during the first year of life, a difference of three per cent. in our favor. In Berlin, from 1816 to 1841, the mortality among infants under one year was 22.7, or about the same as our own. (Jacobi.)

We may, therefore, conclude that the mortality among infants in Philadelphia compares very favorably with that of other large cities; but here, as in all large cities, there is a fearful waste of human life during the first five years of existence. This occurs chiefly among the working classes, as will be shown in the sequel, and a vast proportion of these deaths could be prevented by proper care and the diffusion of proper information; more than 50 per cent. of them are the result of ignorance or criminal carelessness.

There is, however, a class of children to which I wish to direct especial attention, that is to those who are illegitimate.

The number of these annually born in Philadelphia it is impossible to determine, as there is no separate registration of them. Mr. Acton (on Prostitution, pp. 278 and 279) gives the following statistics for Europe:

<i>Locality.</i>	<i>Period.</i>	<i>Per cent. of all births.</i>
England,	1867, .	5.9
Scotland,	1866, .	10.1
Spain,	1864, .	5.5
Italy,	1865, .	5.1
Holland,	1864, .	4.1
Belgium,	1865, .	7.
France,	1864, .	7.5
Prussia,	1864, .	8.1
Norway,	1860, .	8.4
Sweden,	1864, .	9.5
Austria,	1864, .	10.9
Wurtemberg,	1864, .	16.4
Bavaria,	1862, .	22.5
Vienna,	1866, .	51.5
Paris,	1867, .	28.1
Berlin,	1863, .	15.9
Edinburgh,	1866, .	10.2
London,	1867, .	4.1

Average 12.8

This is obviously higher than the percentage of illegitimacy in Philadelphia. Probably that of London, which is about 4.1 per cent., is nearer the truth, and adopting this as the standard, of the 17,194 children who came into the world in this city in 1870, about 700 were born out of wedlock. This estimate is certainly low enough.

In the registration of deaths in Philadelphia, no distinction is made between legitimate and illegitimate children, but the mortality among them is fearful. Dr. Frazer, of Glasgow, (*Trans. of Social Science Asso. of Great Britain for 1860*, p. 653,) writing of this subject, says: "I have no means of correctly estimating the number of illegitimate children who die early in cities; but judging from a somewhat lengthened experience as one of the medical officers in connection with the largest public dispensary in this city, I am of the opinion that *but few of them survive the first year.*" I, myself, have happened to have opportunities to attend professionally quite a number of children of this class outside of hospitals, and it is my conviction that at least 75 per cent. of those born alive in this city die during the first year of their lives.*

Many of these children are born in the Philadelphia hospital. Since 1864, the average number of births in that institution has been 246 per year, of which about 188 were illegitimate. Among these the mortality, in the institution, is not inordinately large; but many of the women obtain positions as wet-nurses from four to six weeks after their confinement, putting their children out to board. Almost all of these infants perish. I have, whenever opportunity offered, obtained information in regard to them after

* Since this page was written I have obtained the last volumes (xi and xii) of the *Transactions of the Obstetrical Society of London*, which contain the second portion of the report of a committee appointed by that body about two years ago to investigate the subject of infant mortality in Great Britain. On that committee were Drs. Hall Davis, Tyler Smith, Robert Barnes, Meadows, Playfair, and others—all noted men, known wherever medical science is taught—and I was gratified to notice that they believed the mortality among illegitimate children in London to be precisely what has been stated here—75 per cent. during the first year. They also quote Mr. Jones, of Wales, who says, "70 to 80 per cent. of illegitimates die within the first year."

they left the hospital, and my strong conviction is that 90 per cent. of them succumb before the end of their first year.

The deaths among illegitimate children certainly swell in no small degree the sum of infant mortality in large cities, and according to my observation, this is due to neglect and deficient nutrition.

The poor victims of misplaced confidence have no sooner given birth to their children than they are abandoned by their heartless seducers and turned into the world outcasts from society. The result is, that one of two courses is open to them to rid themselves at once and summarily of their burden—by criminal means, or to delegate the care of their children to others, and go forth and earn a livelihood for both. The result is almost equally fatal to the child in either case, for when it is separated from its mother during the day its feeble life soon goes out because it is deprived of the natural aliment and care which she would have gladly given it, if fortune had smiled upon her more kindly; or there is another course open to her. Clinging to her child, she may struggle on amidst poverty and distress until, to obtain daily bread for both, she yields once more to temptation, and plunges for a whole life-time into the dark vortex of sin, to travel, with deep yearnings for a better life, the bitterest path which human feet can tread. This is no fancy picture. I have seen it here in Christian Philadelphia,—not once, but many times; and there are in this city to-day, hundreds and hundreds of suffering and misguided women struggling in a dark, deep stream, which will soon overwhelm them for want of a kindly hand to aid them.

For these and their mute children, I would raise my voice and entreat those kindly disposed, to aid them, and I would urge the government, in its own interest and for the sake of humanity, to protect them by the strong arm of the law.

That these mothers should destroy their own offspring is not surprising, and it is only too probable that infanticide is not a rare crime in Philadelphia. As yet the coroner has never published any annual reports, but through the kindness of Mr. Daniels and Mr. Sees, I have obtained access to the records of that officer, from 1863 to the present time. During that period, 964 inquests were held on children one week old or under, or an average of 132 per year.

The remarks that I am about to make, are based chiefly upon

the results of the inquests from November 1, 1863, to October 31, 1866, and from November 1, 1869, to March 31, 1870.

The percentage of inquests on children under one week old has increased since 1863. In the second half of that year it was 10, in 1864 $8\frac{1}{4}$, in 1865 it had fallen to 7 per cent., in 1866 $7\frac{3}{4}$, but in 1870, the number rose again to 11, and from January 1 to March 31 of the present year it has risen to $17\frac{1}{3}$ per cent., or in other words, nearly one-fifth of all the examinations made by the coroner during that time have been upon children one week old. It is impossible to say precisely how many of these infants had perished by violence, but it is a significant fact, that Dr. Shapleigh, coroner's physician, says that it is his opinion that a majority of these, which he examines, have been murdered. If this is true, nearly one hundred infanticides come under the notice of the coroner of Philadelphia in one year.

The verdicts given by the coroner's juries strongly support the same view, for out of 864 inquests upon persons under one week old, 210 are reported to have perished from "unknown causes," 293 from "asphyxia," 94 were "still-born," 62 from "exposure and neglect," and 22 died "from want of medical attention." This last verdict demands more than a passing notice. It should not only figure largely in the coroner's records, but also in the reports of the Board of Health.

Few persons outside of the medical profession, and few in it, who have not practiced among the poor, can conceive how many children die from want of proper medical advice. Among the poorer classes it is not uncommon to postpone sending for the doctor until near the close of the life of the child, and every physician has often been told, when called to one of these patients, that it was not expected that he would cure the infant, "but you must come, you know, as we must have a line to bury the little darlint." As our laws now stand, I am informed by competent legal authority, there is nothing to prevent any physician from giving the usual certificate in these cases. I have been tempted many times to call the coroner to inquire into the causes of death in such cases, and I am firmly convinced that some legislative action is needed upon this subject, in order to prevent physicians giving certificates in cases where careless and heartless parents or others have neglected to procure the necessary medical advice until their children were past recovery.

But, to return to the coroner's records—out of the 864 verdicts which we are considering, only 82 are marked as cases of infanticide. Of these 38 were drowned, 17 strangled, 10 suffocated and killed by being thrown down cesspools, from windows, and injured in other ways. There is no doubt, however, that many of those registered as dying from unknown and other causes, were really murdered. The reports of the Board of Health are equally suspicious, for we find that in 1870, 49 infants died from "asphyxia," 457 of "convulsions," 433 of "debility," 214 of "exhaustion," while the number of "still-births" was 822. These are all exceedingly questionable expressions, but the number of still-births is not inordinately large, for they comprise only 4.78 per cent. of the whole number, while at the Philadelphia Hospital, which may be taken as a standard for comparison, there were 115 infants dead-born in 1490, in other words, 7.73 per cent., an excess in favor of this city of 2.95 per cent. Only children under one week old are included in this calculation, while no doubt many older than this perish through violence, and a large number die before they are one year old from neglect—as criminal as the actual act of murder.

It must be remembered, too, while considering this subject of infanticide, that very many of the bodies of murdered infants never come under the notice of the coroner, but thrown down cesspools, into culverts, or into the rivers upon the east and the west, they rest until the sea and the earth shall give up their dead.

It seems conclusive, therefore, that infanticide is not a rare crime in Philadelphia, yet it is one which is usually undetected and unpunished. This aspect of the subject shows very plainly that some means should be adopted to preserve the lives of these children.

Many of the infants abandoned in this city are admitted to the Philadelphia Hospital, and occupy a room in the southeast corner of the institution. The apartment is well ventilated and lighted, and the children well clothed. They are all well fed, the milk being supplied from cows fed upon the farm connected with the hospital. The supply of this is ample, and its quality is as good as that in the country, and much better than that furnished many of the wealthiest families in the centre of the city. During the three years which ended September 30, 1870, 245 children were admit-

ted to that room. Of these 162 died, 42 were discharged and 31 were adopted. Of the remaining 8 we have no record. During that time there was, therefore, the terrible mortality of 66.12 per cent., the 8 children of whom there was no record being included in the calculation.

This statement, however, represents but one side of the truth, and to obtain all the information which may be derived from these statistics, we must study the mortality at different ages. The following table represents this in 232 cases:

Age.	Admitted.	Died.	Discharged.	Adopted.	Remaining.	Percentage of Mortality.
Under 2 months	70	51	1	16	2	72.85
Between 2 & 6 months	74	58	5	7	4	78.37
“ 6 & 12 “	23	14	6	2	1	60.86
“ 1 & 2 years	55	32	21	2		58.18
“ 2 & 3 “	10	3	4	3		30
Total	232	158	37	30	7	68.1

It is to be regretted that a larger number of cases could not be made available, but unfortunately the early records of the department have been mislaid. As thus stated, however, the above results are not suited for comparison.

In estimating the infant mortality of the city, we dealt chiefly with children under one year old, and hence those older than this must be excluded from the calculation. Of those aged one year and under, there were 167, of whom 123 died, a mortality of 73.05 per cent. We have previously learned that 29.03 per cent. of all the children born in Philadelphia die before they have completed their second year. Therefore the death-rate among the foundlings is about 44.02 per cent. more than that of all Philadelphia.

Dark as this record is, it is not by any means the worst aspect of the case. The table shows that a large number of the children were adopted, and upon examining the records, it was found that those thus removed were inmates of the wards for an average period of only 11 days. This was certainly not long enough to greatly endanger their lives, and in estimating the mortality, they may with justice be excluded from the calculation. Of these there were 31, and excluding them the mortality is raised to the terrible number of 78.21 per cent.

This fearful result is not due to hereditary disease, for when they enter the institution most of these children are ordinarily healthy, and the high mortality is largely due to acquired disorders, for on turning to the causes of death we find that of the 158 infants who perished, 118 or 74.69 per cent. died from diseases of the digestive system, while only 40 or 25.31 per cent. died from other affections, and we cannot but believe that if these children had been placed under favorable circumstances, a fair proportion of them would have thriven and done well.

I cannot leave the statistics I have just furnished without one other remark. I make it in simple justice to the twelve gentlemen who composed the Board of Management of the Philadelphia Hospital. It is no fault of theirs that this fearful mortality has been going on there, and when their attention was called to it they promptly did all they could to relieve the condition of these abandoned children, but unfortunately they are hampered on every side, and their hands are bound as with bands of iron by the inhumane and unwise action of City Councils.

Comparatively few persons in this city know the vast extent and importance of the Philadelphia Hospital, and many are disposed to complain when informed that nearly \$500,000 were appropriated for its maintenance in 1870. But it is at once apparent that this complaint is unfounded when we learn that here in Philadelphia, with her wide reputation for humanity and charity, our sick poor are maintained at an average cost of \$2 per week per individual, food, nursing, medicines, clothing and all other necessaries being included in this estimate. This is true notwithstanding all other large and well-conducted hospitals in this or any other civilized country spend on an average \$4 or its equivalent per week for the support of each individual within their walls.

Yet notwithstanding this notoriously low figure, the Board of Managers of the Philadelphia Hospital are accused of extravagance by sensational and untruthful scribblers in the public journals. It is hardly to be presumed that these will have any influence when the truth comes to be known, but as matters are now, every effort made to increase the annual appropriation has failed to meet with a proper, hearty response. On the other hand, it must not be forgotten that the officers of the city government are under the influence of an unhealthy public sentiment, and that

many of the community believe that there is an exorbitant expenditure of the public means for the support of the sick poor of the city, and it seems to us that the time has come for the whole subject to be carefully reviewed, when it can undoubtedly be shown that the annual appropriation for this object is shamefully small.*

But to return to our main theme. Philadelphia is not alone in this fearful mortality among her foundlings, for at the "Nursery and Child's Hospital," New York—an "Institution under the assiduous management of 35 estimable ladies belonging to the best society" of that city—the mortality, according to Dr. Jacobi, is 50 per cent., notwithstanding the children in it are half wet-nursed and half bottle-fed. The women acting in the capacity of nurses are well clothed, their food is good and plenty, and the medical attendance is efficient. It has been previously stated that the mortality among the foundlings at the Philadelphia Hospital admitted under two years old is 66.81 per cent.; there is therefore an excess against us of 16.81 per cent. This comparison is not unjust. The infants received enter in about the same conditions, for Dr. Jacobi says that the average age of those that are received at the New York Hospital is 4 to 5 months, and he further states that the mortality of the nursery, "if all the admitted infants were new-born instead of being 4 to 5 months, would be so appalling that he is glad he is not required to state its exact figures;" but estimating this by comparison with the death-rate of infants one year old and under in New York, he says it would amount to 73 per cent.†

At the "Infant's Hospital," Randall's Island, New York, the results are equally unfavorable. During the first half of 1869, 606 were admitted, of whom 362 died, a mortality of 59.73 per cent., or 7.08 per cent. less than in Philadelphia. The average age of these children at the time they came into the institution was four months and fourteen days.

* This is but a part of the cowardly policy adopted by both political parties during the years that have elapsed since consolidation,—the policy of avoiding any increase of actual taxation in order to secure (by this false economy) the votes of the tax-payers. Hence the continual loans which have increased the city debt, and have thrown upon posterity the burdens which the present generation should have borne.—Eds.

† "Raising and education of abandoned children," pp. 37, 39.

The death-rate in these three hospitals is hardly lower than that in the foundling asylums of Europe at the close of the last and the commencement of the present century. The following table, derived partly from Dr. Jacobi's pamphlet and partly from Dr. Routh's work on infant feeding, establishes the truth of this assertion:

	<i>Per cent.</i>	<i>Period.</i>	<i>Remarks.</i>
Paris, . . .	60.	1789,	died before end of first year.
Dublin, . . .	98.	1791,	" " "
St. Petersburg,	85.6,	1772-1784,	" " "
"	97.	1785,	" " "
"	50.	1830-1833,	" " "
Vienna, . . .	92.	1811,	" " "
Brussels, . . .	79.	1811,	" " "
Madrid, . . .	67.	1811,	" " "
All France,	60.	1824,	
Paris, . . .	50.	1838,	
Belgium, . . .	54.	1823-1833,	died before end of first year.
Moscow, . . .	66.	1822-1831,	" " "
All France,	75.	1818,	
"	60.	1824,	
Paris, . . .	50.	1838,	
Barcelona,	60.		at the close of last century.
Marseilles,	90.		" " "
Florence,	40.		" " "
Irkutsk, . . .	100.		died before end of first year.

We will now study the causes of these fearful death-rates, and at the onset of this investigation it is to be remembered that no single influence has produced this result, but that it depends upon a variety of causes. We have every reason to believe, from the statements of Dr. Jacobi, who, when he wrote the pamphlet from which we have been quoting, was a member of the Medical Board of the New York Nursery, that that asylum is well built and in good hygienic condition, and that the little patients are well cared for; yet, to use his own language, they have been "out-Heroding Herod"—language which did not fall as a flattering unctious upon the ears of the Board of Management. So startled were they by Dr. Jacobi's bold declaration of the truth that they, like too many other unscientific philanthropists, sacrificed the services and

attempted to detract from the veracity and professional reputation of an able and intelligent physician, rather than abandon their own murderous schemes—which, however, it must be acknowledged, were intended to preserve, but which in the end only added to the already fearful waste of human life. The New York Nursery then shows that the high percentage of deaths is not the result of bad nursing, imperfect medical attendance, or poorly devised hospital accommodations.

Two grand causes of this mortality may be cited: 1. The want of proper nutriment. 2. The aggregation of many infants in one or more confined apartments. The want of proper nutriment is an exceedingly important element in the discussion of this question, as is shown by the results of all foundling asylums where children are dry-nursed. The results of the other hospitals already named, show this most conclusively, and it may be positively asserted that young children committed to the care of such institutions, have a very small chance of living until the end of their first year. That partial wet-nursing will not obviate this difficulty is proved most conclusively by Dr. Jacobi's statistics.

Science has yet discovered no substitute for the natural aliment of the child which is adapted to its wants in large cities. Yet children will thrive and do well, and the mortality among them be comparatively small, provided they are bottle-fed in the country. It is impossible to furnish any statistics to prove this statement, but it is asserted by many intelligent suburban physicians, whom we have met, that they experience comparatively little difficulty in raising infants on artificial food—in other words, carefully prepared cow's milk. Dr. Hiram Corson, of this State, in an able pamphlet published in 1870, says that children can be easily raised upon this diet. Mr. Selby Norton, Fellow of the Obstetrical Society of London, in speaking of the comparative merits of wet-nursing and pure cow's milk, uses in 1870 the following somewhat astonishing but very expressive sentence: "In my own practice I should deem it a matter of indifference which was used, even from the very first day of existence." I am unable to say whether Dr. Norton practices his profession in crowded London or one of the suburban districts, but I feel confident that he and Dr. Corson, of this State, nearly or quite agree in their views, and I am equally confident, after a large experience as consulting physician to the largest hospital in this State, that infants

admitted into such asylums do very well if wet-nursed and do very poorly if dry-nursed, even when good and well prepared cow's milk is supplied them. I am equally convinced that the statistics of all foundling hospitals in the past and present century confirm this opinion, and it may be concluded that children have little chance of surviving unless they are well and carefully wet-nursed. The results at the Philadelphia Hospital, where I know from personal experience that the cow's milk supplied is unusually good, prove this, and the statistics of the New York Nursery, where the children are half wet-nursed and half bottle-fed, corroborate the statement still more strongly.

The aggregation of a large number of young children in one small room is exceedingly objectionable. The most healthy and carefully attended infant always has about it a faint, unpleasant odor. If a large number are confined together this is materially increased, and when it is mingled with other effluvia it becomes almost insupportable, and if general hospitals are difficult to keep pure and well ventilated, infant asylums are more so. The last difficulty is augmented by the peculiar susceptibility of young children to cold, which makes the ventilation of such institutions a matter of extreme importance. The aggregation of young children with artificial feeding is a prolific source of infant mortality.

Another trouble is nursing. In large cities, as these institutions are now conducted, it is almost impossible to secure experienced and competent women to take charge of these children. This, however, is of minor importance, and is insignificant in comparison with the first and second objections.

It is plainly true, therefore, that the erection of foundling asylums is strongly to be reprobated, and we cannot better insure the speedy death of the abandoned children of Philadelphia than by establishing such an institution in our midst. Opened from the best motives and reared through the highest impulses, it would but prove a "hecatomb of the innocents," and instead of saving, it would be positively destructive to human life. The three institutions which we have been comparing, yield worse results than the attempt to rear children in the narrow alleys and courts of this great city.

By the records of our Board of Health, we cannot determine the difference in the number of deaths among the upper and lower classes, but Dr. Jacobi says that "of 100 infants born alive to the

gentry of England (1844) there died 20; to the working classes, 50. In the aristocratic families of Germany there died in four years 5.7 per cent.; amongst the poor of Berlin 34.5. In Brussels the mortality, up to the fifth year, was 6 per cent. in the families of capitalists, 33 amongst tradesmen and professional people, and 54 amongst the workingmen and domestics." Quoting De Villiers, he further writes that, "the mortality amongst the children of the workingmen of Lyons is 35 per cent., and in well-to-do families and agricultural districts it is 10 per cent."

Upon comparing these statistics with those of the three hospitals we have been citing—the New York Nursery, 50 per cent., as it now receives children; 73 per cent., the estimated mortality of Dr. Jacobi, if all the infants were admitted at birth; 59 per cent. at Randall's, and 66.12 per cent. at the Philadelphia Hospital—the excess against these institutions is found to be most alarming. The conviction that the mortality would be less if they were closed, and the children were left to the cold charities of the world, almost irresistibly forces itself upon us.

These hospital statistics show, however, that some action in this matter is demanded. If any evidence is needed to make this more conclusive, it is to be found in the records at the coroner's office, which show that the waste of infant life from neglect and infanticide is terrible. It therefore behoves us to consider what means should be adopted to diminish the mortality among illegitimate and abandoned children.

Starting with the proposition announced at the beginning of this paper, that the life of every infant is of political value, and should be fostered, and if possible, preserved for the State, we are ready to recommend that the public authorities assume the care of all of these children. This should be done by the government rather than by any association of private citizens, because the tax upon the latter would be too severe, and because it is not individuals but the community at large that is to be benefited by such action. The good will come to the latter by the diminution of disease, and through improved physical, mental and moral development.

The particular system to be adopted by the government is a subject open for discussion, and is too important to be more than foreshadowed in a paper of this kind. It may be assumed, how-

ever, from the statistics furnished, that no large asylum is to be erected.

On the other hand, some central station should be selected or a building be procured for the *temporary* reception of abandoned infants, and from thence they should be "farmed out;" that is, distributed among the population of the surrounding country, to be wet-nursed or raised by hand, as may be possible or practicable in each case. For taking charge of each child, the government should pay a reasonable price; and in order to secure the proper attention, it would not be amiss to pay to the nurses or mothers a small premium for each child who is well and hearty after he has reached a certain age.

Here, however, the care of the child should not cease, but these nurses should be under proper surveillance, and the condition of the children should be ascertained at certain intervals during each year.

A certain penalty might be required from the nurses in case they failed to do their duty.

The importance of the government taking charge of these children is a matter that cannot be insisted upon too strongly. The system thus roughly detailed has been in operation in some countries of Europe for some time and has been found to work well. The authorities of the Foundling Hospital on Guilford street, London, admit none but illegitimate children, who remain in the institution but a few days, when they are sent to the country and wet-nursed. The mortality among them is twenty per cent. during the first year of life. In Berlin, Prussia, the children under the care of the authorities are now farmed out, but with what results, I am not able to say. In Hamburg, under the same system, the mortality among those infants admitted under six months old was twenty-seven per cent. in 1867. At the Foundling Hospital in Moscow, the infants are wet-nursed, the nurses being selected from those applying for the position. The average mortality in the institution for the three years ending with 1864, was 28.28 per cent., and of the 35,387 infants admitted during that time, many were dying when received, and 521 perished during the first hour. In Florence, where all the foundlings are farmed out, the death-rate from 1855 to 1865 was 30.13 per cent. for the first year. During this period, the average number of children admitted each year was 2,286.

At Prague the same system is adopted, and all infants are sent to the country if parties can be found to take charge of them. During the sixteen years ending in 1868, the asylum in that city received, on an average, 2,812 infants yearly. Among those allowed to remain in the hospital, the mortality varied from 10, in 1854, to 13.3 per cent., the highest, in 1862. Among those boarded out, it varied from 13.82 per cent., the lowest, in 1861, to 28.09 per cent., the highest, in 1866. During that period, the average mortality among the former or hospital patients, was 34.37 per cent., and amongst those farmed out, only 19.99 per cent.; a difference of 14.3 in favor of the latter.

In all France, the mortality amongst children, during the first year of life, is 16 per cent., while of the abandoned infants of Paris, boarded out and completely watched, but 17 per cent. die before they are one year old, while of those sent out on the same conditions by private offices and not watched, 42 per cent. died during the first year.

For these statistics I am indebted to Dr. Jacobi, who has already been so freely quoted. More might be added, but enough have been furnished to show how successful the system has been and how fatal its opposite was.

Upon the score of economy, it is the one to be adopted, for in Europe the authorities in many places confess they have found it cheaper than the old method of treating these children. It is probably preferable to wet-nursing infants in hospitals, chiefly on account of the great difficulty in procuring women willing to suckle foundlings, while the expense necessarily entailed by such a system is so great as to make it almost impracticable, as not only the children but the women have to be maintained, and their services paid for. Whatever is the standpoint from which we study this subject, whether as humanitarians or political economists, it will be found, I think, that the system of farming out, with proper surveillance, is the one to be adopted.

But neither Philadelphia nor any other city should be satisfied with providing for those children who are denominated foundlings, that is, those abandoned in the street. We have before shown that it is probable that there are at least 700 illegitimate children born here every year, and it has also been shown that it is reasonable to believe that the crime of infanticide is not rare in this city.

Every effort should be made to repress the latter and to preserve the lives of all these infants. In order to do this, there is no other obvious plan than for the government to assume the control of, and to insure support to all the illegitimate children born here. The precise details by which such a system is to be carried out, we are not prepared to discuss, but it is certain that some legislative action is needed before such a plan could be brought into successful operation. Without this, it would only increase instead of diminish illegitimacy.

As our laws upon seduction are now framed, it is the woman who is the greatest sufferer, and with the evidence of her guilt clinging to her, she is forced to go forth into the world an outcast from society during the rest of her life, while the seducer, upon the payment of a certain sum, or a paltry weekly stipend, pursues his ordinary avocations and in a little time regains his position in society. No observant person can have failed to notice the unequal punishment of the woman and the man, and if the government in assuming the charge of her illegitimate children were to require the father to pay freely for the support of his child according to his means, and at the same time hold out to the abandoned mother the assurance that her illicit offspring would be well cared for, the terrible crime of infanticide would be less frequent, while at the same time, by appealing to the father through his pocket, that most powerful of all human arguments, illegitimacy would be diminished. JOHN S. PARRY, M. D.

THE ARCHITECT AN ARTIST.*

SYDNEY SMITH tells us that Mr. Fox used very often to say, "I wonder what Lord B. will think of this." As it happened that Lord B. was not a very bright gentleman, the curiosity of Mr. Fox's friends was naturally excited to know why he attached such importance to the opinion of so commonplace a person.

* An Address before the American Institute of Architects, Philadelphia, November 9, 1870. This admirable address has reached so few readers through the "Proceedings" of the Institute that (at the instance of several who heard it) we have obtained the author's permission to reproduce it in our pages.

"His opinion," said Mr. Fox, "is of much more importance than you are aware of. He is an exact representative of all commonplace English prejudices, and what Lord B. thinks of any measure the great majority of English people will think of it." And Sidney Smith goes on to say that it would be a good thing if every cabinet of philosophers had a Lord B. among them. He expresses his astonishment at the neglect of the British Ministry of his day in not providing themselves with a *foolometer*—that is, with the acquaintance and society of some Lord B., or regular British fool, as a test of public opinion. He states that he himself had a very valuable instrument of the kind, which he had used for many years, and that no one, at all accustomed to handle philosophical instruments, could have failed to predict by it the storm which was then brewing in the public mind, caused by a certain bill that had just been passed by Parliament.

GENTLEMEN OF THE INSTITUTE: while I am very much obliged to you for the honor you have done me in the invitation, with which I am now complying, to address you, without meaning to indulge in any strain of self-disparagement I must needs admit your wisdom in providing that an Address shall be delivered at your Session by a non-member, by one of the outside multitude, by one of us who are, *quoad Architecturam*, to speak plainly, fools to you, and any one of us a foolometer of all the rest. I take it for granted that, thorough fanatics in your Art, you look upon Architecture as the final cause of human existence, at all events as the one thing which you were born and which you have come into the world expressly for. Certain it is, that no man ever achieves any thing great, any thing beyond keeping body and soul together for a few years, unless he is possessed of a certain divine fanaticism for his art or pursuit, whatever it may be. I take it for granted, therefore, I say, that the zeal of the house, the ideal house, hath eaten you up, and that, consequently, you cannot have any respect, even if you ought, which is more than doubtful, for the architectural wisdom of outside critics, who, as is so often the case, torment you by dogmatizing about your Art to you who are giving your best powers, your whole lives to it.

I think I understand the case, gentlemen. You have not invited me, and you do not expect me to instruct you in Architecture. If I were able to do that, I should be ineligible to the

office with which you have honored me, and which I am now discharging. Could I teach you in your Art, I should be, not a non-member, but your fellow-member, in high standing, and, by good rights, your President. Most emphatically am I a non-member of your Institute. I know nothing of Architecture. I never could have made even so much of an Architect as, I am told, any man may become, for all practical, *i. e.*, money-making purposes, by simply subsisting on other men's brains, ancient and modern. Yankee as I am, I never could even whittle with any satisfaction, suffering much "from the obscure trouble of a baffled instinct." No, sirs, I know nothing of your Art, but I respect it so much that I have not insulted it by undertaking to cram for this occasion in the few days since your invitation came to me. I cannot breathe a syllable that will lead any one to mistake me for a fellow-member of yours. I am your very humble and devoted non-member, representing for the moment the large and respectable non-portion of your honorable body.

You will pardon me if I have transgressed in spending so many words upon myself. The position is so novel to me, that I should not be an American if I were not anxious to define it.

It is very natural that you should wish to hear a word from us outside, to obtain occasionally, in one way or another, some popular and public recognition of your high calling. You are obviously, in a special manner, dependent upon us. You could not exist but for your non-members. You cannot employ yourselves. You must have employers. You cannot go on building ever so many blocks of dwelling-houses, and palaces and churches, for your own amusement and at your own expense, relying upon chance purchasers, just as a painter multiplies his pictures. If there is any considerable number of you that can do as much as build a moderately-sized house, each for himself, letting alone architectural decorations, all that can be said is, that you must be much more successful than your brother artists in other departments. Your ideas cost somewhat, if they are to be realized. Capital is your indispensable helper. And you must do all that you can to secure its help. To this end, a taste for Art is to be awakened and cultivated in the community at large. There is hardly any thing more wonderful in these days and in this country than the rapidity with which wealth is created. The means of erecting the costliest structures, public and private, are

amassed in ever increasing abundance. And only the love of Art, animating the public generally, is wanting to give artists of every description as much as they can do, were there ten times the number. You cannot help being concerned, therefore, in winning attention, in all ways possible, to your particular Art.

And all the more concerned, because it is your misfortune, or your trial, to live in a country so young in every thing, especially the high Arts, that Architecture is hardly yet appreciated as an Art, or its professors and students esteemed as any thing more than builders and working mechanics. Builders and mechanics are, by the way, honorable after their kind, and not the less honorable, but the more so, when they are loyal to their position, and make no pretence of being what they are not. Indeed, some architects themselves seem to have no higher idea of their Art than what the word architect literally signifies: *chief of the builders or works*. If this is really all that it imports, then, as it has well been suggested, "the *fine art*—the art which divided with painting the affections of Giotto, Michel Angelo, Da Vinci, and Raffaello, and produced the Greek temple, the Gothic abbey, and the Venetian palace—may as well look about for some other name."

The consequence of this confounding of artists with mere mechanics is, that your Art is not only defrauded of its dignity, it is without its rightful authority; and you have incessantly to submit to the humiliation of discussing as questions of taste what are no questions of taste at all, but matters of knowledge, of fact, with persons who, so far from having studied them, have never given a thought to them before—with persons who, if they knew what makes for their salvation, (architecturally speaking,) would sit silently at your feet, and listen and learn. I sympathize with you, gentlemen, as every humane man must, when, knowing the reason and principle of your work, you have to hear it questioned and cavilled at by those who, sound as their judgment may be in the stock market, or as to the quality of this or that article of commerce, know nothing of Architecture—a trial as great as it would be to a mathematician to hear his axioms disputed, or the sum of two and two, for instance, questioned.

Mr. Ruskin is not altogether to my liking. He is too intolerant, speaks too much *ex cathedra* for one who is not exactly an artist himself, but an amateur. Yet one cannot help bowing to

him, when after elaborately setting forth the merits of Turner's works, he says that he trusts he has convinced the public that they have no right whatever to criticize Turner, that they have nothing to do but to look at his works and be edified. Whether or not Turner were the great man Mr. Ruskin holds him to be, there have been artists—painters, sculptors and architects—who had this high authority, and before whose works criticism is dumb. Not to mention edifices nearer home, we are told of a structure even in the far-off barbarian East—is it the tomb of Nourmahal?—of such overpowering beauty that an English traveller, upon entering it, burst into tears.

What art has a better right than Architecture to be called a Fine Art, the art which has been pronounced, in one sense, "the most perfect of the arts, because the laws of proportion and of beauty are in no other art so strictly and so accurately defined," "the only art," it has been said, "which, in its effects, approached Nature," and the impression of the grander works of which, "is less akin to admiration of the talent of an artist than to the awe and veneration which the traveller feels when he first enters the defiles of the Alps." This blood-relationship of Architecture to Nature—how beautifully is it affirmed in one of the finest brief poetic utterances that we have had since Milton :

"Know'st thou what wove yon woodbird's nest
Of leaves, and feathers from her breast?
Or how the fish outbuilds her shell
Painting with morn each annual cell?
Or how the sacred pine-tree adds
To her old leaves new myriads?
Such and so grew those holy piles,
While love and terror laid the tiles.
Earth proudly wears the Parthenon,
As the best gem upon her zone;
And Morning opes with haste her lids
To gaze upon the Pyramids;
O'er England's abbeys bends the sky
As on its friends, with kindred eye;
For out of Thought's interior sphere
These wonders rose to upper air,
And Nature gladly gave them place,
Adopted them into her race,
And granted them an equal date
With Andes and with Ararat."

Architecture has its ideals, magnificent for their beauty and grandeur, as we know from what has been realized, from the temples of the ancient world and the cathedrals of Christendom. And they who devote their lives to the study of these ideals, are bound to exercise an authority in matters of taste which only the most arrant flippancy can presume to question.

You remember the anecdote told of Turner, how when he was once painting, with a brother-artist looking over his shoulder seeing him work, he dashed a brushful of red into the water which he was painting, and when the looker-on exclaimed: "Mr. Turner! I never saw that effect in nature!" he dropped his hand from the canvas, and turned and looked at his critic and said: "*Don't you wish you could?*" A great deal of the criticism passed, upon your Art especially, proves nothing but the blindness of your critics. We, the people, are to be taught that, although this is a free country, and every man is at liberty to speak his mind, this liberty is conditioned upon his possessing a mind to speak. It is egregious self-flattery in a man to imagine that he has so much as a fragment of a mind upon matters of which he knows nothing. And when, in this case, he undertakes to express an opinion, his talk is no better than an inarticulate babble, and he should be abated as a nuisance—coughed down.

I verily believe, gentlemen, that the idea of the excellence of any given edifice depends, with most of us non-members, upon whether it is old or new. If we have never seen it before, either in buildings, or in prints and photographs, we pronounce it odd; and when we call a thing odd, we find it difficult to see how it can be called beautiful. With all our freedom, we do not tolerate oddness. We insist, in this country, upon every thing's being cut to one pattern. Only think what a long day of it, one particular style of building (the Quaker style—marble steps and wooden shutters) has had here in Philadelphia. What man is there of us, of any social standing, whose mind does not misgive him, when he crosses the street anywhere but at the regular crossing, that he must stop on the curbstone and explain himself—define his position? It is an adventurous thing in this land to set before us any thing of which we cannot at once tell what to think. We resent it as a personal insult and take satisfaction—the law of taste—into our own hands, and condemn it. It is a great gratification of one's pride, an evidence of good

judgment, of which we do not like to be defrauded: to decide upon a thing off-hand, to be able instantly to say, it is good, or it is bad.

In one of the Fine Arts, Music, I think we are all learning a becoming modesty. Learning what is meant by suspending one's judgment. We are finding out that we must hear a musical composition over and over again before we can decide upon its merits. I do not see why we should not exercise the same restraint in regard to architectural compositions, and learn to look more than once before we express an opinion. I appeal to you, who are learned in the Art, have you not seen buildings which you thought at the first very much out of the way, and which you have subsequently come to consider very fine? If such be ever the case with you, how much more likely is it to be frequently the case with us of the laity, if we only have patience enough to look and study and magnanimity enough to confess a change of mind?

Without meaning to insinuate any commendation whatever of your non-committal men in politics—a race, I trust, which has nearly disappeared—they were very much in the way at one time before the War—I do hold it a great part of wisdom to be always on our guard against a hasty expression of opinion, in matters of Art, as in every thing else. The instant the decisive word has passed our lips, up leaps our pride to make good the position to which we have committed ourselves; and, if we are wrong, there is no telling the extent to which the finest understanding may become perverted in the fruitless endeavor to make the false, true. But the wisdom of this prudence how few show! Only those, I fear, slow-minded people, who would be as hasty as the rest of us if they could.

In fine, we express opinions upon all subjects off-hand with the greatest confidence, when, in fact, we know so little of the things whereof we affirm, that, as I say, we have no right to have any opinion about them at all, when our taste is wholly uneducated, and what we are pleased to call our taste is the mere whim of our fancy or our mood, mere use and wont and hearsay, not referable to any principle whatever.

Such is the state of things, gentlemen. Such is the competency of the generality of us to appreciate your great Art.

And what makes the matter worse, confounded as Architects

are with simple builders and mechanics, with those who avowedly work for pay, to earn their living—an honest living indeed, but still to earn a living—there is but little or no faith that you are striving ever to realize ideas, high and beautiful, to make the structures you create speak to us.

Far be it from me to utter a syllable in derogation of the dignity of the humblest mechanical labor. There is no workman, whether toiling in a shop or a brick-yard—there is not a hod-carrier, over whom an ideal perfection of work does not hover, and which he may not aim to render a reality. And there is no mere official position, however high, no Throne, no Presidential Chair, even of these United States, that can command the respect which this aim, faithfully pursued, inspires. Honor now and always to the man, who, working in the lowest spheres of human labor, is so possessed with a passionate desire to do his work well, rendering it perfect after its kind, that he would rather starve than produce for his employer any thing less than his best! I would rather a thousand times over be such a man than the most accomplished man breathing, architect or what not, who has no object in life but his miserable little self.

As the world goes, however, and defective as is the general culture of those engaged in mechanical and manual labor, it would savor strongly of romance to imagine that any higher purpose animates the generality of the working classes so-called than to sell their time and skill, in as honest a way as they can, for as much money as they can. And in this, have they not the warrant of universal example? What is all the world agog for, but to make money? I am not going to denounce it, as you may suspect from my profession. I only refer to the fact. I am free to confess that, if this stimulus were suddenly to lose its effect, I don't know what would become of us all. Every thing would be at a stand-still. You Architects would have precious few houses to build. And the clergy, the country clergy especially! Heaven take pity on them—it is but little of this world's wealth that they get anyhow. It would be sad indeed if, under the good Providence that makes even so mischievous a thing as the wrath of man to praise it, some good did not come from the ruling passion for money-making. But its evils are manifold and glaring. And the one of them, which it specially concerns us to note now, is, that, as Architects are confounded with the money-seeking

working classes, and are supposed to be all one with builders, contractors and mechanics, having and making common cause with these, bent upon wringing out of their jobs as much money as they can, it is not clearly understood that your true Architect is, in the highest sense of the word, an Artist, having always an infinitely dearer purpose than money-making. He has priceless visions of truth and grace, which he is living and dying to express in wood and iron and stone, and he would as soon think of falsifying a revelation from Heaven as of sacrificing them for the sake of money. Were he recognized in this, his true character, as a real, out-and-out worshipper of Art, seeking in his way to speak the truth with power to the highest or deepest within us, the recognition could not fail to be reverential, and, instead of being flippantly cavilled at, he would be listened to as an oracle. But as it is, he is not so recognized. He is not so listened to.

And then again, gentlemen, it is the peculiarity of your Art, that you must execute your work out of doors. Other artists, sculptors and painters, work in the stillness and seclusion of their ateliers and studios, and no eye sees what they are doing but at their pleasure. It is true that you can devise and work out your plans in like privacy. But when it comes to the execution, you must go out under the open sky, into the thick of the crowded city, and, in the loud language of brick and stone, utter your high aspirations—say your prayers like the Pharisees of old, though not in their spirit, at the corners of the streets and in the market-places, with all the world looking on at every stone that is laid. I wonder whether we should have had so many great paintings, if the old masters had been compelled to set up their easels on the sidewalks, and to work with thousands of curious eyes looking on, and to hear all sorts of thoughtless and ignorant criticism.

I call this the peculiarity of your Art: its essential and inevitable publicity. It has its trials, and you would, doubtless, be glad oftentimes, if, by some magic, you could render your work invisible while it is going on, and until it is finished; at least so long as a just appreciation of your Art on our part is so rare. But I cannot say it is a very great disadvantage.

It suggests that you must make up your minds once for all, and consider it an indispensable condition of an architect's existence, that he is to be criticized and wondered at and laughed at,

at every stage of his work. As you put your work right before our eyes, and you have to do that, unless we shut our eyes and run the risk of putting them out altogether by tumbling over your materials, we must see your work. And seeing it, it is not in human nature, at least in its present state of architectural ignorance, that we should not think and talk about it, unwisely of course. So you see what a very discipline of personal religion the publicity of your Art is; putting you under the blessed necessity of learning and practising a large and unflinching charity for your ignorant fellow creatures, tending to make pattern Christians of you.

And furthermore—pardon me, if I seem to be preaching to you—I do not mean it—the publicity of your Art admonishes you that you are engaged perforce in the great work of public instruction. You are, by the ordination of Heaven, street-preachers, and whether you hold forth sound doctrine or false, we must listen to you. We cannot forbear. People may go to sleep inside the churches that you build, and hear nothing, unless indeed you make the interiors so much more eloquent than the preachers, that the people must needs keep awake and receive edification through their eyes, but your sermons are written outside as well as in; there is no evading them. You can fill and enlarge and elevate our minds, breathing into us with the light a new sense of truth and beauty. You may minister to the general cheerfulness by gratifying our eyes with lines of beauty and fair proportions or you can put us out of temper by the reverse, and without our knowing how it is done, which only makes us worse. I find for myself a cheering effect in all architectural ornamentation, whether it be good or bad. Be it ever so bad, it hints of plenty. It is an assurance that people have more than they absolutely need. And this it is, by the way, that renders travelling in New England so delightful. The dwellings, surrounded by gardens, show such attempts at architectural ornament as imply that their owners had more money than they knew what to do with. And the impression is that it must be *millionaires* who live in those fine houses, the probability being that they are occupied by clerks and industrious mechanics. In this State of Pennsylvania, you must look at the broad fields under cultivation, and the opulent barns of our farmers, if you would be assured of their wealth, and not at their habitations, which are, or were a few years ago, no

better than log-houses and shanties. I understand they are better now. Certain it is that the suburbs of this city, once so homely, have begun to blossom as the rose, and the beauty is stealing abroad and promising to make the whole State our City Park. Our multitudinous places of worship, covered though they be with the commonest of church decorations, pinnacles and mortgages, make it interesting to go through the streets, or rather round the street corners, where, for the most part, they are very properly placed, to be seen of men. I confess to you, I have been much pleased with myself, when I have learned that the style of a building was designed to express the very feeling which it had already awakened in me. But I shall not venture, in this presence, to specify my small architectural experiences. By so doing, I should only be giving you, what you do not need, additional evidence that it is a non-member of the Institute who is addressing you. But I am growing garrulous. Venerators as you are of antiquity, you will pardon the infirmities of age.

I have spoken of your Art as if its sole or chief office were to inspire cheerful thoughts and contribute to the general good humor; and of this I have spoken, because it is a thing which we can all understand, and of which I have honest experience myself. Were this all that you are doing, it would be worth all your labor, all your enthusiasm. In a silent, quiet way, like the liberal light of heaven, the influence of your works steals insensibly into the minds of men, adding an amount that cannot be computed to the sum of human happiness. It is a great service rendered to put and keep men, anxious men of business, in good spirits; and without their knowing whence the cheering influence comes. Who does not know how powerfully localities minister to deepen the sacred love of Home and of Country, how the exile in a foreign land feeds upon memories of old familiar places, and of buildings, any stone of which he would give his eyes to behold once more, and what strong and endearing associations are wreathing themselves for young and old, all round and all over your architectural devices? How beautiful, and what an exquisite piece of English, is Charles Lamb's lament over the disappearance of the artificial fountains of London! Although you may have the passage by heart, you will not weary of hearing it. "Most of the fountains," he says, "are dried up or bricked over. Yet

where one is left, as in the little green nook behind the South Sea House, what a freshness it gives to the dreary pile! Four little winged marble boys used to play their virgin fancies, spouting out ever fresh streams from their innocent-wanton lips, in the square of Lincoln's-inn, when I was no bigger than they were figured. They are gone, and the spring choked up. The fashion, they tell me, is gone by, and these things are esteemed childish. Why not then gratify children, by letting them stand? Lawyers, I suppose, were children once. They are awakening images to them at least. Why must every thing smack of man and manish? Is the world all grown up? Is childhood dead? Or is there not in the bosom of the wisest and best, some of the child's heart left, to respond to its earliest enchantments? The figures were grotesque. Are the stiff-wigged living figures, that still flitter and chatter about that area, less Gothic in appearance? Or is the splutter of their hot rhetoric one half so refreshing and innocent as the little cool, playful streams those exploded cherubs uttered?"

But I am far from implying that your Art has not far higher offices than those at which I have hinted. Does it not in all times and countries repay in kind the debt of inspiration which it owes to the Religious Sentiment? Does it not awaken emotions, none the less deep, because they are indefinable? Can the most sceptical or the most frivolous be insensible to the solemnity, the sanctity, the mysterious awe, breathing from the structures which your Art has reared?

I do not know whether in any department, whether even in Literature, with Shakespeare at its head, there has been a more imposing display of human genius than in Architecture. Every creative age in Art is naturally followed by an imitative age. So strikingly is this the case in Architecture that it is affirmed that "there is now no such thing as a really original design, while some centuries ago there was no design that was not original." Even, then, if the monuments of the creative periods of your Art were no longer extant, we might safely infer the greatness of those periods from the fact that they have been followed by ages of imitation.

You have every reason, gentlemen, to assert the dignity of your calling, to exalt your office. Having faith in that, penetrated

with a self-forgetting devotion to the high purposes of your profession, you will be open to receive the inspirations of that creative spirit, which those who have gone before you have not exhausted, nor could they, and which comes and goes mysteriously, like the wind, blowing where it listeth, we know not whence nor whither. Receiving of that spirit, you will cease to repeat. You will create. "Amidst the ruins of Rome," I use the words of another, "the great Italian Architects formed their tastes. They studied the relics of ancient grandeur with all the diligence of enthusiasm. But when they were employed by the piety or magnificence of the age, they never restored the examples by which they were surrounded, and which were the objects of their habitual study. The Architects did not linger in contemplation of their predecessors; former generations had advanced, and they proceeded."

Inspired by the Ideal of your Art, you will be lifted high above all mutual jealousies, for you will perceive that the success of one is a new inspiration for all. Every actualization of truth and beauty will animate your faith in them, and bring you all into closer fellowship. It is only mercenary aims that engender feuds. Charles Reade tells us in one of his books that the old Masters in Art loved one another. And should this seem incredible, he reminds us that Christians loved one another once.

What has been shall be again. What achievements are there of the Past in Architecture, or in any of the Arts, which the Future will not surpass, since Science by its amazing activity and its splendid achievements is arraying man in the regalia of his empire over the inexhaustible resources of the physical world?

Some fifty years ago, the reason given for the general lack of taste in Architecture was the absence of monuments of approved design among us, such as the great Italian Architects studied, and the impossibility of giving to the public at large any idea of the celebrated structures of the ancient world. People might know and did know something about Painting, and Sculpture, because they had copies and engravings of the master-pieces of those Arts. But no engraving, it was said, could give any idea of the grandeur of those ancient monuments, and even if it could, it was costly and limited to a few.

But Photographs and Stereoscopic views—have they not changed all this? Have they not opened a new era? Brought

acquainted by these magical instruments of Science with the great ruins of Egypt, for example, have we not the same sense of sublimity that fills the mind of one standing before the originals, only so much less vividly, as seeing the originals at a little distance through a good spy-glass differs from seeing them close to? Indeed, the impression made upon my mind by these works of the sun is such, that I have often thought how much trouble and expense my invalid clerical brothers, who go abroad to be cured by sight-seeing, would be saved, if their physicians would only put them upon a course at home of stereoscopic views, Egyptian, Swiss, or Italian. But whether these miracles have any medical virtue or not, they are certainly efficacious in producing a healthier, healthier because more enlightened, state of the general mind in matters of Art, and of Architecture especially. They are teaching us and so helping you.

Finally, gentlemen, who can doubt, you surely do not, that in this country, so richly blest of Heaven, with these gloriously Free Institutions, offering opportunity, invitation, incitement, to every human faculty to spring forth and help to enrich human life, the weary age of imitation will come to an end, and that a brilliant age of creation will succeed for your noble Art? "Every work of genius is an impossibility until it appears." But when it does appear, it comes with such spontaneous ease and grace that we lift up hands and eyes in wonder that it had never been thought of before.

That you are hopeful of a better day, the existence of this Institute is no uncertain sign. As it is a result, so will it prove an active cause, of Progress. Some years ago, a distinguished member of your body, in talking of his Art, remarked that we are building now of Iron, and we require new styles of building fitted to this material, so that Iron shall have its honest credit and publish its massive strength, looking like what it is, and not like wood or stone. Shall this homely, stolid substance have its rights, and will not Universal Liberty, now no longer a dream, but a fact, a component of the heart's blood of forty millions of people, no longer a dead letter, but a spirit, a vital principle—will it not demand—will it not create new orders of Architecture? Answer us, gentlemen, please, in your works.

WM. H. FURNESS, D. D.

A TRIP TO THE YOSEMITE VALLEY.

WE left San Francisco on an excursion to the Mariposa Grove and the Yosemite Valley, on the afternoon of Tuesday, the 7th of June, 1870, and crossed the Bay by ferry-boat to Oakland, five or six miles distant. Here we took the train for Stockton, ninety-one miles off, according to the railroad time-table, in an easterly direction. The coast range, which has been described as "one of the most recent of the dynamical events which have determined the outlines of the continent," lies about midway between the two towns, and is crossed at the Livermore pass.

We slept at the Yosemite House, at Stockton, a very fine hotel, and the next morning took an early start. Our party filled six four-horse wagons, each carrying, if not accommodating, eight persons besides the driver; the wagons were covered on the top, and there were leather curtains at the sides, to be used at the pleasure of the passengers; there was not much elasticity to the springs. After leaving Stockton, we passed through wheat-fields for a few miles, and then entered upon an open prairie, without grass or trees, except here and there an oak grove, the fresh green of which contrasted pleasantly with the brown and arid soil. We had to pass over three streams which enter the San Joaquin river at right angles, and which are crossed by ferry-boats of a somewhat primitive but quite effective construction, the current being made to supply the power by which the boat is propelled. The first of these was the Stanislaus, and the second the Tuolumne; between the two the country was desolate in the extreme, hardly a tree or a house was in sight, and the light sand rose in clouds of dust about us. At the Tuolumne crossing, forty-four miles from Stockton, we made our first halt, resting for two or three hours during the hottest part of the day. The proprietor of the ferry, named Roberts, keeps a tavern, a brick house near the river and close to a very fine grove of oaks. The house stands by itself, (we think there is no other in sight,) and from all we could learn, does not bear a very good character; our driver, a matter-of-fact downeaster, told us that the keeper was believed to be "on the gamble," and those of us whose misfortune it was to lodge there on our return from the Valley, saw indications that if any of us were disposed to play a quiet game of cards, obliging

partners could be found for us. But whatever the moral qualities of the establishment, nothing could be more unwholesome and wretched than its accommodations for eating and sleeping. We were glad therefore to move on; and crossing the ferry, we entered again among the sand dunes, the dust and heat being severe, with nothing in the scenery about us to interest or to divert attention. On our left, we had a view of the Sierra Nevada, not unlike some views one obtains of the Bernese Alps, but very distant; nearer at hand there was nothing to rest the eye, not even, excepting only at a farm called Morley's ranche, a house, or a fence, or a tree. Early in the evening we reached Snelling, distant from Stockton fifty-seven miles, long California miles, and put up at Coulter's tavern. There was some controversy among us as to which was the dirtier and more comfortless place of the two, Roberts' or Coulter's, and although there was much to be said on either side, the preponderance of judgment conferred the distinction on the former; certainly the general appearance of the latter was somewhat more reputable. Snelling contains a population of perhaps one thousand souls; grapes are produced in the vicinity in considerable quantities. The soil in this district, now that it is new, yields good crops with little labor; but it is light, and will require more careful cultivation by-and-by. There is much less rain here than at San Francisco.

We took an early start again the next morning. The country the other side of Snelling we found more interesting than that which we had traversed the day before. At Merced Falls we passed the third of the rivers mentioned above; there is a small village at this point, and we noticed an extensive woollen mill, one of three in the State, outside of San Francisco, the others being at Sacramento and Marysville. Beyond the Falls, the foothills of the Sierra Nevada begin; they are for the most part dry and bare, with occasional groups of oak trees. We had now reached the country where gold was found in large quantities a few years ago, and the surface of the ground was made more desolate in appearance from its having been turned over and dug up everywhere by those who were "prospecting" for the precious metal. These "diggings" were once the scene of severe toil, of hardship and privation, of lawless violence, of sickness, despair and death; but the thousands who once labored and struggled along these water-courses and in these ravines have gone, and

there are only a few Chinese to be seen here and there, partially engaged in sifting and washing the auriferous gravel which has been turned over one knows not how many times previously, and earning their one, two or three dollars a day, with which they seem to be very well satisfied. In the midst of this dreary country is the Mexican village of Hornitos, which, in the days of the gold excitement, contained two thousand inhabitants, among whom, as we should judge from the accounts we heard on the spot, no Life Insurance Company wishing to maintain its solvency, would ever have thought of sending agents to receive premiums and to issue life policies. It is now much reduced, but derives some trade from the cattle ranches in the vicinity, of which there are several, for the country is very favorable for grazing purposes, although a stranger visiting it at this season of the year would hardly suspect it. There is a comfortable tavern in this place, at which we dined on our return. Princeton is another village, through the streets of which we passed, which has "seen its best days;" it was almost literally deserted. The houses were vacant, there was hardly a "saloon" open, and an ambitious-looking building which was designed for a town hall or a place of amusement, we could not learn which, was going to decay as fast as possible, the windows having been blown in, and the front doors having fallen from their hinges. There was a rich gold mine here which became exhausted rather suddenly, and the nomadic population moved away to other fields of venture.

"Thy sports are fled, and all thy charms withdrawn."

Quartz mining is the only mining which is at all profitable in California, and this is subject to many vicissitudes. We were told that the majority of the mills were at the time either standing idle or running at a loss, that most of those running were paying no dividends, and that four-fifths of the "claims" confidently believed to be rich by their owners, were not worked, the reason for all this being that wages were too high for the average richness of the rock.

There are two roads from Hornitos to Mariposa—one to the left through Bear Valley, the other more direct; we took the latter, crossing the celebrated Mariposa or Fremont estate, on which every thing seemed inactive. The village of Mariposa lies in a pleasant valley, but it was suffering from the general depression

of the mining interest; many of the buildings were unoccupied, and the ruins of many others which had been burnt, stood just as the fire left them. We stopped here for dinner, and many of the gentlemen of the party remained for the night, overtaking the rest of us the next morning at breakfast time. We resumed our ride late in the afternoon; the road passes the quartz mill of the Mariposa Company, and crosses a pleasant, broken country, abounding in oaks, pines and Buckeye and Mariposa bushes, laden, as we saw them, with blossoms. The moon had arisen before we reached White & Hatch's, where we were to spend the night. A surprise was in store for us here, in the midst of the pine woods, and nearly three thousand feet up the Sierra slopes—clean beds, tidy rooms, and a table covered with every thing one could desire anywhere.

We took another early morning start, and drove for two hours or more on one of the best built mountain roads we ever saw—the ascent being very gradual and the construction very thorough; before this it has no doubt been completed to Clark's, but then was open about half way. As we ascended we obtained some fine views across the valley; the spur which we crossed is six thousand feet above the sea. Beyond the summit we took saddle-horses, which were waiting for us by appointment by the roadside, and after some confusion and delay in making choice of horses, adjusting saddles, appropriating guides and completing other arrangements, the cavalcade moved on by a romantic and magnificently timbered trail to Clark's ranch, where we were to dine and spend the night. We were sorry not to see Mr. Galen Clark, who is somewhat celebrated as a frontiersman and explorer, and who is one of the Commissioners of the State having in charge the Yosemite valley; but in his absence we were very kindly treated by his partner, Mr. Moore, known here as the Deacon, and by Mrs. Moore. The ranch is on the south fork of the Merced river, and is about four thousand two hundred feet above tide-water. The house, like most of these mountain inns, is a long building one-story high, the doors of the various rooms opening directly upon a piazza, while many of them open also into each other. Through the kitchen door opening, in the rear of the house, we could see the Chinese cook in the performance of his culinary duties. Near this door were several tin basins on a bench; there was also a trough hollowed in a log, to which water was

conducted from a mountain spring, and these constituted our toilet conveniences. At night, there being few bed-rooms, beds were made on the floor of the sitting-room and of the dining-room, and we think a few of our number slept in cots on the piazza, which they could do with comparative safety in this climate. The travel has increased beyond the expectations and the preparations of those who live on the route; according to Clark's register, one hundred and seventy-five visitors stopped here during the season of 1867, six hundred and twenty-five in 1869, and in 1870 the number probably exceeded one thousand. The completion of the carriage road last season, and of the San Joaquin railroad this year, will bring the valley comparatively near and reasonably accessible to San Francisco, and it is to be hoped that hotel accommodations will be multiplied to correspond with these new facilities. For ourselves, however, we had no disposition to complain at Clark and Moore's; every thing was done for us which circumstances would permit, and although the beds were rough, the table was inviting. The day had been hot, but the night air was chilly, and a large wood fire blazing on the hearth of the sitting-room was grateful to the feeling as well as cheerful to the eye. Outside, near the house, another fire burnt brightly on the ground, and a motley group of guides, Portuguese, Mexican, Indian, English and American, gathered around it; further on, the horses, eating their hay, stood in a long row tied to an enormous pine trunk which lay across the opening, and served also as a block for the saddles and bridles. The poor horses do not receive much consideration in this country; they are hardly worked and miserably fed, but the climate enables them both to do and to suffer more than would be possible in the Eastern States. They are mustangs, the wild horses of the prairies and pampas.

We left Clark's the next morning at seven o'clock. Crossing the Merced, we began immediately to ascend, and as we rode along the mountain side we had a splendid view of the valley below, and of the range opposite, all bristling with dense forests of noble trees. Soon we entered the deep forest shade ourselves, and rode for hours among the finest specimens of pines, cedars and firs to be found, perhaps, anywhere on the globe. The sugar pine is the noblest of them all; it shoots upward, as erect as a palm, for two hundred and fifty or three hundred feet, and had a symmetrical head, the diameter at its base being only six or seven

feet. We noticed very frequent instances of a twin growth, that that is, two trees standing very close together, the junction of their roots being sometimes visible, but more commonly hidden below the surface of the ground. The air was laden with the fragrant odors of the balsam, while the foliage protected us against the scorching rays of the sun. The road was hard at times, for we reached an elevation of more than seven thousand feet above the sea; but the most unpleasaut part of it was where it crossed, as it did several times, a piece of swamp or meadow-tule, when the horses would sink at almost every step to their knees in water and black mud. Just before noon, we reached the half-way house, where we dined and rested for an hour or two. The building was unfinished, and was of course, in such a situation, a rough affair, but the dinner, for variety, quality and nicety of service, was worthy of all praise. The table-cloth was of snowy whiteness, and there was a napkin of good size and fine texture at each plate. The landlady told us that she had been remonstrated with by some of the landlords in the Valley, for her unnecessary extravagance in the matter of table-linen, on the ground that the public do not need such luxuries, and that they are dissatisfied, after having enjoyed them at one place, if they do not find them everywhere. Our advice to our hostess, in the interest of those who were to come after us, was, to maintain by all means, her present standard of excellence, as she might be assured that the public would appreciate her endeavors, and that her example, if persisted in, would compel other innkeepers to give an equivalent in cleanliness and comfort for the money which they exact from their guests.

After dinner we started on our last stage for the Yosemite. We passed through forests like those traversed in the forenoon, crossed the "divide," seven thousand five hundred feet above the sea, and soon reached the margin of the Valley which we had come so far to look upon. We alighted from our horses, and descending with care to Inspiration Point, a bold promontory of rock overhanging the abyss, were speedily compensated for all our time and all our toil. What we saw it is not easy to describe. Far below us, to the depth of nearly three thousand feet, lay the Valley, clothed with verdure, the tall trees with which it is dotted looking like stunted shrubs; around, the stupendous walls which enclose the Valley, stood like colossal fortresses, impregnable and

eternal, surmounted by gigantic towers and pinnales; while beyond, thirty miles distant in a direct line, the white and serried heights of the Sierra bounded the view. The elevation of the Valley above the sea is four thousand and sixty feet. The most condensed statement we have seen, of its physical character, is that given by Dr. Foster, of Chicago:

“The Yosemite Valley, though illustrating no meteorological fact, forms one of the most marked physical features, not only of California, but of the world. A narrow valley, walled in by precipices two and three thousand feet in height, with a great dome, forty-six hundred feet in height, dominating over the whole; a cataract falling with an unbroken plunge sixteen hundred feet, another nine hundred and fifty feet, and still another of three hundred and fifty feet, whose waters at length commingle in a river known as the Merced, which winds its way through grassy meadows, occasionally expanding into pools from whose glassy surface is faithfully reflected every tint, not mingled, but sharply defined, of rock, tree, and sky; the whole forms a combined scene of rugged grandeur and picturesque beauty which is probably unequalled on the face of the earth.”

HAMILTON A. HILL.

(To be continued.)

COMMENCEMENT A CENTURY AGO.

Just a hundred years ago, when the College of Pennsylvania stood on the west side of Fourth street, a little below Arch street, when Provost Doctor Smith and Vice Provost Doctor Allison, and Professors Kinnersley and Davidson constituted the Faculty, and when the city contained not over three thousand houses, Commencement day was celebrated with all attainable pomp and splendor. At this period, the Hon. John Penn, of Lansdowne, the last of our colonial governors, and one of the best of that illustrious family to whose benefactions the College had been so much indebted, held the office of President of the Board of Trustees. Peace reigned within its walls.

The widow Graydon occupied the old slate-roof house, in Second street, and comfortably lodged scholars to the Academy, from the Southern provinces and the West India islands, as well

as many distinguished foreign visitors to our city. The students read Ovid, Virgil, Cæsar, Sallust, Horace and Cicero, and exhibited their declamatory powers, very much as they do in our day.

On the Anniversary Commencement day, June 28th, 1771, Samuel Armor and John Parke, two of the students, on taking their degree of Bachelor of Arts, spoke a Pastoral dialogue in the presence of a very crowded and respectable audience. Jacob Bankson, Esq., A. M., sang an ode accompanied by the organ; the bands of the 18th or Royal regiment of Ireland, and the 21st or Royal North British Fusileers were present and entertained the company with music. The exercises continued the whole day, and, it is said, gave "general satisfaction."

John Parke proved himself a credit to his Alma Mater. His translation of the Odes of Horace has caused his name to be held in high esteem even to the present time.

What wonderful events have occurred since June, 1771! The College, passing with the growth of the city westward, from Fourth street to Ninth street, and now preparing to cross the Schuylkill to the Darby road; the city, which then hardly extended to Fifth street, now spreading over a vast tract and containing more than a hundred thousand houses; the then colony of Penn, now a great and populous State; the then feeble and disunited provinces, now a compact and formidable power of the earth. What would good Governor John Penn, the President of the College in 1771, say, could he revisit us on a "Children's Nutting Day," and see the tens of thousands from the public schools enjoying themselves on his former beautiful country seat of Lansdowne, in the new Park.

We append the Pastoral spoken at the Commencement a century ago:

ON THE DEATH OF THE HONORABLE THE PROPRIETARY
OF PENNSYLVANIA.

Addressed to the Hon. Richard Penn, Esq., late Governor of the Province.

PHILANDER AND CORYDON.

P.

Hail to the day, that joyous now appears,
To crown the labors of our youthful years!
A day! whose beams dispense unusual smiles,
And gives us pleasure in return for toils.

Lo, science in her sacred hand displays
 The wreath that binds our brows with lasting praise:
 All nature shares our joy and looks more gay,
 The circling hours, hilarious wing their way,
 Say then, my friend, what means that deep-heaved sigh?
 Why starts the tear of sorrow from thine eye?
 If now on science' wing thy Heav'n-born soul,
 Mounting sublime where worlds unnumbered roll,
 Reads nature's laws among the dazzling stars,
 And all the planets whist'ling in their spheres;
 Or marks how blazing orbs portentous stray
 Thro' pathless tracts amid celestial day:
 Where is thy wonted philosophic mien?
 The soul of rapture, and the look serene?

C.

Alas, my friend! those orbs that roll on high,
 And all the glories of the spangled sky,
 Can to your Corydon afford no joy,
 While scenes terrestrial all his thoughts employ!
 How vain is each enjoyment here below,
 Our greatest pleasure of the scene of woe!
 Frail man is like a plant in some fair vale,
 Whose downy bosom scents the vernal gale;
 The rising morn its op'ning bud displays,
 At noon it blossoms and at night decays:
 Just so life's blaze once fled,—a solemn gloom,
 Succeeds, in mansions of the silent tomb:
 The brave, the strong, the wise, the virtuous fall;
 Death undistinguished, aims his shafts at all.

P.

Why should my Corydon conceal his grief?
 The cause declare, and take a friend's relief.

C.

Does not Philander hear yon tolling bell?
 How sad the news it speaks in every knell;
 The good *Sylvanus* all with tears deplore,
 The father of his country is no more!

P.

Sylvanus gone! O name forever dear!
 May ev'ry swain embalm it with a tear:
 Henceforth be nought but elegiac strains,
 And notes of sorrow heard o'er all the plains.
 No more shall Schuylkill's silver streams delight,
 Nor turgid Delaware my steps invite;

The voice of woe shall sound from shore to shore,
 "The great, the good Sylvanus is no more!"

C.

Distressing sound! may time preserve his name,
 And write it glorious in the page of fame!
 For lo! where nought but pathless deserts stood,
 "And the poor Indian roam'd his native wood;"
 Fair science now, beneath his fostering hand,
 These walls* hath raised to bless a chosen land;
 And commerce, arts and laws,—a glorious train,
 Upheld by him have deeper fix'd their reign.
 See too on yonder plain, a dome,† designed
 To nurse the feebler part of human kind!
 The poor, the blind, the maimed,—exulting there,
 With heartfelt strains proclaim his guardian care:
 Their grateful hymns like morning incense rise,
 To waft the good Sylvanus to the skies.

P.

Prepare we then to join the mournful song,
 And let these vaulted roofs, the varied notes prolong.

AIR.—*Water parted from the Sea.*

Patriots lent us from the skies,
 May awhile mankind delight;
 But for pleasures sorrows rise,
 When they're wafted from our sight.

Good Sylvanus, wise, sincere,
 Once to bless our land was given;
 But he walked a pilgrim here,
 Till he gained his native Heaven.

Music, all hail! thou earliest child of light!
 Whose strains began when chaos rose from night!
 When first this pond'rous sphere began to roll,
 Thy notes, melodious rung from pole to pole.
 Prompt at thy voice ætherial angels raise
 Melodious anthems to Jehovah's praise:
 The savage man, by thee is taught to bend
 To social joys, and form the gen'rous friend.
 "To sounds of heav'nly harps he dies away,
 And melts in visions of eternal day."

* The College.

† The Alms House, then on the square between Spruce and Pine and Tenth and Eleventh Sts.

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GINX'S BABY; His Birth and other Misfortunes. A Satire. 12mo.

Pp. 125. Boston: James R. Osgood & Co.

Pauperism in England has increased so alarmingly during the last decade, notwithstanding the efforts of wealthy and powerful societies organized for its relief, that the subject is engrossing a large share of the public attention. Unfortunately, it is one of those complicated social problems which seems to present a different solution on every side from which it is viewed; while every one admits the growing evil, few are agreed as to its causes, and each has his own particular plan for its suppression. While the poor workingman is straining every sinew to keep himself out of the slough of beggary, many of his would-be helpers are bending their best energies to keep him out of each other's influence; the result is, that the struggle of toil with poverty passes unheeded in the combat of opposing theories.

Nowhere are there larger or better charities than in England, but nowhere is there a greater lack of coöperation.

It is against these theorizing reformers, the want of harmony between these institutions, and the existing state of the poor laws generally, that this satire is directed.

The mother of **GINX'S BABY**, in direct opposition to its father's serious remonstrance, presents this thirteenth pledge of her affection at a time when he, Ginx, finds the eighteen or twenty shillings a week, which he earns as a navvy, all too little to supply the wants of the existing dozen of little Ginxes. As there is no room for it, even till it starves—three babies already being nightly wedged between the parent bodies—the father charitably determines to drop it at once over Vauxhall Bridge. Undeterred by the penalty attached by Act of Parliament to such cases, which a deputy officer reads to him, he is proceeding to execute his murderous errand when a gentleman, a follower of Malthus, asks him, argumentatively, "How he happened to have so many children?" The question is too deep for Ginx's philosophy, and while he is pondering an answer, his questioner addresses the crowd on the folly of having children when you cannot provide for them; the gentleman in turn is posed by a sharp stone-mason, asking, "What's a man to do and a woman to do if they don't marry; and if they do, how can you hinder them having children?"

The second time the father starts for the bridge he is overtaken by a Sister of Misery, who has been nursing the poor mother, and now offers to adopt the child. To this arrangement Ginx gladly consents, and the baby becomes an inmate of the Home of the Sisters of Misery. With them it is lovingly cared for and tended, and the mother comes every day with the regularity of the milkman to discharge her maternal duties. But soon a grave question agitates the good Sisters. May not this suckling of the Church, perhaps an embryo saint, derive heretical taint from its Protestant mother? To avoid such a calamity they endeavor to convert her, and failing that, propose to make the sign of the cross upon the natural reservoirs of infant nourishment each time she approaches the infant; Mrs. Ginx asserts her readiness to do any thing under heaven sooner than submit to such an indignity, and therefore is dismissed, while the baby is treated to a course of consecrated pap.

Mrs. Ginx is not silent under her wrongs, and the Protestant Detectors Association, whose members are always on the alert to discover instances of Papal aggression, hearing of her troubles, she is interviewed; as she dare not take back the child, and her husband is indifferent what becomes of it, the Association have some difficulty in making a case; but they succeed in raising a very general excitement which threatens serious results to the Home.

The treatment to which GINX'S BABY has meanwhile been subjected, has effectually soured its temper. Incense makes it sick. When it was baptized it did all that swaddled infant could do to interrupt the ceremony; this, however, was only regarded by its kind patrons as the struggle of St. Michael with the devil in its little body; but when it afterward refused to retain its holy food and ejected it over its beautiful chasuble and the priest and the altar of St. Ambrosius, Ginx was deemed a spiritual miscarriage, and was willingly resigned to the Protestant Detectors Association, although the latter had lost their case at law.

A great Protestant meeting is called to receive the baby. Every sect is represented, and they struggle for five hours over its spiritual welfare, entirely forgetting in their zeal its temporal wants. After the meeting has adjourned, the few loiterers remember the little stranger, and it is hurriedly handed over to a strange woman, who happens to be standing near, and who offers to take care of it "for the good of the cause." A few hours afterward the great Protestant baby is discovered by Policeman X 99, lying on a door-step wrapped in a newspaper. Restored to the Association, some £1400 is collected from the various churches—£1300 of this is expended for the expenses, &c., of the committee who have the infant in charge; this committee meet regularly for a year, in fact until a bill is presented from the people who are farming it, when they hastily adjourn, and never after can a *quorum* be formed.

GINX'S BABY is now thirteen months old; and henceforth we shall speak of him in his proper gender. As a "Protestant question" he has disappeared. He now goes on the parish. One night he is found, by a resident of St. Simon Magus, dexterously placed across the line which divides that parish from St. Bartimeus; as his head is in the latter, the man carries him to that one's work-house, and of course the authorities refuse to retain him. Again there is a controversy and again the baby is in court; but this time it is about the disposal of his body and not his soul, as before, and pending the decision, he is nearly starved to death; whether he would have died through their treatment is only left to conjecture, as an accident discovers his parentage at the same time that the rate-payers of St. Bartimeus are mulcted of £1600 for the cost of his suit. No time is lost in restoring the unhappy changeling to his parents; they are on the eve of emigration, and disowning him, abandon him on the steps of the Reform Club. A kind-hearted fanatic, high in power and office, finds him there, and notwithstanding the gross irregularity of introducing such a subject among the members, brings him into the hall, where all may have a look at him.

Exciting a momentary interest, the little wanderer is adopted by the club; occasionally noticed, but more frequently set aside for subjects of fresher interest; he grows up to boyhood in his own devices. At last when he is fifteen, tired of the slow life he is leading—and chilled by the indifference of his patrons, he helps himself to some spoons and decamps.

The remainder of his story is soon told. His plunder turned into money, is soon used up. He tries to get work, but cannot. The world

is too full. If he tries to learn a trade, adepts underbid him; even the thieves to whom he gravitates, are jealous of the accession. Finally he does for himself what his father was prevented from doing for him—throws himself over Vauxhall Bridge and is known no more.

"Philosophers, philanthropists, politicians, Papists and Protestants, poor-law ministers and parish officers, while you have been theorizing and discussing, debating, wrangling, legislating and administering—God God! gentlemen, between you all, where has Ginx's Baby gone to?"

THE PROSE WRITERS OF GERMANY. By Fred. T. Hedge. Illustrated with portraits. New edition, revised and enlarged. Pp. 580. Philadelphia: Porter & Coates.

Since Henry Mackenzie, the last of "the British Essayists," published a translation of one of Lessing's works, the influence exerted by German upon English literature, and the number of translations from it into our language, has been very great. It has generally been a wholesome and beneficial influence. The more practical Anglo-Saxon mind tends to shallowness, by breaking away from speculation and philosophy,—a danger quite as real as that of dreaminess incurred by the speculative German. In *Metaphysics*, *Theology*, *History*, *Philology*, and indeed every department of research, the German influence has been productive of the best results. No doubt the Germans have something to learn in return from the countrymen of Bacon, something of scientific slowness and patience in the formation of hypothesis,—something of the direct and continued reference of all things to use and real benefit. Each has much to give—much to receive.

Dr. Hedge's book is the only one in the language that professes to give a rounded and symmetric view of the prose literature of Germany. It deals mostly with the classic period—that of Kant, Goethe and Schiller, although he prefixes to these large selections from Luther, the great theosopher Jacob Boehme, the grotesque preacher Abraham a Sancta Clara, and Justus Möser; and includes at the end Chamisso and Heine.

The selection is made on the principle of giving large extracts from the true classics of the language, rather than shorter excerpts from a great multitude of authors,—a plan about which there may be a difference of opinion, but the result will certainly be best and satisfactory to general readers. From books of brief selections one rises with a doubt as to whether any thing has been really learned,—whether the passages chosen are representative or only exceptional in merit. But Dr. Hedge's readers have abundant means of making up their minds as to the literary power of some thirty of the greatest names in German prose literature, in translations partly by the editor, partly by the best laborers in this field. The introductory sketches are admirable alike in what they say and what they quote from other cities, and the whole volume deserves the high and honorable place it has held for a quarter of a century in our literature.

MY STUDY WINDOWS. By James Russell Lowell. Pp. 433. Boston: J. R. Osgood & Co. Philadelphia: Claxton, Remsen & Haffelfinger.

The grand old art of essay writing which came in with the *Sieur Montaigne* is not yet dead while Prof. Lowell lives. As we read this last book we can imagine with what delight Charles Lamb would have devoured its pages, gladly wasting the midnight oil over them,—what epigrammatic heartiness of eulogy he would have poured out upon its author in his next letter to Barton or Manning.

Lowell made his *debut* as a prose writer twenty-five years ago, in his "Conversations on the Old Poets," but only within a short time past has he given us his second, third and fourth volumes. Some essays in this volume, especially that on Chaucer, suggest a comparison with the "Conversations," a comparison which shows how much the critic has grown in range and power; others are concerned with our later history and later literature—with Lincoln and de Quincey, Swinburne and Carlyle. Perhaps the most charming essay is the first, "On My Garden Acquaintance," which (like "A Good Word for Winter,") first appeared in *The Atlantic Almanac*. The essay "On a Certain Condescension in Foreigners," is a fiery piece of patriotism, while those on "Percival," and "Thoreau," are iconoclastic, attacking two American reputations with great justice and vigor. The papers on Pope and Chaucer are the best specimens of that felicitous criticism of which Lowell is almost our only master,—a literary power which gave all their weight to his "Fable for Critics," and "Among my Books." They are not quite in place in the present volume, which is generally of a more miscellaneous and less literary character than his last.

JOHN WOOLMAN'S JOURNAL. With an Introduction by John G. Whittier. Pp. viii. 315. Same Publishers and Booksellers.

John Woolman was a Jerseyman of last century, and eke a taylor by trade, and a Quaker by religious profession. But natural genius and the grace of God combined to make the Jersey taylor one of the noblest, purest and most kingly souls that our earth has known. He put on record his inward and outward experiences in life, and did the work with such simple and devout sincerity that all that read were delighted. Many editions have appeared in this country and in England, and even one in German; and now at last the Quaker poet has edited one for the great Boston house, who send him forth in un-Friendly green and gold. The motto from Charles Lamb prefixed to the book—"Get the writings of John Woolman by heart"—recalls many passages from his correspondence, which coincide with the high estimate expressed by Whittier in the "Introduction."

Woolman was one of the first Anti-Slavery writers in the colonies,—a position shared by another Friend, Anthony Benezet. He died in 1772, while on a religious visit to England.

WORLD ESSAYS: Among my Books. Essays reprinted from the *New York World*. New York: E. T. Hale & Co. 1871.

The quaint, modest-looking little volume, thus quietly ushered into the world, and coming out of the "World," gains nothing by taking for its secondary title, that which belongs to Mr. Lowell's popular book. It has, however, merit enough of its own, to make it well worth reading, and its contents are good enough to be taken into safe keeping out of the doubtful parentage of the "Sunday World." There are essays on Blackstone and Thackeray, on Travelling and the East, on Cobbett and Henry Reed, on Sermons and Novels, on the Stuarts and Sir Walter Scott—but indeed, a list of titles of the subjects gives no notion of the wealth of illustration, the flow of digression, and the charming treatment with which this little book is enriched and enlivened. The title is, indeed, a misnomer as well as a plagiarism, for the best of its contents are not from "Among my Books," but from a clear memory of what books and authors suggest, that gift beyond the giving of the writer, yet very precious to the reader. The clear, simple, good English is a style formed, no doubt, by a study in the books that serve for texts on which to preach these lay literary sermons; but it is not the only merit of the book itself, although in that respect it compares well even with Mr. Lowell's book, and he is a standard and an authority far beyond his professor's chair or his New England or even his American readers. "The World," with all its faults, has done much to elevate the tone of our metropolitan press, but in nothing has it earned our praise so heartily as in giving, and we hope, keeping for its readers, such clever work as that which is now gathered together in this little volume of "World Essays."

THE HEATHEN CHINEE. By Bret Harte. With Illustrations by S. Eytinge, Jr. Same Publishers and Booksellers.

The true "American Iliad in a Nutshell," the single national poem that has taken the ear of all classes and orders of men, is here presented in a very graceful form. Mr. Eytinge's pictures, though not quite equal to the text, are not unworthy of it. Of the epic itself—an epic of eight stanzas adapted in length to an age whose folios are the daily newspapers—we need say little, except to call attention to the quietism. In an age and land of exaggeration, emphasis and hyperbole, the poet catches our weary ear by a certain repressive quietism, by half silent hints of facts rather than their description. May not these be part of the secret of his

success? By the way, it is not a little curious that in this "Author's Edition," of so short a poem a gross inaccuracy is repeated. In the last stanza but one it reads,

In his sleeves, which were long,
He had twenty-four *packs*,

when the meaning is evidently *jacks*, or winning cards.

GABRIELLE ANDRE. An Historical novel. By Rev. S. Baring Gould, M. A. Pp. 201. New York: D. Appleton & Co.

Mr. Gould's story concerns the earlier history of the French Revolution, and especially the creation of that Constitutional Church of France, of which the Abbe Gregoire was the moving spirit,—a church destroyed by Napoleon and the Pope. Himself a Liberal among the clergy, he thinks that injustice has been done to that remarkable movement alike by the friends and the enemies of the Revolution. The hero is a Curé Lindet, who becomes a bishop of the Constitutional Church, and the heroine is a little Norman girl whose fidelity to a mad mistress carries her into the terrible scenes of the Revolution. The story is told with very considerable dramatic power, although Mr. Gould is too fond of speaking through his characters. His picture of the giddy M'me Deschwandes in contrast to her Awisse husband, is very amusing, but it is an English picture of the French. The chief fault of the book is its abrupt close just as Lindet has become a dignitary of the new church, but the fiction which Mr. Gould promises us—based on the life of Gregoire—will supply the deficiency.

We have also received through Messrs. Claxton, Remsen & Haffelfinger:

A SIREN. By T. Adolphus Trollope, author of "Lindisfarn Chase," &c., being No. 353 of Harper & Brothers' Library of Select Novels.

EARL'S DENE. By R. E. Francillen. No. 355 of the same series, and

DAISY NICHOL. By Lady Hardy. No. 356 of the same series.

THE
PENN MONTHLY.

JULY, 1871.

JOHN ADAMS.*

To rehearse the deeds and reestablish the fame of a deceased ancestor, over whose reputation detraction, stimulated by party rancor, has cast a cloud, is a work of true piety. If tasks such as these have not uniformly accomplished their ends, it is because the zeal of the champion often defeats his laudable purpose, and by finding nothing to condemn in the life of the hero, excites the suspicion of the critical and gives new vigor to the defamation of the envious. Many an ambitious biographer would have done well to let the records of the life of his subject sleep in the tomb where they were inurned, and to have preferred the doubtful halo of general history to the clear and convincing light shed by contemporaneous evidence. Indeed, it may be safely said that that biography whose only aim is to glorify its subject, is worse than useless, if from the events of the life thus depicted no lessons of morality or wisdom can be drawn. If in its pages there be nothing to stir the ambition of the young or regulate the actions of the mature, if from its depths there glimmer no ray of truth, then the life of that man had better never been written: to say he was born, and died, is a sufficient biography.

The melancholy truth, that not unfrequently volumes of adulatory biography of unworthy men float from the press, intensifies the pleasure of perusing the record of the life of a truly honest

* The Life of John Adams. Begun by John Quincy Adams, completed by Charles Francis Adams. Revised and corrected. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1871.

man, written down by honest descendants or friends, with truly honest motives. How we have lingered over the pages of Lockhart, and learned from thence the inner life of the great magician of literature; how we glowed with pleasurable emotion as from the letters and diary of Washington Irving we gleaned a few of the flowers of his beautiful life!—nay, it was but yesterday that we pondered over the pages of the biography of Josiah Quincy, Jr., in whose career, though finding much of which we could not approve, we recognized the marks of vigor of mind and steadfastness of purpose. Who has risen from the perusal of Irving's Washington without feeling stronger in his purposes of good and firmer in his faith in his fellow men? We do not speak now of autobiography, for there the egotism gives an artificial interest, which the career alone of the subject would not awaken.

Judged by this standard, what shall be said of the volumes now under consideration? They have been for fourteen years before the public, but during ten of those years the popular thoughts have been averted from revolutionary topics, and fixed firmly on the issues of the day. As the late war for the Union was unprecedented in its inception and events, there was little to be gained by research into history: and the unthinking mind found in the struggles of the revolution no analogies except those that seemed to encourage rebellion. So it has happened that this life of one of the chief patriots of those days awakened comparatively little of interest. It comes before us practically as a new work; gaining increased lustre by the fame of its chief author, whose tact as a diplomatist, aided by a pen as skilful in his country's defence as the sword of its most illustrious warrior, kept unbroken our relations with Great Britain, saved us from the complications of an European war, and at the same time preserved the national dignity as unsullied as when it was surrendered to his guardianship.

The author of these volumes presupposes in the reader a somewhat accurate knowledge of the history of the revolution, the formation of the government, and the early administrations. The work apparently supplements the full collection of the works of John Adams, and is, as it were, a commentary on the life as there depicted. Thus we are left to conjecture the date of his birth; and the philosophical introduction of the author presents us to simple John Adams, A.B. of Harvard, and teacher of a country

school. Indeed, the only material fault we have been able to find in the work, is that philosophy sometimes crowds out the facts; and that the author takes it for granted that we have all read the voluminous correspondence and diary of the founder of his house. Life is too short for such universal study; and we, who read for information, would gladly find the sources of knowledge at our hand, and reluctantly turn to other volumes for the facts we feel should be in those before us. As for the rest, if we are critical, the style, though not devoid of dignity, and often rising to eloquence, is not the equal of that of those admirable letters which refuted the sophistries of the British Foreign Office and delighted the countrymen of Charles Francis Adams. Was it experience that then rounded the sentences and gave force to the sentiment, or did the writer rise with the occasion, and, much as he loved his family, proved that in his nation's service he could exhibit greater powers than he had summoned up in defence of the career of his ancestor?

Let us pick out, here and there, a few events in the life of John Adams, and see if we can profit by them:

The country schoolmaster chooses law for his profession, for which he was "preëminently fitted with the endowments of nature, a sound constitution of body, a clear and sonorous voice, a quick conception, a discriminating judgment and a ready elocution." We find him starting out in his profession with the sentiment: "The study and practice of law, I am sure, does not dissolve the obligations of morality or of religion." The time of study of the law passed away, and in 1758 he was sworn in as an attorney of the Superior Court of the province of Massachusetts. Residing at Braintree, an obscure village, it is not to be supposed that fortune or fame came at once to his embrace. Yet so diligent was he in his attention to his business and so frugal in his habits, that in the sixth year of his practice he was enabled to be married to that lady whose reputation is closely allied to his own, and who sustained him in many an hour of trial, soothed his excitable temper, gave to his children the best of training, bore herself with equal grace and dignity at the courts of European monarchs and in the saloons of the Presidential mansion; and who, perhaps alone of women past and future, was the wife and mother of a President of the United States. Educated much better than the most favored women of the day, the culture

acquired in her father's house was a solace to her in after life; and her letters, written without premeditation, to friends, have, like those of Madame de Sevigné, become models of familiar correspondence. As the wife of the second President, and as the mother of John Quincy Adams, she, who was Abigail Smith, the daughter of the Congregational minister of Weymouth, has acquired a conspicuous place in the national history.

The higher honors of the profession now began to fall upon him. The resignation of the Commissioner of Stamps had led to the closing of the Superior Court, of which Hutchinson was Chief Justice, much to the grievance of suitors and their counsel. At a town meeting held in Boston, John Adams, together with James Otis and Jeremiah Gridley, was selected to present the case before the governor and his council. The argument was of no effect, but the occasion exercised an important influence on Mr. Adams' subsequent career. It was his introduction to the patriotic forum, and from that time he became something more than a mere lawyer adjusting individual rights. In 1768 he removed to Boston, and there continued the practice of his profession, attending the sittings of the Superior Court in its country circuits.

In the excited state of the public mind in the patriotic city of Boston, a collision between the populace and the British troops, whose gaudy uniforms flaunted through the streets, was inevitable. The so-called "Boston massacre" was a necessity of the times: a mere exponent of the passions that ruled the hour. A corporal's guard, insulted and assailed by the angry and perhaps malicious mob, failed to restrain their temper, and yielding to the excitement of the moment, fired a single fatal volley, the result of which was the death of five and the wounding of six of the townspeople. From that hour the presence of English soldiery became insupportable to the American people. No longer the fêted representatives of a loved imperial power, they became hateful as the minions of oppression.

John Adams and Josiah Quincy, Jr., were selected as counsel for Captain Preston and the soldiers who had fired the fatal shots. It appears that their employment was suggested by Hutchinson, and as they were the most prominent of the lawyers who opposed the government policy, the selection was judicious. A prisoner against whom popular indignation raises itself should always be

defended by counsel in whose character the people have faith, and by one who holds popular opinions. Thus the character of the advocate strengthens the cause in which he is retained. Yet it requires not a little moral courage to stem the tide of popular wrath. Neither John Adams nor his younger colleague refused the duty cast upon them. It was attended with much that was dangerous to their reputation and prospects. Says the biographer, the decision of Adams and Quincy "was regarded by many townsmen as little short of a wilful design to screen murderers from justice. The father of Quincy wrote to his son in terms of vehement remonstrance. The son's reply is in the vein which so often raises the annals of these times above the ordinary level of history: "To inquire my duty and do it is my aim. I dare affirm that you and *this whole people* will one day rejoice that I became an advocate for the aforesaid criminals charged with the murder of our fellow-citizens."

It is the glorious privilege of the lawyer to stand between the oppressor and the object of his wrath, to snatch the victim from the very furnace of condemnation. When called to act for the defence he dare not consider the guilt or innocence of the accused. It is his duty to use the abilities with which he is endowed to secure for his client a fair trial under the law; that law of civic courts which considers not the abstract guilt of the prisoner at its bar, but only condemns him when by its regular process it is proven that he has violated its commandment. The advocate, therefore, who refuses to undertake a defence, simply because in his judgment the accused is guilty, is recreant to his trust. It is audaciously substituting his own judgment for that of judge and jury. Let us commend, therefore, these young lawyers, Adams and Quincy, one of twelve and the other of three years' practice at the bar, in that they recognized so readily the obligations imposed on them by their high calling.

Captain Preston was easily acquitted. There was no evidence to prove that he had ordered his men to fire, and the verdict in his favor was not unanticipated. The trial of the other prisoners was, however, prolonged and contested. "So great was the interest," says our author, "felt in it that a stenographer undertook, what in that day was a gigantic task, a report in full. Unlike the indefatigable men of the same class in this age, he gave way, completely exhausted, before he reached the end." The

length of time that intervened between the massacre and the trial had allowed the popular wrath to somewhat subside and a reaction in favor of the accused was taking place, of which advantage was skilfully taken by their counsel. The provocation had been great, that was certain. Soldiers were but men, not gifted with patriarchal patience. Were they not driven to the wall when they fired; was it not in pure self-defence? Why visit on the heads of the unfortunate men at the bar the retribution which belonged to those by whose orders they were sent to coerce a patriotic people? Such or similar arguments fell from the lips of the ardent junior in the cause; but when Mr. Adams spoke it was as the priest of law unsullied by mortal passions, untainted by malice or prejudgment: "I am for the prisoners at the bar; and shall apologize for it only in the words of the Marquis Beccaria: 'If I can but be the instrument of preserving one life, his blessing and tears of transport shall be a sufficient consolation to me for the contempt of mankind.'" From this opening he proceeded to develop the law of homicide, supporting his argument by copious citation of authorities, and happily concluding with a quotation from Algernon Sidney eulogizing the impartiality and justice of the law. The judges, appointed by the king, seconded this argument by charging the jury in favor of the accused. The result of the trial was a verdict acquitting six of the soldiers, who were therefore discharged. The other two were convicted of manslaughter. By craving benefit of clergy their punishment was commuted to burning in the hand.

This is regarded by the biographer as the first of four great moral tests which occurred in the course of the public career of Mr. Adams. The immediate result was not unfavorable to him, for during the trial he had increased his former professional reputation, and the cooler judgment of the people distinguished between the duty of the lawyer and the sentiments of the man. He "never looked back upon his share in this transaction without satisfaction, not only because he had himself performed what he believed his duty in the face of popular clamor, but because he had done his part to furnish for Boston a memorable example of self-control under extraordinary provocation, as well as of cheerful submission to the ultimate decree of law."

The next crisis in his life took place several years later. Then the revolutionary fire which had been so long smouldering had

burst into an open blaze. Sanguinary battles had been fought and the whole power of the Colonies was united against the Imperial armies. The Second National Congress was in session at Philadelphia. In vain had petitions for redress of grievances been sent to the King; in vain had reconciliation been attempted. The close of each negotiation or attempted negotiation found the breach wider than before. The emissaries of the Crown would not recognize the Representatives of Congress in any official capacity. They came to extend mercy to penitent rebels, not to treat with a free and independent nation. With such views, their diplomacy was barren of results. The situation remained, therefore, anomalous. The Colonies were in a state of armed resistance to the British authority. They had organized a quasi provisional government, and had raised, equipped and set in the field considerable armies, which had given battle to the regular troops with varying success. In every thing but the name, they had cast off the yoke of allegiance to the mother country. Yet to cut the last thread which bound them to the British Empire, they hesitated. In the breasts of many, there was a lingering hope that the difficulties would yet be settled. The old flag which many of them had followed on the shores of Champlain and Lake George, which some of them had seen planted in triumph at Quebec and Louisbourg, was still to them an emblem of power and loyalty which they could not readily disregard. And even while they prayed that Montgomery might be able to tear that flag from the heights where Wolfe had planted it, they still hoped that the King would recover from his infatuation. If he would but relent. If Lord North would but resign, and if Chatham, the great premier, could but once more wield the sceptre, all would be well. They would never yield to force, but concession might do much. It was not the amount, but the form of the tax which displeased them. As loyal subjects of the King, they daily prayed for peace and energetically waged war. It was a false position. Had it long continued, it would have proved a fatal position. How could insurgents who dared not proclaim themselves independent, anticipate foreign encouragement and assistance? No one realized this better than John Adams. Months before the idea of independence had become popularized, he had, in private conversations and letters to personal friends, insisted on its necessity. So advanced was he in his

opinions, that he shocked the loyal and terrified the timid of his countrymen. "It is stated by more than one witness, that Mr. Adams was avoided in the streets by many, as if it were contamination to speak with such a traitor. Even of his friends, several became infected with the general panic and looked coldly upon him." Hancock and Dickinson drew off from close association with him and left him in the isolation, which is now regarded as his glory, of the sole conspicuous advocate of independence. But, little by little, his opinions prevailed, and at the session of Congress in the spring of 1776, it was found that New England and most of the southern States were united in favor of separation from the mother country. The middle States, representing the great landed interests, still hesitated, and even desponded. In Congress, Adams labored incessantly in behalf of separation. Ready and strong in debate, uncompromising in support of his propositions, rather hasty in temper, he urged with a restless energy the importance of the step. Realizing the necessity of combined action, he was in constant consultation with those who sympathized with the movement. Efforts were made to stir up popular enthusiasm on the subject, in order that the more timid of the delegates might be encouraged to decided action. Wavering Maryland was stimulated by the exertions of Samuel Chase, whilst Jonathan Dickinson Sergeant resigned his seat in Congress in order to repair to Trenton to influence the Assembly of New Jersey.

The debate on the preliminary resolutions developed the fact that a majority of the colonies would favor independence; but the question was deemed too important to be passed by a bare majority, and therefore the discussion was postponed until the first of July. The interval was marked by the greatest exertions to procure a unanimous vote. On the eleventh of June, Thomas Jefferson, John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, Roger Sherman and Robert R. Livingston were appointed a committee to prepare the declaration. Every Philadelphian knows the unpretending building at the corner of Market and Seventh streets, where Thomas Jefferson composed the greatest State paper of our history. As he worked at his important task, did he with prophetic foresight see the greatness of the future of his country, or may it be said of him as of many architects, "He builded better than he knew."

On the first of July the debate was resumed. Chief among

the opponents of independence was John Dickinson. "The opposition which was dying away everywhere else, was still a living principle within his breast. Yet it was the resistance of a patriot aiming to avert what he viewed as the greatest dangers for his country, without the alloy of faction or bad faith. * * * His action must be resolved into the hesitation of wealthy conservatism at taking an irrevocable step, rather than want of public spirit or personal courage."

On this occasion, Adams made a great oratorical effort, of which no record remains; but which Webster, with a happy fancy, reproduced in that speech so familiar to us all, commencing with the words, "Sink or swim." Adams, himself, considered the debate an useless waste of words, inasmuch as it probably did not influence a single vote. Nevertheless, if we may judge by the effects produced upon his auditors, the future president was truly eloquent that day. Jefferson said that he stood forth "the Colossus of Independence;" that he evinced "a power of thought and expression which moved the members from their seats." Richard Stockton called him the "Atlas of Independence;" and the Virginians went home "to fill every mouth in the ancient Dominion with the praises due to the comprehensiveness of his views, the force of his arguments and the boldness of his patriotism." The solemn protest of Dickinson fell unheeded on the ear of the assembly, most of the members of which were already individually committed to the step; and on the third of July the final vote on its passage was taken; and on the *Fourth* the Declaration was solemnly signed; the same John Hancock, who a few months before had drawn off from intimacy with Adams, because of his advocacy of separation, signing first, with a signature ever memorable in the history of the country. Thus the patriot of Massachusetts had triumphed. Independence, it is true, was inevitable; but he most conspicuously was its advocate and daring adherent. Friendship, fortune, and even life, he risked in the cause. With a keen foresight he had long seen its necessity, and to know his country's need was with him a mandate to its procurement.

The scene again shifts, and this time we are carried to the dykes and canals of the Dutch United Provinces. Adams is at the Hague as the accredited representative of the colonies; bearing several diplomatic commissions, and empowered to treat for peace

when the favorable moment should have arrived. The government of the United Provinces was much under British influence, and Sir Joseph York, who had been for thirty years the resident English minister, had acquired as much supremacy over their "High Mightinesses" as Sir Stratford de Redclyffe wielded in later days at the Sublime Porte. There was, apparently, little hope of recognition and assistance from the Dutch government. Yet the bankers of the Hague were persuaded to venture a loan to the struggling colonies. The money did not come as rapidly from the pockets of their capacious breeches as the ardent envoy wished, but still the aid was substantial and of the greatest importance. For it was now the sixth year of the Revolutionary struggle, and men and money were very scarce. But Adams was not satisfied with this assistance from individuals. He longed for recognition by the United Provinces. He therefore labored incessantly to create public sentiment in favor of this step. The great towns, being the moneyed centres, were already well inclined towards the colonial cause. The lenders of money were clamorous for recognition; for if the government were once firmly established, their loans were secure. Nor were the mass of the people forgetful of the incidents of their own contest with Spain, and they sympathized not a little with the brave people who had so long withstood the British power. Thus the soil in which the envoy was sowing was not likely to prove unfruitful. He labored to organize the feeling into such a form that the authorities could not be unmindful of it. One by one the various States instructed their delegates to vote for recognition—first Friesland, then Holland, then Zealand, then Overijssel, then Groningen, then Utrecht, and finally Guelderland—so that on the 19th of April, 1781, six years after Lexington, Mr. Adams was admitted as envoy of the United States of North America to their High Mightinesses of the United Provinces.

This successful diplomatic effort was considered by Mr. Adams as the greatest triumph of his life, and when the difficulties he encountered are properly credited, there can be no doubt but that he had great cause for self-congratulation. The United Provinces were then in the decline of their power. They were daily becoming more and more dependent on England, "the Mistress of the Seas." Ever since the reign of William III. of England, there had been close bonds between the two countries. It was a rela-

tion of dependence. The natural ally and assistant, shall we say protector? of the Low Countries, was and is England—Protestant England. That France should recognize and assist the colonies was not remarkable, for France was eager to strike at the weakest point of her formidable adversary; but Holland and her sister States acted against their interest when they lent an encouraging hand to our forefathers. The same Holland which sheltered the Pilgrim Fathers, when a little band flying from persecution, could not refrain to place herself on the same side of liberty when the hour of trial came.

When hostilities had ceased, Mr. Adams, whose signature had just been affixed to the treaty of peace, was entrusted with the delicate and important task of representing his country at the British court. He was the first American who appeared before the testy old king, as a citizen of the free and independent colonies. He was, therefore, in the eyes of George III., the personification of audacious rebellion. His reception, whilst attended by the usual diplomatic courtesy, was chilling. Nor were the people, with whom he was brought in contact, much more cordial. It was an uncomfortable, yet honorable situation. He, who lately felt that his life was in peril, as he with hardihood ran the gauntlet of the British cruisers, was now clothed in such majesty that no Englishman dared touch a hair of his head.

Three members of the Adams family, father, son and grandson, have represented our people at the Court of St. James, until this mission is almost regarded as an appanage in the Adams family. These successive honors have been the just rewards of patriotic services, and each appointment was doubtless suggested by the memory of the success of the preceding one.

Mr. Adams had served his country faithfully as legislator and diplomatist, and when the peace came he was foremost among those honored with office under the new government. To receive the second place when George Washington held the first, was indeed a high distinction. It would have been better for his reputation if he had followed the example of his illustrious chief, and at the close of Washington's second term, retired from public office, for it can not be denied that his administration as President cast a cloud over his reputation. This biography corrects many false impressions which are still lingering in the public mind, and demonstrates that many of the unfortunate events of

his presidential career were due to causes over which he had no control. In our limited space, we can do no more than touch on this theme, interesting though it be.

It is popularly supposed that Mr. Adams was the originator and warm advocate of the "Alien and Sedition Laws," and much obloquy has been cast upon him for this; but his biographer clearly shows that he signed these acts with the greatest reluctance and with many misgivings. He was accused by members of his own party of leaning too warmly towards the French, yet any impartial student of history will approve his course as wise and impartial. It has been said that he was indifferent to the national defence, yet the only evidence in support of this grave accusation is found in his reluctance to create a large standing army with Hamilton as its virtual head. Why raise an immense force against a foe so distant that invasion was problematical? A war with England would be maritime. She would not invade in any large force. So also with France. The Directory had enough to contend against without undertaking an expedition to the United States.

It is difficult for us, at this distance, to enter into the feelings and hopes of the men of those days, yet it may be considered that the extreme Federalists were at that time carried away by excess of zeal. Their admiration for the institutions of England was quite as warm as the attachment of the Republicans for the France of the Revolution. At their head was Alexander Hamilton. His ability as a statesman, his services during the war, his brilliant talents as a political writer, and the attachment of Washington, all combined to render him the chief of his party. The services he rendered in procuring the adoption of the Constitution of the United States, will give him a perpetual fame. His unfortunate death threw a halo of romance around his memory. Yet with all his patriotism, and all his talents, he was a most uncomfortable thorn in the side of the second President. He strove in vain to inculcate Mr. Adams with his ideas. Failing in this, he kept up, it is alleged in the biography, communication with the members of the cabinet, and conspired with them to harass the President in carrying out his policy. This grave accusation the biographer supports by evidence which he considers convincing. The interference of Mr. Hamilton was particularly notice-

able when it was determined to accept the overtures of Talleyrand, by sending a new embassy to France.

Every conceivable plan to thwart the purpose of the President was adopted; and if the biographer's statement be correct, the conduct of some of the members of the cabinet was despicable. It was altogether an unfortunate administration. The President retired from office without regret. The feeble efforts at his reelection but developed the extent of his unpopularity, and gave evidence of how his valuable services during the war had grown dim in the national memory. But no impartial student of the history of his administration will fail to discover that every act of the President was performed in accordance with his standard of duty. Perplexed by a factious opposition and betrayed by his advisers, he steered with difficulty through the dangers which surrounded him. He lacked the faculty of conciliation. He lacked the still more important faculty of penetration into character. He did not discover until too late the fang of the serpent he was cherishing in his bosom. Impetuous in his nature, the conception and execution of his plans were simultaneous. He was hardly qualified for the position; for though a most successful antagonist, he was never calculated to be an umpire. And what should a President be other than an umpire? In his high office he should calmly judge between contending factions; a steady pilot, he should steer by the chart and the compass, and not suffer the ship of state to be veered by every fitful gale. The seeds of discontent had been sown in the last years of the term of office of Washington, and the harvest was ripe in the term of his successor.

The remainder of his life was passed at his country place in Massachusetts quietly and peacefully, where he indulged in the amusement of buying land in such quantity that it kept him in straitened circumstances.

He saw his son, John Quincy, treading the path of public life, and finally there was afforded him the pleasure of seeing him elevated to the Presidential chair. In this old patriot was fulfilled the promises both to Macbeth and Banquo: "King that shalt be" and "Your children shall be kings." Shall the prophecy be further fulfilled? Is there not at least one of his descendants among us worthy to bear our highest civic crown?

On the Fourth of July, 1826, the fiftieth anniversary of the

national independence, the soul of John Adams took its eternal flight. Just before the closing moment, his mind apparently running back to the days of the revolution, he said, "Thomas Jefferson still lives." Strange error, extraordinary coincidence, for to Thomas Jefferson on that same day came the messenger of death. The couriers sent to announce the tidings of the death of each, met in Philadelphia, and under the shadow of Independence Hall told to each other their story. Thousands still living remember the thrill that these strange events sent throughout the length and the breadth of the land. It was as if each of these patriots, seeing the growth and prosperity of the country they had labored so to save, thus realizing the consummation of their hopes, cried to the Giver of all good and perfect gifts, *NUNC DIMITTIS*, and the prayer was answered. And the mourning nation looked with awe into these two graves—sepulchres of the departed, prophets as it seemed to them, who had passed away without even leaving their mantles behind them. Orators and poets flung around these events the charms of their eloquence and music, but they never could recall the impression which the first announcement of it made. Following on the celebration of the semi-centennial anniversary of the nation's birth, it signalized the occasion as never the anniversary was signalized before or since.

Thus John Adams departed this life, full of years and in the possession of all his faculties. The bitterness of party feeling had somewhat died away, and the acts of his administration were judged with less harshness. Friends who had become estranged were again reconciled to him. His country had become a power among the nations of the earth. He was ready to depart. The grain was ripe for the harvest, and "the reaper, whose name is Death," cut it down with one stroke of the sickle.

What shall we say of him now? Let it be that which was said of the *Maestre de Santiago*:

"His was a Trajan's goodness, his
A Titus' noble charities
And righteous laws;
The arm of Hector, and the might
Of Tully, to maintain the right
In truth's just cause—
The faith of Constantine; ay, more,
The fervent love Camillus bore
His native land."

Does it seem high praise? Study his career and judge if it be not for the most part merited. We have not extenuated his faults, nor have we done complete justice to his virtues. Few men have more consistently served their country. The honors he received were earned by years of restless toil and endeavor, accompanied by much risk to his fortune and life. The measures he advocated were generally characterized by prudence and wisdom. Let us not, in these days of party chicanery, forget to occasionally look back to the past when for awhile self-interest and political affiliations were ignored in the presence of the national danger; and as we thus study it among the galaxy before us, few shine with a clearer, purer radiance than John Adams of Massachusetts; school-master, lawyer, legislator, diplomatist, President; and greater than these, *Patriot*. Weigh his character in the strictest of balances and it will not be found wanting in any of the higher virtues. His faults were those of temperament. Let this be his greatest praise—he never despaired of the republic.

GEORGE D. BUDD.

A TRIP TO THE YOSEMITE VALLEY.

[Concluded.]

ALL authorities concur in the opinion that the finest and most comprehensive view of the Yosemite district is to be had from Inspiration Point. Immediately on our right, as we stood there, the waters of Pohono "fluttered" in their fall of nearly a thousand feet; just behind, the outlined nave of the Cathedral Rocks appeared, with the Cathedral Spires, or Towers, as they should be called, like the double towers of some old minster stained by tempest and gnawed by time, a grand illustration of what Ruskin calls "the look of mountain brotherhood between the cathedral and the Alp;" in the rear again, rose Sentinel Dome, four thousand one hundred and fifty feet above the valley; while further to the right, the South Dome, five thousand six hundred feet above the valley, lifted its ponderous form into the vault of heaven, a study worthy the gaze of Michael Angelo when he was

meditating the mighty cupola of the world's cathedral. Before us, the half dome of Tissaÿac on the south, four thousand seven hundred feet high, and the dome of Tocoya on the north, three thousand five hundred feet, contracted our vista as we looked up the valley; nearer to us, on the left, rose the triple peaks of Pom-pompasus or the Brothers, four thousand feet high, concealing the Yosemite Falls from our view; and still nearer, the smooth and vertical cliffs of El Capitan stood out in magnificent prominence, nearly opposite to the Cathedral Rocks. These cliffs are a mile in length, and three thousand three hundred feet above the valley; they are considered by many to be the most sublime feature of the locality, and Professor Whitney says of them: "It would be difficult to find any where in the world, a mass of rock presenting a perpendicular face so imposing." This is a rough sketch of the stupendous view before which we would gladly have lingered during the entire afternoon, but we were admonished that a long descent and many weary miles lay between us and our resting-place for the night, and we felt obliged to hasten on. At another point, Mount Beatitude, a little lower down, a more distinct view of the valley itself is to be had, and we remained there for a short time. The trail by which we made the descent of three thousand feet into the valley, is steep and difficult; we walked for a time, resting occasionally by a little stream, which flowed or rather leaped in an almost endless succession of cascades by our side, and when the path became very rough and painful to the feet, we mounted our horses and rode. So far as the ladies were concerned, this would have been less trying to the nerves, if the guides had been more efficient; but partly because of the size of our party, and partly because the guides here are not thoroughly trained to take care of tourists, there was more or less of discomfort, and a few mishaps took place. The horses behaved very well, and although some of them were hard enough in the saddle, and others, we believe, had never travelled over the ground before, they proved to be sure-footed and trustworthy. At the foot of the mountain we stopped for a moment in the most delicious little fernery we ever saw, shaded by trees like a bower, cooled by the bubbling waters, and adorned with ferns in rich and rare variety. Crossing the Bridal Veil Meadow, we came to the Bridal Veil or Pohono Fall, which, broken into dust in its descent, like the Staubach, waves and flutters tremu-

lously in the wind, in ample vindication of its English name. The stream falls upon the talus, two hundred or more feet above the valley, and a heavy mist surrounds its foot, which, as we saw it in the afternoon sun, was brilliant as the robe of Iris. Returning to the main path, from which we had diverged, we forded the three branches of the Pohono into which this stream divides after striking the talus, and pushed our way up the valley. Keeping the Merced, the River of Mercy, on our left, we passed under the shadow of the Cathedral Rocks, as the last rays of the sun illumined their gothic summits, and in the gray twilight rode abreast of El Capitan, as it seemed, for miles. Presently, on our right, we made the Sentinel Rock, which serves as a buttress to Sentinel Dome, and on the other side, grouped in the deepening gloom, the Brothers stood before us. Here the ground is strewn with fragments of rock, the scattered *debris* of some earth shock, perhaps, in the distant past. Already our ears had caught the roar of the Yosemite Falls, and now we saw them in all the subdued and silvery beauty of the moonlight as it spanned the gorge from behind Tissayac or the Half Dome. That Saturday evening ride none of us can ever forget. We were thoroughly tired after our four days' journey by stage and on horseback, and the three taverns to which we were destined at the ever-receding end of the valley, seemed as inaccessible to our approach as the heads of the Three Brothers which rose high above us; but the stillness, the solitariness, the strangeness and the sublimity of the scene, amid which we found ourselves, solemnized our minds as we rode along in straggling procession, silent and thoughtful; and the feeling of our hearts, if not the utterance of our lips, was that of the patriarch, who, far from home, had lighted upon a certain place and taken of the stones for his pillow and slept: This is Beth-el; how dreadful is this place!

There are, as we have intimated, three taverns in the valley, best known by the names of their proprietors: Liedig, Black and Hutchings. They all face the Yosemite Falls, and are approached at short intervals in the order in which we have mentioned them. The size of our party made it necessary for us to put in requisition the unengaged accommodations of all of them, and even then we had to be contented with very crowded quarters. None of us, however, were disposed to be critical, especially on the evening of our arrival; by nine o'clock the last of our number had come

in, and, thankful for a resting-place of any kind, we lost no time in seeking repose after the excitement and fatigue of the day and of the week. The mule drivers in charge of the scanty luggage to which we had limited ourselves on leaving San Francisco, through some bad management, did not reach the valley until the afternoon of the next day.

We spent Sunday very quietly. Directly in front of us were the Yosemite Falls, and we sat on the piazza and watched them by the hour. There had been a heavy thunder-shower early in the morning, and the volume of water which came over the precipice was greater than usual. The cataract consists of three distinct falls; "the first, or highest, is fifteen hundred feet, and is a third of a mile back from the valley in a gorge; the second fall is rather a succession of cascades, measuring in all six hundred and twenty-six feet, after which comes the third fall, four hundred feet high, below which is a talus of two hundred feet high." We do not agree with those who consider the various falls as quite incidental to the general interest of the valley; on the contrary, we think that they add unspeakably to its beauty and sublimity, and we congratulate ourselves that our visit occurred at the season of the year when the melting snows of the Nevada and the occasional showers combine to fill up the streams and furnish copious supplies for these wonderful waterworks.

Late in the afternoon a religious service was held under the shade of some pine trees in the rear of Black's. The spot was an impressive one. Behind the minister rose the crags of Sentinel Rock, on which it is said the Indians used to build their beacon-fires; before him the Yosemite stream poured forth its crystal torrents in seemingly exhaustless flow; on his left stood El Capitan, giving us the shadow of a great rock in a weary land. It answered almost literally to a description of scenery by Whittier, in a hymn, written to be sung upon this coast:

"Amidst these glorious works of Thine
The solemn minarets of the pine
And awful Shasta's icy shrine;
Where swell Thy winds from wave and gale,
And organ thunders never fail
Behind the cataract's silver veil."

Our first excursion Monday morning was to Mirror Lake, which should be visited early in the day, before its glassy surface

has been disturbed and rippled by the breeze. We crossed the Merced by Hutchings' bridge, and, turning to the right and to the east, followed the trail through meadow swamps, amid trees and boulders and broken rocks, and near the base of the hoary cliffs known as the Royal Arches and the Washington Column, until we reached the lake, three miles distant from the bridge. The path was rough in many places, but the horses and mules picked their way with care and skill. The lake is a pretty little sheet of water, full of trout, we believe; but its chief attraction is the sun-picture delineated in reverse on its unruffled surface, of the trees and rocks and mountains by which it is environed. The great North Dome rises directly overhead, and its huge and naked mass appears to be reproduced in the tranquil depths which repose at its feet. So with the boat in which some of us pushed away from the shore, and with every other object which comes within the scope of its magic lens; nothing could be more perfect or more beautiful.

We retraced our steps to Hutchings', and then went eastward again, along the south bank of the river. During the night there had been very heavy rains, almost a tempest, which had swollen the streams and overflowed the meadows, and there was more fording to do than was pleasant to the ladies. After riding for a mile or two in this direction, we turned abruptly to the south, following up the course of the main fork of the Merced, but at a short distance from the water. The path now became very rough and rocky, and our horses literally climbed step by step over the boulders, which, in some awful convulsion of nature in the past, in one of those catastrophes when, as Cowper says,

"God performs upon the trembling stage
Of His own works, His dreadful part alone,"

were torn from the sides of the precipice and piled up in the gorge. As we looked up, other fragments seemed ready to fall, and the vast cliff itself to impend, gloomy and deathboding. We could not help thinking with a shudder of the occasional earthquakes with which this part of the continent is visited, and of the doom which would be ours if the solid ground should at that moment tremble, and these overhanging mountains should fall on us and these hills cover us. Presently we crossed a wild stream called Toloolweack, an affluent of the Merced, which makes a

headlong plunge into the valley a mile and a half above; and, turning east once more, approached the torrent of the Merced, which here deserves the poetical name given by some of the early French explorers, to a swift stream in what is now Nebraska, *L'eau qui court*. Again the climbing became very difficult, but the grandeur and wildness of the scenery, the rocks about and above us, and the foaming river by our side, cannot adequately be described. At length, rounding a bold point called Register Rock, on which many tourists inscribe their names, we obtained the first view of the Picoyac or Vernal Fall. We dismounted, and, leaving our horses with the guides, clambered to a green knoll in a slight bend of the river, and found ourselves directly in front of the cataract. We thought that upon the whole, we had never but with one exception seen any thing equal to it; other falls are higher, but for gracefulness of descent, for volume, and for surrounding scenery, Picoyac, "a shower of sparkling crystals," has no peer, and only one superior, Niagara, which we must always regard as the monarch of cataracts, as Mont Blanc, "crowned long ago," is the monarch of mountains. According to some authorities, this fall is four hundred and seventy-five feet high, though there is so much spray that the bottom cannot be distinctly seen from any point from which a measurement is possible. The stream is thirty yards wide, and it shoots over quite clear of the rock. The water near the top is green, and the name, Vernal, was given to distinguish it from a very white fall, a mile beyond.

Most of our party went no further than the foot of the Picoyac, but some of the more enterprising, having wrapped themselves in long waterproof coats provided for them on the spot, braved the showers of almost blinding spray through which they had to pass, and mounted the ladders or rough staircases which scale the perpendicular wall of rock. A few others reached the plateau by the trail, and had not some of the guides discouraged the attempt, to save trouble to themselves, as we afterwards supposed, the majority of the party, ladies as well as gentlemen, might have ridden thither, returning, as it would have been more prudent to do, on foot. About a mile further on and up is the Nevada Fall, six hundred and thirty-nine feet high. It is rather a slide or a chute than a fall, for the water runs down a rock which has a slope of eighty-five degrees for about half its height, and seventy-five degrees the other half.

We enjoyed the return ride to the inn, as we were becoming used to the ruggedness of the mountain paths. Late in the afternoon, having rested meanwhile, we took a quiet walk, and, from the meadow on the south side of Hutchings' Bridge, watched the effect of the departing sunlight upon the heights at the upper end of the valley. In the unclouded splendor, every seam and scar upon the Royal Arches and the cliffs opposite became a feature of radiant beauty, the cold gray of the granite was changed into warm and glowing color, and the domes were crowned with glory. A fragment of fleecy cloud had been caught by the riven summit of Tissayac, and, as floating like a pennant it kindled in the rosy light, it seemed a fit emblem of one of the royal banners of the Prince of Peace, the *Vexilla Regis*, which in the fulness of time shall wave triumphant over this now blood-stained planet. Slowly the line of shade crept from the valley up the steep, rocky walls; for a moment, the domes, rejoicing in the excess of light, withstood its further progress, but as the sun dropped behind the Coast Range and into the waters of the Pacific, they too put on "the sober livery" of the still twilight, and the vision was ended.

Too soon we were obliged to turn our backs upon these scenes. Some of us who had not yet visited the Big Trees, separated from the rest of the party, and retraced our steps by the Mariposa trail. Starting early in the morning, we had a delightful ride down the valley; the foliage was fresh and cheerful, the air was bracing, and was laden with the fragrance of the pines; and the granite walls and domes, now somewhat familiar to our eyes, rose in sharp relief against the clear, blue sky. We paused for a few moments before the Pohono Fall, and then pushed up the mountain side. The trail had been improved by the recent rains, and seemed less formidable in every respect than when we passed over it a few days before. It is a very steep ascent, however, and we had reason to fear that one at least of our horses would not hold out until we reached the summit. We halted for half an hour at Inspiration Point; then mounting to our saddles again, we crossed the summit and pursued our way along the hillsides, through the soft meadows and among the stately pines. Late in the afternoon we arrived at Clark's Ranch, which we found very much crowded, but every thing possible was done to make us comfortable. The next day we made an excursion to the Mariposa Big Tree Grove, five miles distant. The ascent is

gradual, but not very difficult; the grove lies two thousand four hundred feet above the Ranch, and six thousand five hundred and forty feet above the ocean. The limits of this article will not allow us to describe these trees, nor to relate the incidents of the journey back to San Francisco, where we arrived after an absence of eleven days, the distance accomplished during the time being about four hundred and eighty miles. The journey had been a difficult one, but we felt more than compensated for whatever of inconvenience and weariness we had experienced; and we should unhesitatingly advise all travellers who visit the Pacific Coast, possessing reasonable powers of endurance, by all means to go to the Yosemite Valley, giving them only this twofold caution, to travel thither in small parties and to allow themselves plenty of time.

HAMILTON A. HILL.

SIC ITUR AD ASTRA.*

IN the Ninth Book of his great Epic—the majestic roll of whose rhythm so enchanted us even while we were boys—Virgil describes the god Apollo as thus addressing the young Ascanius:

Macte nova virtute, puer; sic itur ad astra,
Dis genite, et geniture deos.

The founders of our time-honored Society, seeking for it a motto that should speak to all succeeding Philomatheans the ends for which they toiled in constituting the now venerable Body whose members we are so justly proud to be, chose for that motto Apollo's words to the fabled founder of the Roman race, *Sic itur ad Astra*.

These words I have selected as my "text" this evening, because I am sure that they must revive in the hearts of all Philomatheans, happy memories of the sun-bright days spent in these halls. How vividly the scenes of our college-life reappear before us, as we speak the Latin sentence! Now we are coming, thoroughly scared sub-Freshmen, to pass that dreaded "quiz," which tests our knowledge of the ἱστῶθαι ἐξιλασῶναι of the youthful Cyrus, and the ὦς ἴφαιρ' of the Homeric heroes. How closely we scan the

* The "Annual Oration" (for 1871) before the Philomathean Society of the University of Pennsylvania.

badges of the students whom we pass! How we wonder what that star-bespangled Φ , with its silver eagle and its Latin motto means! Now we are climbing yonder stairs, so soon to be "retired" forever, and promising never to reveal the awful secrets of this place. Now we are holding our Society commencement, and, as we proceed *viri ingenui et eruditi*, one of our number is thundering at our heads, Latin, which is certainly "*post-classical*," however much of it he has stolen from Cicero. Or, we are present on that occasion most glorious to "Philo," her fiftieth anniversary, when the surviving Founders of our Society, and many who have graduated since, are assembled with the under-graduates to celebrate her semi-centennial birth-day. What a brave sight! These gray-haired men, surrounded by us boys—they, who, by the monument they reared in the house of their Alma Mater, have pointed fifty classes to the boundless heaven of their opportunities, as men of learned education—we, who are just beginning to read aright the divinely taught inscription, and to detect for ourselves the way heavenward.

It seemed very proper, then, that these words, so truly ours, should supply my theme. This annual recall of one who has set out a little while before you on the lengthened race-course, life, upon whose starting-bar you now so closely crowd, should be what you name it—a Society "exercise." It would be far below our aims, far below our dignity, as men devoted to the intellectual improvement of ourselves and others, for us to gain nothing from this "exercise" but that which perishes as it is spoken. Something of what your orator has learned of the philosophy of life he should bring here—something which will guide, assist, encourage those who follow him.

If an apology were needed, I could tell you of the learned judge whose fellow-graduates of this University invited him to address them on the occasion of their alumni anniversary, and who took for his subject that little, but all-important word, *Duty*. If the alumnus of twenty-five or thirty years can speak of such things, surely we can stop at a convenient point of our journey, to scan our map and reassure ourselves that we are on "the king's highway." I ask you, therefore, to consider with me a few of the principles involved in our application of the Virgilic sentence.

Have you ever stood, on that most rare occasion, a perfectly clear night, and watched the heavens as they seemed to roll above

your head? If you have, you will recognize this description, quoted largely from a charming book, *Ecce Cælum*.

"Let us imagine this structure unroofed, and, indeed, well taken down on all sides: * * * We seem to be at the centre of an immense hollow half-globe, on the distant surface of which appear the heavenly bodies. If it were day, we should see on that remote concave the yellow sun: it being night, we see, instead, a multitude of stars and the moon with its silver crescent. Notice that very bright star low in the west: that is Venus," the star of love and beauty. "Yonder, almost overhead, is another star, of scarcely inferior brightness but of more masculine hue: that is Jupiter," the royal star, if its name holds good. "East of the zenith, about one-third of the way down, you may perceive a much smaller star of ruddy light—Mars by name—appropriately called from the bloody god of war. Do you see that small star, just visible to the naked eye, almost on the eastern horizon? Well, that is Saturn, named from the father of the principal gods, and sufficiently dim to represent one who is said to have had the very unfatherly and unhandsome trick of eating his own children." These, and some others which are never seen without a glass, are the planets. Suppose the time is opportune, and there is a seldom-appearing but awe-inspiring comet—a denser part more or less bright, surrounded by a haze which often is found expanded into a pale streamer of prodigious length. All over the sky, solitary or in patches, either with their every star distinctly separate, or constituting masses that resemble milk-white clouds, or sown broadcast and carelessly on the vault, are the fixed stars—among them Sirius, Capella, the Hyades, the Milky Way. They all look small—planet, comet, star and nebula. But these specks of light are masses of enormous size. Compared with some of them our earth is but a football. They seem quite near, too, but, in fact, are many, many miles away. "The dog bays at the moon as if it were within hearing; * * * the savage thinks that he could almost bring down the sun with his arrow; * * * so intelligent a person as Virgil tells us of a personage who brushed the stars with his sublime head: yet it is very easily discovered that the nearest of the heavenly bodies must be thousands and thousands of miles away." Their weights no scales on earth, or conceivable in Nature, could try. Yet some simple mathematics have put them all into the balance, and told us how many earths

we should need in one pan to make an equipoise with the sun, Venus or Jupiter in the other.

"Was ever so noble a sight! What kindly interweavings of the great and lovely—what gorgeous competitions and combinations of the majestic and beautiful!" "What an eloquent silence," too! "There they shine and move, perhaps wonderfully achieve, hosts upon hosts; but there is no celebrating pomp of sounds, only an all-embracing pomp of silence—not a whisper, not a rustle, through all the vasty dome. Our dinned ears and hearts are soothed. Our petty cares and excitements are hushed. Both soul and body are insensibly calmed and refreshed as we gaze into the immeasurable stillness."

Now turn with me from the actual to the ideal, from the boundless heaven of sun and moon, of star and planet, to the boundless heaven of possible and acquired knowledge, of whose astronomy we Philomatheans boast ourselves the zealous students. There pours a flood of ineffable splendor from the great source of wisdom, God—the central sun, before whose power we bow and into whose infinite attributes we cannot pry. Here shines his scheme of love and mercy, that decks our earth, (and the whole universe as well,) with beauty, grace and loveliness—the moon's pure light, in which our hearts rejoice with a joy that we feel but tell not. Here are the several greater sciences, whose method and matter both are now well ascertained—the planets with their orbits, sizes, densities and perturbations, all ingeniously "worked out" by that modern magic, mathematics. There a department of knowledge, whose fundamental facts, or truths, or definitions, are well determined, but whose ultimate teachings are involved in hazy mistiness—a comet in the system. While here and there, all around us, as if "confusion now had made his masterpiece," are clustered facts, whose logic our little intellects have never grasped—the nebulae of science, whose distance from us and whose desperately involved construction help them to baffle our keenest scrutiny. How limited they look in their several text-books! Yet train our telescope upon a single subject, and lo! the twinkling point has grown to be a mammoth moon. The little books contain a giant's task, and our last years, when we wear the crown of the learned scholar, are those in which we exclaim most frequently, "Such knowledge is too wonderful for us; it is high, we cannot attain unto it." How quite within our grasp

they seem! A few years, we are sure, will place us far beyond this narrow earth—our ignorance in which we dwell oppressed. Like the savage, we are almost confident that our arrows will cleave the heavens. And yet we are ever crying, "To-morrow, and to-morrow, and to-morrow"—and, at life's close, perhaps declare with bitterness that

"all our yesterdays have lighted fools
The way to dusty death."

Even more noble sight than the actual heavens! More kindly interweavings of the great and lovely; more gorgeous competitions and combinations of the majestic and the beautiful! Their science, the long-sought *scientia scientiarum*; their fundamental laws and principles in Him whom the Athenians ignorantly worshipped as "the unknown God," and of whom we, though we believe Him "where we cannot prove," know but very little more. Astronomy truly infinite! Our study, perhaps, in the world to come!

Now it is to these "stars," my brothers, that our motto points us. Attainments in this field are our aim, and we are faithful Philomatheans exactly as we are sincere and earnest in our efforts. Unworthy of our name we are, if we waste in idle dreams or squander in active dissipation, the lives which we have dedicated to the pursuit of heaven-born knowledge. Let us pass in review, then, some of the principles which should underlie and direct our course as students of this astronomy. So, perhaps, I may confirm some earnest soul in his seeking for the truth, or recall a thoughtless Philomathean to a full conception of his opportunities.

And, first, in every effort that we make, let us assure ourselves that our soaring to the stars has a definite and legitimate purpose. The work may be most difficult or lowly; the end in view may be most distant; but, aimed aright, no labor is irrational. Without such end in view, all striving is but childishness, and the man of loftiest powers only beats the air. If duty call, that man is renegade who will not bravely risk his comfort or his life; but him who purposely destroys his rest or throws away existence, we count insane.

And yet it seems to be the doctrine of a mawkish sentiment, too common in our day, that toil and labor in themselves, apart from

any aim they have, are praiseworthy; that to climb a rugged steep, simply and solely for the sake of climbing, is a laudable work; that to walk ten miles a day, though nothing is to be gained by so doing, is a positive victory for "the good cause;" that to deny one's self a perfectly proper or actually necessary indulgence, merely because such self-denial is not "joyous, but grievous," is a noble sacrifice; or that to give one's days and nights to diligent study, only because such is neither the easiest nor the most enticing mode of life, is an absolute heroism.

Many a Scrooge whose life seems wholly wasted, when tried by that rule of love which calls all men our neighbors, feels quite as sure of the "Well done, thou good and faithful servant," as yonder pale and worn Bob Cratchit, whose love for Tiny Tim keeps him there slaving in his "tank." Many a Weston, heralded as "the famous walker," feels quite as proud of his reputation as ever Howard could, or Florence Nightingale, and many an amateur of exquisite taste and liberal culture, using his ample leisure and his well-stocked library only for his own amusement, fancies himself a Newton whose marvellous law of gravity unlocks the wisdom of the stars.

Pernicious doctrine! It prompts a waste of energies which, rightly balanced, might move the earth, like Archimedes' lever. It paralyzes effort, taking away the incentive which a laudable ambition gives, and it leaves a man an utter cynic, to cry, when life is closing, "What profit hath he that worketh in that wherein he laboreth?"

Suppose for a moment that the "youth" of Longfellow's *Excelsior*, whom neither danger could terrify, nor household fires or maiden's love entice, was not intended by the poet to be the type of one whose aim is real and worthy. What a fool he was for his pains then! How idle as the bleating of a calf, was his cry *Excelsior*! What good in climbing ever higher, if those frozen Alps and never-melting snows were all that he could find there? But Longfellow never meant to teach this nonsense. The man who elsewhere sings that

"Life is real! Life is earnest!"

and that

"Not enjoyment and not sorrow,
Is our destined end or way;
But to act, that each to-morrow
Finds us farther than to-day,"

is not the man to preach mere sentimentalism. It is not "a noble thing to turn away from warm household fires to spectral glaciers, merely because average human nature would have liked extremely to get out of the storm to the bright fireside," and the poet never meant that we should think so. He meant that there was something for the boy "to do when he got to the top of the Alps," something which made his self-denial heroism, his death a martyrdom.*

Never let us doubt, then, gentlemen, that our efforts are worthy of our God-bestowed powers, only if they aim to achieve a real purpose. "Mr. Pip," in his zeal to become "a gentleman," though at the expense of an unknown friend, is a proper object of our contempt and scorn. Honest Joe Gargery, of whom the new-fledged "gentleman" is more than half ashamed, rises, in his resolute performance of every duty, to a height where we respect and love him.

A second principle, and one quite as worthy of our faith, I think, is that of the oft-quoted proverb, "There is no royal road to learning." The poet Beattie has said the same of honor, in his lines:

"Ah! who can tell how hard it is to climb
The steep where Fame's proud temple shines afar?"

Of wealth, the Germans have a proverb, "Wie gewonnen so zerronnen"—As wealth is won, so is it spent—and Solomon assures us that "he who makes haste to be rich shall not be innocent." As a general truth, the stern necessity of working hard for any good would seem to be the accepted creed of all mankind. In the Catalan saying, "Where wilt thou go, Ox, that thou wilt

* The "Country Parson," (Recreations, Vol. I, Chap. VII,) attacks Mr. Longfellow as the author of certain poems, "much admired and quoted by young ladies," which are "instinct with the mischievous notion that self-denial for mere self-denial's sake, is a grand, heroic and religious thing." His criticism on the line, "*Not enjoyment and not sorrow,*" shows his fitness to judge. He takes "*enjoyment*" to mean "*happiness.*" Longfellow should have added a foot-note for the benefit of matter-of-fact Scotchmen. One is strongly reminded, in reading Mr. Boyd's remarks, of the old story about the Scotch wife of an artist, who called her attention to the innocency and beauty of some lambs sportng on the green. "Yes, dear," she replied, "lamb is very nice, especially with mint sauce."

not have to plough?" is expressed a sentiment that is repeated in the aphorisms of all nations.

In the sphere of mental toil, this law holds most positively. The man who will not work, as surely shall not eat, and our age, which has labored hard to evade the irksome condition, is about to give up the struggle and signify its assent to the dictum.

The old education—sound enough, if considered simply as a means of mental discipline—displeased our century, not in the United States alone, but throughout Europe also. In part, the dissatisfaction was real and honest, but on another side it was merely the *Ignava Ratio* of men who, too lazy themselves to acquire the culture which adorned others and made those others their superiors, therefore decried the culture as useless and time-wasting. It was undoubtedly true that new needs had made new methods necessary. Geology had opened stores of wealth that scarce were dreamed of seventy years ago. The steamboat and the railroad had been invented and all the world was clamoring for them. The telegraph was asked for over land and under sea. The fields were white unto harvest, but the laborers were few. Men of education were almost always men of the old education, who, while they could calculate "the elevation of the outer rail," were utterly unable to lay that outer rail. The practical men were often ignorant, and the work they did was rough and most unsatisfactory. The necessity demanded men of thorough training, both in science and its applications.

It was only right, then, that the scientific school—the Real-Schule of Germany—should supply the want, and give to those who came to it with honest purpose, both discipline and useful knowledge, or that when men of business wished a liberal education for the sons who were to follow them in trade, the several partial courses should give them a chance. It is, no doubt, the duty of every learned school to give the best education to the largest number. Her academic honors she may order as she will, but to all she should extend an opportunity.

But the thieves and robbers who fain would climb by few and easy steps into the sheep-fold, joined in the cry, only because they wished to lower the standard all around them, and so themselves seem higher. Their protest was against the fundamental principle in mental culture—the truth which the Greeks so aptly phrased: *Φεύγων μύλον, ἄλφριτα φύγει*, Who shirks the mill, must

lose the meal. They attempted to set aside the unanimous verdict of History, "No pains, no gains." That they have failed, and ever must fail, I doubt not. Shallowness, and that worse thing which we call *humbug*, may flourish for awhile, but man—especially practical man—will ultimately resent the indignity done to his judgment.

Let us reassure ourselves, then, gentlemen, that all this "weariness of the flesh" to which we have so heartily submitted, was not a useless Brahmin-like swinging on a hook. Our aim was high, and an essential condition to the arrow's flying was our pulling back the bow. If it tasked our muscles to their utmost, if it left us stiff and sore, let us count all this but gain. For they, and only they, who faint before the bow is drawn, fail wholly in this archery.

A third point worthy of our consideration is the influence exercised by the feelings and the will upon the culture of the intellect; in other words, the influence of moral character upon intellectual growth. A subject so important and extensive must necessarily be alluded to, rather than discussed, in the short space left for it. I shall content myself, therefore, with referring briefly to several traits of moral character which seem to me to be essential to the full development of mental strength.

And, highest of them all, perhaps, stands Faith—faith in the life around us, faith in ourselves, faith in the future. The cynical is far from the right humor in which to approach our Philomathean task. Once let our hearts decree that life is all unreal, a mere pretence; that "there is nothing better for a man than that he should eat and drink, and that he should make his soul enjoy good in his labor"—and for us mind-progress is impossible. Even Solomon, who begins his "Psalm of Life" in so sad a mood, closes with the very different conclusion, that "to fear God, and keep his commandments," is "the whole duty of man." For "vanity of vanities" he puts a noble "duty." It is only when we can exclaim, as we cry to Him whose love made "life in man and brute,"

"Thou wilt not leave us in the dust,"

that we have solved our relation to the world of which we are a part. So, for ourselves. Encouragement is equally essential to the brightest and the dullest man; and it comes alone of the be-

lief that we exist for some good end. Assure ourselves that the fool in "As You Like It," has spoken truth, when he says,

"And so from hour to hour, we ripe and ripe,
And then, from hour to hour, we rot and rot,"

and we may as well at once give up the "battle."

Those other words of Shakespeare, in Hamlet's mouth,

"Sure, He that made us with such large discourse,
Looking before and after, gave us not
That capability and god-like reason,
To fast in us unused,"

tell us far more truly our mission in life. And so for the future. If such is our mission, and such the world around us, it is not hard for us to believe that,

"This fine old world of ours is but a child
Yet in the go-cart,"

or to hope that our work is added to a sum, which, when all counted up, will make a grand, if far-off total.

Next, let us cultivate that rarest heart-jewel, *Liberality*. I do not mean *Benevolence*, for this is but one phase of being liberal. I mean that broad, that truly catholic spirit, which does not make its surveys here or there, in limited plains, but widens ever its field of vision, looking for every truth, praying for the fullest light. I need not tell you how essential culture is to liberality, but I am not so sure that we all appreciate the necessity of liberality to culture. And yet, look around you. Here is a man whose superficial mental character surprises or amazes you when you remember his education, leisure for study, and other opportunities. Is he not always one whose mind is biassed by preconceived opinions? Free him—if happily he can be freed—from the trammels of prejudice, and how fast he grows, how rapidly his intellectual life is widened, deepened, heightened! Look again. Amid our boasts of civilization and our professions of Christianity rise spectres that shame the one and give the lie to the other. Here vital principles crowded out of sight by non-essential trifles. Here a partisan dispute, in the heat of which the "Ginx's Baby" we have combined to save, is left to pass a few more years of misery, and then—*drown himself*. Here a "church-quarrel"—the bitterest human enmity. Here a Christian body—Protestants—

acting so as to incur the censure, "agreed only in hatred to Popery." Everywhere freedom of thought the most serious blunder which one can commit, and punished inevitably by excommunication in the Church, the "party-lash" in the State, the "cold shoulder" in society. The Inquisition or the Salem Witchcraft no longer possible, to be sure, but not because the spirit of persecution is wanting, or the power of superstition is no longer felt by the human mind, but because the doctrine of personal liberty has made a man too sacred for even divinely-reigning monarch or apostolically-ordained bishop to deprive him of his rights. And what mean these things, if not that all our culture has failed to eradicate certain evils which narrowness and bigotry bequeathed to us? that our age needs a wide diffusion of truly tolerant feeling? That satire of Euripides has hardly lost its meaning:

Οὐκ ἴσθι θνητῶν ὅστις ἴσθ' ἐλεύθερος.
 ἢ χρημάτων γὰρ δούλος ἴσθι, ἢ τύχης,
 ἢ πλῆθος αὐτὸν πόλιος ἢ νόμῳ γραφαὶ
 εἰργουσι χρῆσθαι μὴ κατὰ γνώμην τρέποις.

Read history, and learn how slow has been the growth of intellectual liberty. Compare the facts around us now with those of the sixteenth century, and see whether an essential change has been wrought, or only a variation in degree and extent been effected.

I plead not, (I pray you to observe,) for license or indifference. The man who has labored most to form his opinions, who has based them on the widest view and largest store of truth, and who therefore can appreciate most keenly the convictions of his fellow-men, who differ from him, is not the man to give up hastily the results he holds for truths. The way of safety, too, lies not in narrow absolutism, but in candid, prudent inquiry. Let us hold fast by the ancient landmarks, till we assure ourselves beyond a doubt that our fathers erred: but let no amount of prescription bind us, when we must be free.

Of one other trait I speak only because our day esteems it lightly. I mean Purity—of thought, of word, of deed. I do not belong to that class of moralists who doubt the *reality* of man's temptations. I fully grant all that the objector to a spotless life asks for, when he affirms a more than Herculean task in the struggle against vice. But I claim for the earnest, resolute man

a certain victory; and I dread for the man who sins persistently a terrible remorse, a fearful retribution. If one-half of what the physiologist writes be true, hardly a man of us attains the mental stature possible even for a son of Adam. Our appetites are the foes we should most dread—the Moabites whose borders we should guard most carefully. As one man, then, anxious for the growth in knowledge of all his race, I beg you, men devoted to the same great purpose, to join with me in a crusade against this curse which, more surely even than intemperance, will lower, degrade, destroy the human intellect. Let us preach and practice self-control of heart and mind, of speech and act, never doubting that He who knows our frame and sympathizes with our frailty, will give us, if we ask Him, strength according to our day. For the sake of those sacred names, *mother, sister, sweetheart*, let us fight, and win. Then shall we realize what Tennyson has sung:

“Happy he
With such a mother! faith in womankind
Beats with his blood, and trust in all things high
Comes easy to him, and though he trip and fall,
He shall not blind his soul with clay.”

Sic itur ad Astra! Noble motto! May its teachings be the clearer to us for our thinking upon its meaning this evening! And, in our times of doubt, discouragement, temptation, may it point us to our place of safety!

J. G. R. McE.

AN IDYL OF CHILDHOOD.

Out of the city—its noise and glare—
Did I ride one day thro' the summer air.

Quiet, shady, dreamy, still,
Lay the valley, rose the hill.

Hidden, deep in a lovely dell,
Lay a farm-house, on it the sunlight fell

Softened, robbed of half the heat
That on the dusty city beat.

Back of the farm-house the pasture lay—
High in the centre the sweet stacked hay—

Further, walls of rugged stone,
Rain-worn, time-stained, moss-o'ergrown.

Into the wall a gate was set,
Where pasture and woodland together met.

Through the gate a path ran deep
Into the woods where shadows sleep.

Just as the sun with fiercer light
Poised aloft ere his downward flight,

Children twain, thro' the leafy shade
On to the wild wood deeper strayed.

Ellen, once seen—but once—by me,
Yet never may she forgotten be—

Ellen and I, the younger child,
Wandered into the woodland wild.

Child of the country-side was she,
Gay as the birds and just as free;

Arm in arm, a happy pair,
Against my cheek her flaxen hair;

With my hand in her hand, sun-brown,
Towards the brooklet we sauntered down.

Thro' the pasture where the kine
Browsed in peace, though fear of mine
Made them like "bulls of Bashan" loom,
As the air of a brave I strove to assume;

Champion—Protector—Defender—these
Were the names my childish pride to please,
Who could harm my girl while I
Brave as a lion stood sternly by!

How she would bless me and love me then,
Her defender, prouder than grown-up men!

Still the kine in the meadow grazed,
Scarcely their heads in wonder raised.

Out of the bed of the babbling brook
Treasures uncounted we quickly took;

Pebbles of colors rich and rare,
And crystals like diamonds shining there.

Wading the shallows with laughter soft,
Turned to fear in a moment, oft.

Trembling for fear of the water snake
With frightened faces our flight we take.

Weaving the tufts of the meadow queen
With the myrtle's dark and glossy green;

Crowning each other with fragrant flowers,
Heedless quite of the flying hours.

So passed on the happy day,
Till the sun behind the farm-house lay;

Then together we backward turned;—
Many a thought in our bosoms burned;

Many a thought that found no word,
Never was spoken, never heard.

Into the carriage at the door,
And away with scarce a word before.

Looking back I saw her stand,
Waving a farewell with her hand.

Oh how often in days gone by,
Have I sighed a deep and bitter sigh,—

Finding the world so cold and stern,—
Finding my heart in sorrow yearn,—

For a living soul, if such might be,
Kind as this maiden was to me.

And over my spirit a dream will steal,
And in fancy once again I feel

Her flaxen curls against my face,
And about me her air of girlish grace.

And drawn by the memory from care apart,
A calm comes over my weary heart,

That is the echo, through all these years,
Of my Ellen's childish smiles and tears.

E. W. WATSON.

AN ESSAY ON HIEROGLYPHS.

(From the German of GEORGE EBERS.)

I HAVE been asked by learned as well as unlearned friends, to tell them about the means through which we have been enabled in a short time to make known to the world the signification of those hieroglyphs which so many generations found insoluble enigmas. These questions should be answered, and I do so very willingly, for the greater the triumph is proved to be which the scientific spirit of our age has attained in the deciphering of the hieroglyphics, the more I shall feel myself justified in exacting from those who, as far as my branch of study is concerned, I may call laymen, a friendly interest in the following pages, in which I hope to make as clearly comprehensible as possible to every reader, the method by which we have succeeded, step by step, in loosing the seal which bound the Sphinx's book of riddles so long and closely.

The point for our consideration is, what we mean by hieroglyphics, and where and how we meet with them.

Hieroglyphics are symbolical representations of concrete objects taken from every species of creatures and forms, and which are employed to record thoughts, and as a means of communication.

This expression, derived from the Greek and composed of the two words, "hieros," holy, and "glyphein," to chisel, means "sacred inscriptions." It is applied, par excellence, to the picture-writing of the ancient Egyptians, although other nations, the Mexicans, for example, also possessed similar methods of writing.

We find in these hieroglyphics, the subject of whose deciphering we are about to enter upon, almost all the objects which have come down from the ancient Egyptians. The great folios of this writing are the gigantic walls and pillars of those temples of the ages of the Pharaohs, which stand at this day in the clear, bright air of the Nile valley, and those sepulchral chambers, which, opened a few decades ago, are yet thousands of years old, though often seeming as if finished but yesterday. We have obtained numberless inscriptions, also, from obelisks, colossi, sarcophagi, grave-stones, altars, vases, statuettes, amulets, and pieces of household furni-

ture. But that upon which we should most congratulate ourselves, is the possession of great rolls of Egyptian paper, which, made from the papyrus that grows in the Nile, and resembling cloth in its texture, is remarkable for an almost indestructible strength and toughness. The largest of these rolls are more than a hundred and fifty feet long, the smallest measure but a few inches—as a rule, they are about twenty feet one way by one the other. They contain, in the first place, voluminous writings of a religious character, and besides these, historical records, letters, contracts and documents of every kind; works, too, which can fairly be classed under the head of belles-lettres, a fairy tale, a romance, and the like. If we were to arrange the whole mass of the ancient Egyptian literature which we possess, and put it into the shape of maps and books, we would require, for our purpose—since there was such a nation of scribblers as that over which it was the lot of the Pharaohs to rule—larger libraries than those of Paris and Berlin together. The style of the ancient Egyptian writing was as varied as the uses to which it was applied. As the Germans have one kind of letters—the large Roman ones—for public monuments, another for books, and a third for their private use, so also did the Egyptians possess three kinds of writing. The earliest and most important was the pure hieroglyphic, which for the most part was employed only for inscriptions in stone and wood, though sometimes for documents when of a very holy, religious character, and which exacted not only from the scrivener, but also from even the sculptor and the painter, their most thorough skill. These characters play a not unimportant part, too, in the ornamentation of the architecture of ancient Egypt. In richly illuminated bas-relief and relief-creux they cover not only walls and pillars, but also graven sharply and clearly in even the hardest stone, obelisks, statues and sarcophagi, two of which, thanks to the dry air of that country, and its excellent quarries, have come down to our time. On the plaster or stucco of tombs, on wooden chests and leather articles they are painted in two fashions, presenting their subjects either in motley color or simply in plain black or red outlines. The later hieroglyphics were ordinarily written rather than painted, the instrument used being a reed pen, and were much abbreviated when it became the custom to write on papyrus-rolls, which never show illuminated characters; the initial letters only being red, while the

rest of the sentence was black. The owl, which corresponds to our letter "m," was painted in the polychromatic, or, as I may call them, "ornamented" hieroglyphics, with rich brown plumage, yellow feet and eyes, with ears also, and a black beak, while in the celebrated Turin "Book of the Dead," which on account of its sacredness, is written, like most of its class, in pure hieroglyphics, the owl is represented by such a form as is scarcely recognizable. But for a hastier jotting down, even these abbreviations seemed too cumbersome, and therefore in the Hieratic writing we find it scarcely to be recognized. This Hieratic writing was already in use within the first three thousand years before Christ, and was employed by the priests, who were bold and skilful penmen, for every variety of literary production.

The Demotic writing, still more shortened than the Hieratic, and adopted for the vernacular of the time, came first into use about eighty years before Christ. Being so used, it shows still greater abbreviation. The Coptic writing sets forth the language of the old Egyptians in Greek letters with some Demotic supplementary signs. It did not arise till within the Christian era, but has done us good service, as besides magical, liturgic and medical works, we have in the Coptic speech and text a translation, incomplete, to be sure, of the Bible itself. Now, since the Coptic language is like that of the Egyptians as the latter was in the third century after Christ, and since it had been long known to us through the version of the Scriptures just spoken of, it would follow that a deciphering of the hieroglyphics had long since been possible if that had but been based upon the theory of a simple system of vocal sounds. Such, however, was not the case, and the hand of the investigator, previously to the discovery of the Rosetta Stone, was fettered by the universally received doctrine that the hieroglyphic writing was purely of an ideographic nature, and had nothing to do with sounds. From the authority of the work of a Greek, named Philip, who professed to have translated the writings of a certain Egyptian, Horus, (Apollo,) it was confidently believed that each sign served to indicate an idea and not a sound or a syllable. Hence, the decipherer was put to a mere guessing of rebuses, and could just as little have counted upon attaining a fixed result as we—if such a task were assigned us as the reading of the following riddle—the inscription which Myingun "Wolf," a renowned Indian chief,

scratched upon the side of a cliff on the shore of Lake Superior. It consists of four boats, over the first of which a king-fisher squats, and following these appear a horseman, a tortoise and three suns under three arches. The meaning of all which is, as we learned from the Indians, that Wolf's ally, King-fisher, (Kischkemunasi,) came hither with four canoes, in the first of which the latter held the place of leader. The rider signifies that this expedition took place at the time that horses were brought into Canada. The tortoise indicates King-fisher's landing. The three suns under the three arches of heaven, inform the reader that the journey lasted three days. Guess who can! The first decipherers had indeed made similar conjectures as to the meaning of certain hieroglyphics, and among them first of all we should mention the learned Jesuit, Father Athanasius Kircher, 1680, who left behind him several folios of these translations, from which we select this example. The good father gives as the meaning of a certain group of signs which signifies simply "autokratia" or "autocrat," the following sentence: "The producer of all fertility and vegetation is Osiris, whose creating power was drawn from heaven in his sway through the holy Mophtha." Showing clearly that he saw in each sign an idea instead of a letter. Like blunders, more or less absurd, though pardonable, too, when we consider the great fundamental error upon which their authors suffered shipwreck, could easily be enumerated. Indeed, the harm they did was more than compensated for by the attention they served to draw to this subject. At last, during the Napoleonic expedition to Egypt, Providence decreed that a document should be discovered, which has justly been called the "key," for it opened wide the door to knowledge of the hieroglyphics. Boussard, a French lieutenant of engineers, in the year 1799, while engaged upon the bastion of St. Julien at Rosetta Reschid, found a large table of black basalt, which, ten feet high and three-and-a-half broad, had lost, through some ill-hap, four large pieces from its corners. Three inscriptions divide its surface between themselves. The first consists of the pure hieroglyphic writing, the second of the Demotic text, and the third is inscribed in the Greek language with Greek initial letters. The fifty-four lines which the latter occupies are less abbreviated than the hieroglyphics, and the letters more legible and in better preservation. The whole contains a decree of the priests in honor of Ptolemy Epiphanes. It begins with the end-

less string of titles bestowed upon the Pharaohs, announces to the young king that the priests of all classes, after a meeting in the temple of Memphis, had resolved to thank him for the innumerable benefits and alleviation he had granted to the country, as well as his gracious favors to the priesthood, &c., &c., to show him the most exalted honors and to erect to him in a conspicuous place in every temple, a statue, near which the chief divinity of the shrine should stand handing him the weapon of victory. That to him, and to his image on all his birth-days, every divine honor should be paid, and the whole, which continues in the same pompous strain, should be inscribed upon a monument of hard stone in the Holy, the Demotic and the Greek writing, which table should be set up in all the larger temples of the land. This memorial, through the fortune of war, we find not in the Louvre, but the British Museum.

In the hieroglyphics, each character stands next the other, a few groups only being encircled in a sort of oblong rings. The Greek text mentions several names, those of the Ptolemies, in particular.

If now, these could be found in the hieroglyphic sections, much would have been attained, and this was possible, for before the discovery of the Rosetta Stone, Guignes, Barthelemy and Zoega had suggested the notion that the encircled groups we have just spoken of might represent the names of kings, distinguished in this way by a line drawn around them. Forthwith, then, the investigators set to work upon the Demotic text, which seemed to be legibly written, and succeeded in evolving those of the sets which recorded the name of Ptolemy. Could it be that the circum-lined group which occurred most frequently in the pure hieroglyphic inscription symbolized the same name? Yes; though this fact could not be asserted positively till a second monument, an obelisk brought from the island of Philae, in Upper Egypt, had been produced, whose inscription showed, in hieroglyphics and Greek, the name of Cleopatra. These characters, in the word Cleopatra, they compared with those supposed to make up the word Ptolemy, and through this experiment, reached a determinate result, for by a happy chance, the two words had five characters in common. Thomas Young, an Englishman distinguished in various branches of knowledge for a well nigh incredible energy, was the first to turn to account these fortunate

circumstances, and to decipher, though with some want of exactness, the names which occurred in the bi-lingual inscriptions, while at the same time, Jean Francois Champollion, born in the year 1790, in the vicinity of Grenoble, and of a precociously developed acuteness of mind, predestined, one might say, for the work to which he devoted his life, succeeded not only in rendering with accurate precision these proper names we have mentioned, but also in making such progress in his labors, that he was able, in a letter to M. Dacier, written on the 22d of September, 1822, to lay before the astonished scientific world a portion of the hieroglyphic alphabet. How did he accomplish this? Simply thus: he was justified in believing that a combination taken from the Rosetta Stone, was the name "Ptolemæus," (Ptolemy,) and another one from the Philæe inscription, the name "Cleopatra." Then he compared them sign by sign. The first hieroglyph in the name of Cleopatra is a triangle and must correspond to our "k." This we ought not to find in the word "Ptolemæus," and in fact do not. The second sign, a lion, must be an "l," and occurs, as it should, in the word "Ptolemæus," in the fourth place. The third sign, the leaf of a reed, is the sixth and the seventh letter in the word Ptolemæus, and represents, as had been supposed, the "ai" in the Greek form of this name: Πτολεμαῖος. The fourth sign, a rope with a loop in it, must be "o," and should be found in "Ptolemy" in the third place, as is the case. In the same way the square or rather oblong figure, which, being in the fifth place in Cleopatra, must be "p," is the first letter of Ptolemy. The sixth letter in the first of these names, an eagle, should be "a," and ought not to occur in "Ptolemæus," but it is found a second time, by way of an additional confirmation, in the last place of the word Cleopatra. The seventh sign, a hand, must be a "t." In the name Ptolemæus, however, we find another kind of "t," namely, a half-circle, and this might have misled the student if he had not foreseen the possibility of one sound being represented by more than one sign, and had correctly concluded that the half-circle at the end of the name of the celebrated queen, and which he also found at that of other female names, was the Coptic feminine article, "s," expressed in this particular place by a hand. The sign, a mouth, must be "r," and is not to be found in "Ptolemæus." As the ninth and final letter, the old writer has given, as we said

before, an eagle; so that the "a" in the middle and at the end of the word is represented by the same sign. There is, therefore, no figure in Cleopatra unexplained, while there was still left in Ptolemæus the fifth and the ninth sign which required further confirmation, if it could be had, showing that the one was an "m" and the other an "s." In this manner, eleven and, counting the article, twelve letters were definitely and correctly ascertained, and now it only remained to see whether by these we could read other known proper names.

Champollion next directed his attention to the name Alexander Alexandros, which he had discovered in the great work published by the savants of Napoleon's expedition, the "Description de l'Égypte," and he found the hieroglyphics "a," the eagle; "l," the lion; "t," the hand; "r," the mouth, in the right places therein. He was further justified, therefore, in declaring the third sign—a bowl with its handle—to be another mode of writing the triangle which occurs in Cleopatra, (x being divisible into "k" and "s,") the fourth—a bolt—to be interchangeable with the chair-back, the "s" in Ptolemæus, and the sixth hieroglyphic, the zig-zag line, to be an "n." Through this comparison from eleven, we have now fourteen signs ascertained.

With so many known quantities, the problem was easily to be solved. Champollion, following out this line of investigation, deciphered next the groups in "cartouches," as the enclosures above-described are called; and starting upon those which he knew extrinsically, interpreted a large number of titles belonging to the Ptolemies and to sundry Roman emperors; studied the names of Pharaohs, of Persian kings, and those of certain towns and divinities, and finding countless variations, compared and dealt with them by an inductive process. Passing from the ascertained to the unascertained, he worked algebraically, and used each elimination of an unknown quantity as a weapon with which to take the field against other "x's" and "y's." In the year 1824 he had got so far that in his "Précis du Système Hieroglyphique," he could not only give the rendering of a number of groups and names, but was also able to lay down rules for hieroglyphic translations which are standard to this day. All this would have been impossible without the Rosetta Stone: to it we owe the removal of that radical error, that the hieroglyphic writing was of a purely ideographic nature; for while representing the different sounds

which compose names, these particular signs might well have been employed elsewhere for the purpose just spoken of. And this, in fact, is the case in spite of the number of the various signs being nearly a thousand. The language of the ancient Egyptians, as preserved in the Coptic, is extraordinarily rich in homonyms, and on that very account, want being begotten by extravagance, so very poor that not seldom it has for five distinct ideas one word, or two almost identical: it displays, also, a great license in the matter of sounds. It seemed as if the writer could not be content with that simple rendering of sounds and syllables which is as old as the oldest written word come down to us from the ancient Egyptians: he felt under a sort of obligation to assist the comprehension of his reader, by first writing out the word according to its sounds, and then affixing a "determinative" sign, as it is called, that is, a picture which indicated the generic idea that the word expressed. Thus, after the name of every quadruped, its hindquarters were drawn in three strokes, and not seldom with "ehe," "the cow," or "māu," "the cat," we find the picture of a cow or cat. The verb was also "determined," so that when "chetbu," "to kill," was written out according to its sound, it was supplemented by the determinative symbol of an arm with a weapon, which, as Champollion expresses it, represented an "action forte," and also by the sign of the knife, which indicated the mode of killing, so that now instead of the simple word "chetbu," we have to kill with a weaponed arm and a knife. After the word "chus," "to build," written out at length, there is a man building, and after "nehem," to rejoice," a figure clapping its hands. In the case of substantives much used, and verbs with indicative, determinative signs, the full expression, according to the sounds, is left out, and instead of "ehe," "the cow," we find the image of a cow, and instead of "nehem," "to rejoice," a man clapping his hands. One and the same picture, always, of course, expressed equally an action and its subject, if both were derived from the same root and contained the same idea. Behind every word connected with the occupation of painting, writing, thinking, saying, and also with the writing material of the papyrus, a roll fastened together, or an ink-stand was placed. But this was always arranged in the following way: that after "an," "to paint," was affixed only an ink-stand, but after "an," "a writer," the ordinary determinative, the figure of a man, which

indicated that a person was being spoken of. The symbolic signs which our predecessors spoke of, do occur, but only in such manner that we must treat them as determinatives. Thus, the abbreviated sign of a woman stretched over the earth, indicated heaven: the same figure with a star added, night; and these ideas were never represented by words written out in full, but only by the above suitably-chosen symbols. We will seldom go wrong in taking the meaning of a word from its determinative, yet we should first call to our aid the signs representing its sounds, and also the Coptic corresponding word. This latter operation, indeed, often leads to no definite result, since the Coptic and the old Egyptian bear no closer relation than Italian and Latin, or our modern English and that of Chaucer. Besides the determinatives of meaning, we have the determinatives of pronunciation. The word for "life," "anch," was written, and after it was placed the sign of a cross with a handle, whose prototype was pronounced "anch." Hence, it often happened that the complete expression was omitted, and the idea of life, either as a substantive verb or attribute, was rendered by the above sign of a cross. These determinatives thus standing alone would have caused great difficulties if we had not possessed many versions of the same texts. There exist, happily, however, countless formularies and writings alike in their contents, in which the writer has assumed a certain license in regard to his mode of expression. If, therefore, in the place a simple looped cross stands in the first text, I find in the second "anch," written out, I know that it must be read "anch," and that since "anch," in Coptic, (anch, onch,) means "life," it must be translated as "life."

I have now, I hope, made clear to the reader the practicability of hieroglyphic interpretation and given him a general idea of the nature of the hieroglyphic writing. The latter, indeed, is oftener made dark from excess of light than by any other cause. It is no mere conceit if we ascribe the want of simplicity in many texts to a desire on the part of the writer to display their accomplishments. The art with which the pictures are symmetrically arranged is only equalled by the skill shown always in the choice of the signs which stand in connection with the meaning of the elaborated word. A great scholar boasts in his epitaph, now at Paris,

"that he was acquainted with all the secrets of the art of holy writing."

The studied variety of the letters has added much to the labor of the decipherer, while, on the other hand, the apt and intelligent choice of the symbols has furnished no little help to philologists.

When Champollion died, in the year 1832, at the age of forty three, leaving science to mourn his premature loss, he had completed in manuscript the greatest hieroglyphic grammar that has yet been written, and with this, the fragmentary material of a lexicon, since published by his brother. When we consider how short was the life of this wonderful scholar, his work seems simply miraculous. His monument in bronze was to be seen in the Champ de Mars in 1867, and before that, Chateaubriand had made a fitting memorial of him in these words: "Les admirables travaux auront la durée des monuments qu'il nous a fait connaître."

Since his death, this science of ours has made such progress that, for many years past, rendering of a single sentence was never undertaken without a strict analysis, and an "Egyptologist" at St. Petersburg could give a translation of papyrus which would vary but slightly from that of his colleague at Cairo.

The great bi-lingual inscription found by Lepsius, in 1866, among the ruins of ancient Tanis, and which is larger and more complete than the Rosetta Stone, containing too, like it, a decree of the priests written in the hieroglyphic, the Demotic and the Greek text and language, has furnished a test of the correctness of those examples already solved by the students of Egyptian Archæology.

H. R.

THURSDAY, the 15th of June, was a memorable day with our venerable Alma Mater, being the day on which the corner-stone of the new University building was laid. In reference to which we think we can hardly do better than make a short quotation from Provost Stillé's speech:

"The decade which closed with the year 1755 is, in many respects, the most important in the history of Philadelphia. During

those ten years there were placed on firm foundations here three public institutions, which have ever since been recognized as types of our higher life. These were the Philadelphia Library, the Pennsylvania Hospital, and the College of Philadelphia; and they all three owe their establishment mainly to the enlightened public spirit of one man—Benjamin Franklin. The College of Philadelphia, the predecessor of our University, was chartered on the 16th of June, 1755, one hundred and sixteen years ago to-morrow. It was the outgrowth of the 'Academy and Charitable School of Philadelphia,' established in 1749 and incorporated in 1753. In point of age it is the senior of all the colleges in this country except five, and in point of reputation, previous to the Revolution, (if we are to take the number of its students as a test,) it held the foremost rank. Its prosperity was ruined, however, by the indefensible violence which during the Revolution confiscated its estates, drove its trustees and provost from office, and set up another college in its place. In calmer times conflicting interests were reconciled and the present charter was granted in 1791.

"The buildings occupied by the College and the University for nearly half a century were those still known as the 'Old Academy,' in Fourth street, below Arch. About the beginning of the present century, the mansion built by the State of Pennsylvania for the residence of the President of the United States, in Ninth street, above Chestnut, was purchased by the trustees, and fitted up for the accommodation of the College classes, which removed there in the year 1802. There they remained until the year 1829, when the buildings now occupied by the University were erected, the corner-stone of the collegiate department having been laid on the 31st day of July in that year. During a period of more than a century by far the larger portion of the liberally-educated men in Philadelphia have been trained within the walls of this College and University. In that time the alumni of the medical department, established in 1765, and therefore the oldest in this country, have numbered more than 6,000; those of the collegiate department more than 2,000; while those of the law department form a smaller, but by no means an insignificant number. Many of the professors in all the departments, as I need not tell you, have been among the most illustrious scholars, physicians, and jurists in the country."

NEW BOOKS.

VILLAGE COMMUNITIES IN THE EAST AND WEST: Six Lectures delivered at Oxford by Henry Sumner Maine, corpus Professor of Jurisprudence in the University, formerly Law Member of the Supreme Government of India; author of "Ancient Law." London: Murray. 1871. Pp 226.

The title of Mr. Maine's new book sets forth so clearly the whole purpose of the volume itself, and the claims of the author upon students, that it is its own best introduction. As author of an earlier work, "Ancient Law, its Connection with the Early History of Society and its Relation to Modern Ideas," Mr. Maine took a foremost place among the best teachers of modern jurisprudence. His success found a prompt reward at the hands of the Government of Great Britain, in an important post in India, and the ripe fruit of his leisure, after having served his appointed term in the East, is the present series of lectures delivered at Oxford from the chair specially created for him. The book, like its predecessor, "Ancient Law," is a model of precision, clear statement, cogent reasoning and logical method, qualities that are rare enough in any writing nowadays, but most of all, in the department of legal literature to which, in a subordinate sense, this volume belongs. Mr. Maine works out his problem in a way that is in the highest degree instructive, not only to those who aim at a purely legal study, but to that larger body of intelligent laymen, who will find more real information as to the internal history of the great Indian Empire in the illustrations and proofs of the chief text, than in many volumes of professed handbooks or manuals of that vast country, teeming, as it does, with contradictions to all our preconceived notions and to the practices of the other provinces of the Empire itself. In and through, and above all this sea of confusion, clouded as it is by the mist of an almost endless prehistoric past, and but made the darker by the faint rushlight of efforts to graft English law and English life upon the existing customs of the East, Mr. Maine pursues his steadfast purpose, and by the help of his own profound learning, of his study as an English lawyer, of his knowledge of the acute and far reaching labors of Maurer and Nape, the great German authorities, and of the Indian experience of Lord Lawrence and Mr. George Campbell, works out a comparison between the existing village communities in India, and the clear and indubitable traces of them in English history and in German life. The fact that Palfrey notes the same experiment made in our own early New England history does not escape Mr. Maine, and it may serve as a proof, if indeed any such were needed, that the legal tie throughout the modern world is almost a perfect chain of communication. It recalls, indeed, Mr. Babbage's wonderful simile of the spoken word that is transmitted by waves of sound throughout the whole universe, and it would be hard nowadays to find any law, any custom, that had not its counterpart, its original, its source, its result, traceable in even the most distant country where civilization had gained a foothold. As clearly elucidating one branch of this modern science of comparative jurisprudence, Mr. Maine's book is a fit and worthy successor to his earlier work on Ancient Law, that fruitful mother of much study and

many books, but it has a larger popular interest and a broader field of vision, ranging, as it does, mainly over purely modern countries.

Harper's have reprinted Lord Brougham's Autobiography, of which the first volume only is out. It brings us down to his thirty-fourth year, but if his real life had been half as disappointing as his account of it, we should never have had Brougham as great as he really was, or any thing like the colossus that he looked to his immediate contemporaries. Except in a few bitter touches about his paternal ancestry and a few caustic, clever, characteristic things of his Edinburgh life as a school-boy and college student, the book is dull and wearisome, and formal and official beyond example. Page after page is taken up with dreary letters about his mission to Spain and Portugal in the anti-Napoleonic wars there, but his part was insignificant, and the wonder is that he would look back to it as at all important across the vista of his half century of ceaseless activity, legal, political, literary, scientific—all this is left to be compressed in two volumes yet to be issued. Unfair as is Lord Campbell's life of his great contemporary, it is far more attractive and serviceable, even to those who see through and do not share the detraction with which the one Scotch Chancellor tried to pull down the other. Brougham's greatness in the law may not have been greater than Campbell's or Lyndhurst's, even in their opinion, but in the eyes of the world, he was, and deserves to be remembered as a greater man in a score of ways in which no man equalled him. He seems to have outlived his place in English history, and to have lived long enough to do himself the great injustice of writing his own life and of writing himself down to the level of a commonplace man; but his rivals and haters have done enough to preserve his memory from rusting out under the heavy load that he has himself put on it in his autobiography.

FRAGMENTS OF SCIENCE FOR UNSCIENTIFIC PEOPLE: A Series of Detached Essays, Lectures and Reviews. By John Tyndall, L. L. D., F. R. S. Author of "Heat as a Mode of Motion." Pps. 422. 12mo. New York: D. Appleton & Co., Publishers.

If there were any authentic way of submitting this book for review to the old Calvinist and Courtier who wrote the *Novum Organum*, we would gladly have asked his views on it. We have no doubt that he would have been charmed by its style, and gratified to see at once with what strides modern science is advancing, and with what interest her progress is watched by the common people. He would find, perhaps, not a little to elicit dissent and protest, as tending to make material science the handmaid of materialism, but he would rejoice in the wholesome evidence of mental activity which, in the long run, purifies itself, as does running water.

The second and third papers of the book will probably elicit the most decided protest from hostile critics; they seem to us to completely disprove the possibility of a miracle in a very common view of what that is; they seem also to show that the Professor has not taken the trouble to go to head-quarters to learn what the *Christian* conception of miracle is. The paper on "Scientific Materialism" is a sufficient refutation of those who would use scientific truth to disprove the spiritual nature of man. That on "Dust" is the one by which we were all startled into holding our breath by its discovery of atmospheric dangers and impurities. Other papers are on Light, Heat, Slates, Magnetism, Radiation, &c.

CHARLOTTE ACKERMANN: A Theatrical Romance, founded upon Interesting Facts in the Life of a Young Artiste of the Last Century. By Otto Müller. Translated from the German by Mrs. Chapman Coleman and her Daughters. Pp. 357. 16mo. Philadelphia: Porter & Coates, Publishers.

Very few English readers have any adequate conception of the extent to which the literature of fiction in Germany has been enriched from English sources; it is hardly too much to say that the whole mass of really popular English and American novels have found translators and readers in that country. England is the native land of modern prose fiction, as Defoe, Goldsmith and Scott are the great originals in this department.

The influence of English upon German novels is abundantly evinced by the later writers of Germany, who are so much the more intelligible to the mass of English readers. The novels which men of far greater mental and artistic power wrote in the Goethe-Schillerian period, are so intensely and unqualifiedly German that English readers have little relish for them. But the tales of Spielhagen, Auerbach, and even Fran Mühlbach, cover a wide circle of readers. Hence the wholesale translation of all the better German stories of late years into English.

Otto Müller has a wide and growing reputation on the Continent, which the present story goes far to justify. Its scene is laid in Hamburg, in the period when Lessing had raised the German theatre to the position of independence and importance which it has ever since possessed, and when Goethe and other writers were growing into fame as poets and dramatists. The heroine—a young, beautiful and gifted actress, of spotless character—loses her heart to a Danish *roué*, and after many scenes and situations illustrative of cotemporary society, dies of grief on learning his true character, and is buried in maiden innocence. The very different position occupied by the theatre in German society from that which it holds in England and America, is curiously illustrated by the work. The translators have done their work well, *malgrè* a few too literal translations, where the English idiom is missed.

THE COMPREHENSIVE SPEAKER. Designed for the use of Schools, Academies, Lyceums, &c. Carefully selected from the Best Authors, with Notes. By Henry T. Coates. Pp. 671. 12mo. Philadelphia: Porter & Coates, Publishers.

A "speaker" being very commonly the one school-book which the young American chooses for himself, Mr. Coates has hit upon the idea of furnishing him with one that shall be accordant with his tastes for something fresh and up to the times. Without excluding the best of the old standard pieces, and even adding to their number, he has included very many from the best modern authors, laboring to furnish food for thought, and models of good style and fine taste. Struck by the defects of previous works of this kind, he has striven to secure accurate punctuation and editing, and to exclude slang, and matter of ephemeral interest.

If we have a fault to find with the book it is one that belongs to nearly its whole class, and to a majority of modern school-books—the print is too small. In view of the prevalence of *myopia*, and similar disorders of the eyes among modern school-children, there is an urgent necessity

for the better lighting of school-rooms, and for a use of larger type in printing books for their use. Of the large number of really handsome and otherwise convenient school-houses recently erected at a great outlay in this city, every one is defective in the arrangement for light.

THE TWO GUARDIANS; or, Home in this World. By [Miss Yonge,] the author of "The Heir of Redcliffe," &c. Pp. 338. 16mo. New York: D. Appleton & Co., Publishers.

Another volume of the very prettily bound and well printed re-issue of Miss Yonge's novels, with which this firm is favoring the reading public. The present is not the most popular of the fair author's works, but her merits and attractions are of a kind common to all her books. In an age when—in spite of the presence of such names as Mrs. Oliphant and Mrs. Lewes—the name of "Lady Novelist" is becoming a "Nehushtan," it is pleasant to meet again with the books of one who is so thoroughly a lady in all her tastes, and whose books embody the best side of English social life in the reign of good Queen Victoria.

THE FOE IN THE HOUSEHOLD. By Caroline Cheeseboro. Pp. 117. 8vo. Boston: J. R. Osgood & Co., Publishers. For sale by Claxton, Remsen, & Haffelfinger, of Philadelphia.

Miss Cheeseboro is a novelist who is thoroughly free from the tricks of her trade. With an almost unconscious skill, she reproduces, in the words and acts of her personages, her own subtle conceptions of their characters, so that the story reads like the record of lives passed under our very eye. The effects of her books come as naturally as the lights and shadows of nature; we see the people.

Her present story is a fine specimen of this realistic skill; but we fear it is truer to general human nature, than to the specific type with which it deals. The scene is laid among the Mennonites of Pennsylvania, and the interest of the story turns upon the stringent rules of the sect, which prohibits intermarriage with other denominations. The characters are in general well conceived, and the idyllic air that befits the piece, the simplicity of manners and speech, are not missed. Yet there is something lacking to make us feel as if we were really among the Pennsylvania Germans. There is a quickness and a smartness of manner that belongs rather to New England, than to the interior of our own State. A New England sect with the same principles, planted in the heart of Massachusetts, might act and think thus and so, but not the Pennsylvanians.

With this drawback the book is well executed, and the great multitude who care not for these things, will find it entertaining reading.

We have also received from D. Appleton & Co., New York, the following:

PICKWICK PAPERS. By Charles Dickens. 1871.

REMINISCENCES OF FIFTY YEARS. By Mark Boyd. 1871.

MARQUIS & MERCHANT. A Novel. By Mortimer Collins. 1871.

THE
PENN MONTHLY.

AUGUST, 1871.

THE POLITICAL LITERATURE OF THE
UNITED STATES.—I.

BEFORE entering upon an account of the writings that constitute this literature, it may be well to submit for consideration some general remarks upon the study of Political Science.

The subject of Political Bibliography as a special study has not, I believe, been broached on this side the water; that is, Political Literature has never been studied by itself and for itself: and although many very great names of historians and statesmen appear on works that enter very largely and deeply into this branch of learning, it has always been in an antiquarian or political sense. Among the studies that are pursued at each German University, are Political Science and the Literature of Politics. Political Science with us is usually cut off from all scientific studies, as if it was altogether out of place in a course of liberal education. To show that this is not the case, let me first give a map, in the rough, of the outlines and relations of the different sciences; and next such authoritative praise as will prove its importance.

To begin: all sciences are divided according to their several objects. There are three great divisions, and each of these has its subdivisions. The first is the Relation of Abstract Ideas, and this embraces that of Quantity, which we call Geometry, of Numbers, which is Arithmetic, and of Comparison, that is Logic. The second is the Relation of Matter, which is familiarly known as Natural Philosophy; this includes Dynamics, Astronomy, Optics, Chemistry, Anatomy, Physiology, and Natural History.

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The last great division is that of Relations of the Mind, and this is called Moral Philosophy. It is the source of two studies: one, Psychology, concerning Man in his Individual Capacity, and the other, that branch of learning which treats of Man as a Member of Society—*Political Science*. With this alone we have now to deal. The subject of this science is the Structure of Government, and its two great divisions are, the Theory of Government and the Theory of Society. The former of these is again divided into, first, the Science of Public Law, and this into Constitutional Law and International Law; next the Theory of Political Morality; and last the Art of Government, including its fundamental principles, the organization of the various departments, the execution of the laws, finances, foreign affairs, and the internal administration.

It is the history of this branch of science that is best illustrated in our literature. And we have been so rich in Political Histories, that we seem to have stopped there and rushed into an excess of books, as if the labors of their authors could not be applied to the further development of the science of which they treat.

Now that there is a well recognized theory of Social Science, I do not need to say, even if I give only its outline. Within the last ten years there has grown up in Germany, in England, and lately in this country, a demand for a science which shall discuss the principles of society—that is, of social organization independent of government. We all know and feel that in spite of the form of government, there is everywhere a fixed and certain rule that governs the existence of men as social instruments; when we discuss the principles of government, we do not want to deal only with the technical subjects of political economy. We are just beginning to learn that this science is really one, and I hope we shall not be backward in prosecuting the study so far, that we may yet take our place alongside of the Continental and British theorists; but at present it is in its infancy here—we have hardly learned to walk, and we desire to stride alongside of giants. Still in this science there are new theories to be broached, new experiences to be made, and new labors to accomplish.

Some persons are disposed to think that Political Science is so far from being a practical study as to be entirely without value for us. Let us guard against setting up our every-day notion of politics as the criterion on which to base this opinion. With-

out endeavoring to invite you to the pursuit of that base business, let me direct attention to the fact that in spite of ourselves, we are and must be politicians; and the only question left for us is to decide whether we shall go on in the exercise of our political privileges as a source of profit and personal advantage—for that is the unblushing boast of political partisans now-a-days—or whether we shall not rather endeavor by the study of Political Science to gain a mastery of the subject, and by acquaintance with the political literature of our own country, put ourselves above mere temporary expedients and resources, and, after a deliberate examination of each subject of political (not partisan) discussion, take our part in the public affairs entrusted to us, carefully and coolly.

Like the facts of Natural Philosophy, those of Political Science depend on experience, and not exclusively on reasoning. They are contingent on the actual existence of facts of a public nature, and they are equally capable of clear demonstration and distinct statement. I need not enumerate all, but let us hurriedly consider some of the reasons that must recommend themselves by their simplicity. All of us are political observers. The acts and operations of our government, and not much less, those of neighboring and friendly powers, the course of events social and political, of communities far and near, the habits and proceedings of the people, their fate and their fortunes, form the daily subject of reflection with all persons even of an ordinary degree of intelligence. The appetite for knowledge of this description is very generally diffused, and the facts are as plain, manifest and tangible as those of mechanical or professional pursuits. They are more obvious; they are perceptible to the senses, they are reducible to number and measure. The accumulation or diminution of public wealth, the prosperity or suffering of the people, the progress of population, the quiet or disturbed state of the country, the prevalence of one order or portion of the state over another, the effects of a form of government, and the results of a change in it, are all matters of distinct observation.

Is there any branch of learning more important and more interesting than that which includes in it the whole range of the history of national affairs, the narrative of public events, the changes in the conditions and fortunes of whole communities, their relations with each other, whether in peace or war, the rise

and decay of great institutions, affecting the welfare of millions, the progress of a policy upon which the happiness, nay the very existence of whole millions depends, the varieties in the governments under which they live, the influence of those governments upon the condition of the people, and the effects which they produce upon their intercourse with other countries. We must remember, too, that almost unerring truth is the characteristic of these sources, from which the political reasoner draws his facts, and that there is little question or room for doubt as to the exactness of these details, and the minute recital of facts,—those facts upon which the political philosopher reasons, which he generalizes, from which he draws his conclusions, on which he builds his systems.

It may seem that this is wandering off into theoretical studies, and that these questions are too high and too great for our every-day consideration. But we must remember that we are entrusted with the great gift of self-government, and unless we make political questions the companions of our daily labors, they will never receive that attention which is preëminently their due. I know that it is not easy, in the midst of the bustle and turmoil of miserable party discussions, to be fully awake to the real importance of new laws, new methods of government, new issues and new efforts, either to regain lost preëminence or to achieve new victories in the dangerous path of political aggrandizement. But this should serve to warn us back to a study of the early history of our political development, as the source, to a great extent, of our substantial successes, (not that we should not have become a great and powerful nation under any form of government, but) for the purpose of teaching us the real use and service of a practical mastery of political issues.

Now what is the nature of such politics as this? I shall answer this question by a quotation from Lord Brougham—who was both a writer on and an actor in the politics of his own country: "Politics," he said, "is eminently a practical and experimental science. It does not teach us, it does not permit, the universal application of general maxims without regard to circumstances, any more than the science of Practical Mechanics teaches or permits the engineer to form his machinery upon calculations and figures on paper, without making allowance for friction and the resistance of the air, and the strength or elasticity of the

materials. The general principles of both sciences are of admirable service, but they must always be applied under the superintending guidance and control of practical wisdom, which consists in knowing where to follow the rule, where to make an exception that shall shut it out altogether, and where to pursue it with modifications and allowances, according to the varying circumstances of each case. There can be no greater error than to infer from the modifications to which we have adverted, that therefore it is not useful to examine the principles of government, and the various forms in which they exist, and have existed in the world. As well might it be said that the theory of mechanics is useless to the engineer. From such an inquiry we derive a knowledge of the principles which ought to guide our choice where alterations are wanted, and are both practicable and safe. Nor can any politician ever be sure that he is placing his measures on safe grounds, who has not previously made himself well acquainted with the fundamental principles of the science."

In this eloquent praise of political science, there are many things generalized that seem to us at first a little foreign to our practice in things political, but if we turn to a closer comparison of real and false politics, we shall be forced to acknowledge their truth and force.

There are not, it is true, many books which will give the details of Political Science, and there is not, I believe, a single historian or writer of any sort in our day, who has attempted to distinguish between the History of the United States and the Political Literature of the country; that is, in giving an account of the facts of a public or private nature, that controlled the events of any era or epoch, almost all have altogether failed to look to the inner influence, so to speak, of the writings, the proceedings of public bodies, the state papers, that in each case preceded and moulded and accompanied every important occurrence of the different phases of our national existence. They have confined their attention too much to the *effect* of the development of both the political and social progress of our earlier existence, and have paid too little heed to the *causes* of the gradual expansion of political opinions, and the origin of our steady and successful advance to independence and constitutional government.

But there is time now to begin anew our researches, for we have plentiful need of the lessons of political prudence that are to be

found in the labors of the real founders of our republic—the political writers of the first half of our existence, not as a nation only, but as a people. In fact, it is no longer possible to go on in a dull indifference to every thing but the material progress that has hitherto limited the range of our vision; we must awaken to the necessity of thinking for ourselves on all the questions of political tendency, and, owing to the want of reliability in statesmen, journalists and legislators, each one will soon find himself forced back on his own resources, and as these at the best are very limited, we must join in a study of the original sources of our political existence.

The first English author who has attempted, in our language—rich as it is in political writings of every sort—to treat them as an independent branch of literary history, has had less success than writers in Germany and France, where Political Literature and the systematic study of Political Science have gone hand in hand together for many years; and Mr. Blakey could not, I am sure, have found greater occasion in his own country, than we do to a man here, for the urgent enforcement of the claims of his favorite study. “Were Political Literature,” he says, “by which we understand, not a mere chronicle of wars, political intrigues, or barren facts,—but a record of the abstract principles of polity, recognized and acted on by nations at particular epochs of their history,—generally inculcated among the necessary elements of instruction in all civilized communities, there would soon be manifested a higher estimation of all civil and religious privileges, and a more prompt and ready detection of legislative error and misrule. When a people are versed in the history of the great principles laying at the foundation of social institutions, they have the elements of a peaceful and regular improvement of their condition in their own hands, and a valuable test at all times of the intrinsic importance and practicability of new and untried measures. That an early study of the true principles of Political Science is essentially requisite in a country which justly boasts of so many excellent maxims and principles of civil government and civil institutions, will scarcely be denied; yet when we look at the negligence on this head, in the total omission of any direct kind of public instruction, calculated to impart a fair share of knowledge of the subject, we are led to express our astonishment, that the people of our country are so well informed on public matters

as they really are. Bishop Berkely justly observes, that "the pretensions and discourses of men throughout these kingdoms, would at first sight lead us to think that the inhabitants were all politicians, and yet, perhaps, political wisdom hath in no age or country been more talked of or less understood. License is taken for the end of government, and popular humor for its origin. No reverence for the laws, no attachment to the constitution, little attention to matters of consequence, and altercations about trifles."

Now, without losing sight of the fact, that we are much more frequently called on to exercise our discretion, in matters of political importance, than are almost any other people, we must candidly acknowledge that it is within our power to master the whole extent of the political literature that illustrates, and in fact characterizes our career as a nation; for unlike the gradual rise and growth of other political constitutions, the principles that lie at the root of ours, and the rules that are required for its construction and amendment, are not mere abstractions; there is no current of hidden influence that winds a tortuous and difficult way through the early ages of our first establishment, nor do we need great labor or concentrated attention to bring into light the leading ideas that were the common property of our greatest statesmen.

It is not indeed likely that we shall produce any immediate result by application to this study; we may not fit ourselves to control and direct the affairs of government, nor even to legislate for the wants of the community in which we live, but there will be awakened in each of us a sense of the responsibility that is entrusted to us, and instead of endeavoring to evade our duties as good citizens, or rashly advancing new schemes of improvement, and ridiculing the conservative spirit of the true statesmen who are still spared to us, we shall put our own heads to work to think over all that is doing. We shall find enough to do to correct our own over-zealousness, or to spur on our indifference in political affairs. And if we attain no other result, we shall place ourselves on a firm foundation of a few real principles, that will enable us to appreciate the advantages and the goodness of that which we have inherited as a national birthright, and then we can look with indifference and contempt on that miserable partisanship, which, take what form it may, will inevitably end

in rewarding a few astute leaders, and doing irreparable injury to the blind crowds who obey their selfish behests. If we do not break away from them, and that very soon, we shall be realizing the fable of an old English bishop, who described a country where the females perform all the offices of men; their civil constitution is a pure democracy, every one desirous of governing, none willing to obey; every thing there is regulated by public suffrage, all speak at once, and none pay any attention to what their neighbor says; they have a perpetual parliament, and what is voted to-day is sure to be repealed to-morrow.

The wisdom, indeed the duty, of thinking for himself, on all questions within his exact knowledge, and which he is capable of resolving, will soon appear manifest to every one who applies himself to political study, and he will not easily be led away by others, nor let them dictate his opinions, and prescribe his course of thinking, any more than of acting. But he will also soon become sensible of the safety and fitness of listening respectfully to the opinions of the good and the wise; of men whose knowledge is greater, whose experience is larger, whose reason is more powerful than his own. He will perceive, in political, as in all other sciences, that it is useful and safe to take the benefit of the ability and learning of skilful men, and he will receive their opinions and suggestions with respect, provided he is sure they are honestly given and without any interested bias. A deference to authority will thus be inculcated as both becoming and safe, and he will scorn the folly of those superficial men, who, regarding with no kind of respect the great masters of political wisdom, set up the crude speculations of rash and ignorant pretenders, as fit guides of conduct. He will soon perceive and retain in his mind, the wide difference between servilely following in other men's tracks, so as to become their instrument or tool, and on the other hand, learning to respect their wisdom and profit by their intelligence, and weigh with deference the conclusions to which their experience and reflection have guided them.

Nor can the wisdom of those who have lived in other times be ever rejected as a help or even as an authority, unless it is quite clear that the circumstances of the state are changed, and that improvements have subsequently been made, which render the conclusions of former times inapplicable to our own. This is a kind of study which alone can bestow the education that prepares

a people for self-government; not merely the knowledge which is thus acquired fits them for the task, but the virtue, the cautious, and prudent, and self-denying habits, both in reasoning and acting, which spring from enlarged knowledge and long reflection, are necessary elements.

A people thus educated is disciplined, as well as improved in their knowledge and understanding. Caution and moderation become familiar to them, and they learn as well when to abstain as when to interfere, when to be passive as when to act. Now, these truths are not beyond the range of our own individual requirements. It is true that time and ability are needed for such instruction; but of such a nature must be the first endeavors of those who begin to teach as well as those who begin to learn any science; and nobody doubts either the usefulness of the lessons so acquired or the extent of good results that will be produced hereafter. Political science ought to have its own teachers and its due place in our courses of education. How can it be otherwise? The science which treats of the structure of government, which makes the experience of one age or nation benefit another, and save it the price, and inconvenience, and delay of failure, pointing out the errors committed in various systems of civil and commercial polity, showing how these are to be corrected or shunned, and teaching how such systems may most effectually be improved so as to secure the happiness of the people; the science which expounds the best modes of legislation, the true principles of jurisprudence, the most efficacious manner of executing as well as of making the laws, which defines the rights of the people and their duties, explains the relations of one nation to another, and enforces both the duty and wisdom of combining order with freedom at home, and independence with peace abroad,—surely this science, if it be not of all others the most useful to every state, nay, to every individual citizen, at every period, at least yields to none in real practical importance. The benefits which it helps us to obtain, the errors which it leads us to correct, the dangers which it enables us to avoid, are the more important, because those benefits, and errors, and dangers affect the affairs of whole nations, and nearly concern every individual member of the community, directly or indirectly.

I do not think that too much can be said in a general way of the nature and value of political science, because this very

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generalization serves to point out more sharply and distinctly the next subject of inquiry, the advantages and the requirements of the study of political learning in this country. We are perhaps prejudiced against the word politics, and I am sure that all of us must heartily detest and despise that empirical pursuit of politics which is a source of infinite injury and a multiplicity of misfortunes to our country in its whole vast extent, and in every little section and community, far and near. Now, without desiring to examine in detail all the sad results of our present system of abuses, let me direct attention for a moment to the different condition of those foreign countries in which political learning is thoroughly studied and well taught. It is true that in Germany there is a taste for systems of every thing, and the public instructors in that country, (where the infinite divisions and subdivisions of power, national, state, and municipal, were once a source of pity in some and contempt in others,) are said to occupy themselves with plans of governments for states that never existed and countries that have never yet been discovered; but the result of these studies has been a power of close analytical reasoning and careful investigation.

It may seem at first blush absurd to expect any useful lessons in political learning from France; but in truth, in spite of the regular cycle of revolutions to which we have become so accustomed that a good many of us are impatient for the next turn in its wheel of fortune, there is a conservative institution in French governments of every name and complexion that renders its internal administration stable and firm. The Conseil d'Etat is a body of men who are chosen from among the tried and experienced statesmen, the best writers on the politics, and the best teachers on the political science of the country. They have gained a reputation for political learning in the active exercise of political duties, in the discussion of political questions, or in the instruction of elementary politics. To them every new law, every plan of great public improvement, every scheme of real reform, is referred for examination, and it is pruned, and shaped, and sometimes recast altogether before it is adopted by the visible and outward government of the time being. The emperor and his ministers, it is true, took the credit of its advantages; but the Conseil d'Etat goes on in its steady, unpretending course, treasuring up all the results of years of unwearied labor, and while

governments change in name and policy, as far as the outward show and glitter of public appearances may go, the revolutions leave unchanged their labors and their duties. Revolutionists may mouth and vapor; imperialists may look threatening, and intrigue, and bluster; all the intermediate classes of reds and whites, socialists and Bourbons, legitimists and constitutionalists, may rise and fall, affecting, it is true, the foreign policy of the nation and of the continent even; but in the midst of all this turmoil and confusion, that to us seem inseparable from destruction, there is silently working the result of sound political learning.

England is nearer to us in a thousand ways than is any other nation in the world. We have sprung from its loins, we have fed at its breasts, we are daily giving back in a thousand ways the benefits we have received at its hands, and every day renewing and strengthening the ties that bind us together. In our material progress we are proud to be compared to English manufactures, mechanics, and improvements; in legal lore we still look reverently to the old laws, and we adopt from time to time many of the judicial changes which have been tested there. But in politics the chasm is broader and deeper with every receding year; the nearer we are brought together by other ties the wider do we separate on all questions of political tendency. What has been and what is still the cry of English statesmen? Reform without change. What is now our principle of action, so far as we have one, and what are the words that really ought to be emblazoned on the banners of the hydra-headed faction that sows new parties and reaps a new crop of evils every year? Change without reform! Look at the famous Reform acts in England, the great series of measures that was inaugurated in 1830, and has received its latest but not its last addition in the Ballot bill of 1871. Do we not recognize the presence of a large body of powerful men, using a vast influence to accomplish great ends, resolved to accomplish them by means of the people, and to do that, first mastering for themselves the whole extent of the political learning within their reach, and then spreading it throughout the country in such a shape that every man may do for himself what a few men did for the nation? What have we to show in our political history like this?

Now, it is not out of place to remember that some of these

advantages of political students abroad are owing to the fact that without their persistent and steady labors some of the governments of Europe could not hold together for a day. The vast extent of inherited difficulties, poor laws, church and state, the rights of royalty, the power of landed gentry, titles and dignities, police in its broadest meaning, including ten thousand things that with us are either not done at all or are done haphazard, such as the management of woods and forests, the establishment of government pawn shops, the regulation of agriculturists, the immense extent and importance of the military power and influence above the civil, and a long list of similar restraints unknown here—all this has been spared us; and because we are freed from these restrictions on progress and improvement we are too much inclined to boast that it is a merit of our own. Now, ours is a young country in this sense, that we are young and vigorous, and have not yet felt any of the burthens of old habits and customs, because nations are just like men in this respect, and suffer equally from the vices of their early life; but when we go in a careless way on and still further onward, indifferent to the results of our conduct on generations yet to come, and then would excuse our want of restraint and regulation on the score of being a young state, a youthful nation, we forget that nations are not like men, independent beings and responsible each for himself, but that no nation deserves to be or can exist as a sovereign power until it has proved itself superior to the errors of its predecessors. We ought to stand a whole head and shoulders above every power on earth, because we began our existence when they were already far advanced in the culture of political learning; and yet we may well attribute all the good that is in us to their influence, and all the bad side of our government to our own neglect.

Now, our political literature is of value far beyond our own immediate circle, and when we have once seen in what sense it is regarded by foreign writers on the subject we shall have a higher notion of the importance of a careful examination of it and of its application directly and effectually to our political wants, for the correction of the evils that have grown up around us, and for the advancement of the benefits that are characteristic of our system of government. The political literature of the United States is interesting because it is a large and important branch of general literature, and by all odds the most important contribution of

America; for however open to the reproach of want of originality may be the works of our historians, novelists, essayists, theologians, and jurists, our men of exact science and our theoretical reasoners, the political writers of this country are everywhere independent of foreign influence and in every way strictly national and American. Besides, the present position of the United States, the great influence that they already wield in political questions of the widest extent and significance, and the immense, the boundless reach of direct power and authority that are coming daily within their control, widening and spreading in every direction with no effort on their part and beyond the possibility of any restraint either from within or without—all this is cause for anxiety at home and abroad, and reason enough to make our political literature one of the most practical and necessary of all studies. Now political science in this country has undertaken some of the most delicate and intricate questions in the theory of government, and as it has had a long trial and an astonishing success, we are bound to examine both those that are still undergoing the test of experience and those that have been pretty satisfactorily resolved. This of itself would be a task of great difficulty and much nicety, and therefore in this place it will be possible only briefly to suggest their nature.

The first and greatest question that meets every student of our political experience is the result of the establishment of a democratic government in a country as extensive as this, inhabited by a nation who see no limit to their greatness and extent. We are very apt to think that there can be no question about it at all, but that this is the natural sequence of all progress, social as well as political; while the historical views of German and French writers, and the historical pride of Englishmen of all classes, lead them to expect that we are only going through the same process that brought Greece and Rome under imperial power, and bequeathed to the modern world monarchical forms of government in every other quarter of the world except our own. But this is a question that can be resolved only by generations yet to come, and we can neither lighten their task nor lessen our own labors by attempting it now. The hopefulness, nay, the conviction in our own minds that we are right, is all that we can ever expect to enjoy.

We are daily and hourly in the possession and use of one of

the greatest benefits that ever belonged to any nation—a powerful federal union. Other nations have vainly boasted of it; but in Greece it floated away like a thin mist before the summer sun, and the approach of a foreign power or the presence of internal disorder put an end forever to that shadowy dream; Italy sought once before to establish it, but it rose and fell without leaving a trace of its short-lived existence, and the daily invocations that now arise from the thousands who denounce Italian tyranny and the other thousands who plan Italian revolutions, are prayers to an unknown god; Germany, too, would find in its mediæval history, rather than in the unsuccessful effort of 1848, a prototype of its present Empire, but the likeness is incomplete, and if the result is again a failure, it will be a source of regret, but not a surprise to the students of German history. We are not, we can never be again recreant to our high trust, and silent invocations, and active, unceasing efforts are alike the cause and the result of our past trials and present faith in the Union.

We have not yet and we never can grow out of the sense that these questions of Democracy and of the Union are beyond our control. We can never affirm or deny their existence until we cease to exist as a republic and as a republican union. But there are two subordinate problems that have been resolved in the course of our national existence, although to this day they are everywhere else stumbling-blocks. We have utterly and forever abolished the union of church and state, and we have firmly established the doctrine of strict construction; and because these are finally determined, they cease to be subjects of discussion in any other than an historical sense, or in the comparison of the advantages and disadvantages of our political condition, and to these let us now make a hasty reference.

We are not ignorant of the superiority of our form of democracy; we boast, often with great reason, that we are the only democratic government that is really a power of any strength and importance abroad and of value at home. It would do us no credit, therefore, to compare the successful results of our democracy with the miserable pretence of government that abuses so many of the other States of this continent. We do not need to feel the least envy of other forms of government so long as the country generally and the people throughout its whole extent, in a thousand ways, continue to express the same universal sat-

isfaction with the success of our Federal Union, and their high estimate of the results that spring from it. True, we do it in an odd way: we give room and verge to every sort of political abuse, persuaded and content to believe that these will all finally be beaten down under foot by the virtue and strength that are in our fundamental laws; but beyond a doubt the day will come again, as it did in the trying days of our Rebellion, when the political activity and independence of our citizens generally will resume their place, and prove them worthy of both their country and its institutions.

We do not like to look upon the dark side of our political experiences, and yet it is necessary, to complete this analysis, that I should recite those defects that have been pointed out by the foreign writers from whom I have mainly drawn this sketch. If there be faults suggested that we do not recognize as such, we attribute it to the mistaken zeal of theorists; if there be faults that are known to us, we throw over them the veil of patriotic regret; let us rather endeavor to correct them, but do it silently, remembering always to be grateful to those who are able to exercise the privilege of critics and the duty of reformers. One of these faults, then, is the abuse of that equality which peculiarly characterizes all our forms of government, national, state, and municipal, all our relations as citizens and as members of society, all our ideas, moral, political, and personal. It is true, an able French writer on our government, M. de Tocqueville, has said philosophically, that all governments throughout the world are solving the same problem of equality; but even he has declared that we Americans abuse that equality, and he cites in support of this declaration many facts to show our profound contempt as a nation for public morality, and our growing disregard as individuals for private rectitude. How many additional instances could he not cite from the experience of the years that have elapsed since he wrote his first volume on American Democracy! The leading German writer on our Political Literature, Von Mohl, cites as a further proof of this abuse of equality the fact that there is a growing contempt for intellectual cultivation, and that we are content to spread a thin surface of instruction, that just breaks ground, but does not at all penetrate into the soil, nor strengthen nor encourage the hardy growth of any harvest worth the gathering. We are therefore responsible for

the neglect and decline of domestic intellectual labor, and the sooner we stop our forced loans from abroad the sooner will we be able to cope with other people.

A reproach that greets us from every foreign quarter is the uncertain sovereignty of the law, and we are told that we are not able to deny the truth of the charge, nor willing to correct the evils from which it flows. To excuse it by saying that we have made our judiciary elective is only excusing one error by another that is still more flagrant. However, there are consequences so direct and so near to all our best interests, flowing from this source of manifold misfortune, that it is more than likely to correct itself by a growing sense of the necessity of putting the law, its ministers, and their behests far out of reach of popular prejudice and attack.

Another source of plentiful comment abroad, as it should be a subject of painful and thoughtful observation at home, is the slow but irresistible deviation of the American democracy from the true theory of representative government. Instead of making legislators really the representatives of the country, they are simply the agents of the petty community whence they are sent; instead of giving executive officers the powers that are necessary, they are stinted, limited, and restrained, either by the fear of the party or the prejudice of the people from whose midst they have sprung; and as we have persuaded ourselves that every thing must originate with and be approved by the constituency, instead of a business-like and sensible reliance on their representatives, the latter do nothing, from fear of the former, while these in turn postpone all action till necessity forces it on them all unprepared. The most uncomfortable evil that pursues us, and seems to stick as closely and fatally to our democracy as did the robe of Nessus to its poor victim, is the fear of public opinion. Nor is this confined to public measures; it governs everybody and controls every thing; not an action, not a thought, escapes this ordeal, unless, indeed, it be the base coinage of those who create it. It has been explained on two grounds, and these are here offered for what they are worth. The first is because the will of the majority extends to private as well as to public affairs and individuals, and however much we may boast of our freedom from great crimes, we hug all the more closely to us a thousand faults of a petty and contemptible sort, that do not frighten

us by their names, but serve to render us more uncharitable and more fond of gossip, slander, and calumny than are the people of any other country. These tastes are common indeed to the majority, and they may well be said to—

"Compound for sins they are inclined to
By damning those they have no mind to."

The other reason is because the "majority" are so accustomed to be flattered by parasites and party leaders in public affairs, so incessantly pursued with praise of their wisdom, virtue, and power, that at length, convinced of their universal incomparable excellence, they expect blind obedience to their tastes and orders in every and any direction.

The reproach that we are but too conscious of deserving is the one that shall be made the last of this list: the want of some executive power equal to that of the popular will and its representatives, the law-making power. We may gain a hearing for a cause, we may enact it in our legislative halls, but when we come to its execution, one dissenting voice, one unwilling set, one outcry or objection, and where is the power, the moral power that strengthens the hands of the executive to action, and binds down the rebellious forces? Not that we are wanting in muscular strength and numbers for the support of the law and the right, but the occasion that calls forth its exercise is sure to do an irreparable injury to the silent sovereignty of the law.

ROBERT MOLE.

THE GERMAN MYSTICS AS AMERICAN COLONISTS.—I.

THE extent to which the religious sentiment underlay the earlier emigrations from Europe to America has hardly been realized yet, although so much attention has been called to it by historians of the Republic. To the disadvantages under which Puritans, Covenanters, Quakers and Catholics labored at various periods in the British Islands, the thirteen colonies owed many of their most valuable settlers. So extensively was emigration fostered by religious oppression at home, that it might almost be reckoned

as the chief cause of the actual prosperity of the colonies. Their settlers were not needy adventurers, who had broken with fortune in the old world, and were therefore forced to push for themselves in the new; they were men of principle, who had too much conscience to comply with what they regarded as false, who would leave their homes and all that was dear to them on earth, rather than submit to exactions and requirements which they deemed unrighteous.

The extent to which similar motives operated upon our German colonists has not been appreciated, mainly because the history of German immigration is so much less generally known and understood. There seems to be a popular impression among very large numbers of Americans that "the Hessians" were the first Germans who settled in this country in any large numbers. The very literature of the subject—although much increased within the last decade by the zealous men who are building up a German-American literature—is in so far inaccessible that it is in the German language exclusively. The general ignorance of the condition of Germany between the close of the Thirty Years' War and the accession of Frederick the Great (1645–1740) has added to the general obscurity of the topic. To the religious oppression of the Reformed in the Palatinate, of the Lutherans of Salzburg, and of the Mennonites in various countries, Pennsylvania and Georgia owe many of their first settlers.

It is to the presence of quite another and a more remarkable class in the colonies that we would direct attention—the Mystics of Germany as immigrants into America. These Mystics may be said to have existed in Germany from the days of Tauler and "the Friends of God," in the fourteenth century, and they are still largely represented in various parts of the Empire, especially Silesia in the East, and Wurtemberg and Rhenish Prussia in the West. They exist alike within the bounds of all "the three Confessions"—Catholic, Lutheran and Reformed—generally conforming to the usages of each confession, but sometimes they are found as "Separatists," withdrawn from the Established Churches and united in conventicles of their own. Their general views are the same in regard to certain great principles of practical duty, but their application of these varies greatly, so that their practical systems are sometimes grave and sober, sometimes fanatical and extravagant—the former being the rule, the latter the exception.

They number among them some of the noblest names in religious history—Augustine, the Gregories, Erigena, Eckart, Tauler, Thomas a Kempis, Fenelon, Guyon, Cudworth, Law, Alex. Knox, Olshausen, and a host of others. The common principle which unites them all, is the cross as a daily duty—the denial of self as the means of rising to a higher and nobler life, or, in the words of John Scheffler:

Go out, God will go in;
Die thou and let Him live;
Be not and let Him be;
Wait and He'll all things give.

Of course such a principle as this may mean a thousand different things in practice. It may mean the rejection and crucifixion merely of the sinful and inordinate desires of our nature, as in the mouths of the Cambridge Platonists—John Hales, Cudworth, Sam. Parker, Whitecote, Rust, John Smith, Worthington, Glanvill, &c. Or it may mean the crucifixion of all the natural desires as the means to a supernatural perfection, as in the writings and practice of many of the great ascetics of the Roman Catholic Church, especially the Jesuits. Or it may mean the utter renunciation of our own wills that we may be merely moved by a divine afflatus from without, and cease to be voluntary agents, as with the Quietists. Or it may be associated with some theory of the nature of the world without, as under a curse and therefore to be rejected and trodden under foot of the regenerate. Or with any of these views may be connected peculiar theories in regard to special divine illuminations, or the interpretation of Scripture—the general mystical view being that the very inspiration by which the prophets spoke is still continued to the faithful in Christ, and that the literal sense of Scripture, reached by grammatical and critical skill, is of no importance as compared with the spiritual sense, which those only apprehend who have received an unction from the same Spirit that inspired it. The whole mass of this class of believers and writers, therefore, while possessed of certain common and easily recognizable characteristics, are divided into smaller groups by minor points of difference.

The most notable and perhaps the largest group of German mystics in the period of which we write, was that which took tone and character from the writings and opinions of Jakob Boehme,

generally known in English literature as Jacob Behmen. This remarkable writer, whose influence upon the philosophy and theology of England, France and Germany is still felt, was a poor shoemaker, born at Old Seidenburg in Silesia, but a resident for the greater part of his life at Gorlitz in the same province. His name seems to indicate that his forefathers came from the neighboring province of Bohemia, and there was certainly something Oriental in the type of his mind which would well correspond with such a half-European descent.* His outward life was that of an uneducated German shoemaker—he travelled the usual years as a journeyman, married and settled in business, had four sons who married well, and died in 1624, in the forty-ninth year of his age. He was known as a close student of the Bible, a devout attendant on public worship, and a meek rebuker of the sins of his neighbors. His inward life was marked by periods of great spiritual ecstasy, recurring after intervals of years, in one of which he was impelled to write down some private memoranda of what occurred to him in regard to man's nature and state, and his relation to God. These notes grew into his first book, the *Day Dawn*, (called in German the *Morning Redness*—*Morgen-Rothe*—but generally known by the Latin title of *Aurora*,) which fell into the hands of some admirers, but brought down upon him the wrath of his pastor, Gregory Richter, who denounced the hapless shoemaker from the pulpit. The municipal senate enjoined Boehme to cease writing, and he complied with the request for seven years, but in 1619 the impulse to write returned, and until his death in 1624, he seems to have been employed in little else than literary work. His books—of which there have been five editions in German, two in English, one each in French and Danish, besides many reprints and translations of separate works in these languages and in Italian—fill seven substantial octavo volumes in the last Leipsic edition of 1831-47. Their influence upon subsequent religious thought may be traced in the works of Fred. Breckling—the great mystic and reformer, of Gottfried Arnold, the poet and historian, of Gichtel, Glusing, Ueberfeld, Pordage, Leade and Bromley, heads of a mystical German and English Church, called the Philadelphia Society, which existed from the

* Similarly the divine dreamer, Bunyan, is said to have sprung from the Gipsies, whose origin is traced by Philologists to Thibet.

close of the seventeenth till the middle of the eighteenth century—of Wm. Law, John Byrom, Thos. Hartley and Henry Brooke in England last century, and in modern Continental philosophers like Schelling, Novalis, Franz Baader, F. Hoffmann, Julius Hamberger, Tieck, La Motte Fouque, and a host of others. Few men have imparted a greater living impulse than did this poor Silesian shoemaker who lived in the reigns of Queen Bess and James I.*

It is not our purpose to attempt a sketch of Boehme's opinions, though we shall incidentally notice some of them in the course of this paper. Our interest in them here is only through their acceptance by John Jacob Zimmermann, a learned and laborious Lutheran preacher at Biethigheim in Wurtemberg, in the latter part of the seventeenth century. Boehme's views were under the ban of orthodox Lutheranism; not until 1694 did the decision of the Imperial Chamber at Wetzlar (reinstating Lorentz Sebald as a citizen at Regensburg) give his followers the freedom of the empire, and make it lawful to sell and own his books. Zimmermann published several works on scientific topics under various *noms de guerre*, in which he defended at once the astronomical views of Copernicus and the philosophy of Boehme.† At last he was detected and expelled from his pastorate, just in time to

*Murray, the founder of the Universalist body in America, found a society of Behmenists in Boston in 1773. Rev. Jacob Duchè, (the first chaplain of the Continental Congress, afterwards a Tory,) was under the influence of Boehme through his friends Wm. Law and Hen. Brooke, Jr., and seems to have been instrumental in securing the reprinting (by Chr. Sauer, of Germantown) of several works by Bromley, Law, Hartley and others of the school.

†The Mystics were very generally on the liberal and progressive side in matters of science and even of dogmatic theology. They were often closely allied with the Cartesian theologians of Holland; their *bete noir* was never heresy, but coldness, lack of earnestness, indifference, worldliness—witness *Gottfried Arnold's Kirchen und Ketzler Historie*—the first great attempt to whitewash all whom the orthodox had painted black in previous histories.

On the other hand the *savans* were generally friendly to the Mystics. Robert Boyle and the great Anatomist Schwammerdam were friends and disciples of Antoinette Bourignon. Sir Isaac Newton was a student of Jacob Boehme, and large extracts from his books were found after death among the papers of the philosopher. Law charges him with borrowing the doctrine of gravitation from J. B.

escape the terrible devastation of Wurtemberg by the French in 1689. He withdrew to Hamburg, which, like most free cities, was comparatively tolerant of strange opinions, and there continued his work of preaching and publishing, gathering a small congregation of like-minded persons around him, among whom a Dr. Horbius was the most notable. New persecutions arose, and the results of his preaching disappointed him, for "he resolved to leave behind ungrateful Europe, and with his dear wife and children to take ship over the sea in company with the forty brothers and sisters who, driven by persecution from Hamburg, withdrew to Pennsylvania."* Here we have the John Robinson of a new Pilgrim-church, with his little flock turning wistful eyes across the untried deep. Pennsylvania was naturally their land of promise. Already a considerable number of German Quakers under Pastorius had united with their English brethren in establishing the colony of peace, which was at this time not yet ten years old. Penn himself was well known in the mystical circles of the Continent through his travels in Holland and Germany in 1671 and 1677. The principles of the Quakers and those of the Mystics had many points in common; indeed it may be said that the early Quakers—in spite of their High Church principles—were one of the many groups of Mystics. Especially close was the resemblance between the Friendly doctrines and the teachings of Boehme; indeed, one would risk very little in saying that the shoemaker of Drayton was a disciple of the shoemaker of Gortitz.† More than one of the early Quakers had read the old

* *Fred. Brecklings "Mehrere Zeugen der Wahrheit," bei Arnolds Kirchen- und Ketzer-Historie. Th. iv. Sect. iii. Nr. xxii.*

† It is very easy to be misled in such matters by a few mere resemblances of thought and expression, which have no historical connection with each other; but on almost every page of George Fox's "Journal" will be found traces of the influence of the study of Jacob Boehme's writings—a study which must have continued after Fox began to found the Society of Friends. Compare Fox's words: "Now was I come up in spirit through the flaming sword into the paradise of God," with Boehme's words: "In this anxious, sorrowful gate of true repentance, the Angel standeth with the fire-flaming sword, and the Virgin Bud forceth quite through this fire-sword into Paradise, viz., into the light." Equally striking are the other expressions of Fox: "The elements and the stars came over me, so that in a manner I was quite clouded by it." * * *

English translations of Boehme's works, (1638-62,) before joining the Society, and some of them at least carried what they knew of his theosophy into their new relations. William Bayley, noted by several Quaker historians as an especially profound theologian, tells us that he had been a diligent student of J. B., and in some of his Quaker books there crop out several of the most curious views held by the latter—as in regard to the bi-sexual Adam in the first creation.* Behmenist and Quaker alike insisted on the inward work of the Spirit, the necessity of a direct divine illumination, of Christ formed within and apprehended by immediate faith, rather than believed on as an historical personage; both rejected the use of the sword, and of merely secular learning, and insisted on simplicity in dress and speech. To both the Apocalyptic Church of Philadelphia was a favorite ideal of society and the church—the one calling by that name the private conventicles in which they met for worship and edification; the other fixing the same name upon the great American city which they founded. If there was any marked difference between the two systems, it arose mainly from the great personal contrast between Fox and Boehme—between the strong, practical, fearless Englishman, and the meek, dreamy, patient, thoughtful German.

To Pennsylvania the little company of Behmenists naturally turned their eyes, but their leader was destined to see it only by the eye of hope. Zimmermann had already taken leave of Breckling at Amsterdam, and of such as he knew among the great host of mystics, millenarians and dreamers from Germany, France, Denmark, &c., with which the tolerant city was favored, and re-

"He showed me that the physicians were out of the wisdom of God, by which the creatures are made; and so knew not their virtues, because they were out of the Word of Wisdom by which they were made." * * *
 "These things come to be opened in me." Especially notable are Fox's words: "I saw also that there was an ocean of darkness and death; but an infinite ocean of light and love, which flowed over the ocean of darkness. In that also I saw the infinite love of God, and had great openings." The two oceans are the first and the second of Boehme's "Three Principles"—the Principle of darkness, fire, wrath and anguish, and the Principle of love, light, sweetness and softness. In the first the creature exists; by union with the second it is saved.

*See especially "The Life of Enoch Again Revived," in his Works, pp. 101-8. Phila. Edition. 1830.

turned to Rotterdam, where he died soon after, ending a toilsome, troubled life. But the little company, after gathering round the grave of their leader, set on their journey, sailing first for England. Zimmermann's wife and children were generously cared for by "good hearts," and sent out with the rest.

Of the colonists five stand out from the rest as men of letters, Magister Peter Schäffer, Magister Daniel Falckner, Magister Johann Kelpius, Johann Seelig and Heinrich Bernhard Koester. Falckner and Kelpius* especially deserve notice, as the principal leaders in the future fortunes of the party. Kelpius was only in his twenty-first year, but seemed marked out by his character as the spiritual guide of the rest—a man of middle size, considerable mental power, but deficient in will and energy. A native of Siebenburgen, he had been a graduate of the University at Helmstadt, the seat of the Syncretist movement for the union of the Reformed and Lutheran Churches, and in some published disputations had taken the Mystical side in the long controversy as to the lawfulness of the use of heathen philosophy in Christian schools.

The voyage to London began January 7, 1694, and on the 13th of the following February they sailed for Pennsylvania in the *Sarah Maria of Good Hope*, commanded by a Captain Tanne. The voyage was long and at times stormy, as is seen by a Latin diary of Kelpius, preserved among the Wister papers. For two weeks they lay at the Downs, for five at Plymouth, and not until the 15th of April were they finally at sea. Their enforced leisure was spent by Kelpius and his comrades in pious exercises, and in writing to friends of their own way of thinking in various parts of Europe. During the voyage they were several times in danger of capture by hostile war-ships, in spite of the services of an English war-ship that acted as convoy. On the 12th of June, the day of an eclipse, they reached the coast of Virginia, and on the 24th landed at Philadelphia.

The site chosen for their new settlement by the majority, at

* From this point we are especially indebted to two articles written for *Der Deutsche Pioneer* of Cincinnati, by Dr. Oswald Seidensticker of the University of Pennsylvania. Dr. S., besides a large acquaintance with the general subject, has had access to papers and letters by Kelpius and others in the possession of the Wister family.

least, of the Behmenists, was the beautiful woods on the Wissahickon, half a mile from the Schuylkill, to the west of the settlement of their Quaker brethren at Germantown. It was not so much an eye for the beautiful that led them thither, as their taste for the Apocalyptic. Were they not the persecuted remnant, flying from a wicked world and its enmities? Was not their flight a fulfilment of the vision of Patmos, whose closing scenes of glory and judgment were even now impending over an unfaithful Christendom? In this spirit they called their little settlement "the Woman in the Wilderness," (*das Weib in der Wueste*;) Rev. xii. 14. The near approach of the day of judgment rendered the acquisition of earthly possessions a wearisome folly. Unlike their shrewd Quaker and Mennonite brethren of Germantown, they cared nothing for the things of this world. Even its relationships were repudiated, especially the married state. Boehme denied the existence of sex in Adam as at first created. To him the separation into sexes was the beginning of the apostasy. Some, at least, of his followers, (in their striving after Adamic perfection, and forgetting their master's *example*.) adopted the view that marriage in itself was a defilement, following the views of some obscure Mediæval sects and anticipating those of the Shakers. With this they associated others in regard to a spiritual marriage of the *individual* soul to Christ,* borrowed from St. Bernard and other popular writers on ascetic topics, which made all earthly marriages a rival and an obstacle to this higher and divine relation. The new colony, therefore, was simply to wait the Bridegroom's coming, not to extend its possessions, or to multiply and replenish the earth. Yet they were not altogether idle in the wilderness; the little that their simple life needed had to be provided by their own labor; huts were erected as shelter from the winter's severity, which far surpassed that of their native Germany; manifold religious exercises took up a large part of their time, and Kelpius, at least, was employed in an extensive spiritual correspondence with persons in various parts of the country, from Delaware to Long Island. A number of

* This view, though held by many Catholic doctors, by individual Protestants of every class, and in one form by the Deist F. W. Newman, is not in the Scriptures. See Ludlow's "Woman's Work in the Church," Appendix C.

these epistles are still preserved in the Wister Papers, but they are not light reading. They contain a few references to historical circumstances, and their mysticism is not of that noble, poetic type which interests even ordinary readers in the letters of Fencelon and Boehme. Besides these prose writings, he evidently spent much time and no little toil in the composition of mystical hymns,* but his opposition to heathenism was evidently carried so far that he had no intimacy with Apollo or the Muses. The fire of genius that lights up the hymns of the Mystics, Scheffler, Arnold, Tersteegen and Hahn, is wanting in his verbose paraphrases of the Song of Solomon. Nor was his literary activity confined to America. Three letters in the Wister Papers are addressed to a John Deichmann, in London, and one to Dr. John Fabritius, in the University of Helmstadt. From Frederick Breckling we learn that "Henry Bernhard Coester, Daniel Falckner, John Kelpius and Magister Peter Schæffer, with others who went to Pennsylvania, sent over to us from America, letters and writings describing their valiant fight of faith, and how they were assailed by all the sects there, for holding fast to the liberty that is in Christ." These last expressions indicate that their eccentric proceedings did not escape harsh comment, and that their relations to other religious parties were not always of the pleasantest kind. Kelpius himself criticizes others very freely. He describes them as crying: "Here is the temple of the Lord! Here the Catholic Church of Christ! Here the Orthodox Evangelicals! [*i. e.*, the Lutherans.] Here the Election of Grace! Here the regenerate Baptized! Here the People of God that walk in the Light!" His Helmstadtish Syncretism called for a Church that should combine what was good in all parties, and for that he looked to the impending Millennium. "Each has something peculiar to it that closely resembles the picture of perfection, and that the rest lack; the others, again, something that it lacks. For all that, each glorifies itself as the best and most beautiful among all these wives, and the last will have herself to be the only Dove," &c. Kelpius here touches on the High Churchism of the early Quakers, which divided them from all the other Mystics, leading them to deny the validity of any min-

* These are in the possession of Mr. Abraham H. Cassell. Three of them were printed in a collection published by Peter Leibert in 1788.

istry or Church order but their own.* To Professor Fabritius, Kelpius writes of the Quakers: "The great mass of them are as worldly-minded as any of the great parties could be, and were any one to closely examine their entire membership in regard to some points of religion, it would turn out to be the case with them as with others: *Quot capita tot sensus*, as I myself have found by trial at various times." They retorted by calling him a Jesuit, basing the charge on his celibacy. The Episcopal Church pleased him best of all, by its toleration: "If any among them has an opinion of his own, as about Universalism, or the Millennium, or the state of the soul after death, he is not straightway put out of the synagogue on that account." For himself, he "could as little agree with the *Damnamus* of the Augsburg Confession, as with the *Anathema* of the Council of Trent, albeit he knew himself to be free from the errors denounced."

But spiritual and ecclesiastical matters were not his only concern. The Frankfort Company, organized by his Mystical and Friendly brethren and others in Germany, for the promotion of emigration to America, commanded his services. At home, Peterson (the great Universalist) and Ueberfeld (Boehme's editor) were connected with this Company, and in its interest Daniel Falckner left the Church in Wilderness for a time and returned to Europe, where he published, at Leipsic, in 1702, a sort of Emigrant's Guide to Pennsylvania, under the title *Curieuse Nachricht von Pennsylvania in Norden America*.† Tired, it would seem, of answering the same set of questions again and again, as put by successive groups of possible emigrants, he printed a sort of catechism, covering all the points of interest that occurred or had been suggested to him. The character of the questions show to what classes he looked for settlers—the Separatists, Mystics, Millenarians and Universalists of Germany. The larger part of the book is taken up with a description of the habits of "the Wildmen"—the Indians, and the possibility of their conversion by the example of a living, fervent Christianity, is

* So sharp was the antagonism, that Breckling writes of four Holsteiners that "at first they, like many others, fell in with the Quakers, and then discovered their false ground and light by the help of Tauler's writings, and so went out from them to God."

† "Careful Account of Pennsylvania in North America." There is a copy of this rare little book in the Library of Historical Society.

anxiously discussed.* He declares that among all parties in the new colony there was a general expectation of the speedy Restoration or Renewal of all Things, but declares the spirit of sect was just as strong in Pennsylvania as in Germany. From these high matters he stoops to the most homely details in regard to emigration, describing the voyage and the necessary provision for it, yet mixing all with pious exhortation and advice. The book is as strange a medley of matters as ever came from prolific Leipsic. On his return he seems to have settled at the place called Falckner's Swamp, in Montgomery county, instead of joining the Church on the Wissahickon. Possibly he came back at the head of a party of settlers.

The head of the Church in the Wilderness was not destined to long life. In 1704 he died, in the thirty-fifth year of his age, as he sat in his little garden surrounded by his followers. His life was doubtless shortened by his residence in a cave twelve by nine feet, protected in front by a little hut, in which his last years were spent. Yet his portrait shows him well-clad and looking comfortable, and his letters show that his literary and spiritual labors were lightened by instrumental music. It was rumored he possessed the "Stone of Wisdom," but had flung it into the Schuylkill before his death. With him certainly died the bond that held together his little company, who had begun to fall away and join the other settlements even in his life-time. The few who remained gathered around John Seelig, who became their new head and leader, succeeding also to the name of "The Hermit," and as late as 1721 they still occupied the ridge above the Wissahickon. In 1744 Seelig died, leaving little property besides an edition of the works of Boehme.

Of the other followers of Kelpius, Conrad Matthai, a Swiss proselyte, attempted an active propagandism of the Mystical doctrines, but with little success. Dying, he left to his generous friend, John Wüster, (the founder of the Wister family,) the manuscripts which enable us to trace the early history of the little settlement, and besought him to bury him at the feet of his

* The Mystics were among the first Protestants that undertook the work of Foreign Missions. Such was the Baron of Wels, who left his estate and honors, to labor in the West Indies and afterwards in Surinam. So too the early Quakers.

master—Kelpius. Christopher Witt, another proselyte, survived till 1765, when he left sixty pounds sterling to the young Pennsylvania Hospital. He possessed a large library of Mystical and scientific books, and was popularly regarded as a magician and an astrologist. So died away the Church in the Wilderness, commemorated only by the Hermit's Spring, Hermit's Lane and the Hermitage property, that mark the site of the experiment. With its death, Ephrata became the centre and Conrad Bessel the head of the Mysticism of German Pennsylvania.

ROBERT ELLIS THOMPSON.

THE FUNCTIONS OF THE POET AND OF POETRY IN MODERN TIMES.

OWING to the misinterpretation of the term, poetry has by many, from ages the most remote, been ranked among the ornamental rather than the useful arts; but if we study and analyze more deeply its meaning and purpose, we find it to be the oldest and most excellent of the fine arts; the first fixed form in language; the earliest perpetuation of thought. It was also the first means used to impress upon mankind lessons of wisdom; to promulgate heroic deeds of valor, and even to define the bounds of legal liberty. It existed before prose in history, description in painting, melody in music and imagery in sculpture; combining, indeed, the essence of all four; presenting the facts of history in most winsome manner, painting by vivid words, soothing by its melodious rhythm, and bringing before us images of as perfect grace and purity as the sculptor ever redeemed from the solid block of marble. Even in this present advanced age, comes to us the echo of the old protest against poetry taking precedence in literary effort, numbers still declaring it the vehicle of mere sentimental enthusiasm, fit only for weak minds incapable of digesting stronger food, instead of seeing in it that which ministers to the soul's highest need. Philip Sydney, in the days of Elizabeth, declared: "It is not rhyming and versing that makes a poet, (no more than a long gown maketh an advocate, who, though he pleadeth in armor, should be an advocate and no sol-

dier,) but is that joining notable images of virtues, vices, or what else, with that delightful teaching, which must be the right describing note to know a poet by." So in these times of the nineteenth century, is it necessary to erect a defence against the many attacks upon the useful and high mission of poetry, and on the rampart proclaim, what the *real* poet and *real* poetry has to do with us.

The true poet must breathe somewhat of his own inspiration into the soul of his individual reader, until he carries him along to the grand standpoint from whence he himself received grand visions of truth and beauty; gently constraining that reader to feel the same emotion, to see with the same mental eye, to think with the same profound desire to extract the hidden meaning of life—almost, for the time, making him lose his own identity by living in the inner life of the poet. Thus do these pleasant teachings lift from the rut and monotonous routine of a dull or sensuous way, a famished and weary soul, the laws of affinity claiming for that soul something higher and better for refreshment than the utilitarian detail as usually presented in the daily walk of life. Influenced by the magnetic power of his more gifted brother, the poet, the spirit of one so imbued is refreshed and strengthened by the atmosphere into which it has been elevated, bringing back to the old toil somewhat of the light of this higher life, to shed its radiance and be as a lamp to illumine his future way. For not only does the poet profess to entertain, but also to present life's duties so attractively that even the sternest of them become possessed with a before unknown charm. Like to the bright scintillation in the dark cavern, like the twining of the ivy about the old trunk, like the bursting forth of the germ from the decayed nut, so when the soul seems most in the shadow of the burden of life, can the true poet tinge and irradiate the cloud till it becomes luminous with the light of the great truths which his pure, spiritual vision has brought him. It is not alone the glowing images, the felicitous language and the sublime, terrific or delightful emotions with which the modern poet captivates, enchains or surprises his listeners; these must bring with them a power to agitate the hitherto silent world of thought, to awaken the sleeping imagination, that, as the hand-maiden of the poet, she may step forth bearing the taper to reveal and extend his pleasant pictures. Thus the poet is the suggester of thought, presenting

the lens through which may be seen the vista which leads to truths resting upon eternity itself. With the man of right feeling, the longer he dwells upon and the oftener he returns to the strain that first transported him, he will find every faculty of his soul exercised anew in a new way, deepening one feeling, rendering perception more subtly acute to grasp for the hidden meaning of the author, lifting his soul with higher flights, that it may revel in the beautiful scenes which it is made to realize. Nature and truth admit of such variety of vestment that the mind never wearies of contemplating their many-sided glories. The soul is entranced by the grandeur of the thunder-storm, and rejoicingly goes forth to meet the first daisy of spring, awed by the immensity of the overwhelming waves of ocean and charmed with the rippling of the mountain stream. Truth, too, grand in its oneness and sublime simplicity, presents itself in many forms to meet the yearnings of many hearts. This is the poet's highest function, to unwrap the outer covering, to seek and find the inner truth of which every material thing is but the sign and symbol. What new phase nature presents to us under his skillful analysis, and how the minutiae which before escaped a passing notice, now becomes pregnant with wisdom and marvellously suggestive in the realm of thought! The proof of the true poet is the effectiveness of his work, which work is to lift man to a higher plane of thought and feeling, and which result readily distinguishes him from the poet of shallow and false conception—the one offering the truly nourishing food of life, the other, the simply sweet, acceptable for the passing moment, but soon to clog. The words of the one illumine, those of the other but dazzle. The one is a steady star, a reflector to diffuse the glory of heaven; the other a passing meteor, a flash, to leave the soul in but greater darkness. The sacred hours of man's life are those when he "communes with his own heart and is still;" when he steps aside from the busy walks of life, from its sensual pleasures, its perplexities and oppressions, and entering into the quiet chamber of his soul, seeks to know the purpose of his life in all its varied phases. Here, oftentimes comes the sublime teaching of the poet, his vision cleared by light from above, to penetrate the dark labyrinth, to transform the evil into the good, the message of darkness into an angel of light. The man who cultivates within himself an appreciation of the truly poetic, has opened the windows of his soul to a light

and warmth which shall develop the best impulses, as well as the highest principles of his nature, while he who professes to ignore the power of poetry, shuts himself out from this fire from heaven, allowing the highest part of his nature to contract under the cold influence of intellectual speculation; though, indeed, it may be questioned whether the many who profess to ignore poetical power are not greatly under its unacknowledged influence. Take for example Carlyle, a man of such high attainments, who has given poetry so subordinate a position in the world of literary effort; and yet one well acquainted with his inner life cannot but see how the highest poetic sentiment abounds. We have read of his large charity and kindly judgment of his fellow men, ever ready to throw the glamour of light over the sinning, reaching out the hand of loving fellowship to him whose soul was uttering the most sorrowful dirge of despair. Universal benevolence is the poetry of his life, and the translation of the thought into action does not lessen its true poetic nature. Beneath his intellectual force we discern that moral authority which is the most lofty of the elements of true poetry. "Let any thing occur to put us above ourselves, any thing to excite our devotion or our love, any thing to call forth our courage, to awaken our pity and to demand the sacrifice of our own comfort or interest for the sake of others, then it is we experience a poetical temper and poetical feelings." How good for us that the heart be ever open to every good influence which may descend upon it, never allowing its portal to be closed by the gate of selfishness or self-satisfied wisdom. By looking upwards, our minds will themselves grow upwards. The habits of admiration and enthusiastic reverence for excellence, impart to ourselves a portion of the qualities which we admire; while by contrast, a man admitting mistrust and envy, indulging in habits of scorn and contempt for others, finds his nature withered by the baleful influence which he allows to enter. The true Christian poet is a strong right hand which is extended not only to raise the sufferer from affliction or woe, but to bring him into closer communion with the eternal. Thus may the shackles of the finite be thrown off and we walk in the infinite; thus may eyes that were leaden be made reflective as the diamond. It is very evident a great and subtle change is working in the world; the letter is giving way more and more to the spirit, the spirit which is the inspiration of literature, of religion,

of all. Now, more than any other period of its history, do we see gleamings of light penetrating into the mysteries of the spirit, piercing and unravelling the enigmas of the science of life. Man is being made more receptive for higher converse, and stands waiting or yearns longingly for higher meanings and clearer teachings. The spark must be fanned into the everlasting flame by the breath of inspiration, which work is the supreme function of poetry. God's hand-servants are so often poets, theirs should be the avenue through which his Omnipotence shall shine, they the instruments to demonstrate that more subtle representation of truth which the age and times require.

The mental world is divided into three great classes: the finely organized, sympathetic, appreciative minds; the superficial minds, pleased with melody of diction and prettiness of sentiment; and those satisfied with little more than the satisfaction of the simple physical life.

To the first class poetry speaks in its highest language, and breathes its most powerful influence. The organization of some minds makes them to hunger, with exceeding want, for a something which cannot be found on the surface of materiality; they will penetrate farther, deeper, and grasp that which lies hidden within the tangible. They would learn its meaning and what it symbolizes in the higher life of the soul. "Every thing exists because a creative, causative power and principle is within it, and fills it, and in this way makes it what it is." The poet's most delightful and largest field of labor is with those who bring to him a sympathetic heart, desiring to be led by his noble explorations, and consequent high teachings. Such are his true children. To them he is comforter, soul-friend, father. In his communion with them his words do not fall on barren ground and the stony soil of prejudice, to be lost by narrowness of vision and hardness of heart, but upon soil made receptive by gleams of insight into the grander meanings of life; for "to him that hath, shall be given." "Let the light of true poetry fall upon a blade of grass, an insect, or a dew-drop, and they shine with the glory of omnipotence." So things of this world, transfigured and made holy by the loftier perception, become rounds in the ladder by which those who seek with this yearning heart, shall mount upward and onward evermore. The truly poetic mind can grasp and wield the meaning of life, extract-

ing its true essence, transforming, transfiguring, sanctifying. The effective poet should also combine within himself that power of understanding the different classes of men, that while he reaches the depth of the more earnest characters, he attracts the attention and exerts an influence over the superficial thinkers. The Christian poet can even claim greater inspiration by his constant and closer intercourse and communion of spirit with the Source of all that is great or beautiful, with most eloquent expression, placing before those who wait to hear, the theme of immortality: declaring unto them God as the embodiment of all that is grand and glorious. God's preacher guides his own special flock to heaven. God's poet points the way to *every* sect and tribe—thus, in his wider range, having an opportunity for addressing himself more universally to mankind, carrying within him a power, the value of which no man can compute, and which exercises itself upon all that longing for the infinite and spiritual, which exists, to a greater or less degree, in the hearts of each one of us. No matter how great may be the amount of a man's earthly possessions, truly the soul finds not its life in them, except by perceiving and appropriating the comfort and beauty which they typify. True poetry is a means, not an end: a means to a good which should ever be the end.

The skill of the most accomplished musician cannot awaken harmony from an imperfect instrument; nor can the breathings of the poet find an echo within the hearts of a people unless they be true, and somewhat attuned to his spirit. A superficial mind is evidently an imperfect mind: false in its construction, the word of truth strikes not there the accordant note by which to assert itself, and is lost to that soul by finding there nothing responsive. Yet we should not say that even upon these the poet's most gracious gift is *lost*, for while we look and listen in vain for the answering echo to be given by chords that seem lacking in that wonderful instrument—the human soul—yet other chords vibrate, filling the surrounding air with tuneful emotion, diffusing their atoms to make up the great aggregate of the harmony of creation; and so, acted upon and re-acting, the circle of their magical influence is widened—we cannot say how far. Who can compute the soul-work which shall be accomplished, even in and by those who seem yet to catch but partial sounds of the great anthems of life? Narrative and dramatic poetry contain within

themselves abundant element to attract all. The narrative style, embracing every variety of metrical story, from the lofty epic to the lowly ballad; the dramatic, being a form of poetry with such semblance to the language and intercourse of humanity, as, when skilfully constructed, to vividly present the varied passions and actions of the drama of real life—its every-day talks, its every-day characters, its every-day weal and woe. Here the metaphysical appears in the garb of life's romances, oftentimes so modestly hidden, that it reveals itself only to the penetrating mental eye, habituated to seek its treasures beneath the easily apprehended surface. So the poet throws out the fibres of his heart to embrace in their hold the natures of the mass, and by that loving grasp draws them closer to himself—amusing, refreshing, instructing—by that silent influence bringing about within them a revolution of thought and feeling, “renewing a right spirit” to appreciate the mysterious blessing enwrapped in some of life's hard details. As the “philosopher's stone” was said to convert all things into gold, so the poet's touch crowns with speaking beauties that which has been hitherto voiceless and repellant. We sometimes find that a man of moderate talent can better adapt himself to the comprehension of the superficial, than he whose high genius transports him into a world beyond their reach, and whose development of great spiritual mysteries the mass is not yet ready to accept. Both best win their way by that grand

Simplicity, which
Is nature's first step and the last of art.

We cannot but acknowledge it to be a difficult task that he who so deals with the imagination should greatly influence persons seemingly satisfied with the simple satisfaction of the purely physical wants of life. Such minds are so imbued with the maxims of utility, that it is next to heresy to place the intangible before the material, for in them is neither the imagination to respond or the appreciation to comprehend. Yet we would scarcely like to declare that the spirit of divinity is so smothered in *any* human breast that no place is found for the love of the beautiful, which beautiful, in all its expressions, is the poetry of life. Though men may disregard the form of words and cast them to one side as unacceptable, the principle of truth, the essence, still remains and must wield its influence, even though

unacknowledged by those influenced. The poet can then but present the grand problems and solutions as they have been taught to himself, discovering the wonderful meaning of life, leaving the great truths to work out their own mission. Could this class of humanity be made to feel how the dull and commonplace things of to-day could be irradiated by the subtly penetrating intelligence of the poet teacher, they would find the cloud, that at times rests so heavily, scattered by those rays of light, which not only give the silver lining, but transform the whole by their magic power. If they could but seek resolutely the true and indestructible value that lies hidden in the petty and wearisome incidents with which we are conversant, they would know a joy which life before has never given. They falsely estimate poetry as fiction with sources easily exhausted, having yet to learn that it is the highest order of facts, whose springs are everlasting.

Unfortunately, humanity is frequently averse to the acceptance of the maxims of wisdom which the poet would lay down. Thrift and money-making are too often the paramount and absorbing ideas, which exclude for the time the consideration of the soul, and thus man, under such influence, glides, perhaps imperceptibly, into the practice of gross materialism, forgetting that every beautiful ideal of art is an effect produced by the poetry of that art. The true poet's chief aim must be not so much to gain applause as to present a good; not so much to elevate himself as his fellow-creatures; and while he adapts the expression of his truths to the comprehension of the times, the truths themselves must be such as shall endure beyond his present generation; so shall his good extend itself, thus perpetuating the theme and its expresser. The profoundness of Shakespeare, the melody of Burns, the genial humor of Swift, the pathos of Hood, are but varied expressions of the same great genius. "No amount of pretty, beautiful, tender, elegant verse can constitute its author a mighty singer." There may be beauty in the manner, but the life, the being, the soul of the words is not in their utterance, but in the thought which lies hidden within them. Poetry, to be worthy of men, must be large, liberal, sincere, and unless it deal with the full life of man, his inner and outer existence, it is but as a toy to amuse for the time.

There are certain poets, forgetting their true mission, whose

words, like the enchanting serpent, clothed about with beautiful and glittering texture, so commend themselves to the admiration of certain natures, that thoughts which, in their nakedness, would, even to such natures, be revolting, are presented with such a gloss of false beauty to work their subtle poison, that the evil is accepted as a good until its fruits do show themselves. When a poet thus dishonors his talent, he scarce deserves the name, for, surrendering the higher call of his life, he debases his mission by giving his genius to the service of vice. Swinburne is an example of such defalcation, whose undenied powers have been sadly prostrated by ministering to man's lowest nature. What is more sad than such perversion of a mighty influence, scattering death instead of life to the soul, binding it close to the earthly, transient and perishing.

Poets rule posterity, not by deeds of martial glory, neither by statesman-like foresight in the directing of governments, but by the breathing, permeating influence of their soul-revelations, hanging their lovely garlands here and there, over and among the rough places of life, to render man happier in every generation. And is it not a God-like mission to plant the seed which shall bring the fruits of love and joy? "to give gladness for sorrow, joy for mourning?" The recorded thoughts and teachings of these benefactors, or, at times, scourges of their species, are swiftly passing along the pathways of life, upon the length and breadth of the earth, blessing or cursing the people of succeeding ages, and perpetuating the righteousness or aggravating the guilt of man, whose bones shall perish in the sepulchre, but whose souls shall live throughout eternity. Thus they hold the fearful responsibility of a perilous talent, who can invent, combine and fix with inseparable union, words, thoughts and images, to make more palpable life's present and future, and give those words motion, like that of the planets, not to cease "till the heavens be dissolved, and the earth, with the works therein, be burnt up."

To the thoughtful, earnest man, things kneel submissively, holding the cup overflowing with a new truth, from which he drinks, receiving the nectar-drops of a new life. How gratifying to present to the lips of his thirsting brother traveller the same satisfying portion, and in such manner realize the blessedness of ministering. To the poet, nothing can be useless; mountain and valley, prairie and desert, nature in its luxuriance and in its

sterility, the rippling stream and the mighty ocean, the budding blossom and the most majestic tree, in all, there lies a secret charm for the poet to apprehend and to teach. Let him be watchful in every kingdom, everywhere gathering and garnering ideas for the enforcement or decoration of moral and religious truth, for he who knows most will have most power. The knowledge of nature is only half the task of the poet; he must well explore the realm of humanity, gaining knowledge of its varied passions and their relation to each other and their effect upon the life of man. He must write as the interpreter of nature, the legislator of all mankind, and as presiding over the thoughts and manners of future generations, superior to time and place, for in the end the external and internal shall harmonize. This is the grand climax of the poet's work. CHARLES CARVER.

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE COMMON-WEALTH.

"WHICH State did you like best?" said the writer to a member of one of those numerous excursion parties that have been taking a look at the great West and the States that lie nearer home. "Well, sir, Kansas is a fine, rolling country, full of splendid farmland; Missouri is beautiful and rich, and will be a great commonwealth; but when we got back into the Alleghanies and across them, we said among ourselves that we wouldn't give the old Keystone State for any one of them."

This will be the opinion of any unprejudiced observer who looks a bit deeper than the surface of things and has respect to the elements of enduring prosperity and social well-being. We wouldn't give the Keystone State for any one of them! We may even pass by, in the estimate, the mineral wealth that makes all the Atlantic and Lake States her dependencies, and look simply at the agricultural side of the Commonwealth. The products of the surface are the full complement of the wealth below it. Every thing needful to the comfort of man is grown or produced within her borders, and might be produced in sufficient quantity to meet all her wants.

Pennsylvania is the central point of American agriculture, the centre of substantial comfort and plenty. The States to the north and east are mostly bare and bleak in comparison with her rich soil. The *New England* farmer is thin and spare of bulk because he is fed on salt fish and pork, with no over-abundance of either. He has to look sharp after every chip and scrap, because he lives on a churlish soil and in a bleak climate. This Darwinian "struggle for existence" has made the Yankee what he is—has given him the keen visage, the prominent nose and sharp eye of his tribe; has taught him those "smart" business habits that earn him the contempt of more favored neighbors. The rural *New Yorker* has dwelt under the blight of free trade influences. Few or no manufactures are spread over the Commonwealth; the farmer's work has been raising grain for export from his own neighborhood to far distant markets; year after year he has gone on taking away the fatness of the land without making any return to it, until he begins to find the proverb true: "Always taking out and never putting in comes to the bottom of the meal-tub." Land around Albany that once produced forty bushels of wheat to the acre, now yields little over one-fourth of that amount. But the New York farmer is learning. He is getting over his old prejudice about the damp lands of the creek bottoms, and by drainage is reclaiming poor pasturage into first-class wheat fields. He is looking over the border to see how and why his slow neighbors—the Pennsylvania Germans—are prospering where he has failed; why the tortoise has outrun the hare. The most enterprising of their agricultural editors has made a special study of "Grain Farming in Eastern Pennsylvania," inquiring why the crops here have been better every year instead of worse; why the strangely large barns are bursting with plenty, while the New York farmer complains of "run-out land." Mr. Greeley, in his much ridiculed but really valuable book, has devoted a considerable space to the same subject.

In the *West*, there are no farms except in parts of Ohio, &c., where Pennsylvanian settlers predominate.* What passes for a

* A Pennsylvanian farmer, settled in the West, is always known as such by the size of his barn. Where one of these is seen across the prairie, the traveller from the Keystone State may look for a cordial welcome in the smaller farmhouse that adjoins it. On the other hand,

farm in the West is more properly a *factory*—a pork factory, or wheat factory, or a hay factory, as the case may be. The large variety of products that characterize a true farm are wanting—are not even thought of. The proprietor's chief business is to raise a large quantity of some one, or perhaps two articles, for a distant market. He has no idea of making home-comfort and abundance a chief end of his work. That would seem to him little better than sentimental. The owner of a thousand acres of wheat land will live in a log house of three rooms, sit down at a table seldom graced with any but salt meat or game, (never with bread,) and ride to church on a raw-hide saddle with straw stirrups. The very idea of comfort is as yet beyond their mental grasp; that is no part of *their* "main chance." A lady of energy and culture, a native of Pittsburg, made a complete revolution in her Illinois neighborhood by teaching her circle a few common receipts, such as how to make wholesome yeast bread instead of their heavy, greasy "biscuit."*

Again, as we pass *southward* from our centre, we come to the region which is blessed with the luxuries of life and denied its comforts. The change is indeed gradual. The Shenandoah valley prolongs the abundance of the North, and the Old Dominion ranks as a true sister of our Commonwealth. Beyond her lie the sandy regions where wheat is only horse-fodder, and thin at that, and potatoes must be grown above ground; where the common vegetables of the North can only be grown from seed freshly imported; where the flowers gain in color and lose in smell; where the birds glow with brighter colors but possess less melody of song; where the fuller and larger beauties of nature are compensated for by the lassitude and weakness of man. In whichever direction we turn, we have reason to be proud of our own "goodly heritage;" to rejoice that "the lines have fallen to us in pleasant places"—in the centre of comfort, prosperity and plenty.

Not less striking has been the position of the Commonwealth as a political centre. It may be the boast of some States that

an Illinois farmer can scarcely believe his eyes as he rides through eastern Pennsylvania and northern New Jersey and notes the comparative size of the farmer's own house and those in which his stock and crops are lodged.

* So called because it would need twice as much cooking as it gets.

they have led in the march of ideas in the national history; of others, that they have held on with most pertinacity to what was excellent and worth preserving in the past. It is hers, that she has been at all times the most reliable exponent of the views of the whole nation. Where her vote has been cast, that of the majority of the States has gone with it, and one must go far back into her history to find a President of the United States that has been elected without her suffrage. It has considerably mitigated the excitement attendant upon the national election in November, that her choice in the previous month had already foreshadowed the result. In more than one instance, her word has been, by all parties, accepted as almost final. Her vote has always been the embodiment of loyalty to national traditions and institutions, while other parts of the Union have been the scene of threatened or overt rebellion, a circumstance which makes her soil a safe location for national property and institutions. This, of itself, should have been a strong argument with the national legislature in their recent choice of the site of a new navy yard. "As Pennsylvania goes, the Union goes:"

Not clinging to some ancient saw;
 Not master'd by some modern term;
 Not slow nor swift to change, but firm.

To one political principle, she has been true under many changes of party and administration. She believes in protection to American industry. That conviction has been burnt into her by sore suffering from "the blessings of free trade." She has seen her iron-furnaces go out on her hillsides and her factories close their doors in her great cities, for the sake of a theory that none of its advocates firmly or thoroughly believe in, or propose to enforce. On the other hand, she has seen years of prosperity and plenty, when the hammer rang ceaselessly on the anvil and the shuttle slackened not in the loom, and her valleys were lit up at midnight by the glow of melting iron. She has seen that the wise combination of agriculture, commerce and manufactures best distributes wealth through all classes of the community, building up many fortunes instead of a few; developing all the national powers instead of a part; making the nation strong, self-sufficient and self-reliant.

POST-MORTEM EXAMINATION OF A
SALMON.

If an inquest is held before applying the knife, and the coroner asks "From what cause does this form of symmetrical proportions and glistening exterior lie before us? from a natural death or one of violence?" the angler replies, "a natural death." "What?" says the coroner, "is there not a deep wound in its side, made by the gaff you hold in your hand, and is not the blood still oozing from its side?" "True, sir," rejoins the angler, "yet it was a natural death, though initiated in artifice and consummated in violence. You see, sir, this despot in his ocean home, this aristocrat, this bright-mailed, roving cavalier, is native to, and spends his summers in this river. After surmounting that pitch of three feet, he stopped just on the brink, as is the custom, and I essayed to break a lance with him, or rather, gave him an opportunity of breaking this seventeen foot ashen withe. So I deftly cast this bunch of fur, feather and hook just above, and as it swung with the current over his lair, his predatory nature prompted him to act the aggressor, and he seized it. To recover my own, we had a long contest, in which I vanquished him. And how could he die a more natural death than by an angler's hand?"

Let us pause a moment in admiration over the body of this fresh run salmon. The substance which imparts so brilliant a lustre is secreted in the skin just beneath the scales, which are entirely transparent and corneous. The distinct line extending from the upper portion of the gill-cover to the root of the tail is formed by perforations in the centre of those scales. Why these perforations? Take off one of the scales and you will find upon the inner surface, almost invisible without a microscope, a minute tube which penetrated the skin. It is a branch of a larger duct originating in the glands of the head, where a mucous substance—such is the theory—is secreted, and transmitted along the body through the apertures in the scales of the medial or lateral line, thus forming a lubricating coat of slime, defending the skin from the action of the water. The main tube is plainly to be seen on cutting a fresh run salmon transversely.

Beginning at the head is also a thick, tough cord, somewhat

flattened, buried in the muscles, and running down to the anterior portion of the large dorsal fin; then commencing posteriorly, it continues and crops out in the cartilaginous projection called the adipose fin, thus forming a somewhat ornamental terminus.

Between the skin and muscles—or pink-tinted flesh, as most persons see it—from head to tail, encircling the body, there is an elastic tissue filled with gelatinous fat, somewhat like the blubber of a whale, though in smaller proportion. This tissue grows thinner as summer and autumn pass and the days and nights of procreation come on. In it is stored the aliment which it acquired on its marine feeding-grounds and which sustains its gradually wasting body for long months. For, as before stated, it does not feed in the river, no food ever having been found in its stomach there.

We will boil the half of this salmon presently in our camp-kettle, and between the flakes of flesh will find a thick curd; an evidence of high condition. This is probably the connecting tissue, dissolved at first by moderate heat, then, like other albuminous liquids, coagulated in further boiling. This also wastes away as the season advances and the roe and milt are proportionately developed.

Let us consider the motors of this rapid swimmer and wonderful vaulter. First of all comes the pectoral fins, projecting from the humeral bones, and which may be said to be analogous to the arms in man. These, with the ventrals half way down, and the caudal or tail, are its propellers. The caudal, which in a fish of sixteen pounds and thirty-three inches long, has a spread of nine inches, is many times more powerful than all the other fins combined. It is moved sometimes as a sculling oar, acts as a rudder, and is the chief power in leaping a fall; a depth of water below being necessary, in order that the salmon may acquire impetus, as a boy takes a run to make his best jump. The caudal is also sometimes mischievously used in slapping at a fly on the surface, and thus, in rare instances, the salmon is hooked, as the trout is, in or near the tail, by the angler's counterfeit. If we observe a fish in an aquarium, we will find that the pectoral fins are used alternately, and sometimes with backward motion; the object appearing to be to keep the body in a fixed position for the time.

The anal and large dorsal serve to keep the body on "an even

keel." The second dorsal, which, as before stated, is adipose, and is a distinguishing characteristic of the *Salmonidæ*, appears to be entirely useless to its possessor, although it is frequently used, by punching a hole in it, or slitting, or clipping it off, to note the growth of the fish.

We take off the head, and, opening it beneath, find a series of leaflets called gills, suspended on arches termed "*os hyodes*." Each leaflet is covered with a tissue of innumerable blood-vessels. The water drawn into the mouth in breathing passes out through the gill-covers, and the air in the water acts on the blood, which is constantly impelled from the heart through the gills. The venous blood, after being changed into arterial by its contact with the air, passes into the arterial trunk, under the spine, and is dispersed through the body by diminishing blood-vessels, again to return by veins to the heart. For this reason, the blood of a fish is always cold; sometimes beneath the temperature of the water it inhabits.

Immediately beneath the back-bone is the air-bladder, divided into two lobes, which, by expansion or contraction, assist the fish in rising or sinking, or in maintaining any desired elevation in the water. Thus in still water, as a net is drawn in, the bubbles on the surface are a sure indication of the catch, as the fish instinctively discharge air that they may sink to the bottom. In connection with the gills, the air-bladder is analogous to the lungs in land vertebrates. The gills are exceedingly tender. If the angler's hook pierces them in the slightest manner, a bleeding at the lungs, as it may be called, is a sure cause of death.

The stomach and viscera, as will appear to the most careless observer, are simple. The former is crooked abruptly, and the food, after passing the turn, is always decomposed. In predatory species, the tail of a victim may be in the throat, while the head is gradually being dissolved in the anterior portion of the stomach of the captor.

No one ever sees a salmon, after it enters its river, with a protuberant belly—as we frequently see a pike or a perch—unless it be in autumn, when the female is heavy with spawn. The cavity in a salmon is exceedingly small, and the flesh on the belly of one of twelve pounds, when in condition, is at least an inch thick. Thus, with its small head, it probably gives more edible food for its weight than any other animal. There is hardly a pound of offal in

a fish of the weight just named. Unlike other fish, which are considered light food, a pound of its flesh is estimated to contain as much nutriment as a pound of beef. On the river, the angler soon becomes cloyed and tired of it.

The timbers composing the frame-work of this fast craft are well worthy of study. The back-bone is composed of round bones, so joined as to give easy lateral motion, and one who has hooked and played a salmon is well aware of the supple and powerful play of that back-bone. There are fifty-seven of these vertebrae, from the upper surface of which arises a series of bones, connected by a membrane which gives attachment to a thick layer of muscles. To the latter the dorsal fin is attached. It has thirty-one neatly curved ribs on a side, forming a graceful arch. They are strong and elastic, each fixed on its own vertebra by a movable joint, to accommodate the increasing mass of eggs, as the time of spawning draws on, when, as in the shad, the ova equal about one-fifth of the fish's weight.

As is the case with the shad, they frequently die from the exhausting effects of spawning. An abrasion of the skin is apt to prove fatal, while a severe gash generally heals, although it leaves an ugly mark or even deformity. I have seen a trout recover and thrive, with half of its under jaw torn off by a hook. I have also taken salmon in the latter part of the fly-fishing season, with a healed wound almost as deep as the back-bone, made a few months before by an Indian's spear. If the skin, however, is rubbed off, a fungous, cottony growth covers the wound, and death inevitably ensues.

There is a way of setting up the skeleton of a fish, which of late has been adopted by expert taxidermists, showing the most minute bone in its structure. Thus, when an interesting specimen has even become putrid, the angler or naturalist may at least preserve the frame-work.

THADDEUS NORRIS.

It is a true saying that they who begin by loving Christianity better than truth, will proceed by loving their own sect or church better than Christianity, and end in loving themselves better than all.—S. T. COLERIDGE.

NEW BOOKS.

VIVIA: by Florence Wilford. D. Appleton & Co. Library of Select Novels, No. 29. Price 50 cents.

Vivia Carmichael lives with her grandmother, a great aunt and an eccentric uncle, in a small village near Aldershot. Although a woman, she is treated as a child, and has rather a dreary time of it. Gervase More, an officer of hussars, sees her in the first chapter, meets and falls in love with her in the third, and is about to marry her in the last. The intermediate chapters tell how from deeming him a very ordinary individual, Vivia comes to look upon him as a superior man. Most readers will be inclined, however, to think her first impressions correct.

There is nothing sensational in the book, and less of Church and State than is usual now-a-days. We catch some pleasant glimpses of English home-life, and the descriptions are generally good; but the dialogue is badly managed, and drags, as it always will when the parties engaged are particularly commonplace.

The following magazines have been received:

THE NEW ENGLANDER.

THE GARDENER'S MONTHLY.

APPLETON'S JOURNAL.

PENNSYLVANIA SCHOOL JOURNAL.

THE AMERICAN AGRICULTURIST.

THE CATHOLIC RECORD.

35300



THE
PENN MONTHLY.

SEPTEMBER, 1871.

THE POLITICAL LITERATURE OF THE
UNITED STATES.—II.

THE United States are to be considered in respect to their political literature in three ways: first, as a Union; next, as sovereign States; lastly, as subject to certain distinctive yet general laws. The first of these only has been attempted, while theoretical works on the constitutional law of the several States are almost unknown, and the extension and development of the common law and the State laws are altogether neglected.

I.—THE UNION.

A general view of the political literature of the Union may be best obtained by making three divisions, viz., *history*, *systems* and *monographs*.

I. HISTORICAL WORKS.

A legal and constitutional history, in the German sense and usage, is nowhere extant in the United States. None of the constitutional and legal antiquarians have undertaken to trace and exhibit the rise and progress of the laws and the constitution in its full development, or in its distinctive principles, and in its peculiar institutions, from the first traces of political government, through all its changes, down to our own times, or to any great epoch. And this has not been done, although the national history has been fully discussed, simply because the scientific use of any such distinction between political history and general history is not as yet clearly recognized. Judge *Story* gives, in his well-known

treatise, a sketch of the political relations of the English colonies, a short account of the legal and constitutional reasons for the Revolution and the Declaration of Independence, and a history of the Confederation, with that of the present Constitution. *Curtis*, in his history, describes the legal results as they grew up after the separation from England, and the institutions which gave birth to the Constitution of '89.

Both works are excellent in their way, but for the general purpose above suggested neither suffices. Story was limited by plan and space, and gives us little of the general political condition of the country, and nothing of the peculiar legal institutions of the several colonies; while Curtis furnishes only a fragment of a general legal and political history. But there is no want of material for historical discussion of the development of law and government in the United States, and time and labor will yet supply the deficiencies.

(A). *Colonial Constitutions*.—A thorough study of American law must begin with the constitution of the English colonies; this is not only historically important, as the source of subsequent independence, but it contains the seeds of many of the existing institutions. The settlers brought English laws, English customs, and very English views with them over the ocean, and their life was guided by them. By degrees some peculiarities grew up, but in all and through all the English stamp is still distinct. The works we have—few at best—are more nearly connected with the separate States than with the Constitution of the United States; yet even its leading principles and most of its positive rules are traced back to the earliest English law. On account of the deficiency of works directly referring to this subject, our requirements must be met by referring to historical collections and general sketches, both for the outline and for the spirit and effect of the institutions of that date, and there is no want of this kind of material.

The laws of the older States are for the most part collected, some very early in their history; then there are some very clever histories of individual colonies and some general colonial histories. In this direction we have much to expect, as in it the Americans display great activity. For the extension of local history there are the collections of many learned societies, and

the appropriations specially directed by many of the State governments to extending the material upon which history is built.

There is one particularly favorable circumstance worth mentioning here, as it especially affects the history of the legal and political institutions of the country: since the whole existence of the United States has been passed within historical time and in the sight of cultivated men, it is not hard to settle all the main facts, and there is no occasion for mere surmises and artful inferences. While this gives little opportunity for acuteness and learning in the observer, it enables him to be much more positive as to the origin and progress of events. It is quite curious to see how this total absence of original uncertainty and gradual dawning of facts, with the charms and the uncertainties peculiar to it, is characteristic of American life. Everywhere there is the prose of clear, manageable facts, and everywhere practical use is made of them.

(B). *The Growth of Independence, and the Revolutionary Government.*—Hardly any historical event in the nature of a change in political power arose from such small immediate causes as the separation of the United States from England. The latter committed moral and political faults, and made them worse by weakness and selfishness; but there was never any violent, insupportable oppression. Blame as you will, and exaggerate as you may the injury done the Anglo-Saxon ideas of the colonists as to legal rights, still it could justify only a proportionable legal resistance, but not such separation. Let any unprejudiced observer examine the records of the Congress of 1774, the Declaration of Rights, and that of Independence even, and when they are freed from general principles which nobody denies, which England never violated, and when they are stripped of their passionate expressions, this will be very clear. The true reason, and that which has a higher origin than mere legal casuistry, is the fact that the colonies had obtained their majority; this awakened them to the necessity of independence, and entitled them to obtain it.

But when the struggle was once looked upon as a legal dispute, the opposing arguments were numerous and lengthy, and the history of the United States begins with an extensive legal literature. The first of these essays were intended for some immediate effect. Pamphlets were the natural resort of a people pretty

well used to the pen in all political affairs. The Americans felt the necessity of justifying their course in England and throughout Europe; of encouraging and strengthening the doubting ones at home, resisting the active opponents in their own midst. The activity of this war among the pens may be best seen in the lives of the leaders of that period, who almost all took part in it. Many of these are lost, but what we have does not make us regret the rest; for the most famous, and that which claims a great share in the separation of the colonies from the mother country, Paine's "Common Sense," is only a passionate attack upon the kingly privileges and a one-sided, not to say absurd, depreciation of the advantages of a powerful and well-ordered government, even if it cost some sacrifice.

A better insight into the legal questions of that day, as well as the imperfect political institutions and the decisive declarations and actions taken on them, may be had by diligent study of the numerous (now official) original documents; such, for instance, as the Journals of Congress during the agitation and in the war itself, the numerous letters of the diplomatic agents of the United States, and the masterly histories of the War of Independence; for although some of these writings do not directly discuss the legal principles involved in that struggle, still they give at length the main facts and their result in and upon it.

Perhaps the most important work for a thorough knowledge of the political history of the Revolution and the first establishment of the United States as a sovereign power is Mr. Curtis' *History of the Origin, Formation and Adoption of the Constitution of the United States*. It fills in a masterly way a great want. The political and legal results which, with logical necessity, developed themselves in the gradual independence of the colonies, are discussed with intimate knowledge, commanding clearness and fine juridical tact. The growth of their sovereignty, and the rise and progress of the present form of government, are deduced from the want of a central power clothed with ascertained rights, proportionable means and requisite organs. The great want of a thorough knowledge of the political affairs of the war, in addition to the military and biographical sketches which already are grown unwieldy from their number, is now satisfied, and the new legal history of the American Revolution is not only a masterpiece of American literature, but an important addition to political litera-

ture. In this respect this work should be specially recommended, for no one can rightfully limit the use of a careful and scientific knowledge of these political questions to a mere view of the history of the United States and its institutions. Of course this is a very important matter, and much is made clear, many things explained in their peculiarities and difficulties, and many men rewarded by a discussion of their great services; but there is a great general lesson taught by this example of how difficult it is to bring law, authority and organization into a government established by the violent destruction of its predecessor. In this case the external and the domestic relations were not uncommon, and yet how often were they involved in the greatest difficulties,—how nearly and how long was it verging on entire destruction. The history of the government during the Revolutionary war shows very clearly how much easier it is to lend power and purpose to a revolutionary movement intended to overthrow a hostile force than to give it the forms and nature of a sovereignty securing obedience, how much easier an existing system of laws is overthrown than a new one found to put in its place, how a lively sense of legal rights may lend the people an immeasurably strong power of resistance and yet do much to hinder the reduction of this power, when once successful, to orderly and proportioned means of governing,—finally, how the independence of separate states, established by the overthrow of a superior power, may be so strong that only the strongest necessity can bring them back to subordination under a new federation, even among themselves, while persistent dissensions are clearly madness and ruin. These are the lessons which every historian and statesman must master in order thoroughly to appreciate every revolutionary movement, —which every man must weigh who, from discontent with an existing political condition, be the reasons ever so strong, feels impelled to advocate violent measures. Not every rebellion will be so favored; not every revolutionary government will find a Washington to overcome difficulties and accomplish impossibilities.

(c). *The Confederation and the Union.*—The uses of history seem indeed to be few when we see how little service has been done by this phase of the development of the thirteen States; for, if anywhere, here was a striking example of the complete impossibility of establishing a great power by a mere confedera-

tion of sovereign States. International obligations were neglected, the holiest debts were dishonored, rebellion went boldly through the country and threatened to destroy all property, trade was at the mercy of foreign powers,—in short, disruption and destruction were at the door. And yet the sad results of this experiment, with its weakness and risks, seem nowhere to teach any instructive lessons,—not in Europe, where we see what sorry fruits the firm adherence to mere phantoms of independence grafts upon the hopes of a more powerful union; not in the United States, for hardly was the jealousy of the various sectional interests overcome, the selfish refusal to make some sacrifice for the general good withdrawn, the false sentiment of freedom painfully subdued, and by the efforts of great and true patriots a powerful national union really established, before the same hurtful passions and false theories rose to new life. With the foundation of the Constitution there was built up a powerful party which did its best to limit the powers of the Federal Government, and, in an impolitic fear of its sovereignty, to secure the independence of the separate States. It is true, in every federal union there must be a struggle between the aggrandizement of the national government and the independence of the States that form it, but it is hard to understand how, in the United States, the recollection of the intolerable evil that was barely crushed out could so quickly disappear; and it was unpardonable to fancy that there would arise from its ashes a monarchy, a military despotism, or what not. Even in view of the talents and services of a Jefferson, it is hard to recognize the fairness of his motive in his suggestions to this effect.

A careful study of this transition-period, from the Revolution to the Constitution, is of the greatest importance, and fortunately we are not without abundant resources:

1st. The official documents.

2d. General histories and biographies, but especially that of Alexander Hamilton, for he, more than any other man, felt deeply the evils of the existing state of affairs, strove hard and long for reform, and finally effected in great measure the salvation of his country.

3d. Theoretical treatises on the Confederation of '81.

4th. Sources of the rise and progress of the Constitution. Here principally are to be found the official documents printed by the

Federal Government, especially the Journals of the Convention of 1787, of the conventions held in the thirteen States to discuss and adopt the Constitution. These discussions have great value as the best means of interpreting the rules and principles of the Constitution itself; positively, as enabling us to ascertain the views of the movers and voters on each section as it was adopted, and negatively, as serving to show the opposition and discussion upon many rejected principles. Besides, there is a great historical value in them, as teaching us the spirit and forethought of the men who are acknowledged to be in the first rank of statesmen everywhere.

There are some dogmatic works of that day which were intended to prove the necessity of a strong and well-arranged central power. And one of these is not only perfect in this respect, but it is one of the most remarkable productions of political literature under any government. The *Defence of the Constitution*, by *John Adams*, was well calculated, by its learning and by its scientific arrangement, to make a lasting impression. Undoubtedly this work was useful abroad, and at home it served to spread the proper knowledge of the principles of the Union; but it has little value now, for men have learned that a representative democracy is very far from being a pure Federal Union, and it is therefore chiefly as an historical work that it holds its place.

Of far greater importance for the history of the Constitution, and of scientific value at all times, is the *Federalist*, the production of three of the most famous statesmen of America—Hamilton, Madison and Jay. From the first day that it appeared this work has taken its place as one of the first fruits of the national literature, and its reputation and use have long been spread throughout Europe. Properly to appreciate its full importance, we must distinguish between its immediate purpose and use, and its permanent value for science and life. When the plan of a Federal Union was discussed in Philadelphia, in 1787, and the question of its adoption was about to be submitted to the people, both the principles contained in it, and their arrangement, were violently attacked, and nothing was so uncertain as the chances of its final adoption. At that time, three members of the Philadelphia Assembly joined in recommending the plan, and in answering the objections made to it. These men were Alex-

ander Hamilton, the most gifted of all American statesmen—lawyer, soldier and finance minister; James Madison, a zealous and distinguished member of the early Congress, and afterwards President of the United States; and John Jay, one of the best lawyers in the country, and the first Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States. They divided the various questions between them, and published their discussions in a daily journal, under a common name. The effect was extraordinary, and their arguments did more for the adoption of the Constitution than all that was elsewhere said and written on the subject. The *Federalist* is therefore not only one of the most remarkable sources of American Constitutional history, but it is a great fact. The work has, moreover, another and a scientific significance; it did not cease with the purpose in hand, but the numerous editions of it are among the most famous and most useful theoretical treatises on American Constitutional Law. The *Federalist* is not only acknowledged by the party which seeks to give the Union the greatest power—with whom it is a sort of political gospel, whose principles admit of no question—but the opponents of this party recognize it as a power which deserves the deepest reverence. Both are in many and weighty respects perfectly right. It would indeed be hard to give a more comprehensive and clearer representation of the main principles and chief characteristics of the American Constitution, as they were meant and expressed at the time of its adoption, and it is impossible to speak more clearly than is here done. Hamilton especially exhibits an astonishing gift of plainly understood and yet thorough and masterly argument. The discussion touches carefully on every weighty matter. The power of a democracy in general, is, to be sure, taken for granted and not proved; but, on this account, its adaptation to the Federal Constitution is all the more clearly demonstrated. The necessity of a national government, instead of a mere confederation; the necessity on the one hand, and the security on the other, of a considerable limitation of the individual States; the desirableness of a distinction between the two houses of Congress, and that not only for the purpose of more rapid and quiet discussion, but chiefly to avoid lessening the importance of the federal principle by the power of a mere majority of voters; the advantages of a central head for administration, and the chief attributes of such an officer; the weight

and use of a Federal Court of Law, to decide on all Constitutional questions—these, and similar questions, were weighed and decided in the *Federalist*, and the arguments contained in it are to this day looked upon as conclusive. In short, it is a capital commentary on the original meaning of the Constitution; and its views are the more to be regarded, because the authors were members of the Convention, and whether knowingly or unknowingly, they give the real views of the legislators whose labors they shared.

A mere critic must here stop, and not give the work other attributes which were never intended by its authors. The *Federalist* is neither an irreproachable general scientific theory—either of representative democracy or of a federal union—nor is it a complete system of the positive Constitutional Law of the United States. The three great statesmen-authors were far from being always right in their theories. They did not aim at teaching abstract truths, but to give the best reasons in support of the plan then before the people. This plan was no mere theory, but a structure greatly affected by surrounding circumstances. The arguments must be shaped by them, although we know from the records of the Convention, that some of these very circumstances were combatted by the authors of the *Federalist*; so that, if they had given merely their personal views, this work would have had a very different shape; besides, experience has falsified some of their theories. Many things have developed themselves very differently from their expectations. There are to-day interpretations of the Constitution, received on all sides, which neither friend nor enemy dreamed of suggesting at the time of its discussion and adoption: the part, for instance, taken by the Senate in executive appointments, and the mode of electing the chief Federal officers. The Democracy in the various States has developed itself in influencing the Federal Union by means of the election of Judges, through the division into Free and Slave States, and in a variety of ways that were not then for a moment even dreamed of, which cannot therefore be fully discussed in the *Federalist*. True, the authors of the *Federalist* used their subsequent experience in largely altering their first views, but with this, the *Federalist* is still by no means a complete system of the every-day working Constitutional Law; for this, it would be necessary to embrace all the legislation that

was subsequent to the adoption of the Constitution; but it does not contain even the amendments of the First Congress, nor any thing of the organization of the government, its departments, and its plans. Besides, in the course of years, there have, of necessity, been started a variety of questions, to be decided in their turn by appropriate functionaries, which no one could then foresee. But, taking all this as it is, our final judgment must pronounce the *Federalist* to be not only historically, but as a means of interpreting the Constitution, of the first importance, and that it belongs, as a scientific and as a literary performance, to the very first class of Political Treatises; but that independent of its theoretical deficiencies, it has no place among systematic law books, and that it should rather be put among the historical sources of the Constitution. Its authors had every reason to elevate the Union above all other considerations, but it should never be put to uses for which it was never meant. But who can look upon this work without feeling the narrow limits of human strength! If men of the unequalled gifts of the authors of the *Federalist* could not see the peculiarities and effects of their own production—the Constitution—even on the next generation, how can any man flatter himself with the soothing unction of the perfectibility of his undertaking, or with the hope of producing a book that shall be unchangeably valuable at all times.

(D). *History of the Union*.—While the history of the economical, political, and moral development of the United States is attractive beyond any other, that of the Constitution since its adoption is equally simple and tranquil. The invasion of violent changes, long threatened by the passions of sectional interests, has been happily warded off; no important alterations in the principles of the Union have been made, even in the way legally prescribed by the Constitution itself. Ninety years have passed, and only a few verbal and formal alterations have been proposed with success. In every respect the system has quietly developed and strengthened itself by the legislature in its statutes, by the executive in its administration, and by the judiciary in its interpretation of the laws. Various departments have grown up, and while in some respects the results have been other than were foreseen by the founders, still the legal fundamental principle has remained unchanged. The most important alteration since the beginning of the Union results from the fortunate purchase of the

Valley of the Mississippi and the less commendable acquisition of different Spanish provinces; but even this extension and the increased number of States formed out of it, have produced no change in the Constitution, and this simply because it was foreseen and provided for by that instrument. The waves of party spirit have indeed at times beat high; the natural division of every federal union into the friends and opponents of a strong national power has of course been active in the United States since its foundation; but both conquerors and conquered—for both have been such in turn—have kept the Constitution as their shield and standard, aiming only at its interpretation in their favor, and not at any alteration in its form or spirit.

This fortunately quiet course of events, greater than even that of England, makes the history of political occurrences very simple and uniform, and tedious even in comparison with France or any European nation. Of course its literature shares the same character; its aim is very simple, in the absence of great changes which could have left only ruins of the earlier constitution, and of systems piled one upon the other, fitting only rarely into one another; there is here only the recital of a variable legislation, springing from the one only source and fixed by its limits, with the personal efforts of party leaders and the endeavors of the parties themselves confined to narrow contests, and occasionally the final settlement of some disputed questions of law.

We have yet to see what a thorough master of this material may produce, for as yet no political and legal history of the period has been attempted by or for America, and we are left to the undigested mass of biographies of statesmen and their productions, to general or particular histories and statistics, and to occasional political treatises.

The following observations may serve as an imperfect sketch of this portion of our political literature.

As in every other constitutional government, so in the United States there are two sources of necessity to be studied as the foundation of a scientific examination of the public law:

Authentic and complete editions of the laws; and the transactions of the government with the representatives of the people, including all official documents, and all Congressional proceedings—both of these requirements are fully supplied in the United States.

[1st.] The collection of laws must be subdivided. One set embraces the original laws, without subsequent legislation; this includes, besides the Constitution and its additions, the public documents which relate to the establishment of independence and sovereignty. Almost all editions of these state papers include the constitutions of the various States; besides the practical convenience thus obtained, this is justified on the ground that the Federal Constitution contains a number of provisions relating to the States, some denying, some granting power, and in this way it is easy to see how far these have been obeyed. The laws enacted by Congress are collected and published at the close of every session, but a more useful collection is that of the digests, arranged either according to subjects or with copious indexes.

A large and important series is comprised in the Public Documents published by Congress and in the messages of the President and the executive officers. These are printed in various ways:

1. The official *Journals* of both *Houses*.
2. The *Public Documents* ordered to be printed by each House.
3. The *State Papers* printed under the authority of Congress.
4. The *Debates* in Congress, printed in a continuous work and by order of Congress.

These are, of course, documents exclusively relating to the Federal Government. Each State has, besides, its own publications, and these will be mentioned hereafter in their proper place.

There are, besides, to be mentioned as part of this literature:

- 1st. The biographies of statesmen, their writings and speeches.
- 2d. General historical works, and the American Annual Registers.
- 3d. Statistics of the United States and of the several States, either official or furnished by private hands from public sources.
- 4th. The political memoirs furnished by men of experience in government. Benton's is as yet the only one that belongs exclusively to America.

[2d.] A careful study of the Constitution and the laws that have grown up and now exist under it is of course a practical necessity in the United States; besides, the existence of a democratic federal union has a general interest for our science and for the students of it in other countries. Hence there is not only in the United States a long line of authors on this subject, in its broadest as

well as in its narrower comprehension, but in Europe many attempts to represent this wonderful subject have been made. While the American writers have had the advantage of immediate vicinity and an easy access to all sources, the foreigners have been able to claim, as a partial substitute, an unprejudiced study of the subject and freedom from party influence. Of course, this literature naturally divides itself into inquiries as to the sources, the systems, and the results in various directions.

(A). *The Sources*.—A complete discussion of the principles of the American Constitution must be threefold: the theory of representative democracy, the nature of a federal union, and the application of one to the other. Observations on any of these subjects may be very full and correct, but they must be considered all together in order to obtain a complete and real insight, and to hit the true character.

It is very difficult to be entirely just in a review of this branch of literature. The number of authors who have attempted to discuss American institutions is beyond control; hardly a single traveller has denied himself the pleasure of discussing principles and practice, laws and constitutions. It would be indeed a labor of the Danaïdes to collect and arrange all these views, although much that is well said may be there scattered; but it is best to cite only those writings which are confined exclusively to a discussion and clear exposition of the existing law, and these are by no means formidable in number, and for the most part are written by foreigners. A word in advance, however, of either a list or a criticism of them.

The starting point must be in all cases the establishment of the true principle of democracy, and the nature of a permanent union of sovereign States; simple as are these expressions, yet they may be varied infinitely as to the government of the people.

1st. It may start on the ground of general human equality, and add to the claim of every man to partake of government, the decision of its measures by the will of the majority. This makes the difference between a democracy governed by a general assembly of the people and a representative government in the hands of deputies and delegates.

2d. Under a democracy, understanding it as the common authority of citizens fully privileged, may be embraced only those

who possess certain legal requisites and are only a proportion of the inhabitants.

3d. A democracy may exist among a people who are divided by their interests and places into corresponding ranks, while the national will is expressed through representatives of each of these ranks. Now, it is plain that every concrete democracy must come under one or other of these forms, and that the democracy in the United States have from the first day of their independence belonged to the first class. The first words of the Declaration assert this principle, and it has spread in ever-increasing circles since that time; yet for a satisfactory scientific discussion the other forms of democracy must be clearly understood, so as to distinguish between a general equal rights and a mere numerical majority constituency.

There is a great difference among the existing confederations of States. German science has supplied the words *Bundesstaat* and *Staatenbund*, and the name as well as the meaning have been adopted and transformed from theory to life there.

A *Bundesstaat* (or federal union) is a union of States over which a common government exists, with all necessary rights and requisite organs, so that the independence and especially the international sovereignty of the individual participant States is very much lessened, and a thorough separation of the rights of government is made between them and the superior general government.

A *Staatenbund* (confederation) is a mere national connection by which a number of sovereign States, remaining such too, agree upon measures of security common to all of them, without recognizing any higher authority, or limiting their sovereignty either in national or foreign estimation. The United States tried this in 1781, but its evils were swallowed up by the reform of 1789. The existing legal condition and the development of its true principles, the distinct relations of the Federal to the separate State sovereignties, all depend upon keeping to the true theory and understanding it.

It is impossible not to blame the manner in which weighty and important researches into the foundations of American Constitutional law have hitherto been made; not that the writers on these subjects have been deficient in talent, but because no one of

them has as yet taken that scientific and commanding position which would lighten his labors and secure their truthful accuracy.

In discussing the principle of Democracy, every foreigner has treated the "majority rule" not simply as the foundation of the existing law, but tacitly as the only possible kind of popular government. In this they lose the sharp and clear outline of the principle that is peculiarly American, and they deny the possibility of a means of thorough reform, in case the existing state of affairs should call for change. American writers have indeed been forced to look upon this as a matter for much reflection, but even yet they have not clearly or distinctly expressed their own great principle. A brief account of the works on this subject can best be given by adhering to the nationality of the writers, for this it is that chiefly characterizes them.

The English have done little of importance. Their domestic requirements have not called forth any discussion of the federal institutions, and they have abandoned this field; but with that of Democracy they have been very busy, seeking after the results produced by introducing it into the government of a people living under English law, and inquiring into the difference between democratic American and monarchical English institutions. The freest and most comprehensive writer, is, beyond a doubt, Lord *Brougham*, (in his *Pol. Phil.*, vol. iii, p. 18,) yet he gives no complete resumé nor scientific discussion; even he neglects the important federal relations, and leaves the principle of popular sovereignty only half digested and very imperfectly analyzed. He looks upon the majority rule as the principle of this form of government, and merely applies the theory of representation to democratic questions, which is, after all, only a secondary matter. In this, however, he gives a deal of valuable discussion: first, clear proof that only in this form is a democracy possible in a great country and among a numerous population; next, acute and positive rules for the establishment of this form of government in a democracy, and under its objects. The result is that his description of the Constitution of the United States as an example of a representative democratic federal government is full of omissions, and that too on the weightiest points. As for the other English writers, they fall far short of even this result. They all aim at a comparison of the differences between England and the United States. Of course they see in the existence of a

monarchy and a powerful aristocracy great and growing advantages, and so far as it is useful to see the dark side of every government, they serve as aids to show it to us and to the people of the United States

The French deserve the credit of treating greater questions, and therefore of dealing more fairly with the United States. The principles of freedom and equality are always in their hands, and although none of their writers fully solves the doctrine of democracy, yet partly owing to their national prejudices, partly to a strict adherence to the existing condition of America, while they only acknowledge the sovereignty of the masses and its results, still it is done with a broader view of the general historical value of the question, and not merely as a comparison with European politics. While, however, the federal institutions have little importance for their own government, their lively spirit and their pleasure in general political discussions, lead them into an examination of its merits.

A most important, almost a classical work, is *De Tocqueville's* "American Democracy." Startled by the gradual but irresistible growth of democratic spirit in Europe; struck too by the fact that no one knew how to subdue or even to guide this movement, our author undertook a description of the condition of the United States and the causes of it, so as to gain some knowledge of the apparent course of events there, and to judge of the advantages and disadvantages existing under that government. His work, rightly enough, produced much effect by its independence, its depth and its healthy tone: the (then) young author was at once raised to the first place among political writers.

His book is divided into two parts. The first discusses the political side of democracy, the second its results upon the cultivation and development of nations. With the former we have mainly to deal now. With a clear insight into the object in view, the author starts from a description of democracy in the United States, proceeds to describe the real Federal Nation, and closes with a description of the results of these complex forces. Even this learned statesman discusses the question of democracy, not in its fullest extent, but only as it is actually found in the United States. But, limited to the American popular government, the account of democracy there is still complete; its clear descent traced from the English, and especially the Puritan feelings; the

development of it in the colonies ; the quietus given to all aristocratic influences by the separation from England ; finally, the steady growth since that day, and the successive advances, are traced with equal knowledge and acuteness. The description of those instruments of government which originated in a democracy and serve to maintain it, such as the division into townships, counties and States, shows rare observation and thorough mastery of the subject. In this part of the work some of the principal practical forms of representative democracy are examined, such, for instance, as the division of power among many persons, the centralization of administrative power avoided by dividing it in the legislature, the maintenance of the Constitution and laws by the Courts, &c.

The chapters on the Federal Government are less entitled to unqualified praise. The description is rather short and hurried, so that just those questions which are most important in a federal union are cursorily passed over, especially the provisions for the power of the general government, in opposition to that of the several States. On the other hand, his discussions of the political and social results of democracy in the Federal Union are complete and masterly. These results in all ways and under all influences are carefully traced to their very limits, and in this the author has awakened general and unqualified praise of his intelligence and research. Part, indeed, of the facts and observations thus brought together, belong to other than the political relations, but even these have been thoroughly illuminated, and it is not too much to say, that a clear understanding of the results of democratic principles upon the affairs of the Union may be traced to De Tocqueville's work. He knew how to exhibit the true course of public affairs in the United States, and he showed beyond a doubt that the Federal Union has nothing to fear, as is generally supposed in Europe, from the attacks of aristocratic or monarchical tendencies, but is likely to be overturned, if at all, by an excess of democratic spirit.

The views adopted by De Tocqueville do not find entire acceptance in the United States, owing to the excessive sensitiveness of the Americans on the least appearance of blame or reproach upon their domestic institutions, and it may be that the author, just as any other foreigner might do, has not clearly understood

some things, or has given them an excessive importance. But there can be no doubt that his work belongs to those which most clearly and thoroughly master the causes of political affairs and the reasons for the political institutions there. If the tangled theory of the Federal Union were discussed with more knowledge and positive accuracy, it would make his book a complete masterpiece.

Not for what he has already done in this field, but for the prospect of large and thorough exposition of the work just begun, we are bound, and are glad to name *Laboulaye*. In clever sketches he has set out the principal and the most cheering advances of the United States, and if, as is to be hoped, he will quickly follow this by a complete work, it will undoubtedly open up a new and ripe source of study in the Public Law of America.

Of American writers there are two of the greatest value, viz.: *Calhoun*, whose complete treatises on government in general and on the Federal Constitution in particular, are very important works, distinguished by scientific talent and by acute logic. His first work, *A Disquisition on Government*, is a general introduction to his second, *A Discourse on the Constitution and Government of the United States*. But it is in itself remarkable, partly owing to the great art with which general principles are set forth so as to apply them subsequently to practical questions, and partly on account of the extreme originality of his views in contradiction of the usual American theory of the democracy. The theory of government by mere majority is here entirely abandoned, and in its place is substituted the argument that the rule of complete equality, and that "all men are born free and equal," are alike untenable, except as a pretext for the strong power of the majority, and for the oppression of all the rights and interests of a minority. Since the aim of government should be to create power for the administration and freedom for the citizen, every Constitution ought to secure to every right its application. This can be done, however, only by having every part of the nation represented in the legislation that is to be enacted for it, and by giving to the minority a right of veto. Such a concurrent majority is possible only to a democracy, although even there its introduction would be difficult. There is no likelihood that this theory will ever be adopted, for in practice it would work an entire revolution

in the political condition of the United States, such as neither the people at large nor the several States are likely to initiate or even to endure, until the present tone is altered by some violent disaster. But in a mere scientific point of view, this theory of Calhoun's is very remarkable, both as showing that he too was led to acknowledge the existence of a *social* theory, as distinct from the usual *political* theory of government, and as a proof of that shadowy rule that a constitution ought to be a protection for every minority against any powerful abuse on the part of the majority. This rule was in clear contradiction to the usual principle of justifying every thing by the will of the majority, yet it was instinctively felt to be true even before this theory of Calhoun's brought it into its true position, gave it general basis of logic and truths, and lent it practical application.

Calhoun's second work has also very direct and considerable importance in American political literature. It is an elaborate defence of the States' Rights party against the theory of a sovereign National Union. His endeavors to prove that the individual States are the peers, not the subordinates, of the Union,—that in the Constitution of the United States they have only granted certain fixed rights; but that nowhere, either historically or in the strict construction of the text, is that instrument intended to carve out of the whole nation a great State, complete in itself and by itself. He looks upon the dangers that threaten the United States as originating, not in the want of power in the Federal Government, but, on the contrary, in the excess of power gathered around and under it,—created partly by an unjustifiable aggrandizement of jurisdiction, grasped by the Federal officers under the pretext of being necessary to carry out the laws of the United States; partly owing to the increasing popularity of the Federal Government with the majority of the States, whose votes first make the administration and then control it. To lessen this oppression of the States, and to prevent the anarchy and military despotism which must result from it, it is necessary to secure to the weaker party some great protecting power, and this can be found only in the veto, which belongs by right to every one of the States, against all the acts of the Union. The pretence that the Federal Courts can fairly decide any question that may arise between the Union and the States, or any of them, is disproved

by the assertion that the Act of 1789, which gives them this jurisdiction, is unconstitutional and nugatory. In its place, it is proposed to substitute a scheme for submitting every disputed question of this kind to the people at large, just as is done on questions of amendments to the Constitution. For a theoretical defence of this scheme, his theory of Democracy and the rights of minorities is cleverly applied. Finally, he demands a reëstablishment of the real Constitution, a repeal of the law under which the Federal Courts pronounce upon all questions in dispute between the Federal and State governments, the limitation of the power of Congress to raise money by most stringent enactments, so as not to attack the States in their right of laying taxes and imposts, the strict construction of the Executive rights and duties, the exclusion of all other means of carrying out the Federal laws than those expressly granted, and, finally, a better choice of Presidents and Vice-Presidents.

Thus we see that in this second treatise, not less than in the first, Calhoun departs very far from the ordinary interpretation of the constitutional law of the United States, and a distinction must be made between the scientific and the practical importance of his opinions. The worth of them, thus estimated, is just the reverse of that attributed to the views expressed in his earlier work. Even if a practical adoption of his new theory of Democracy is impracticable, still his theory of the sovereign independence of the States is generally popular, and it is exclusively adopted in the Southern States. As for its scientific value, the whole history of the Union, and the intention of its founders, deny and impeach it. The interpretations brought to its help are eminently acute, but thoroughly sophistical. The requirements of national existence, the experience of every age, and the history of other distracted countries, prove the strength of a Federal Union and the weakness of confederate States. In the United States, from the very first, a large majority of the nation has wisely adopted the contrary to Calhoun's views, and accepted the Constitution based thereon. To apply his theory to its interpretation, would be to abuse and weaken it. On purely scientific grounds it is equally lame and bad. Experience and theory teach nothing more clearly than that a mere confederation is worse than nothing,—unable to command security from without, and leaving

all internal requirements unfulfilled. To represent so incomplete a form of government as the only good and possible one, is unpardonable,—doubly so in a country which has had the wisdom and the fortune to save itself, just at the right time, from such a failure. Calhoun is guilty of a great moral dereliction; his whole theory springs from the efforts of the Southern States to make themselves independent of the Federal laws, because they were intended to impose on them a system of imposts, and this might have affected their power as slaveholders. This reason is no longer concealed, but it is so unfounded that the impolitic effort to weaken the power of the Union deserves simply and decidedly to be rejected.

But even this does not prevent an irresistible tribute to great talent in the argument of a false theory, and the acknowledgment of some real demonstrations. Calhoun shows an intellectual power of the first order, and his book is a remarkable production. Not only is it eminently instructive to see the sources of the political existence of the United States examined in a new light, and in a direction that is novel in practice and theory, but it makes many efforts and some truths clear, while it opens up to us at least a possible future.

Another important work is *Lieber, on Civil Liberty and Self-Government*. (Philadelphia: 1853. 2 vols.) A book that deserves praise, and only praise, with no share of fault-finding. The author does not, indeed, undertake all the sources of American constitutional government, but confines his discussion to the principles of Democracy. As far as he goes, he shows us that he is an acute reasoner and a profound scholar in general as well as in political learning. The purpose of his book is to make clear the truth of American freedom, and to set forth its leading principles. To this end, and properly, too, he distinguishes the idea of freedom common to the Greeks and Romans from that later signification which means personal independence secured by and through the State. Here again, he contrasts the French and English sense, thus: while the first aims only at universal equality and universal suffrage, and contents itself with these privileges while it suffers the meanest practices and the most varied degradations, the latter seeks for the greatest possible personal independence in both material and intellectual pursuits, establishing strong

barriers against the abuse of political power on the part of persons entrusted with government, and securing to the people the control of its own affairs by its own agents. This English sense of freedom is that which was first adopted in the United States, but there it has been affected in a variety of ways by the introduction of Democracy. The main points of personal independence, self-protection and self-government are first discussed, and to this is added the most practical part of the work now in hand,—the theory that self-government in a Democracy must be guarded by strong and well-grounded institutions against disorder, dissension and destruction. Here, then, we have the Democracy as it really exists in the United States now, with no effort to support it by any other theory, but rather to dissect it in its political elements, and to give to each of these its fit and proper place in the successful life of the government there. The defence against violent anarchy on the part of the majority (which this political student, too, looks upon as a possible extension of Democracy, and therefore as one of the dangers threatening America) is to be sought in the establishment of strong forms and accurately defined spheres of activity for the Democracy. It can hardly be questioned that this is indeed the only true theory, and we cannot but ask if the means of perfecting it are sufficient. The spirit which every day unfolds itself in the American Democracy, weakening the influence of the officers of government, bestowing upon the people many of the attributes of the government—as, for instance, the appointments to office—is not affected by the firm establishment of its present organization, and cannot therefore be reduced to proper limits. There remains, therefore, a second question to solve, namely, the possibility of distinguishing between those subjects which properly belong to Democratic self-government and those which ought, according to experience and theory, to be confined exclusively to the organs of the government, the will of the State. An extension of this principle would require further discussion of the Union, and would magnify its importance in a proper estimate of the foundations of the whole political existence of the United States.

ROBERT MOLE.

(To be continued.)

THE GERMAN MYSTICS AS AMERICAN COLONISTS.—II.*

THE next group of these remarkable religionists that formed a separate settlement in the New World is not the next in chronological order. It precedes, indeed, the colony on the Wissahickon, by a good number of years, having been formed at a time when the site of Philadelphia was still an unoccupied fragment of the great wilderness.

The Labadists of Holland and Germany take their name and their distinctive character as a sect from Jean de Labadie, who was born in the neighborhood of Bordeaux, in 1610. A man of mighty eloquence and great fervor of character, devoted to the idea of a reform of the existing churches into conformity with primitive models,—we might call him a Father Hyacinthe of the seventeenth century. He studied under the Jesuit fathers at Bordeaux, and in his case those great educators escaped the usual reproach,—that they sought rather to instil correct principles than to evoke the living powers of the mind. Instead of entering their order, he assumed the habit of the secular clergy, and at once flashed into fame as a brilliant preacher. Paris held out her arms to the gifted young provincial, and the gay and intellectual multitudes of the metropolis thronged her churches to listen to his oratory. As with Hyacinthe, his preaching had a marked ethical purpose; he was the scourge of vice and self-indulgence, recalling an apostate and luxurious Christendom to the primitive model of severity and simplicity. With this view he was especially earnest in securing the circulation of translations of the New Testament among the people. Congeniality of disposition drew him strongly to the Jansenists of Port Royal, among whom religion appeared once more in the dignity and the gravity of her better days. That he joined the Port Royalists, sufficiently explains his return to the provinces, and we find him again among the Carmelites at Bordeaux, preaching the dignity and worth of the contemplative life, and assuming the monastic

* Journal of a voyage to New York in 1679-80. By Jasper Dankers and Peter Sluyter, of Weiwerd, in Friesland; edited by Henry C. Murphy, Foreign Corresponding Secretary of the Long Island Historical Society; published in Brooklyn, 1867.

name of "Jean de Jesus Christ," at the express command (he said) of the Saviour. There had always been a vein of what that age called "enthusiasm" in his teaching, and this now burst into full flower. He declared himself to be expressly inspired to proclaim the near approach of the Second Advent, and that the Saviour would begin his reign in 1666. His vagaries called down the censures of the ecclesiastical authorities at Bordeaux, and, as it was an age when such censures involved serious consequences, the prophet showed his prudence in flying to Montauban, a headquarters of French Protestantism, and one centre of that curious Protestant commonwealth—a republic within a kingdom—which had been established by the Edict of Nantes. Without surrendering a particle of his enthusiastic pretensions he abjured Catholicism, and in 1652 was ordained to the Protestant ministry by the grave successors of Calvin and Farel.

His next sixteen years were spent in comparative quiet, in the labors of the ministry, successively at Montauban, Orange and Geneva. But he was no ordinary pastor, being marked out from his fellows no less by his simplicity and self-denial of life than his unwearied labors. When the year 1666 came and passed away without remarkable event, it neither impaired his influence nor taught him the uselessness and the danger of such speculations. At Geneva he resumed his prophecies, declaring the speedy restoration of Primitive Christianity, and the union and purification of the existing churches. Here he won two converts, or rather personal adherents, whose after-lives were bound up with his own,—Peter Yvon and Peter du Lignon.

At this time a minister of the Reformed Church of Holland—Van Schurmann—was visiting Geneva, and heard the brilliant French convert preach. He wrote home with eager and unqualified praise of Labadie, urging his friends to secure him a call to the Walloon church at Middleburgh, on an island in the Zuyder Zee. The story of Labadie's eloquence and the severity of his manners at once attracted the attention of the rigidly orthodox party in the Church of Holland. They seem to have said among themselves: "For years the laxness of our Cocceian heretics and their shapeless theology have been devastating the Church. So slight is their regard for the sabbath that the villages where they predominate are little better than junketting booths during its sacred hours, and a flood of worldliness and self-indulgence has

been let loose upon the Church as dangerous to her welfare as would be, to the secular commonweal, the inward sweep of the great sea, were the great dikes of our fathers broken down. This Baptist spirit of Geneva, this Elijah of Bordeaux, this Farel of Montauban, may help us. He seems able to waken the hearts of the people to the fervor of their first love, as in the glorious days of the Reformation itself." Voetius, the leader of the party, coöperated zealously, and the call was given and accepted.

On his way to his new field of labor, Labadie stopped at a Dutch home, where he made a proselyte and lost a friendly patron. The latter was Voetius himself, who here saw the zealous preacher face to face, and learned how alien his sympathies were from that systematic and scholastic theology which the Dutchman regarded as bound up with the life of the Reformed Church. He hastened to wash his hands of all responsibility for the man and his methods. The new convert was his hostess, the brilliant and famous Anna Maria van Schurmann, a sister of the minister who had met him at Geneva, and by far the most learned woman of her time. She wrote and spake seven languages, carried on an extensive literary correspondence with the *literati* of half Europe, and was a famous writer alike in prose and in poetry. From this time learning was abandoned for mysticism, and her fortunes were identified with those of Labadie.

For Labadie was a mystic, and to this no small measure of his influence was owing. With all his zeal for the circulation of the New Testament, it was to the voice of the Inward Teacher, the Essential Light, that he called men. With all his devotion to the ideal that that half-critical age had formed of the Apostolic Church, it was through the establishment of the Kingdom of God within men that he looked for its realization anew upon the earth. To the Fraulein van Schurmann, as to many others, all this came home with the force of a new revelation. It explained passages of the revealed Word upon which popular theologians of all schools hardly touched, or which they seemed anxious to explain away; it answered to needs of the human heart, of which they made no account. And, withal, he was essentially a Catholic mystic within the Reformed Church, a great ascetic within the church of faith and free grace,—a father confessor and director of souls within the church which held to the universal priesthood of all Christians.

His success at Middleburgh far surpassed every similar experience of his life, and it is hard to say how great his influence upon the national church might have been, had he been possessed of common discretion. He used his influence, however, to excite an embittered controversy in regard to a work published by the pastor of the Walloon church at Utrecht, a book on the interpretation of the Scriptures, which no more called for his special censures than did the great mass of the theological literature of his time. The matter finally came before a national synod, which declared the work to be orthodox enough; and, on Labadie's refusal to make reparation to its author, he was at last deposed from the ministry. But he was not deposed from his place in the popular heart. His friends forced open the doors of the church, and, when he himself was driven off by the Middleburgh magistracy, they continued to worship daily by themselves,—rich and poor, learned and ignorant, sitting side by side in Christian simplicity. When the then wealthy city of Veere, on the same island, opened its gates and pulpits to the eloquent exile, they flocked thither as settlers, or thronged the roads to Veere on every Sabbath, leaving the Middleburgh churches empty. Middleburgh demanded his expulsion, and the States General supported the demand. Veere refused, and bound her people by an oath to resist, but Labadie stepped forward as a peacemaker. Like almost all the mystics, he held war to be utterly unlawful in a Christian community; he would not be the occasion of such proceedings now. With a large body of his followers, including a number of ministers, he set out for the powerful, tolerant and wealthy city of Amsterdam, where he arrived in August, 1669. Here he began the return to the primitive and apostolic community of goods, the brotherhood living in one large family and having all things in common. He was well received and fully protected, preaching to vast assemblages, in a large hall which was part of the home of the new "Evangelical Church," and sending out disciples into all the cities and provinces to proclaim the new religion of inspiration. He insisted, in the spirit of the old Donatists, on the absolute separateness of the church from the world, declaring that the former forfeited its title to the name of church by the admission of a single unregenerate person to membership. The evidences of this great change must be transmitted to the "head" of the true and newly restored church for

his judgment, and the new convert must begin by submitting to the system of community of goods. The other parts of his system—not excepting methods of worship and sumptuary rules—so closely coincided with that of the Quakers that the latter were led to hope for a union of the two societies. George Keith and Robert Barclay came over from England to confer with Labadie on this point, but he rejected their proposals. His success in Amsterdam aroused the jealousy and opposition of the national clergy, who demanded the restriction or suppression of the movement. The burgomasters refused, and the clergy made this an issue at the next election of members of that body. They “elected their ticket,” but so deeply were traditions of toleration implanted in the mind of the great city that they dared only forbid persons who were not avowed Labadists from attending the services of the Evangelical Church.

This of itself, however, was restriction enough for the eloquent reformer, who determined to shake from his feet the dust of an unbelieving city. At this juncture the Princess Elizabeth of Herford, in Westphalia, a friend and correspondent of the Fraulein van Schurmann, offered a hospitable reception to the new church, tendering them the freedom of Herford. The offer was gladly accepted, and Labadie, with a large part of his followers, moved thither. For a time all went well. Many German converts were gathered into the hitherto Dutch church, and a printing press was set up. Religious fervor rose to such a height that secular business was sometimes entirely forgotten, and this fervor took new and startling shapes. Men and women danced and feasted together as an expression of the overflow of spiritual joy. Labadie's doctrine, that the regeneration of both parties was the one thing necessary to true marriage, bore fruit in private spiritual marriages without the sanction of the constituted authorities. Some of the converts became disgusted and withdrew, and the Imperial Diet ordered the expulsion of the whole community.

Their next resting place was at Altoona, on the Elbe, then an appanage of Denmark, and a city where the most complete toleration was enjoyed by all sects. The Behmenists and other persecuted fraternities were already fully represented here. And here the Evangelical Church remained from 1672 till 1675. In

1674 Labadie died, and Peter Yvon succeeded to the headship as "Father."

Disputes as to church tithes, and the approach of a war with Germany, made Altoona no longer a desirable home, and Yvon began to look around for another resting place. In their company were three noble and wealthy sisters, who had followed the fortunes of the church since it left Amsterdam. They were possessed of a castle at Wiewerd, in Friesland, the most northern province of Holland, among that hardy and independent race whose forefathers had colonized southern England, and in later days had fought bravely in defence of their spiritual liberties. This castle was now offered to the Labadists by their patrons, and gladly accepted, and in it the "Evangelical Church" found its last European home. The Synod of Friesland took alarm at their coming, and demanded an investigation of their opinions and practices. Hermann Witsius, of Franeker, a theologian of the Cocceian school, whose book on the "Economy of the Divine Covenants" is still a great authority among old-fashioned Presbyterians, was appointed to make the inquiry, and he reported that the people were both orthodox and blameless,—a report which secured for them full toleration. The times of their early prosperity seemed about to return. Converts flocked in from Holland and Germany, several of them ministers of the Reformed Church. A great household was organized under the double headship of Yvon and Van Schurmann, who assigned the tasks of the community with the authority of a mediæval abess and abbot. But the place was too strait for the community, and they turned their eyes to the New World. Surinam had recently been ceded by England to the Dutch, as a partial compensation for New Amsterdam, and one-third of the new colony was the property of the Governor, who was a brother of their noble patronesses. A colony was actually sent out from Wiewerd which founded the city of Providence, and a second expedition, under Jesper Denckaerts, started to reinforce the first, but was stripped by pirates on the high seas. When they did reach Surinam, they found their predecessors in even worse plight. The country was full of deadly malarias; the dense vegetation, which at first attracted their fancy, was so rank as to be simply beyond control; the few products of the country could only be raised by slave labor, and all the necessaries of life had

to be imported. Many had sickened, and some were dead. The colony was of necessity abandoned.

New Netherlands, the home of so many Dutchmen, although under English rule, was the next in point of attraction, and two of the Labadists were sent out to explore it. One of these was the Danckaerts already mentioned; the other was Peter Sluyter, a German, of liberal education, from Wessel. He had joined the society, with his brother Heinrich, during its stay at Altoona, and at once took a place of prominence through his literary skill and business tact. They left Wiewerd Jan. 8, 1679, and sailed *viâ* England, as was then necessary, in a ship full of emigrants for the New World. The diary of their voyage and travels in America was written by Denckaerts, and is full of interesting particulars, throwing great light on the state of several of the colonies. They were not travellers merely, but zealous proselytizers, a fact which proved of great assistance to them in the end. The story of the voyage is a tale of discomforts and petty annoyances, and the other persons of the story are depicted and criticised with fastidiousness born of the atmosphere of a monastery. Sordid and greedy enough they must have been, but no brighter traits seem to have caught the eye. At New York they met with one proselyte who became very useful. His father, a Bohemian named Heermans, had made a map of Lord Baltimore's American possessions, and had been rewarded, in 1660, by a large grant of land at the junction of the Bohemian and the Elk rivers, lying in Maryland for the most part, but extending into what is now the State of Delaware. The place had received the name of Bohemian Manor, but the owner was living at New York, having become accustomed to the Dutch by a long residence in Holland. His son, Ephraim Heermans, in his new zeal as a Labadist, pledged himself to secure a sufficient part of this tract to the proposed colony; and the two travellers passed down through New Jersey and Pennsylvania, to examine it.* They found it not unsuitable for their purpose, and in reliance upon their friend's promise, returned to Holland.

The new colony left Wiewerd, April 12, 1683, and set sail on the following July. When they reached New Amsterdam they

* In a map sketched in the Diary the Delaware is traced and the site of Philadelphia given as vacant.

encountered an obstacle in the older Heermans. He was no way disposed to enrich these foreigners by any generous gifts, and blamed his son for his readiness to fall in with their views. At times the prospect of seeing his whole tract settled by the neighboring settlements to which this would lead, seems to have made him ready to promise what was needed, but only under legal compulsion was he finally induced to keep these promises, and to convey the 3750 acres of the "Labadie tract" to Peter Sluyter and a few others, (Aug. 11, 1684.) These others were merely men of straw, employed to deceive the old man, and, by preconcerted arrangement, the whole became invested in Sluyter.

The new colony from Wiewerd was now firmly established and organized as a daughter church, but in dependence upon the mother church in Friesland. The latter still retained a large measure of authority. The credentials of regeneration presented by each new applicant for membership was forwarded to Yvon for his decision, and even Sluyter himself was in one instance recalled to fill a vacant place in the mother church, but declined to accept the call as a divine one. He and his wife had a considerable share of power in the management of the colony—as at once the spiritual and the financial heads of the community. If we may trust a Dutch writer—Peter Van Dittelbach—who left the Labadists and wrote against them, this power was abused till it became a mere petty tyranny. The worst instances of this that he alleges were but the logical outcome of Labadie's unfortunate tenets about marriage. Converts were encouraged, and even morally constrained, to leave or neglect their unconverted wives. It is also alleged that Sluyter, while binding heavy burdens of ascetic self-denial upon other men's shoulders, would not touch them with his own finger; in this falling far short of his master, whose greatest severity was towards himself. He was also charged with abundance of worldliness; as being a large dealer in linen and slaves, and even in tobacco, which no Labadist ever used. The Quaker preacher, Samuel Bownas, who visited the colony in 1702, dwells mostly on their religious and social usages. He found a good degree of unity to exist between them and his own society, with some differences. Men and women ate at two separate tables. No one began his meals without silently asking a blessing, or asked it until the Spirit moved him to pray. As the Spirit did not move all at the same instant, some would be

waiting with covered heads while others were praying with bare heads, and yet others eating with their hats on again, as was customary in those times. So much were they under the Head that men often ate side by side for weeks and never knew each other's name. At times meetings were held for silent or vocal worship; at others their sinful thoughts were confessed, and in others the Scriptures expounded. Their chief employment was flax growing and the linen manufacture. All luxuries were eschewed, and a still and contemplative life was especially enjoined. The Head assigned all tasks, and he who once filled a pulpit with acceptance might now be seen at the wash-tub or the plough-handle. The society was organized into various grades of spiritual proficiency and promotion earned by good conduct. The disobedient were degraded; the contumacious expelled.

As early as 1698 the lands of the Labadic Tract were divided, Sluyter retaining one of the four Necks to himself. This was the natural result of a similar movement ten years previous, by which the movable property of the Mother Church in Friesland was divided among the membership, and the poor sought elsewhere the living that their narrow quarters did not afford them at Wierwerd. Enough were left to perpetuate the society, and when Yvon died in 1707 Thomas Servaasz succeeded him as Father. But no new accessions were made, and when the castle passed to other heirs by the death of the last of their noble patronesses in 1725, there were no Labadists left to expel from it. The American branch seems to have expired about the same time, as Sluyter died in 1722, leaving all to his wife, and in 1727 there was no organized body of Labadists on Bohemia Manor. John and Henry Sluyter, who were dead by 1736, seem to have been the last who bore the name of the brilliant, eccentric enthusiast of Bordeaux.

R. E. THOMPSON.

THE GERMAN PULPIT OF THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY.

THE rehabilitation of mediæval Christendom has been one of the most marked literary and historical facts of the present century. To the eighteenth and even the seventeenth centuries, the period before "the revival of letters" was a time of darkness

and obscurity, lit up by a few illustrious names, but in the main a time of jangling scholasticism and persecution, tyranny and civil disorder, to be looked back to only with a feeling of profound thankfulness that the world had escaped into the larger and clearer light of modern philosophy, material science and classical learning. With religionists the case was even worse. The Christendom of the times from the fall of the Western to that of the Eastern Empire was briefly characterized as a mass of superstition, mental slavery and idolatry, and the only merit allowed to saint or churchman was that of a ceaseless antagonism to every thing characteristic of the period.

We are learning to judge more charitably, and therefore more truly—to discern the real foundations of modern thought and society, and to do honor to the brave and self-sacrificing men who laid them, amid many discouragements, with the sword in one hand and the trowel in the other. As we come to judge and estimate the intellects of these "dark ages," we discern among them minds of a grasp, an insight, and an acuteness second to none among their predecessors and their successors. As we estimate their labors by catholic standards of taste, and not by the pedantic criterion of a one-sided classicism, we see in them writers of true inspiration and real eloquence, thinkers whose results were at once a real advance upon the past, and are still underlying the latest speculations and conceptions.

Even in relation to the popular mind and its education, the middle ages were vastly superior to our ordinary estimate of them. The great British universities, for instance, were truly popular schools in the earlier centuries of their existence, numbering thousands of scholars where now hundreds are gathered. The great doctors and scholars of the time were as largely men from the ranks of the common people as at any subsequent period. We may even now take lessons from the educators of those days in regard to uniting learning with working, and giving the laboring man a chance of picking up what he can without abandoning his calling.

The pulpit of the middle ages, especially from the eleventh century, was filled by men of no mean power. As the Franciscans went forth to labor in works of mercy, and identify themselves with the wants and woes of the suffering and the poor, so their brethren the Dominicans, or Preaching Friars, became the popular

expounders of divine truth. At a still earlier period, Bernhard of Clairvaux and Bonaventura had distinguished themselves among a host of popular preachers, but by the Preaching Friars a systematic provision was made for this part of the Church's work. In the thirteenth century we may note especially Berthold von Regensburg, who preached from city to city with the eloquence, fervor and ethical zeal of a German John the Baptist, often addressing one hundred thousand persons at once.* Fearless criticism of churchmen and people alike, eloquent exhortation, and lucid expositions of Christian truth characterize such of his sermons as have come down to us.

But perhaps the most remarkable group of mediæval preachers is that which stood in relation to the movement and party of the "Friends of God" along the Rhine in the fourteenth century. These worthy Christians were distinguished alike from the formalists and the fanatics of their times. On the one hand were the great mass of churchmen, upon whom they looked as merely "servants of God," obeying the Gospel in a cold, distant, servile spirit, without striving after any closer or more tender relation to Him whom they addressed as their "Father in heaven." On the other was a great host of pantheists—"Brethren and Sisters of the Free Spirit"—who claimed to be themselves parts of the divine essence, and who resolved all sin into ignorance of man's divinity. In contrast to both these opposite tendencies, the Friends of God professed themselves to be not as mere servants of God, nor yet as gods themselves, but as His Friends, laying hold of the promise, "Henceforth I call you not servants, but friends, for the servant knoweth not what his Lord doeth." Their fraternity was composed of persons in all stations of life—laymen and priests, men and women alike; but all (or nearly all) were in the communion of the Church, while the "Brethren of the Free Spirit" were mainly separatists, withdrawn from the Church's communion, despising all the Church's "means of grace." The latter seem to have inherited the principles of the Cathari, Paterini, Paulicians, Bogomiles, &c., small sects which in the West prolonged down almost to modern times the heresies of the Gnostics and Manicheans of primitive times, but which some

* Kling found his long-forgotten sermons in an old library, and published them in 1824.

mole-blind historians of the Church eulogize as the sole repositories of Christian truth in these so-called "dark ages." They seem to have especially spread among the Beghards, a species of semi-monkish communities, in which men or women joined in the common life of the monastery without being bound by its vows. So much was this the case that Beghard became but another name for heretic, and their motley companies were required under severe penalties to disband. Of course the Friends of God were continually charged with being but a branch of this sect of the Free Spirit, an accusation which had a certain specious plausibility. When they urged the duty of aspiring to a higher and deeper knowledge of divine things, of attaining to that free and intimate communion with God which He himself offers, the easiest answer was, "That's all Beghard's talk"—*i. e.*, all pantheistic heresy, in disparagement of the Church and her order and the quiet lives of good and peaceable churchmen.

If we reckon Master Eckhart, the Dominican, among the first of the preachers of the school of the Friends of God, we must confess that the charge had some show of truth. We know but little of his outward life, but one of the few points known is that John Tauler and others of the Friends sat at his feet and listened with the deepest reverence to his teachings. We know also that he was a severe disciplinarian of the Dominicans, as Provincial of the order in Saxony, after having been a professor of philosophy at Paris, and that he was accused of heresy in 1322, and that a papal bull in 1329 speaks of him as dead, and as having recanted certain heresies charged upon him. He was certainly the profoundest thinker of the period, the most audacious in speculation. He has been called the mediæval Hegel, and Hegel himself pronounces him to have been the founder of German philosophy. As with Hegel, it is a matter of dispute whether he was a pantheist;* and (still pursuing the resemblance) his scholars seem to have divided into right and left wings, the former orthodox churchmen, the latter Beghards, both claiming Eckhart as their own. Tauler, Suso, Ruysbroek and Herman von Fritslar may be taken as

* Dr. Franz Pfeiffer published in 1857 (as the second volume of his *Deutsche Mystiker des Vierzehnten Jahrhunderts*) what he believed to be a complete collection of *Meister Eckhart's* sermons, treatises and sayings. More recently an additional treatise has been discovered and printed, which confirms the views of those who deny that he was a pantheist.

representatives of the right or orthodox wing of his school. In what estimate he was held by his followers may be judged from the inscription which stands at the head of his discourses :

*Diz ist Meister Ekehart,
Dem Got nie niht verbarc—*

“This is Master Eckhart, from whom God never hid aught.”

The leading idea of all Master Eckhart's teaching is the antithesis between the changeful, moving, barren life of the creature, and the immovable, peaceful, divine life of God, and the blessedness of rising from the former to the latter. St. Theresa has beautifully expressed it in the little poem called her “Book-mark :”

Let nothing disturb thee,
Nothing affright thee;
All things are passing;
God never changeth.
Patient endurance
Attaineth to all things;
Who God possesseth
In nothing is wanting.
Alone God sufficeth.

If some of Eckhart's expressions seem pantheistic, it is not to be forgotten that this might be charged upon men whose orthodoxy is unquestioned. Athanasius and Augustine both speak of men being “deified” through the grace of God in Christ (θεοποίησις, *deificatos*); nay, the Apostle Peter speaks of them as made “partakers of a divine nature,” and Paul told the Athenians that God was the parent of all men, “in Whom we live, and move, and have our being.” In brief, there is a side of Christianity which looks toward pantheism, without being pantheistic. The Christian faith embraces in its fulness the fragment of the truth which gives vitality to pantheistic systems; it mediates between bald, mechanical deism on the one hand and sweeping pantheism on the other, reconciling the two in the higher unity of Christian theism. In its boldest expressions of the divine infinity, it holds fast to the great facts of human personality, duty and responsibility.

Eckhart held these facts in a tenacious grasp, maugre his bold speculations. Every page of his sermons shows this. “I speak (says he on the first page of Pfeiffer's edition) of a perfect man,

who has walked in the ways of God and is still walking there, and not of a natural, inexperienced man, who is yet far from and ignorant of this divine birth, by which God the Father speaks the eternal word in the perfect soul." Yet he says in another place: "Verily, God himself rests not there where He is the first beginning; He rests there where He is an end and a rest of all being. Not that this being comes to nothing, but it is there completed in its ultimate end according to its highest perfection. What is this ultimate end? It is the hidden darkness of the eternal Godhead, and is unknown, and will never be known. God there remains unknown to himself; and the light of the Eternal Father, this has eternally shone in there, and the darkness comprehendeth not the light."* Again: "I am as sure of this as that I live, that nothing is so near me as God is. God is nearer me than I myself am; my being hangs thereon, that God is near and present. Even so is he to a stone and a tree, but they wot not of it. Did a tree know God and perceive how near He is to it, in such wise as the highest angel perceives it, that tree were even so blessed as the highest angel. . . . Into whatever soul God's kingdom shines, and it perceives God's kingdom, there is no need to preach or teach it: it is thereby taught and assured of eternal life. . . . Nought hindereth the soul so sorely in the knowledge of God as time and place. Time and place are parts, and God is one. Therefore, will the soul know God, so must it know him above time and space, since God is neither 'this' nor 'that,' as are these manifold things; since God is one.† . . . In God alone is the whole divine substance. In a man whole manhood is not, since a man is not all men. But in God the soul knows all manhood and all things in the highest, since she knows them according to the substance."‡ Any close student of the

* Pfeiffer; p. 288.

† Augustine: "Think of God, you will find a present, an *Is*, in which the past and future cannot be. In order, therefore, that you may also be, transcend time. But who shall transcend time by his own powers? He will raise you to it who said to the Father: I will that they also may be with me where I am." This is Plato's intuition of *non-temporal* existence, re-asserted by Berkeley, and conceded by even Mansell and John Stuart Mill.

‡ This canto of passages is from the LXIXth Discourse in Pfeiffer, and is translated in Miss Winkworth's selection of Tauler's Sermons.

Platonic philosophy will perceive Eckhart had studied in the Academy, and, in the most Aristotelian of ages, held by the older teacher. He speaks of Plato as "the Great Parson" (*Der Groze Pfaffe!*) and quotes largely from the neoplatonist Dionysius and his pupil John Scotus Erigena. Some of his expressions seem to outrun even Platonism: "Simple people conceive that we are to see God as if he stood on that side and we on this. It is not so; God and I are one in the act of perceiving Him. . . . O noble soul, put on these wings to thy feet, and rise above all creatures, and above thine own reason, and above the angelic choirs, and above the light that has given thee strength, and throw thyself on the heart of God; there shalt thou lie hidden from all creatures."

Going beyond the Friends of God in his practical teachings, he insisted that no work or service was good or perfect unless it were the simple, unselfish, unreflecting outflow of a principle of life in the heart:* "The just man searches not into his own works; for they who seek for any thing in their own works are all servants or hirelings; or they who work for some *wherefore*, [whether it be blessedness, or eternal life, or the kingdom of heaven, or whatever else in time or eternity, all such are not righteous; for righteousness consists in this, that a man work without respect to a *wherefore*.] And hence if thou wouldst be informed or over-formed in righteousness, think not of thy works, nor image to thyself any *wherefore*, either in time or in eternity, either reward or blessedness, either this thing or that thing. For all the works thou performest from the movement of the imagination, or out of the imagination, verily, *these* works are all dead. Nay, may I say it? But I will say it, and it is this—that if thou dost image to thyself even God, whatever thou doest from respect to this—I speak truly—thy works are all dead. They are faults; they are nothing, and they are not merely nothing, for thou destroyest by them even the works that are good."†

We may imagine how the popular teachers were scandalized at

* So Coleridge: "The more consciousness in our thoughts and words, and the less in our impulses and general actions, the better and more healthful the state of both head and heart."

† Pfeiffer; p. 189. The bracketted passage is found only in the sermon as printed in some editions of Tauler.

seeing the very ground cut from beneath their feet—all their persuasives and motives whistled down the wind in this style. Still more offensive, however, than any of his merely theological or practical teachings was his view of hell and its nature: "It is a question what burneth in hell. The masters say commonly, 'Self-will.' But I say of a truth it is Nought that burneth in hell. Whereof mark this likeness. Were you to take a burning coal and lay it on my hand, if I were to say that the coal burnt my hand, I should do it great injustice. In very sooth, what burns me is Nought; for the coal hath something in it that my hand hath not. See, it is that self-same Not which burneth me. Had my hand all the substance and qualities of a coal, it would have altogether the nature of fire; and then were you to cast all the fire that ever did burn upon my hand, it would not pain me. Even so, I say, if God and those who are in the light of his countenance have aught of true bliss which those lack that are separated from God, it is that selfsame Not that tortures the souls that are in hell, more than any fire or than self-will."* In other words, hell was to Eckhart simply damnation or loss, (*damnum*), the absence of that uncreated light which makes man's blessedness, the coming short of the grace of God, the self-destruction from His presence. The critics of his time interpreted him as saying that there was no hell, and in their sense of that word they were right enough.

We might quote from every page of Dr. Pfeiffer's thick volume passages hardly less curious and interesting. We add one extract more, taken from the Sayings, (*Spruche*), which we find towards the close. These seem to be taken mainly from his sermons, but partly also, from his familiar conversations with his disciples. This one shows us the man as a learner:

"Master Eckhart spake to a' poor man, 'God give thee good morning, brother.' 'Have it yourself, Master; I never had a bad one.' He said: 'How so, brother?' 'Since all that God ever gave me to bear, that bear I joyfully through His grace, knowing my own unworthiness, and therefore never become sad nor troubled.' He said: 'When did you find God first of all?' 'Where I let go all creatures, there found I God.' He said: 'What kind of man are you, brother?' 'I am a king.' He said:

* Pfeiffer; p. 65.

'Over what kingdom?' 'Over my flesh, since whatsoever my spirit desires of God, that my flesh not only hinders not, but is more swift to do and to bear than my spirit.' He said: 'A king must have a kingdom, brother. Where is thy realm, brother?' 'In my soul.' He said: 'How so, brother?' 'When I have shut the gates of my five senses and I desire God with all earnestness, then I find God in my soul and as joyfully as he is in the life eternal.' He said: 'You may be a holy man, brother. Who has made you a holy man?' 'This was done through my sitting in quiet, my lifting up my thoughts, my uniting with God, which has taken me into heaven, since I could never rest in any thing that was less than God. Now have I found and hold rest and joy in Him who is the Eternal, and that goes beyond all the kingdoms of time. No outward work is so perfect, it hinders the inwardness.'"

But to turn to a less abstruse and more popular writer. Herman von Fritslar, a German ecclesiastic of the fourteenth century, who travelled over a large part of Europe, visiting the shrines of the saints and collecting their legends, has left to posterity a curious series of sermons or homilies,* describing their lives. He was evidently a pupil of Eckhart's. The first on his list is St. Andrew, who is duly eulogized as the first called of the Apostles, and some dramatic sketches given of his labors as a preacher. Then follows a sketch of the hard life and fearless labors of the Apostles and primitive Fathers, with this instance:

A Father was going one evening to his cell. There came on a great storm, so that the good man slipped into a cavern in the rocks, wherein lay a lion, which he wot not of; and when he came in the lion began to growl greatly. Then said the Father to the lion, 'Have patience and be at peace; we have both room enough.' The lion growled yet more and more. Then said the Father, "If you will not have peace, then begone out and leave me in here." Then the grewsome beast rose up and meekly went him out, and left the Father there within.

The Apostle Andrew (we learn) kissed the cross gladly when brought forth to execution:

Then bound they him on the cross sideways with ropes. Christ's head was turned upward on the cross, because he was the King

* "*Daz Buch von der Heiligen Lebene*," in Dr. Franz Pfeiffer's *Deutsche Mystiker des Vierzehnten Jahrhunderts*. 1er Bd. Leipzig, 1845.

of heaven. St. Peter had his head turned down, because he was a prince and a head of Christendom. But St. Andrew was bound sideways on the cross, that he might look with one eye upon heaven, and with the other upon Christendom. . . . He was also a defender of pure chastity, being himself a pure virgin. This he well proved in the case of a holy bishop, who was withal a chaste man. . . . And him the devil hated, for he is a hater of all chaste hearts. . . . The devil turned himself into a virgin, and came to the bishop and said: "Holy Father, I pray you to hear my word, who am a poor maid, since I am come here from far off lands to you, having heard much said of your holiness. For I am a king's daughter, and my friends would have given me to the world, and from these I fled that I might hold fast my maidenhood, and have left father and mother. I pray you, ghostly father, that you take me for a daughter, and advise and show me how to live." And so many glib and nimble words spake she to the bishop that the bishop admired that she could speak so wisely, and said to her: "Daughter mine, as long as God gives me the means, I shall not neglect thee." And he said to her: "You shall eat to-day now at my table." And she said, "Gladly."

And when mass was sung, and the people went to dinner, then came she walking in very holy wise. Then said he, "Daughter, you shall eat with me out of my platter." She said, "No, for the people might be scandalized." Then said he, "I have such people about my table that they will suffer no scandal by this." Then she sat down near by him to eat, and went on to paint herself more and more beautifully, and with keen words to attract them that were about the table, so that all wondered that sat thereby at the beauty of her countenance and the wisdom of her words. . . .

Then came St. Andrew to the door, in the garb of a pilgrim, and knocked hard. Then spake the porter (*torwarte*, doorward) to the bishop, "Sir, there is a wandering man, that would fain be in here, and he is truly a man of noble bearing." The bishop said, "Have him in then." Then spake the virgin, "No; he shall first of all answer a question, so that one may know if he be worthy to eat of the bishop's bread." Then they asked among themselves who should first propose the question. And all said, "Nobody can do it so well as the virgin." Then spake the virgin, "Let them ask him what is the greatest wonder that God has wrought in the earth on a small thing?" Then went the messenger and told the pilgrim to answer the question. Then spake the pilgrim, "The greatest wonder is on the countenance of man; that were all men by one another, no one would be like another." Then the porter told how he had solved the question. Then the bishop praised it, but the virgin said, "He shall not get in until he answers yet another question. Let them ask him where earth lifts itself above heaven?" The porter told him the

saying. The pilgrim said, "When the manhood of Christ is exalted above heaven, there the earth is higher than heaven." The porter told the bishop the answer. The bishop said that he was well worthy to eat bread, and so did all the people that sat by. But the virgin said, "He shall answer yet a question; thereby we will hear whether he is a wise man. Let them ask him how many miles it is from the highest heaven to the bottom of hell, and should he answer this, he is worthy to eat of the bishop's bread." The porter said to the pilgrim, "They ask you how far it is from the highest heaven to the bottom of hell?" Then said the pilgrim, "Say to your master, The virgin that sits by him, who gave out this question, has herself measured the way, since she fell from the highest heaven to the bottom of hell; wherefore must she eternally be damned." Then went the porter and told his master these words openly. When the devil heard that, he went his way and vanished with a loud screech; and the bishop was aware that he was deceived, and bade them have the pilgrim brought in. When they came where he was, the pilgrim was gone. Then the bishop sorely bewailed his sins. At night, in his prayers, it was revealed to him that it was St. Andrew who had saved him then.

We may see from this story that pious yet grotesque humor was known in the German pulpit long before the time of their greatest pulpit humorist—Abraham a Sancta Clara. But it would not be fair to take this as a specimen of Herman's Homilies, which are generally grave and profitable, dwelling on the inner life of God's saints, and preaching the duties of self-denial and separation from the world, with all the fervor and a good measure of the abandon of his Master Eckhart. He touches well on the poetic features in their biographies, showing a mind in harmony with that side of life. Of course there is an especial interest in his picture of Elizabeth of Thuringia, whose biographers—Montalembert and Kingsley among them—are reckoned by the hundred. The old but ever fresh story of her childhood comes in his first sentences—how she carried off the food from her father's kitchen to feed the poor, and how the grim old King of Hungary was led by the complaints of his servants to intercept her on one such errand.

"And said: 'Dear daughterkin, what are you carrying?' Then said she, 'I am carrying roses to make a garland.' Then spake he: 'Show me the roses,' knowing all the while that it was bread and fleshmeat. Then took she off the cover; then was it all red roses and white, and in the poor folk's hands it became

again bread and fleshmeat. Then spake the king to the cooks and to the maidens: 'I command you by your lives, whatsoever she will take from you, that forbid her not.'

Another old German preacher of the same age is Nicholas of Strasburg, whose sermons* are more doctrinal and exegetical, and less historical than those of Hermann von Fritzlaar, while far less metaphysical than those of Eckhart. It seems that the good old apostolic fashion of asking the preacher questions, in regard to the topic of his discourse, was still continued to some extent in the churches. The pulpit was no "coward's castle" in those days at least. In Nicholas' second sermon he is preaching on the story of Dives and Lazarus, interpreting it as a literal history, and one of the audience asks him this poser:

"Sir, how had Lazarus a finger and the rich man a tongue, and a spirit has neither flesh nor bones?"

"That (replies Nicholas) I will tell you. It is a spiritual power in men that gives all bodily powers their activity. This it is that gives the eye sight, and the ear hearing, and the mouth speech, and the senses their work; and were this power to leave the man, then he would neither see, nor hear, nor speak. Just as we see is the case with man; to-day he lives, and sees and hears well, and walks well; and were he to die to-morrow he would do nothing of these things, and yet he has the same eyes that he had before, and the same ears, and the same mouth, and all the limbs that he had before. Whence comes that? Because the spiritual power is away, and has taken with it that wherewith it did all this. And even thus Lazarus had a finger and the rich man a tongue. That was the spiritual power which was in the tongue, which lives forever in eternal pain or in eternal joy. Even so is it with all the senses."†

More ingenious than satisfactory, like many later solutions of Scriptural difficulties. However, Nicholas anticipates the wisdom of the old Massachusetts preacher in a similar fix: "My brethren, let us look this difficulty fairly in the face, *and pass on!*"

Similar questions, many of them equally shrewd, occur throughout these discourses of Nicholas, which are still interesting reading. Often the discourse becomes a dialogue between preacher and hearer. The most homely, popular illustrations of divine truths are freely employed. Thus the fable of the fox that

* Edited by Dr. Pfeiffer in the same volume.

† Pfeiffer; II, p. 265.

boasted of its hundred tricks as compared with the one the cat knew—the art to run up a tree—and then lost his life through ignorance of that one in the critical hour, is used with great dramatic vivacity as a type of the manifold wisdom of the world as contrasted with the simple wisdom of the Christian, who knows to cling to the Cross of Christ, the Holy Tree of Life. A sermon on the creation suggests the old question, “Whence did the light come on the three days before God made the sun and moon?” Nicholas replies, almost in anticipation of the nebular hypothesis, that an illuminated sky existed before sun and moon, and “the masters think that was made of this sky.” Of the work of the Trinity in creation and providence, he, as was usual then, ascribes power to the Father, wisdom to the Son and goodness to the Holy Spirit, but the proposer of strange questions must know the reason for this. His answer is equally ingenious and beautiful: “We know that in time old folk are not as strong as those that are young; therefore we ascribe power to the Father, that men may not think of Him as less mighty than the Son. We regard the young folk as not so wise as old folk; therefore we ascribe wisdom to the Son, that men may not think of Him as less wise than his Father. Now *Spiritus*, the Holy Ghost, means a breath or blast of wind. That no one may think that He is less God than the Father or the Son; therefore, we ascribe to Him goodness especially.”

More like Eckhart is his exposition of the story of Elisha and the Widow of Sarepta, in which he sees an allegory of the whole work of redemption. The dead husband is the highest power of the soul, which has fallen to death by mortal sin; the widow is the lowest power of the soul, widowed by the death of the former, but calling for help to “the true Elisha,” the Lord from heaven. The two suns who have fallen captive are the will and reason; the five importunate creditors who have seized them are the five senses. The little oil still left is the remainder of divine grace in the soul, not yet extinguished by sin. The command to seek aid of the neighbors, is to seek the intercession of good people, and especially of the saints in heaven. The miraculous increase of the oil is the miraculous working and increase of grace, &c. Such interpretations are not in fashion now; they suit but few tastes. They were characteristic of that age, but they are not common with Nicholas. A direct and human tone runs

through all his preaching; we doubt not that the common people heard him gladly, and that he was not least worthy to fill a pulpit in an age when many remarkable and brilliant men spoke from the sacred desk.

JOHN DYER.

ORANGE AND GREEN.

THERE is a passage in Lord Macaulay's History of England, which Americans have learned to read during the present summer with a livelier apprehension of his meaning. In his sixth chapter, he writes of the reign of James II:

"When the historian of this troubled reign turns to Ireland, his task becomes peculiarly difficult and delicate. His steps—to borrow the fine image used on a similar occasion by a Roman poet—are on the thin crust of ashes, beneath which the lava is still glowing. The seventeenth century has, in that unhappy country, left to the nineteenth a fatal heritage of malignant passions. No amnesty for the mutual wrongs inflicted by the Saxon defenders of Londonderry, and by the Celtic defenders of Limerick, has ever been granted from the heart by either race. To this day a more than Spartan haughtiness alloys the many noble qualities which characterize the children of the victors, while a Helot feeling, compounded of awe and hatred, is but too often discernible in the children of the vanquished. Neither of the hostile castes can justly be absolved from blame; but the chief blame is due to the short-sighted and headstrong prince, who, placed in a position in which he might have reconciled them, employed all his power to inflame their animosity, and at length forced them to close in a grapple for life or death."

Whatever may be thought of the brilliant historian's estimate of the character of the two hostile classes of Irish subjects, the truth of his main point must be seen and conceded. In Ireland alone are the antagonisms of two centuries ago perpetuated in active contests. The controversies of that period are mainly matters of historical interest in every other part of Europe. New issues have swept them out of the popular sight and thought. Leading sympathies, indeed, have perpetuated themselves, and the Tory of to-day naturally favors the gallant gentlemen who gathered round the royal standard at York, while the Liberal as naturally sides with the clear-headed patriots who rallied to

the support of the Parliament at London. But except as a bold figure of partisan rhetoric, no one would speak to-day of a present conflict between Cavalier and Puritan. The old issues are dead, even while a faint outline of general similarity be traced between them and our modern questions. That most fervid of modern Jacobites, for instance, Sir Walter Scott, went into raptures over the Scottish visit of the least respectable king of the House of Hanover, carrying off as a relic the glass from which the dandy king drank at Edinburgh, and sitting down on it in his pocket, to his great discomfort, when he got back to Abbotsford.

Poor Ireland, like the Bourbons, seems destined to forget nothing and to learn nothing. The old struggle under the walls of 'Derry and of Limerick is renewed at the slightest provocation, whenever the two races come together in any considerable numbers. In the year of grace 1871, three thousand American soldiers, and nearly a thousand police are necessary to escort an Orange procession, of less than two hundred persons, through the streets of an American city. The fact but reproduces on American soil the state of matters in every northern Irish county. At every corner one comes upon localities consecrated to bitter popular memories, which still boil up as fiercely as in past centuries. *Here* the Protestants were driven into the Bann by Monroe in the massacre of 1641, until men crossed the river dry shod upon the multitudes of corpses. *There* a host of partisans burnt up a farmer's home and family at midnight a century ago, and tossed back into the flames the infant the dying mother had cast out upon their mercies. On that hill-side an Orange Lodge was assailed on its return from a great celebration of "the Twelfth," or "the Fifth," and drove its assailants into the valley, with great loss of life on both sides. Whole districts have become a partisan *Aceldama*, and the hereditary *vendetta* has been pursued for generations with almost Corsican fierceness.

We speak of this state of things as especially notable in the northern counties, not that it is unknown in the other three provinces, but because the Catholic element predominates so strongly elsewhere that the conflict of races is naturally less striking. The agrarian outrages of the South are entirely distinct in their character. While the White-boys of those provinces sometimes take oaths against the Orangemen, it is in reality against the landlords—Catholic as well as Protestant—that their

animosity is directed. Not Orange processions, but merciless evictions, are the grievances which sting them to madness. In the North the condition of the Catholic peasantry is much better than elsewhere. They share in the prosperity of the Protestants who carry on the linen manufacture, for which the soil, the air, and the streams* of Ulster are so wonderfully adapted. The Ulster Tenant Right, though much impaired by the landlords' innovations in later years, was still strong enough to give a large measure of protection before Gladstone made it the law of the land. William Carleton, the novelist of Southern Irish misery, delights to portray the contrast furnished by Ulster prosperity, while he touches with a light charity on the Protestant heresies of the farmers. Had he been an Ulster Catholic, sharing the average Ulster Catholic's feelings, the latter would have furnished much blacker hues for his picture. The Ribbonman of the North finds his chief grievance in the religious condition of the province. To him the old struggles are ever present, with all the bitterness of defeat. The yearly celebration of historical events by his Protestant neighbors, reminds him that he is one of a conquered, subjugated, degraded race. Centuries of mutual wrong, outrage and calamity have soured his very heart's blood. The ordinary bitterness of partisan struggle, as known in America, furnishes no adequate analogue to the state of things in Ireland. The hostility between Whig and Tory in the times of the Revolution presents the nearest parallel, but the ordinary American reader has no conception of the intensity with which that raged. The exceeding bitterness of *religious* wars has become a commonplace with the historian. Imagine such a struggle prolonged through seven generations, and complicated with all sorts of political and personal enmities, relieved only by the dauntless courage which such a state of society necessitates. Goldwin Smith gives us a single glimpse into the Orange and Ribbon war, by a striking anecdote. An Orange mother thrusting her little girl into a closet with the words, "Child, they are murdering your father down stairs, and then they'll come up and murder me. Watch them through that crack, that you may know them again when

* The waters of the Lagan, which flows through County Down, into Belfast Lough, is so charged with chlorides that it bleaches linen without the addition of chemicals.

they are brought into Court. I'll throw turf on the fire the last thing to make a blaze, and I'll struggle hard that you may have a good look at them." The murderers—three of them—were hung on that child's testimony.

The only time that "an era of good feeling" seemed likely to prevail in Ireland, was during Grattan's popularity. For a time all Ireland rallied around her great orator, and Parliamentary independence and free trade with the colonies were secured by a single united effort. The excitement spread through Europe inspired the Catholic Irish with vain hopes. They had been recently admitted to the suffrage, but were still excluded from office. In conjunction—strange to say—with a large number of republican Presbyterians about Belfast, they organized, in 1791, a great "United Irishmen's" conspiracy to annex Ireland to the Republic of France. In September, 1795, the first Orange Lodge was organized to meet the movement, which came to a head, and suffered total defeat, in the summer of 1798. The Orange Association had spread like wildfire through all classes of the Protestant population, and was largely instrumental in the defeat of the rebellion. It did not die out with the cause which originated it, as might be expected, from the pertinacity with which the Protestant Irishman clings to an idea or a prejudice. The Catholics organized a wilder and more exclusive Ribbon society upon the ruins of the United Irish organization, binding themselves by oath to "wade knee-deep in Orange blood." The Orange order spread into England, and, by a gradual modification of its constitution, passed under the exclusive control of the Episcopalians, while it grew rapidly in numbers, losing whatever really religious spirit it had ever possessed. A parliamentary investigation, in 1835, discovered that it numbered 140,000 English and 175,000 Irish adherents, including 40,000 soldiers of the royal army, and that designing schemers were using it as a means to raise the English Grand Master, Ernest, Duke of Cumberland, to the throne, to the prejudice of the rights of his niece, the Princess Victoria. Under governmental pressure the order was disbanded in England, and lost the greater part of its respectable and wealthy members in Ireland, where it was made an unlawful association. Under the "Party Processions Act," it is not allowed to publicly parade with any sort of regalia, or to any partisan music. But, of course, it is impossible to closely enforce such a law in the presence of

an overwhelmingly hostile public sentiment; but it is notable that this is John Bull's solution of the question which now presents itself to the American people:

Are such twelfths of July as the last in New York to be "a permanent feature" in American cities? If not, how are they to be prevented? The solution of the problem will not come from either the green or the orange. The Irish Catholic has such an ingrained hatred of every symbol of his nation's defeat and subjugation, that he will fly at them, year after year, with the rage of a mad bull. One round—not of blank cartridge—will cure the mania for the time, and cow them as thoroughly as was the great mob around the Cooper Institute by the news from Eighth Avenue. But next year that wholesome impression which the writer saw mixed with bitter rage, in a thousand faces in that mob, will have passed off, and the struggle will be renewed. No consideration of fair play for both parties, in the use of the streets, will be of any avail. The Celt has not the first idea of fair play and toleration,—if he believes himself *right*, he thinks that that secures to him all the *rights*.

The solution of the difficulty will not come from the Orangemen. They are put upon the point of honor by these two attacks, (1870 and 1871,) and there is "no surrender" in their constitution. No one could look at the good-humored but strong-jawed face of Marshal Johnston, as he rode at the head of the gallant two hundred, in New York, without thinking of what Parton says of the father of the Great Nullifier:

This Patrick Calhoun illustrates well the North-of-Ireland character, one peculiarity of which is the possession of will disproportioned to intellect. Hence, a man of this race frequently appears to striking advantage in scenes which demand chiefly an exercise of will; while in other spheres, which make larger demands upon the understanding, the same man may be simply mischievous. We see this in the case of Andrew Jackson, who, at New Orleans, was glorious, at Washington almost wholly pernicious; and in the case of Andrew Johnson, who was eminently useful to his country in 1861, but obstructive and perilous to it in 1866. For these Scotch-Irishmen, though they are usually very honest men, and often right in their opinions, are an unstructurable race, who stick to a prejudice as tenaciously as to a principle, and really suppose they are battling for right and truth, when they are only wreaking a private vengeance, or aiming at a personal advantage.

Such are the two races that have been brought into conflict in the streets of our cities by the equally foolish and wicked countenance given by public men and organs to the Fenian movement. For to the Fenian invasion of Canada we are mainly indebted for the great revival of the Orange Association in the Dominion, and its recent extension to the United States. The Irish Protestant element may seem numerically too weak, in most of our cities, to stir up much strife; but it more than compensates for that by its superior intelligence, its social weight, its stubborn pertinacity,—its power of organization. Any unscrupulous British statesman might, by the quiet expenditure of a few thousand pounds in organizing the Orange element, have precipitated this struggle long ago. And it is not without significance, that the impulse towards organization does come from Canada. The American people have played with the edged-tools of Fenianism long enough. It has certainly brought before it for settlement one of the most perplexing questions of municipal policy that ever demanded an immediate settlement. ULTONIENSIS.

DARWIN.

WHEN a discussion leaves the hands of those who originate the question and passes into those of the noisy and less able partisans of both sides, it frequently, if not always, becomes so confused, and the point at issue is so thoroughly buried under the mass of personalities and senseless vaporings of the faithful, that it behooves careful men to return to the argument and divest themselves of its parasitic growth.

Such a question is the Darwinian one of the "Origin of Species" and its later application, the "Descent of Man."

In these few remarks, no digest of the merits or demerits of either work is intended, nor is it the purpose to make the article appear learned by a citation of numerous authorities on either side, but to make an appeal for temperance of discussion, and indicate what seems to be the proper line of objection to both sides.

When La Place's Nebular Hypothesis was first announced, the same kind of objections were made to it as those which the "soi

disant" orthodox bring forward to Darwin's theory to-day. "It detracts from the majesty of God."

Is this strictly true? Is it true at all?

On the one hand we have a countless number of systems and systems of systems rolling through space, each member of which is *directly* controlled by the will of Omnipotence, which is so all pervading as to issue the fiat every time that a storm is released from its support above the surface of the earth, in order that that storm may assist in deluding the human race in the belief that it is simply subject to a general law.

On the other hand, we view a great and immutable scheme, a general equation, covering all the cases and applicable to each as the circumstances are substituted as known quantities.

Or on the one hand, (to take a more homely simile,) we have a great magician performing wonderful things himself, and on the other, we have a great machine performing the same things.

Which gives the highest idea of the skill and genius which causes the phenomena, the magician or the power that made him?

The same application may be made to the Darwinian controversy, and too much stress cannot be laid on the fact that the decision of that controversy one way or the other *in no way affects the question of the Divine origin of things*. Let it not be understood that there are none holding the Darwinian theory who do not regard it as merely the beginning of the statement; who do not take the broad ground that with the origin of things we have nothing to do, know nothing about it, and had better drop it from the discussion altogether. All of these Deists and Infidels embrace the Darwinian theory, but regard it as very much underdone. But there is a large class of thinking men and good Christians who see no attack on the bulwarks of religion in the marvellously beautiful system of evolution which honest, patient and thoughtful scientific men, with no ambition but success and no goal but truth, have been gradually unfolding to our eyes in one department or another of science for the last four hundred years.

The germ and gist of the whole matter, the question to the solution of which Darwin has spent the faithful and unwearied labors of his life, is the proposition that from various causes, most of which we can see in operation at the present time, and

the rest we can safely supplement by "putting ourselves in their places," there has been a continual, generally very gradual change in the forms of life, whereby higher types slowly replaced lower types of the same kind, so that not only size and color, but outline and external and internal structure have been altered, adapted to higher and more various capacities, and in many instances replaced in the planet the inferior races which were their origin.

Is there any thing in this that detracts from the dignity, or power, or beneficence of the Creator?

Leaving the question of the probability or improbability of this hypothesis to be settled by the properly constituted authorities, is it less wonderful that the Divine Author of the Universe should have established the immutable laws according to which these changes should take place, producing all the complex and more and more complex relations of existence, and bringing the earth from a molten globe, on which life as we know it was impossible, to a garden teeming with animals and plants, and governed by that animal possessing (so far as we know) the highest intellectual development, than that the same Creator should personally superintend the nativity of each insect and mould it, because he happens in each case to please to do so, into a form resembling its parents?

Is it thought to diminish the military glory of a great commander, that he has not personally cooked every cup of coffee that his soldiers have consumed?

True, these analogies are very dangerous things, and hardly worthy weapons to use in serious argument. It is so easy to present a ridiculous side to every question by slightly altering the facts; but are not these the very kind of answers made by the too zealous partisans of anti-Darwinism?

"Are we monkeys?" "Have we rubbed our tails off by sitting down?" "Mr. Darwin may be descended from monkeys, I am not," are forms which furnish but too much of the material which is wrought up into "replies to Darwin."

"Out upon the hideous thought that we are the offspring of the brutal, idiotic ape," shouted one enthusiastic young gentleman not long ago in public, and yet a silhouette of him, when compared with one of the higher Simians, would have shown analogies in the general contour, the attachment of the muscles,

the general forms of the digits and face—all of which depend upon his common stock in humanity—that no unprejudiced mind could fail to perceive.

But whatever objections are made to Darwin's theory, let not his enemies accuse him of unfairness, or the tendencies of his argument to lessen our conception of the greatness of the Almighty.

PRIOR.

NEW BOOKS.

We have received from D. Appleton & Co., New York, "OLIVER TWIST," "CHRISTMAS STORIES," and "DOMBEY & SON."

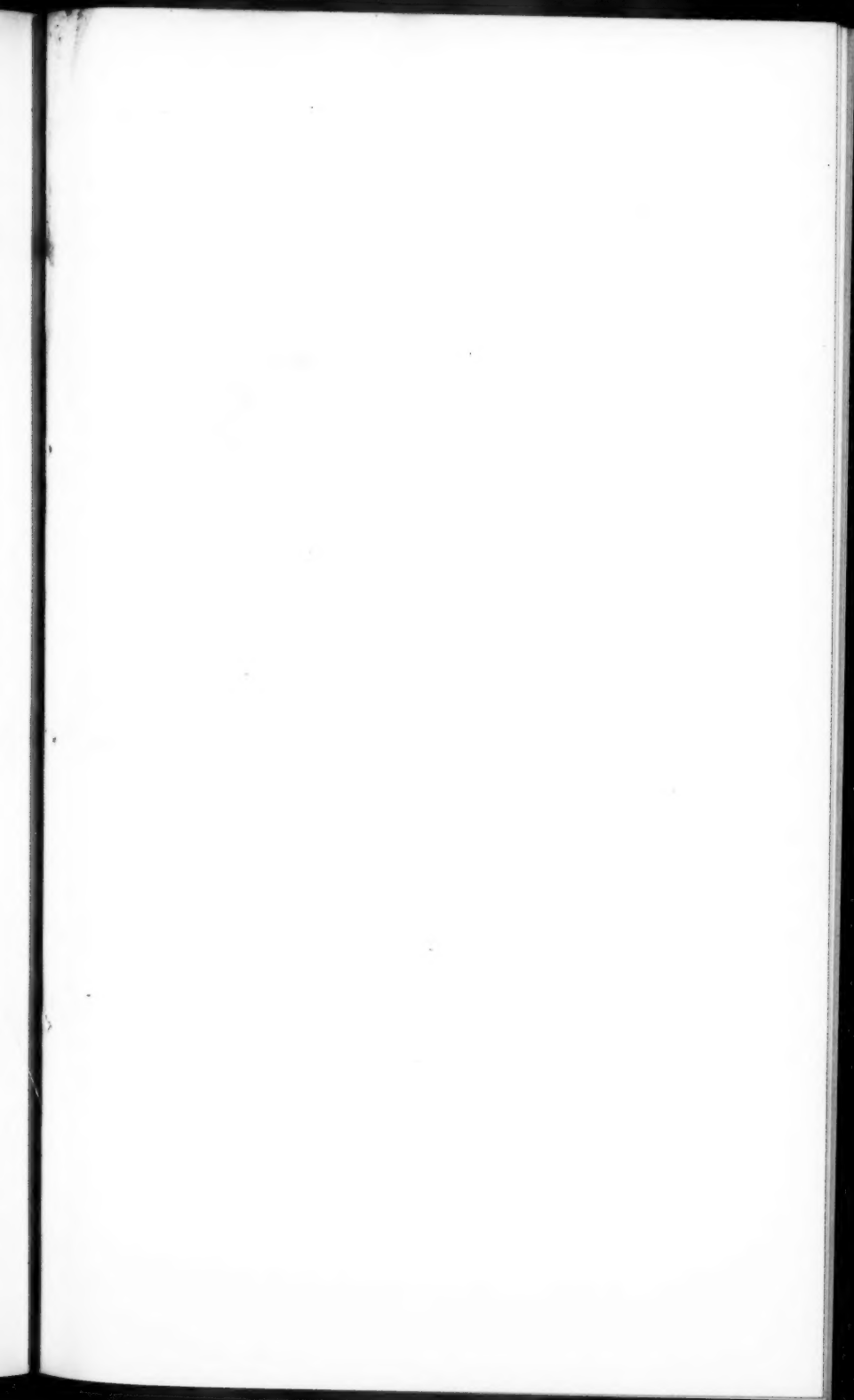
The second and third of a new and cheap uniform edition of Dickens' works. The popularity of these books is greatly increasing, and with good reason, for a complete library can be obtained at a very low price. This new edition is neatly bound in brown cloth, with illustrations by Cruickshank, Leech and Brown. A volume will be published every fortnight until the series is completed. Price 75 cents per volume.

We have also received from D. Appleton & Co., SARCHEDON: by E. J. Whyte Melville. MY HEROINE.

These books can be had of Porter and Coates.

REPORT ON THE SYSTEM OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION IN SWEDEN AND NORWAY. Bureau of Education, Washington.

Magazines: GARDENER'S MONTHLY, THE AMERICAN EXCHANGE AND REVIEW, THE OHIO FARMER, THE CHRISTIAN WORLD, THE JOURNAL OF EDUCATION, THE ATLANTIC MONTHLY, THE CATHOLIC RECORD, EVERY SATURDAY.





Engraved by John Carpenter, Phila.

Henry A. Lacey



THE
PENN MONTHLY.

OCTOBER, 1871.

A SCIENCE BASED UPON ASSUMPTIONS.*

ON a former occasion† political economy, as now commonly taught, was spoken of as a "pretended science," mean, narrow and shop-like in its teachings, and wholly opposed to the enlarged and liberal views given to the world by the illustrious author of the "Wealth of Nations." What then was said it is proposed now to justify, placing before the reader a brief view of its actual condition, thereby enabling him to judge for himself what are its claims to be admitted to a place side by side with the sciences cultivated abroad by Grove, Helmholtz, and Carpenter, and among ourselves by such men as Henry, Agassiz, Pierce, and Cope.

First among the requisites of any and every branch of science is a clear understanding among its teachers of the precise value of the terms in use; the indispensable preliminary to making others comprehend them being that they themselves comprehend each other. That such has been the course of proceeding elsewhere is proved by the fact that the vocabulary of Hipparchus and Ptolemy now makes part of that of Herschel and Le Verrier, as that of Dalton and Chaptal is embraced in those of Huxley, Tyndall and their associates. The language of physics is one and the same for France and England, Germany, Russia, and these United States, perfect exactness being its essential characteristic.

* "Political economy is a science based upon assumptions."—*Saturday Review*.

Political economy "necessarily reasons from assumptions, and not from facts."—*J. S. Mill*.

† PENN MONTHLY, October, 1870; article "Wealth."

Precisely the reverse of this is what we see to be the case with regard to that *science* to which the reader's attention has now been called, its professors having never yet determined the real value of any single one of all its terms. That this is so was shown by the late Archbishop Whately, one among the most eminent of its professors, when telling his readers that "the great defect of Adam Smith, and of our economists in general, is the want of definitions," proof of this being given in the numerous and widely different significations attached by the most distinguished teachers to the highly important terms, Value, Wealth, Labor, Capital, Rents, Wages and Profits; then showing that, for want of clear conceptions, the same word is used by the same writer at one time in a manner totally inconsistent with that in which he uses it at another. To that list he might, as he most truly says, add many others "which are often used without any more explanation, or any more suspicion of their requiring it, than the words 'triangle' or 'twenty'"—as a consequence of which it is that words of the highest importance are used by distinguished writers as being entirely synonymous, when really expressing not only different, but directly opposite ideas.

As a necessary result of this it is that the politico-economical world presents to view a mass of confusion, each and every of its members wishing to be heard, and scarcely any two of them using precisely the same terms when desiring to present the same idea.

Of all those in the language the broadest and most expressive is that of COMMERCE, embracing, as it does, exchanges of ideas, personally or by letter; exchanges of services or commodities; exchanges in the family or the state; in fine, the whole range of human relations. Of all, perhaps the narrowest and most contracted is that which brings before us the mere TRADER, the man of one idea, always intent on buying cheap and selling dear, and quite too often over-reaching both those of whom he buys and those to whom he sells. The more frequent the vicissitudes of trade, the more numerous, as he knows, are his chances for accumulating fortune. The farmer, the planter and the miner, on the contrary, desire steadiness, needing, as they do, to make their arrangements for years ahead. The cotton mill requires much time for its construction, and for the collection and organization of the people who need to work therein. The preparation of the mine, the furnace, or the rolling-mill requires long periods of exertion and large

expenditure before their owners can begin to reap reward. The trader, on the contrary, buys and sells from hour to hour; and the greater his power to produce changes in the prices of wheat, cloth and iron, the greater is the probability that he will ultimately enter upon the possession of the land of the farmer, the mill of the manufacturer, the furnace of the maker of railroad bars, or the road of the man who has invested his fortune in a great improvement; and at half the cost at which this machinery had been constructed. Trade and commerce thus look always in opposite directions, the one desiring, and producing, frequent and rapid changes, the other seeking and promoting regularity of movement. Of all the terms in use among men there are no two that convey more opposite ideas; yet are they, without exception, used by economists as being entirely synonymous, and rightfully interchangeable with each other.

Having thus provided for the world's use a *science* without a recognized language; one whose professors cannot understand each other; one that, being merely "abstract or hypothetical," demands, as we learn from Mr. Mill, that we "reason from assumptions, and not from facts"—the next step, as will now be shown, has been that of assuming the existence of a being in human form, but deprived, as far as possible, of all human qualities, the modern political economy requiring that we—

"Do not treat of the whole of man's nature as modified by the social state, nor of the whole conduct of man in society. It is concerned with him solely as a being who desires to acquire wealth, and who is capable of judging of the comparative efficiency of means for obtaining that end. It predicts only such of the phenomena of the social state as take place in consequence of the pursuit of wealth. It makes an entire abstraction of every other passion or motive; except those which may be regarded as perpetually antagonizing principles to the desire of wealth, namely—aversion to labor, and desire of the present enjoyment of costly indulgences. These it takes, to a certain extent, into its calculations, because these do not merely, like other desires, occasionally conflict with the pursuit of wealth, but accompany it always as a drag or impediment, and therefore inseparably mixed up in the consideration of it. Political economy considers mankind as occupied solely in acquiring and consuming wealth, and aims at showing what is the course of action into which mankind, living in a state of society, would be impelled, if that motive, except in the degree in which it is checked by the two perpetual counter-

motives above adverted to, were absolute ruler of all their actions."

Happily for mankind the animal here exhibited is as fanciful as is the Giant Despair of the "Pilgrim's Progress," its existence, according to Mr. Mill himself, being an assumed and not a real one.*

II. Ptolemy having assumed that the sun revolved around the earth, his disciples at a later date furnished the world with an orrery by means of which, as they then asserted, the movements of all the celestial bodies could, in perfect harmony with their master's great idea, readily be explained. Mr. Malthus having, in like manner, assumed that man had always commenced the work of cultivation on the richest soils, and that with increase of numbers it had been, and always must be, necessary to have recourse to those of an inferior description, with steadily diminishing returns to labor, Mr. Ricardo followed the theory up by assuming that constantly diminishing production had been, and must be, attended with power on the landlord's part to take to himself a constantly increasing *proportion* of the diminished product, leaving to the poor laborer a steadily diminishing *proportion* of a constantly declining quantity; the growing inequality of the people of England being thus proved to be the result of a great law established by the Creator for government of the human race. A tendency towards subjection of the masses, or, in other words, toward slavery, having been thus established as a necessary result of divine institutions, Mr. Mill certainly did not err when telling his readers that the law of the constantly decreasing productiveness of agricultural labor, whose existence had been thus assumed, was "the most important proposition in political economy;" and that "were the law different, nearly all the phenomena of the production and distribution of wealth would be different." So far he was entirely right. When, however, the baselessness of the Malthusian assumption had been distinctly shown; when it had been proved that the work of cultivation had in all ages and countries necessarily commenced on the poorer

* "Not that any political economist was ever so absurd as to suppose that mankind is really so constituted, but because this is the mode in which science must necessarily proceed."—*J. S. Mill, Essays on Some Unsettled Questions in Political Economy*, p. 139.

soils, passing steadily, as numbers, wealth, power, and civilization grew, towards those more rich, with constantly increasing facility in obtaining supplies of food and other products of the soil; when it had been shown that such proceeding had been in full accordance with the law in virtue of which poor and scattered men find themselves, in every department of occupation, compelled to commence with poor machinery, passing thence to that which is better; when these things had all been proved by means of facts occurring at every age and in every part of the world, it is certainly somewhat remarkable that a philosopher like Mr. Mill should have contented himself with simply denying the existence of any "invariable law," and demanding proof that "the return to labor from the land, when population and wealth increase, *agricultural skill and science remaining the same*, is not a diminishing one." The italics here are those of the present writer.

How to treat such a suggestion as this it is difficult to determine; it being—and in saying so, it is earnestly desired to avoid disrespect to its author—simply absurd. As well might he claim of an opponent to prove that *had mining skill and science remained the same from the days of the Plantagenets*, the return to mining labor would not have been a steadily diminishing one. Both cases being alike impossible of occurrence, both are equally unworthy of place in a work which professes to furnish scientific information. Growing wealth involves necessarily development of "skill and science," and the philosophy of the attempt to separate them in the manner here proposed is strictly on a par with one whose aim should be that of dissolving the connection between the appearance of light and the presence of the sun.

Discussing further the question of the order of cultivation, Mr. Mill demands that his opponent show "that in any old country the uncultivated lands are those which would pay best for cultivation," Dartmoor and Shap Fell being thereby proved "to be really the most fertile lands in England." The assumption here is, that "the uncultivated lands" referred to had always remained in a state of nature; and yet, no one better than its author knows that from Land's End to the Pentland Firth Britain abounds in evidence that large portions of those very lands had been the chosen seats of early cultivation; that in many cases

they had been abandoned even before the historic period; that the lower and richer lands had been but very slowly, and at a comparatively recent date, reduced to cultivation; and that the now richest soils of the kingdom had been, but a century or two since, entirely unoccupied.*

Proof having been furnished that land obeys invariably the same law that we see to be true in reference to all other commodities and things, its value, like theirs, being limited within, and greatly within, what would be its cost of reproduction; that London itself, with all its advantages of situation, formed no exception to the rule; and that the value, whether in money or in labor, of all England is not even a tithe of what would be required for restoring it to its present condition were it to be now restored to its original state: Mr. Mill assumes the possibility of a convulsion of nature whose effect should be that of at once doubling the size of the island, asking then, triumphantly, if that additional land could be supposed to have no value, for the reason that no labor had been expended on it? Had he reflected more carefully, he would have arrived at the conclusion that no such assumption could be needed, each successive year presenting cases of addi-

*The picture of the occupation of the Scottish isles and highlands here furnished by the Duke of Argyll, in his little volume just now published, applies with equal force to the whole of Britain, and her attendant islands:

"At a time when artificial drainage was unknown, and in a rainy climate, the flats and hollows which in the Highlands are now generally most valuable portions of the land, were occupied by swamps and moss. On the steep slopes alone, which afforded natural drainage, was it possible to raise cereal crops. And this is one source of that curious error which strangers so often make in visiting and in writing on the Highlands. They see marks of the plough high up upon the mountains, where the land is now very wisely abandoned to the pasturage of sheep or cattle; and, seeing this, they conclude that tillage has decreased, and they wail over the diminished industry of man. But when those high banks and braes were cultivated, the richer levels below were the haunts of the otter and the fishing-places of the heron. Those ancient plough-marks are the sure indications of a rude and ignorant husbandry. In the eastern slopes of Iona, Columba and his companions found one tract of land which was as admirably adapted for the growth of corn as the remainder of it was suited to the support of flocks and herds. On the northeastern side of the island, between the rocky pasturage and the shore, there is a long, natural declivity of arable soil, steep enough to be naturally dry, and protected by the hill from the western blast.

"And so here Columba's tent was pitched, and his Bible opened, and his banner raised for the conversion of the heathen."—*Iona*, pp. 81-3.

tion quite as fortuitous as the one he had here deemed it proper to suggest. Studying the real facts in regard to such additions, he would have been led inevitably to the conclusion that an aerolite, however large and however fully charged with gold, falling among the sands of Africa, could have no money value whatsoever; whereas, falling among British workshops, its price would be very large. So, too, with a discovery of coal or ore in thousands of places in these United States, as compared with similar discoveries in Germany or France. So, again, with the land whose sudden appearance he has here assumed. Added to England, it would, like the coal or ore above referred to, participate with all existing land in the advantages resulting from close proximity to markets. Added to countries where no such markets existed, it could have no value whatsoever.

The facts assumed by Mr. Mill, in preference to real facts that had been always within his reach, having been thus disposed of, it is proposed now to look for a moment to his own arguments, given to the world as being those of his opponents.

III. In an edition of his work subsequent to the one above referred to, Mr. Mill admits that what Malthus and his followers had assumed as having been universally true, had not really been so when applied to "soil cultivated in a newly settled country. It is not," as he continues, "pretended that the law of diminishing return was operative from the very beginning of society;" yet does it, as he further says, "begin quite early enough to support the conclusions they founded on it." This, be it observed, is asserted by an author residing in a country whose earliest cultivation we see to have been of lands so poor that they long since had been abandoned to give place to an agriculture like that of Lancashire, where the labors of a single individual furnish a larger yield than could have been obtained in return to those of a whole regiment of men in the days when the centre of British population, wealth, and power was found in the long since abandoned neighborhood of Tintagel, when King Arthur held his court there.*

Rejecting all facts like these, Mr. Mill persists in the assertion

* Professor Müller (*Chips from a German Workshop*, vol. iii, article *Cornish Antiquities*) speaks of the now almost abandoned Cornwall, and of "the work performed" by its Celtic inhabitants "in rendering the British islands for the first time fit for the habitation of man."

of diminishing returns to agricultural labor, this time summoning his opponent into court to be witness in his favor, his call being made in the following terms, to wit:

"Mr. Carey unconsciously bears the strongest testimony to the reality of the law he contends against; for one of the propositions most strenuously maintained by him is, that the raw products of the soil, in an advancing community, tend steadily to rise in price. Now, the most elementary truths of political economy show that this could not happen unless the cost of production, measured in labor, of those products, tended to rise."*

In this there is a confusion of money and labor values somewhat remarkable as coming from so eminent a logician. Allowing this, however, to pass, and at once admitting entire ignorance of the existence of any such "elementary truths," the reader's attention is now invited to the fact that Mr. Mill has here entirely misrepresented the author from whom he has professed to quote, the words "raw products of the soil" not having been used, and the tendency to rise in price having been shown to be common not only to such products, but also, *and most especially*, to land and labor, both of which have been here suppressed. That this may be clearly seen and understood, the whole passage here apparently referred to is given below, as follows:

The power of a commodity to command money in exchange is called its PRICE. Prices fluctuate; much food and wool being sometimes, or at some places, given for little money, while at others much money is given for little of either wool or food. What are the circumstances which tend to affect prices generally we may now consider.

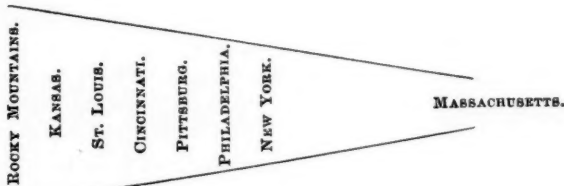
A thousand tons of rags, or wool, at the Rocky Mountains would not exchange for the smallest piece of money; whereas, a quire of paper would command, perhaps, an ounce of silver. Passing eastward to the plains of Kansas, their relative values would have so much changed that the price of the rags would pay for many reams of paper. Coming to St. Louis, a further change would be experienced, rags having again risen, and paper again fallen. So, too, at every stage of the progress eastward, until in Massachusetts three pounds of rags would command more silver than would purchase a pound of paper. The accompanying diagram exhibits these changes.

The price of raw materials tends to rise as we approach those places at which men are most enabled to combine for obtaining

* Principles, sixth ed., vol. i, p. 228.

power to command the services of the great forces of nature. That of finished commodities moves in an opposite direction, both tending thus to more close approximation. Cotton is low on the plantation, but high in Manchester or Lowell. Corn in Illinois is often so cheap that a bushel does not even pay for a yard of coarse cotton cloth, whereas in Manchester it pays for a dozen yards.

PAPER



RAGS.

Raw material tends to rise in price with the progress of men in wealth and civilization. What, however, is raw material? In answer to this question, we may say, that all the products of the earth are, in turn, finished commodity and raw material. Coal and ore are the finished commodity of the miner, but the raw material of pig iron. The latter is the finished commodity of the smelter, yet only the raw material of the puddler, and of him who rolls the bar. The bar is again the raw material of sheet iron, that, in turn, becoming the raw material of the nail and the spike. These, in time, become the raw material of the house, in the diminished cost of which are concentrated all the changes in the various stages of passage from the rude ore, lying useless in the earth, to the nail and spike, the hammer and saw, used in the construction of a dwelling.

In the early and barbarous ages of society land and labor are very low in price, and the richest deposits of coal and ore are worthless. Houses are then obtained with such exceeding difficulty that men are forced to depend for shelter against wind and rain upon holes and caves they find existing in the earth. In time, they are enabled to combine their efforts, and with every step in the course of progress land and labor acquire power to command money in exchange, while houses lose it. As the services of fuel are more readily commanded pig iron is more easily obtained. Both, in turn, facilitate the making of bars and sheets, nails and spikes, all of these in turn facilitating the creation of boats, ships and houses; but each and every of these improvements tends to augment the prices of the original raw materials—land and labor. At no period in the history of the world has the general price of these latter been so high as in the present one;

at none would the same quantity of money have purchased so staunch a boat, so fleet a ship, or so comfortable a house.

The more finished a commodity, the greater is the tendency to a fall of price; and for the same reason, that all the economies of labor of the earlier processes are accumulated together in the later ones. Houses, thus, profit by all improvements in the making of bricks, in the quarrying of stone, in the conversion of lumber, and in the working of the metals. So, too, is it with articles of clothing—every improvement in the various processes of spinning, weaving and dyeing, and in the conversion of clothing into garments, being found gathered together in the coat. The more numerous those improvements, the lower will be its price, while *the higher will be that of the land and labor to which the wool is due.**—*Manual of Social Science*, pp. 285-6.

Reasoning "from assumptions, and not from facts," Mr. Mill rejects all of these latter here presented, except the single one that might be made to suit his purpose; even then, as has been shown, substituting the comparatively narrow expression, "raw products of the soil" for the far more comprehensive "raw material," covering, as does this latter, not only land and labor, but also that from which we obtain the plough, the ship and the dwelling. In so doing he has certainly made a sad mistake. The best evidence men can furnish of their own belief consists in frankly and honestly presenting the arguments of their opponents.

IV. Adam Smith laid the foundation of a science far grander and more magnificent than any of those whose cultivation has brought such fame and honor to Murchison and Lyell, Tyndall and Huxley, Grove and Helmholtz, Morse and Henry of our own time, and to Franklin, Dalton, Fourcroy and Berthollet in the past. Looking to the future while teaching the lessons of the past, he did not fail to caution his countrymen against the dangers, moral, mental, and physical, to which they must find themselves exposed should they continue onward in pursuit of a policy looking to the conversion of the island into a mere shop, and themselves into "a nation of shop-keepers." His immortal work was first published in 1776, its essential object having been that

* Views similar to these in effect occur necessarily in other portions of the work; but, as it is believed, in no case so presented as to afford even the slightest warrant for the use here made of them by Mr. Mill. On the contrary, land, labor, and the rude products of both are throughout most intimately connected.

of enforcing upon the author's countrymen the great truth, that *trade and manufacture were useful only so far as they contributed to the development of the treasures of the earth, and to the promotion of commerce.* He saw that the colonial system, looking exclusively to trade, tended unnaturally to increase the *proportion* of the British population employed in the work of exchange and transportation, thereby raising up "a nation of mere shop-keepers," and forcing industry to run principally in one great channel, instead of in a number of smaller ones; and he warned his countrymen of the dangers they thus incurred. Great, however, as were even then those dangers, England was then but entering on the effort to reduce the world at large under the system so long imposed upon her colonial dependents. The interdiction of the emigration of artisans dated then back but a single decade, and the battle of Plassy, by which the British power in India had been established, was then not twenty years old. Five years later came the prohibition of the export of silk and woollen machinery; and before the close of the century the policy had been perfected by the extension of this prohibition to all other descriptions of machinery, to artisans by whom it might be made, and to colliers.

From that hour to the present, the British policy has been in direct opposition to all the teachings of the author of the *Wealth of Nations*, and in as direct accordance with those of Messrs. Hume and Brougham, the great object of whose desires, as expressed in Parliament, was, that "foreign manufactures should be crushed in the cradle," and that the nations of the world might find themselves compelled to make all their exchanges in the British shop. From that hour, all that was really great and good in political economy has more and more tended to disappear, man being with each successive day more and more treated as a mere machine, and "the labor market" being more and more regarded as subject to the same laws which govern those other markets in which horses, oxen, and human cattle are elsewhere bought and sold. Side by side with this system the *science* here discussed has gradually been perfected, giving to the world divine laws in virtue of which all power tends naturally toward the hands of those already rich and strong, all responsibility being thrown on the shoulders of those who are poor and weak. If the latter *will* marry and *will* have children why should they not be allowed to starve, as have

already done so many millions of Irish people? Gradually accommodating itself to the policy denounced by the great Father of Political Economy, the science of which he had laid the foundations has become, to use the words of one eminent authority, "the science which treats of buying and selling;" a second almost equally eminent meanwhile cautioning the British public against "advocating the rights of labor," lest they find themselves to have been "digging a grave for free trade;" and a third cautioning French authorities against admitting the truth of the idea that the work of cultivation had commenced on the poorer soils, for the reason that "it led inevitably to protection."*

Such is the politico-economical *science* whose foundations have now been placed in the grocer's shop and the pedler's wallet; whose every suggestion is opposed to that which common sense and common humanity teach the British people should of right be done; † whose one idea is found in the words "free trade;" whose terms are so undefined that it may safely be said of it, as has been said of metaphysics, that its language was that of one who did not understand himself, addressed to another who did not understand him; whose tendencies were well described by the elder Napoleon when he said that, carried into practical effect, "they would grind to powder the strongest empires;" whose result, thus far, has been that of giving to England a rural population with, according to the *Edinburgh Review*, no future but that of the poor-house; and whose professors yet claim to be disciples in the school of Adam Smith, the man who, were he now alive, would stand before the world as the opponent, *par excellence*, of the

* *Journal des Economistes*, Dec. 1851, p. 297.

† "Proposals for legislative interference with a view to arrest some of the most frightful evils of society are still constantly opposed not by careful analysis of their tendency, but by general assertions of Natural Law as opposed to all legislation of the kind. 'You cannot make men moral by Act of Parliament'—such is a common enunciation of Principle, which, like many others of the same kind, is in one sense a truism, and in every other sense a fallacy. It is true that neither wealth, nor health, nor knowledge, nor morality can be given by Act of Parliament. But it is also true that the acquisition of one and of all these can be impeded and prevented by bad laws, as well as aided and encouraged by wise and appropriate legislation."—*Duke of Argyll, Reign of Law*, p. 404.

science that has nothing but baseless "assumptions" on which to stand.*

V. The following passages from an article on *The Method of Political Economy*, in the *Westminster Review*, for July, 1871, are, in conclusion, here reproduced for the reader's consideration:

"So far we have considered political economy only as a mental science, because economists will insist on treating the subject exclusively from a mental point of view. But political economy is quite as much a physical science as a mental one. Wealth is a material and tangible object, which is not to be secured by wishing for it, but by acting in strict accordance with the physical conditions of its existence. The production of the simplest commodity involves the operation of numerous laws of matter. There is a perpetual action and reaction going on of mind on matter and matter on mind. An effect which may appear as the result of one cause, may in reality be the result of a whole series of causes. To explain the effect, therefore, we must take into account, not one, but every cause that might in the remotest degree have had any influence in producing it. It so happens that in political economy the effects are more accessible than the causes, and this points to the inductive method as the proper one for an investigation of this kind. Treated by the inductive method, political economy is a science of the highest practical value; treated *à priori*, it is not a science at all, but only a scientific artifice, a mere theory of human action in one particular direction, and which has not even the merit of being approximately correct. In the investigation of political economy by the inductive method, we may proceed in a threefold manner.

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"Political economy has not even arrived at the first or preparatory period yet. We have not yet begun to collect and arrange our facts. Political economy is in the same state to-day that geology was before the days of Hutton and William Smith, or as the science of language was when comparative philology was unknown, and Hebrew was supposed to be the one primeval language of the human race.

* * * * *

"The charges brought against the science by Comte were not altogether uncalled for. Political economy exhibits no sign of progressiveness. Instead of discoveries, of which we have had none of any consequence since Adam Smith's time, we have had endless disputation and setting up of dogmas. It was so in

* The reader who may desire to see a more full examination of some of the details of the modern science will do well to consult an article on "economic fallacies" in the *London Quarterly Review* for July, 1871.

Comte's day, and it is so in ours. Whatever progress may have been made in other sciences during the last century, there has been none in this. The most elementary principles are still matters of dispute. The doctrine of free trade, for instance, which is looked upon as the crowning triumph of political economy, is still very far from being universally recognized. Even in England, after twenty years' trial under most favorable circumstances, free trade has been put upon its defence. We make no progress, and from the very nature of our method of investigation, we can make none. The political economist observes phenomena with a foregone conclusion as to their cause. His method, in fact, is the method of the savage. The phenomena of nature, the thunder, the lightning, or the earthquake, strike the savage with awe and wonder; but he only looks within himself for an explanation of these phenomena. To him, therefore, the forces of nature are only the efforts of beings like himself—great and powerful, no doubt, but with good and evil propensities, and subject to every human caprice. Like the political economist, he works within the vicious circle of his own feelings, and he cannot comprehend any more than the savage how he can discover the laws which regulate the phenomena which he sees around him. The savage would reduce the Divine mind to the dimensions of the human; the political economist would reduce the human mind to the dimensions of his ideal.

"Our conclusion is that the inductive method is alone applicable to the investigation of economic science, and that we shall never be able to make any solid progress so long as we continue to follow the *à priori* method—a method which has not aided, but clogged and fettered us in the pursuit of truth, and which is utterly alien to the spirit of modern scientific inquiry."

That the views thus presented are correct is beyond question. Political Economy is now in a position closely correspondent with that occupied by Astronomy before the days of Copernicus, Kepler, and Galileo.

H. C. CAREY.

WHILE Paul recognized with considerate tact all the good he found in Athens, he laid the axe to the root of the tree of Attic pride. The Athenians prided themselves: (1). That they were autochthons. Paul tells them, "God made the world and all things that are therein." (2). Their grand temple architecture. "The Lord of heaven and earth dwelleth not in temples made with hands." (3). Their distinction from all barbarians. "He hath made of one blood all nations of men." (4). Their chronology and grand antiquity. "He hath determined the times before appointed, and the bounds of their habitation."—*Prof. Duncan, (Edin.)*

THE GERMAN MYSTICS AS AMERICAN COLONISTS.—III.*

WHILE a history of German mysticism since the Lutheran Reformation would trace it to localities scattered over all parts of the empire, it would yet be seen to gather around two central *foci*—Wurtemberg in the west and Silesia in the east. There seems to be something in the social condition of these two provinces that accords with the mystical way of thinking; in each of them the development of mystical systems has been going on from the time of Luther till our own, while the great mediæval centres of Mysticism—Cologne, Strasburg and Basle—can boast hardly a single modern name eminent in this department of theological thought.

To Silesia we trace Jacob Böhme, Theodore von Tschesch, Johann Scheffler, Abraham von Frankenberg, David von Schweidnitz and a great host of others. In Silesia the first genuine Protestant mystic—Kaspar von Schwenkfeld of Ossing (1490–1560)—was born and labored. “With Schwenkfeld,” says Dr. Baur, of Tübingen, “we come first into the real sphere of Protestant mysticism; he, if any one of the old times, is the representative of the Protestant and especially of the Lutheran mysticism.” The earlier mystics of the Anabaptist school were too utterly fanatical to deserve a name and place in the annals of this type of thought.

Schwenkfeld was the heir and representative of a noble and ancient Silesian house, in the principality of Liegnitz. His earlier years were spent first in study at the universities of Cologne and other places, and then in visiting German courts and exercising his knightly prowess. He was a man of fine personal appearance, affable manners and telling eloquence. As he grew older he directed his studies to theology—especially the Primitive Fathers and the Mediæval Mystics—at the instance of his friend, Valen-

* *Ausführliche Geschichte Kaspar v. Schwenkfelds und der Schwenkfelder in Schlesien, der Ober-Lausitz, und Amerika, nebst ihren Glaubenschriften von 1524 bis 1860, nach den vorhandenen Quellen bearbeitet von Oswald Kadelbach, Pastor in Langenöls bei Lauben und correspondirendem Mitgliede der Ober-Lausitzischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften in Gortitz.* (255 Seiten.) Lauben, 1860.

tine Krautwald. He had already become a licensed preacher in St. John's church at Liegnitz, when the news of the Lutheran Reformation penetrated Liegnitz. From Bohemia the followers of Huss had for centuries been conveying the teachings of that wonderful master to their Silesian neighbors, and the whole principality was ripe for a change. Schwenkfeld was among the first to declare for the Evangelical cause, and addressed a tract to the Bishop of Breslau, John von Salza, urging him not to oppose the Reformation.

For a time it seemed as if the Knight of Ossing was destined to be simply numbered among the great band of efficient workers in the Reformation cause. But an independent spirit soon showed itself in him. He had drunk too deeply of the old wine of the Church to be contented with the new. He came to regard Luther and his followers as lamentably and dangerously one-sided in their teaching. Their "justification by faith" he regarded as true in a sense, but liable to abuse in the direction of carnal security; it had lifted a great load of ordinances, observances and penances off the shoulders of the Christian people, but most of them seemed inclined to use their new-found liberty as a cloak for licentiousness. Faith, when worthy of the name, was indeed a mighty gift of God, "a gracious gift of the divine essence, a drop from the heavenly fountain, a glittering of the eternal sun, a spark of the eternal fire, which is God, and in short a communion and participation of the divine nature and essence." Such a faith would make a man righteous and deliver him from the curse of the Law, but was this the faith that the Lutherans were preaching? Was it not rather a belief in the letter of Scripture, an acceptance of the outward and revealed word without the essential illumination of the inward and eternal Word, which alone imparts saving light? Were they not exulting in an imputed righteousness set down to their account, without much striving after a real and personal righteousness of life? They had laid open the Bible to the people, giving them in that the standard by which all knowledge and revelations were to be tested, but had they not unduly exalted it above all other sources of divine knowledge—yea, above the inward and immediate light of Christ himself in the human conscience? Even the book of nature had been unduly neglected as a revelation of God. The whole world to him, as to his old German forefathers, was "a great book, all glorious with paint-

ings and descriptions in many sorts of letters" of the works of God. These works are "living letters," which men have ever before their eyes; they are the genuine "peasant's calendar," the "real *Biblia Pauperum*," in which those can read who do not understand any other kind of writing. Hence Christ points to the birds of the air and the lilies of the valley.

If his protest against the newly established Protestantism of Germany had thus both an ethical and a poetical side, it had a negative side also, which was much more offensive to the Lutherans. Luther might have accepted all the rest of his teaching; he had himself highly praised Tauler, and had published the *Theologia Germanica*, which goes far beyond Schwenkfeld's opinions in what we have quoted. But one point Luther had made up his mind: the body and soul of Christianity must go together. The Romanists, he thought, had unduly exalted the outward form of religion, and the fanatical sects were destroying its outward form in the interests of a fanciful spiritualism. He did neither; he preached justification by faith, but connected that doctrine with the sacraments and the other means of grace. He told men to rest their faith upon God's call of them in their baptism, upon the regeneration of the spirit which went with the pouring of the water, upon the real presence of Christ in the communion of the Lord's Supper. God had joined the outward and the inward in His word; man might not put them asunder.

To Schwenkfeld it seemed that Luther was only giving up an old formalism to establish a new one. Luther had asserted the priesthood of all Christians; but the ministry was still a priestly order, since the sacraments received from their hands were regarded as special means of grace. To Schwenkfeld the sacraments were purely declarative institutions—outward signs, indeed, of an inward grace, but not specially connected with the grace. Infant baptism he rejected, as devoid of Scriptural warrant, and he came to refuse all attendance on the Lord's Supper, on the ground that the existing church only profaned the ordinance by observing it while torn with dissensions in regard to the very meaning of this feast of unity. When Schwenkfeld wrote against the abuse of the Gospel to foster a carnal security, Luther cordially approved of his book and its design. When the question of the sacraments came before the mind of the preacher of Liegnitz, he visited Wittenberg to confer with Luther

and Bugenhagen ("Herr Pommer") on the subject. Three days were spent in conference; agreement was reached on other topics, but not on this. Two months later, Luther wrote: "Either you or we must be in the bond-service of the devil." The breach widened; Schwenkfeld was openly stigmatized as a heretic; he took exception to some of the teachings of the Augsburg Confession, and appealed to the Bible as the only standard of doctrine. His followers in Silesia grew in numbers and in confidence. They abandoned the Lutheran worship, and refused to use the sacraments. As their manners had not the urbanity of those of the good knight, quite an uproar was caused by their proceedings.

At last, in 1529, Schwenkfeld was exiled by the joint action of King Ferdinand and the Duke of Liegnitz. He went out from his native land, his ancestral home, his worldly possessions, never to see them again. Conformity to either of the hostile confessions would have restored him to all at any later period of his life; but conform he could not, so he "took joyfully the despoiling of his goods," adopting as his motto, *Nil triste, Christo recepto*. For thirty-two years he was an exile and a wanderer, going from city to city and from court to court, ever vainly seeking reconciliation with the Reformers, winning the respect of men of his own rank, and exciting the regard of the people. Only once—at Tubingen—did he secure even an unofficial and informal permission to teach and preach. In 1542, after the Lutherans had condemned his doctrines in "the Articles of Schmalcald," he sent by a nobleman a message and a tract to Luther, who returned a harsh and contemptuous answer. He assailed Schwenkfeld as "a poor simpleton," a disturber of the church, one possessed of the devil; and asked to be no more bothered with his writings. Schwenkfeld did not retaliate by a word; he suppressed Luther's letter until compelled in self-defence to publish it; till his death he prayed for the Reformer, and declared his belief that Luther had been called of God to his great work. His treatment by the Zwinglians was hardly less unkind, and occasioned bitter complaint, as his doctrine of the sacraments strongly resembled theirs. He died in December, 1561, at Ulm, declaring his unshaken faith in the Scriptures, the Creeds and the teachings of the old and approved doctors of the church. His books, numbering nearly a hundred separate treatises, were first collected in three folio volumes, published 1564, 1565 and 1586. A second edition, in four

quarto volumes, appeared in 1592, but was so rigorously suppressed that it is now exceedingly rare.* But his works were not disseminated by the printing press alone; among the heir-looms of more than one Pennsylvania farm-house are huge volumes of his treatises and letters, fairly and clearly transcribed by the zealous hands of godly women, in their eagerness that they and their children should possess the whole works of the good Knight of Ossing.

The history of the Schwenkfelders of Silesia, from the banishment of Schwenkfeld in 1529 till their emigration to Pennsylvania in 1734, is a story of their almost unvarying annoyance and oppression by the two dominant confessions. Quite a number of Lutheran pastors seem to have been at various times connected with them, especially in the beginning; but they may be said to have perpetuated their existence for over two hundred years without any denominational organization. Only the memory, the spirit and the teachings of Kaspar von Schwenkfeld held them together. No church sacrament was dispensed among them, unless when their children were dragged to the Lutheran or (at a later date) to the Catholic church to receive baptism, which was carefully washed off by their parents. They met in private houses to sing and pray, to read the Scriptures and exhort. Where the voice of the preacher was wanting, a passage was read from the writings of their founder or of some one of the mystics of a like mind. The writings of Böhme, Weigel, von Frankenberg, Hoburg and Arnold, are mentioned as thus used. They lived in clusters, especially in the villages at the foot or along the ridges of the Giant Mountain, (Spitzberg,) after they were driven from Liegnitz in 1541. Their enemies said: "The devil meant to carry off the Schwenkfelders out of Liegnitz in a sack, but had stumbled on a cliff of the Spitzberg and spilt his load, and thus

* Besides republications of separate treatises in Europe, several have appeared in separate form or in translations in America. The present writer has: (1). *Ein Christlicher Send-Brief an Geistliche Personen geschrieben, Vom Gebet.* 96 Seiten. Allentaun, Pa., 1835. (2). *Lehr-Tractate: Vom Christlicher Streit; Vom Gewissen; Von der Sünde und Gnade; Ob ein Christ auch Ein Sunder sey.* 207 Seiten. Allentaun, Pa., 1846. (3). *The Heavenly Balm and the Divine Physician*, (pp. 201;); *The Threefold Life of Men*, (pp. 217;); *Two Letters*, (pp. 35.) Trans. by F. R. Anspach, D. D. [Luth.] Baltimore, 1858.

scattered the Schwenkfelders about the neighborhood." But even unfriendly critics were forced to confess the purity and innocence of their conduct—that they were dutiful subjects, leading a virtuous and honorable life, and full of love toward each other. Some notable men appeared among them; such were Abraham von Frankenberg, a voluminous and powerful mystical writer, and George Hauptmann, an eloquent and fervid preacher, who compiled a confession of faith from Schwenkfeld's writings.

Their troubles came to a crisis in 1719, when the imperial court at Vienna sent two Jesuit fathers (Regent and Milan) to convert them to the Catholic faith. Hitherto Vienna had been rather a place of refuge and help for the Schwenkfelders; they had a saying that the stones of Vienna were softer than the hearts of Silesia. Now they saw before them the hard choice, either to apostatize from Protestantism or to suffer redoubled annoyance and oppression. Some of them hastened to conform to the Lutheran church as the lesser evil, but an imperial decree closed this way of escape. In the attempt to convert them, at first persuasion was tried, and then the missionary fathers proceeded to "compel them to come in." They were shut off from all means of solemnizing marriage unless through first becoming Catholics: the choice given them was Catholicism or concubinage. For neglecting to have children baptized, they were punished by such severe fines that twelve thousand thalers were wrung out of them in one year; then the stocks and the jail came into requisition. Four women were kept in the stocks in the open air for four wintry days and nights—a piece of persuasion from which they never more than partly recovered. In vain did the Catholic clergy of the vicinity protest; in vain did the Schwenkfelders memorialize the imperial court; the hearts of Vienna were harder than her stones. A new and still severer decree deliberately handed them over to the Jesuit fathers to be dealt with according to their views of expediency. Nothing was left for them but flight, and the majority of them left all and fled to Ober-Lausitz, and especially to its chief city of Gorlitz. Here they met with a few brethren in the faith, for Schwenkfeld had stopped and preached here for a while on his way to exile, and a body of his adherents had been gathered and perpetuated. Here the municipal authorities—who had once stood in a faint-hearted way between Jacob Böhme and his persecutors—gave these peaceable

and industrious people such welcome as they dared. But their refuge was but temporary, for the Lutheran church authorities denounced them as dangerous refugees. Many saved themselves from further annoyance by a hardly honest outward conformity to the Lutheran church. At this juncture, Count Zinzendorf interceded for them, and secured them a temporary refuge at Bettelsdorf in Saxony, and did his utmost to persuade them to join his recently formed *Unitas Fratrum*, but to no end. They mostly determined to seek a home and a place of refuge beyond the Atlantic. The Mennonites of Holland gave them substantial help and good counsel. Three wealthy Hollanders, Van Smissen by name, paid their passage to the New World; and on the 21st of September (after a passage of less than two months) they landed on the shores of the most tolerant of the colonies, and next day swore allegiance to the English crown. On the 24th, they held a solemn thanksgiving feast in the neighborhood of Philadelphia, and agreed to keep the day in perpetual and joyful remembrance. They then separated to go to their new homes, which lay scattered over four counties: Berks, Montgomery, Lehigh and Bucks. In those four counties, especially the second, they are still settled, having never spread much beyond their first habitat, which they divide into Upper and Lower Districts. They have become wealthy farmers through the habits of industry and thrift which they imported from their native Silesia; their numbers have grown in spite of secessions to other religious bodies; their organization has been effected and established; yet the spirit, the memory and the teaching of the good Knight of Ossing is the centre of their unity as a society, and the gallant exile's memory is still green and fragrant by many a Pennsylvania fireside.*

Their earlier history in the colony was, of course, one of privation and struggle. They were scattered over an area in which a straight line of fifty miles could be drawn. They chose a pastor of their own number; George Weis occupying that position till his death, in 1740, and Balth. Hofman succeeding until he died, in 1760. In the meantime, Frederick the Great had been succes-

* For our knowledge of the sect and its relations in Pennsylvania, we have drawn largely on an article in *The Mercersburg Review* for July, 1870, entitled Casper Schwenkfeld and the Schwenkfeldians: by Rev. C. Z. Weiser, of Pennsburg.

fully asserting his claim to the possession of Silesia, and that fair province had passed from the control of a Romish Kaiser to that of "the Protestant Hero." Among the first and wisest acts of the new ruler was to invite the peaceful and industrious Schwenkfelders back from Pennsylvania, in an official protocol. They met in council and debated the invitation earnestly, but agreed to decline it, with hearty thanks, in a very respectful memorial, to which they appended a narrative of their sufferings from persecution. As the years passed and religious ardor cooled, while their perils and trials in the wilderness were undiminished, their minds recurred again to the king's offer. It was again discussed, and even entertained with such favor that its acceptance seemed probable. In this state of suspense Christopher Schultz was chosen pastor, a choice which proved to be the turning point in their history. He became at once a real leader, refounding and thoroughly organizing their society. He drew up and published (1763) a doctrinal catechism, using largely the writings of Schwenkfeld, and also the two leading Reformed catechisms—those of Heidelberg and Westminster. This document, with large alterations and some additions, continues to be the manual and symbol of the sect.* He also drafted a "Constitution of the Schwenkfelder Society," which was adopted in 1782, and is still their manual of ecclesiastical practice. He was the ruling spirit of the society till his death, in 1789.

During the pastorate of his two distinguished successors—John Schultz (his relative, died 1830) and Christopher Schultz (his son, died 1841)—the society were brought into closer relations to other Christians. Both men were much sought after as

* The first edition, (pp. 146,) which is in the present writer's possession, has this title:

Catechismus oder Anfänglicher Unterricht Glaubens-Lehre Allen Christlichen Glaubens-Schülern Jung oder Alt Nöthig und Nützlich sich drin zu üben. 1 Corinth. 3 : 11 ; Ephes. 2 : 20, 21, &c. Philadelphia, Gedruckt bey Henrich Miller, in der Zweyten-Strasse. 1763.

Kadelbach knows only the modern edition, (Skipackville, Pa., 1855,) and prints that entire as the work of Schultz. Among things omitted from the later edition is a curious tabulated *Summarium der Bibel und aller Händel Gottes*, probably written by Abr. von Frankenberg, as it appears also in a volume of Böhme's minor works which he edited, (Amst., 1675.)

eloquent preachers; and, although never either baptized or ordained, were not excluded from Lutheran, Reformed or Mennonite pulpits. The second of the two was an especially impressive person, highly endowed with natural gifts, full of culture and dignity, and esteemed and loved by all who knew him. These intimacies, however, threaten the very destruction of the society, as they have already developed a sharp antagonism between two wings within it. The catechism of the body approves of ordination and the administration of the sacraments; yet neither has ever been seen among the American Schwenkfelders.* When pressed for a reason for their omission, the conservative wing allege that their neglect springs from their very high esteem for these ordinances and a fear of profaning them. Everywhere, it is urged, there is such confusion of theories in regard to their nature, that it is impossible to avoid "eating and drinking condemnation, through not discerning the Lord's body." Their fathers did not observe them, yet they were good men; nor are they themselves worse than those who now observe them. Above all, there is no regular way to introduce them, as there is no baptized member or ordained pastor within their limits. Inquiry was made of the European Schwenkfelder remnant, before its complete extinction, but they were found to be in the like strait. Were they to seek to some other denomination for baptism and ordination, it is urged that by that very act they would cease to be followers of Schwenkfeld, and become Lutheran or Reformed, as the case might be.

The liberal wing, of whom the younger Schultz was a leader, have urged many counter considerations in this long and sometimes heated discussion. They occupy a very strong position in the abstract; but can offer no practical solution. So heavily did the difficulty press upon the mind of Schultz, that he ended his days in a lunatic asylum; several pastors were elected to succeed him. Many members have withdrawn from the society and joined some church. The German Methodists have carried

* Those who would become members simply hand in their names (generally after marriage) and are registered; they are then expected to attend worship, sing, pray and listen: nothing more. Prayer is offered up for the new-born child, either at home or in church, and this seems to be regarded as something very solemn.

off a good number; some families have joined the Lutherans, others the German Reformed, and it is not impossible that the whole society will yet be found inside this last body, as the "Mercersburg School" of theology, now dominant there, has decided sympathies with what is positive in Schwenkfeld's teaching.

On two points all Schwenkfelders agree: in respect for Kaspar von Schwenkfeld, and in the due observance of *Gedachtniss Tag* or Commemoration Day. The latter is celebrated at one of their six meeting-houses, alternately in the Upper and Lower Districts. The well-to-do farmers of the connection are through with the heavier part of their farm-work before the 24th of September comes, and may be seen pressing along the roads to the appointed place of meeting. No Conestoga wagons carry them, as in old times, but light and showy vehicles, with costly harness and fine horses to match. The older members dress somewhat alike, but the younger ones follow their fancy or their tastes;* but every Schwenkfelder is recognizable by his straight hair and his peculiar twang, as are the women by their neat white caps.

The service begins at nine in the morning; the singing and prayers are interspersed with two anniversary addresses and recitals of their earlier history, all in *Pennsylvanisch Deutsch*. There is little or no variety from year to year, yet the interest is sufficient to secure the general attendance expected of the membership. At noon the benches become tables, and the feast begins. These wealthy farmers sit at Pennsylvania tables on other days, but to-day their fare is just what their fathers ate on that first feast-day, nearly a century and a half ago: rye bread, butter and apple butter, with cold water for drink, and gravely cheerful talk for relish. What theré is of the solids is the best of its kind, and these hard-working, healthy people bring good appetites, and visitors too are abundantly served. What is left is gathered into baskets and stowed away, to furnish another feast when the afternoon service is over. Then comes a year's partings, sorrowful faces and honest tears.

These Schwenkfelders keep well to the spirit of their founder,

* They wisely grant liberty here, and go nearly as far in regard to mixed marriages. When a member "marries out of meeting," he simply says he is sorry, and nothing more is said.

though somewhat clannish, and with a little touch of that self-complacent Pharisaism which is the bane of once persecuted sects. When they see strangers mixed with the usual worshippers in their churches, they have been known to say, "The hawks mingle rather freely with the doves." Yet they are a modest, quiet, diligent and eminently pious people. As farmers they have been very successful, and a poor Schwenkfelder is a rarity. They are admirable citizens, and all on one side in politics. Although non-resistants in theory, they had no scruples about taking arms "during the late unpleasantness," explaining that they "never resisted the lawfully constituted government, the powers ordained of God." The first colonists included many men of liberal education, and the Latin books of these fathers are still to be found among them. They especially delight in music, and cultivate somewhat the study of mechanics. They feel a keen interest in the history of their body, and have repeatedly (1771-2, 1818 and 1857) carried on correspondence in regard to those of their faith who remained in Europe. But the sect is there utterly extinct, Melchior Dorn, its last European member, having died in 1826. Only the Jesuit Mission chapels at the foot of the Spitzberg, and a few ancient tombs, commemorate their former existence upon the soil of Europe, and at present their sole home is the Keystone State.

ROBT. ELLIS THOMPSON.

THE POLITICAL LITERATURE OF THE UNITED STATES.—III.

Nothing is clearer than that a system of laws so remarkable in itself, and at the same time so important in influencing a great nation and a powerful government like that of the United States, must have undergone very thorough and comprehensive discussion. Both the practical requirements within and the inquiries of foreigners from without serve to incite to new labors, and these have been undertaken by jurists and men of letters both at home and abroad; while the former have the advantage of more accurate knowledge of existing circumstances and of the laws in

their text and principles, and are better able to furnish their works with full references and particular studies, the latter can claim in part at least a much better knowledge of systematic discussion.

In the want of systematic treatises, the author of these pages thought it not immodest, with the help of a valuable collection of works on the United States, (now in Harvard College Library,) and the aid of some able and experienced Americans, to undertake a comprehensive sketch of the Constitutional Law of the United States, (*Das Bundesstaatesrecht der V. St. von Nordamerika*, von R. Mohl. Bd. I. *Verfassungsrecht*: Stuttgart und Tubingen, 1824.) Only the first half has as yet appeared. If a period of more than thirty years may justify an author in a judgment of his own youthful labors, it might be said that to enable him to a satisfactory and complete work there was need of immediate acquaintance and of much valuable material; that at the time of his first work the substantial development of the United States had not nearly reached its present extent of legislation, judicial reports and public documents; finally, that a commanding survey of the historical and juridical significance of the Union and a sharp distinction of its principles and its various interpretations were wanting him, owing to his imperfect education in political and constitutional science. His work was more limited to external and mere legal observations, and was wanting in many important researches; yet it would be affected modesty if the author were now to characterize his book as entirely unsuccessful, or one from which nothing could be learned, at least on his side the Atlantic. To this day he finds his general sketch accurate; his system, drawn up on the plan of German science, more thorough than that disorder which is common to older and newer American books; his criticism simple and comprehensive. In short, while far from asking praise for it, he is far from regretting his labor and its results. In the absence not only of a better, but of absolutely any systematic treatise on the law of the United States, the book was useful in its time, and even as matters now stand it would perhaps have found a greater demand if it were the work of a better-known author.

It was soon time for Americans themselves to undertake an independent description of their national jurisprudence, for their own use and according to their daily experience. That they were fully competent to the task was shown by the first attempt, and

that such labors were really much needed was further shown by the large number of works of all kinds which appeared in rapid succession as soon as the ice was once broken.

William Rawle was the first who produced a tolerably complete work, intended and well calculated to spread a general acquaintance with constitutional law, and as an introduction to more thorough studies. Its usefulness is not only proved by subsequent editions, but by the continuous respect for its views expressed by later writers on this subject, down even to this day, and by the manifold recommendations that old and experienced jurists have given it in advising its use.

Its systematic arrangement is as little to be praised as that of any author trained under English methods of jurisprudence; but the explanation of various constitutional provisions is clear, emphatic, and marked by true political perception. Without leaning to exaggerated Federalism, the author holds fast to the leading principles of the Union as it was historically developed. Some weighty and disputed questions are thoroughly discussed, and the disproportionate attention given to the Federal courts and their decisions is owing to the fact that the work was mainly intended for the use of young law students.

While a variety of works was produced, in order to satisfy the general requirements, there were under way already those thorough scientific treatises, intended alike for cultivated jurists and accomplished statesmen, which are an ornament not only of American but of all literature, and fully close this branch of it.

The first of these is in *Kent's Commentaries*, vol. i, pp. 200-445. It is intended rather to exhibit the principles than to discuss their results, but it is done in a masterly way. While Kent's great work is throughout distinguished by sharpness of outline, clearness of description, complete division of the text, but especially by an ambitious aim and true scientific spirit, these are particularly characteristic of the chapter devoted to constitutional law. The main points are the history of the Constitution, the early efforts to unite the English colonies, the different stages of union—that during the war, the next from 1781, and finally the existing Constitution, with some discussion of the Federal courts. It cannot be denied that much is left undone; many parts of constitutional law are incomplete, the principles of the great political questions are but slightly touched; but it remains withal, and in spite of

all, a most valuable work; it shows, too, that Kent, like every man who weighs the scientific and political reasons on each side, was a decided Federalist, as were nearly all the contemporary lawyers.

A second valuable work is *T. Walker's Introduction to American Law*. (Cincinnati. 1st ed. 1837; 2d ed. 1846.) Preceded by some general observations and some brief sketches of political history, the main features of the Constitution are set forth with great clearness, decided approval, and continuous citation of the reasons drawn either from interpretation of the text or from the natural arguments in support of it. The results of each principle are traced with great clearness, close reasoning, and acute distinction; no words are wasted, and each short section is full and complete. A great value, and greater because not common among English lawyers, is in the giving to every section the corresponding debates in the convention of 1787; so that the book, besides furnishing a clear and reliable account of American law, has the further and greater merit of political arrangement.

The very best work on this subject, however, is *Story's Commentaries*, (1st ed. Boston, 1833.) Indeed, it is generally acknowledged to be one of the best treatises on positive public law of any country, in any language, and in Europe as well as in America the author is known and accredited. His numerous other learned works deserve great praise, and his *Treatise on the Conflict of Laws* is especially distinguished for clearness and learning; but the *Commentaries on the Constitution* exceed all the others in completeness, accuracy and exhaustive theoretical discussion. The scientific interpretations are marked by equal treatment, by sharp logic, fair political sentiment and sound judgment, giving to the opinions of others full and striking justice. It is to be regretted that the author did not discuss the administrative law and institutions of the Union, and that he has not fully developed the internal history of leading legal maxims; that he has not made more comprehensive and deeper observations of the Union as it exists; but these defects do not prevent his work from being the most important and satisfactory yet published.

As an appendix to the systems of constitutional law there are to be named those works which (not so much in form as in substance) embrace the most important political questions and their solution: the official Reports of Decisions of the Supreme Court

of the United States on questions of constitutional law; the writings of John Marshall, who was for many years the Chief Justice of that court; and the opinions of the Attorney Generals furnished to the President on all doubtful cases. These, indeed, are only materials for further scientific labor, but as such they are of the first importance. The imposing dignity of the Supreme court, and the fact that in the United States there is no special court for the decision of questions of government, but that these all come before the judicial department, make this last fully coördinate with the legislature and with the executive; for while all are subordinate to the Constitution, the judiciary, when appealed to, can destroy every law which disobeys its precepts, and can reject any law passed by even a sovereign State, if it contradicts these rules.

Political monographs do not, of course, exist very plentifully in the United States; but still some portions of constitutional law have been pretty freely discussed, as, for instance, Legislation. In every representative government, besides the actual contents of the laws which may be enacted, there is a twofold requisite to be considered: first, hasty or violent action of the majority must be prevented and the rights of the minority secured; and second, the limits which the Constitution prescribes to the legislature must be accurately and precisely adhered to. The former is secured by the rules of order adopted by every legislative body for its own government, and by works on parliamentary practice which explain and illustrate them; the latter is best done by a careful theoretical discussion of all doubtful questions. Now, inasmuch as most of the State legislatures are not controlled by any body of equal power, such writings must of necessity be greatly needed, and, although far short of the English works, they are good and plentiful. While *Jefferson* and *Cushing*, for instance, have and deserve the greatest popularity, yet the former is already out of date, and defective in fulness and clearness, the latter heavy and formal, and both fall infinitely below *May's Parliamentary Practice* in England, in thoroughness, distinctness and good arrangement.

On the Federal Courts.

Besides being open for the establishment of private rights and the correction of public wrongs, they have an important political

duty; and an accurate knowledge of the form and extent of their jurisdiction is a necessary adjunct of any system of constitutional law. The best monographs on the subject are those of *Du Ponteau*, *Sergeant*, *Conkling* and *Law*. Besides these theoretical treatises, there were two remarkable discussions in Congress on this subject: the first on the Judiciary Act, soon after the adoption of the Constitution; and the other on the bill for repealing that law and diminishing the number of judges, in 1802.

Political Trials.

In consequence of an imitation (not very happy or very successful, indeed) of the English system, the American constitutions prescribe an impeachment of public officers by the House of Representatives, and a consequent trial by the Senate. Often as the threats of this direful punishment are made under the passionate influence of party feeling, the real instances are very few; and it is a real credit to the country that as yet none have been established by political rivals or on political reasons, but only for real offences, or for charges that averred common crimes as the cause.

International Relations.

Washington wisely advised the Americans to live at peace with other nations and to avoid entangling alliances, and the Americans have been wise enough to follow this sensible rule as far as it was practicable. But an independent power, always growing and always anxious to aggrandize both territory and influence, could not long remain passive. Partly by the claims, partly too by the actual ill conduct of foreign powers, the United States was obliged to take an active part in international affairs; the thousandfold questions of neutrality in a general war, the claims of the English upon sailors under American colors, helped to bring on discord and war. Then came the increase of territory, first by peaceful purchase, next by compulsory sale, afterwards by violent and unfair protection of the revolted provinces of a neighboring State, and finally by open war. With a sense of strength, their demands increased, not the least among them being the partisan cry of "America exclusively for Americans," and the pleasure of helping rebellious people to maintain independent republics. The spreading trade, advancing by giant strides, de-

manded protection of the coasts and in the islands of distant seas, participation in the trade, and destruction of the exclusiveness of Eastern Asia; then followed struggles with other trading nations, on account of influence, protection, preference in foreign countries, &c. The near neighborhood of English colonies caused disputes about boundaries, fisheries and what not, so that the United States with and at the same time without any fault of their own, with and without any desire on their part, gradually came into every kind of international complication, and have in a variety of cases proclaimed principles and established procedures. But all this is only child's play, compared to what must inevitably come. The more widely, on the one hand, the inclination, supported by the pride of the nation, to take a commanding and exclusive control in America gains ground, and the more, on the other hand, the power of the United States is developed in other quarters of the world, so much the more frequent and so much the more serious must be the entanglements of this and other governments. Customs grown old by centuries, injured pride, fear itself, will urge the one to resistance and desperate self-defence, while the other will bring to aid its consciousness of ever increasing and controlling power, its lust of this power not troubled as to ways and means, its activity disquieted till it can speak in tones of command and produce violent results. The international results of a powerful, vain, self-satisfied democracy will be gradually developed; the excesses of ungoverned public opinion, the contention of parties, the struggles for popular favor on the part of candidates for the greatest offices, the necessity of saving at all hazard a popularity in danger, the regular exchange of right for expediency, will all be so many causes for new international phenomena. Nothing would be more childish than to expect from a democracy the moderation, fairness and sense of right which belong to other forms of government; the only result able to contradict these fears is a destruction of the Union and the birth of hostile and mutually weakening fragments; but these things are too far in the futurity even to be guessed at.

One of the few satisfactory works on this subject is H. Wheaton's *History of the Law of Nations*. It originated in a prize essay, offered the French Academy, but it is now grown into an improved and enlarged volume, deserving great praise. The

author has not always succeeded in representing the events in the lives of nations so as clearly to point out their results in the organic science, uniting them with the purely theoretical discussions of writers on the subject, and establishing their reciprocal action; sometimes, indeed, they are more antagonistic than explanatory; now and then it is hard to see the reason for putting certain political events into certain parts of his work, without regard to the chronology of the former or the arrangement of the latter; and the general principles of international law are not set down with sufficient clearness, nor is any distinction made between its philosophy and its practice, so that in method the book is very imperfect, but in the main it is a valuable auxiliary in obtaining a rapid and complete view of the weightiest changes in international relations, and the reasons and motives of the parties interested in making them. The book is remarkable for industry, honest criticism, and thorough knowledge, and deserves a place on the table of every practical diplomat, who will soon find in it the real course and current of any leading question, as well as in the library of every theoretical student who aims at extending and enriching the domain of international law, by bringing its system nearer to the existing requirements. While the modest limit of this work of Mr. Wheaton's prevents deep research in many directions, it has great advantages in pointing out the sources for more extended investigations; and the author is particularly to be respected for his large acquaintance with international literature, European generally and German particularly.

Both the actual necessity of the case and the intellectual capacity of the nation are now in the United States, in spite of a general deficiency of literature, making the jurisprudence strikingly valuable, both in extent and real importance, and we Europeans may expect many and peculiar additions to our science from the Western Continent; in international law especially we are their debtors for some striking contributions.

The same learned American, Henry Wheaton, used the leisure of his diplomatic functions to prepare a text-book of his favorite science. The work has less peculiar character than we might expect and perhaps wish to find in it. The author is confined by European and especially German cultivation. His book may have for his countrymen more novelty and value than for us, and they will learn more from it than we can. The book was intended by

the author for young diplomatists and students, and to this end its moderate limits and its simple and clear discussion of elementary principles.

One thing only seems to interfere with it in this respect—namely, Wheaton's view of the nature of positive international law. He looks upon it as the result of the legal principles deduced from the nature of a society of independent nations for their mutual and reciprocal relations, limited and modified by some general agreement. In this way he discusses his subject, beginning with some principles of legal philosophy, (generally rather bald and superficial,) he adds as striking examples or as the limits prescribed by custom some cases taken from the real facts of international law. Now, it is clear that in this way neither true science nor practical positive international law can ever be thoroughly established; that can be at best done only by the historical demonstration and expression of the sense of right common to all Christian nations of the present age, as controlling the legal relations of independent States. How will you ascertain this in individual cases and under the guise of general principles? Such principles may be quite unknown to the states of Europe, the cases perhaps only exceptions or abuses and misconceptions, and not proofs that they are recognized as the real standards; the method pursued by Mr. Wheaton is therefore deficient in philosophy and faulty in the rank it gives to history.

Kent's *Commentaries* is much more American, and really richer in material. At first, indeed, the broad extent of his researches seems to be disproportioned to the task in hand; but when we remember that the United States at the period of their first existence expressly promised to adopt European international law, that without this sanction the courts of law would still have to decide many cases on questions of international law, it is clear that in a treatise on American law this subject is properly in its place; and even if this were not the case, the treatise is much too valuable to be disregarded or even questioned on account of its appearance in this place. The more striking and decided characteristics of Kent's *Commentaries* are truthfulness, decision, accurate acquaintance with the subject, practical application. The author deserves no great praise for his theory, and none at all for his system. He is at times inclined to adopt opinions simply because they are favorable to his coun-

try, but he is always the able practical lawyer, the judge experienced in deciding causes, the jurist thoroughly master of the English and American Reports. Few books give so high a sense of the author's personal qualifications, and awaken in the reader so much respect for the mastery and control that the author has over his subject. In international law there is no modern work which affords so many striking solutions of disputed questions, so many new applications of international intercourse; "practical" international law is here fully supplied. True, the American decisions are by far the more numerous, and the others that are cited are all taken from English books; but since these two nations have the greatest experience in such affairs, and since necessarily the establishment of customs must proceed from them, this one-sided treatment is perhaps not only a desirable result for our continental theorists, who at home cannot discover any such decisions, but it is objectively much less a scientific fault than might at first blush be expected. If any thing misleads Kent, it is his patriotism; this it is that bends him to the strict English theory of the rights of neutrals, and he asserts openly that as his countrymen are likely soon to be the first power in existence on the ocean, their interest demands the limitation rather than the extension of neutral trade; but in spite of this and a few other doubtful points, the book is worthy of all the respect it receives.

Both for the past and present, but especially for the sake of a look into the eventful future, it is to be regretted that in the United States there exists no good history or comprehensive criticism of the events and principles of its international policy; even the material is not collected to the extent that is desirable and clearly possible. The relations with the Indians may perhaps be looked upon as international, and this is therefore the place to mention that there are published collections of the laws and statutes on this subject from the earliest times of the colonies, and treaties between the United States and the Indian tribes from that day to this. The subject is not a pleasant one—was not when the Indians were powerful enough to wage bloody and vigorous resistance, nor is it now, when they are driven by overpowering extent of civilization and numbers of the white settlers from the lands of their fathers out into the west; but the United States has been often unjustly accused. It is the law of nature

that the savage should yield to civilization; the earth is better suited for the dwelling-place of millions of cultivated and happy men than for the hunting-ground of a few naked hunters. The United States have in vain paid out large sums for the benefit of these Indians, and if injustice has been done them, it was unavoidable, and is not worth regretting.*

Law Dictionaries,

Such as are common in England, have been adopted in the United States, and there are a few original works of alphabetical collections on shorter or longer legal subjects, confined to alterations and legislation peculiar to the United States; but they are utterly without any scientific value.

II.—THE LAWS OF THE SEVERAL STATES.

It might be expected that the gradual development of more than thirty sovereign governments would afford a rich harvest of political and constitutional law, either general in its character or confined to any one State; but unfortunately no such literature exists as yet in the United States. As for general territorial constitutional law, the combination of all the institutions and principles which are common to many, if not to all of the States, the historical and logical proof of their general acceptance, the distinctions that have grown up from various causes—as for such a science, not even a thought of it is to be traced in any one of the United States. On this side the ocean, at least, we know of no work which is based on this idea and on broad and deep study of history, legislation and custom; and at this we may well wonder, as a proof of the narrow scientific jurisprudence there found.

The idea of such a work is so near at hand, the necessity of such study so great for an unquiet and unresting people, that it is hard to understand why or how this problem has been so long untouched. And how easy the task, compared to a general treatise

* We feel the greater freedom to dissent from this opinion as one-sided, in view of the example of Canada in this very regard. There the advancing wave of civilization has opened and passed by the red man's settlement, so that their numbers within the bounds of the Dominion were never greater, nor the prospect of their ultimate civilization clearer, than it is to-day.—Eds.

tise on German constitutional law!—the resemblance of constitutions and of general legislation is so much greater in the American Union, so much more thorough than that of the German States; the effect of the Constitution of the United States upon each State so much more comprehensive and more continuous than the few accidental peculiar decrees adopted by the German "Bund." The constitutions of the new States are either based upon or directly copied from the older ones; the perpetual intercourse of the inhabitants of all the States produces a common feeling of political equality; the fact, too, is settled that the English common law is everywhere the foundation of the law, even where it affects public affairs. Here, therefore, is a great field open for labor that ought certainly to yield rich returns. Will none of the Germans educated by our jurists here apply their knowledge of common law acquired in Germany, and undertake a systematic study of that of their adopted country, the United States?

As for scientific discussion of the law peculiar to any of the States, not one of them possesses even a systematic analysis and account of its constitution; and even subordinate but practical subjects are rarely if ever discussed. And this is harder to understand than even the want of a general system, for there the sources are quite clear and accessible for every man, in the debates of the conventions called to form constitutions, of the legislature, the reports of the executive officers, and the bodies of laws; in short, so great and so much literature of this kind exists that no one man can undertake to analyze it; but then by undertaking for each State its own system we should soon have a general survey of the whole. There would not be need of any scientific abstraction nor of much extended study, for there is no difficult method to be learned and no extended historical research to be subdued. The thought is irresistible to those of us who live in the midst of the innumerable books of all dates and countries on constitutional law that there must soon be one produced in America; and while we might reproach the American lawyers for their neglect, we must envy them the fresh, and easy, and fruitful field now opening to their literary activity.

The untouched materials, outside of constitutions and laws, exist mainly in two shapes, viz., the numerous and comprehensive reports and public documents which are regularly laid before the legislature of every State by the respective officers, including

education, prisons, public improvements, judiciary, finance, &c. The extent of these is, in the older States, something enormous, and the completeness of detail quite corresponds, but this is all the more reason for a thorough system. Another source is the debates and journals of the conventions called to form or amend the constitutions of the States. Owing to the fact that either at the time of the Revolution or since their first establishment all the States have changed or discussed the propriety of changing their constitutions, the number of volumes on the subject is very large, and these are of the first importance for acquiring knowledge of the existing law, and for general constitutional politics. It interests us to see the creation of a new State, through the public will and under thorough discussion of all the forms and requirements of its government; and to know that its adoption depends on the direct vote of the people quite upsets all the theoretical absurdities of *Haller*, *Acherley* and other quite forgotten theocratists. The legal significance of these preparatory steps is not diminished by the fact that the State thus formed becomes a member of the Union, and its constitution does not interfere with, but must strictly limit itself to the restrictions adopted by the national government. The question is simply this, Can a State be established from and among elements hitherto altogether independent, by the free agreement and concurrence of the people interested? And the answer is very clear.

The conventions held in late years are very instructive, because in them the logical development of democratic principles has gone on with irresistible strength and results quite unalterable. Of course the nature of the debates depended on the fact whether the convention was that of an old and cultivated State, represented by educated and able men, or that of some wild Western settlement, hardly snatched from the Indians, but bent upon having a State; and for that purpose bringing together a few borderers, some only rough, but others desperate and of no uncertain character. While the former may properly supply valuable material for our science, the latter can at best give us only some good sense and old facts.

A few observations will serve to give an idea of the twofold shape of political cultivation in the United States. The debates on the constitution of California show the views and power, effective in the first efforts, of a democratic government; while

the debates of the convention of Massachusetts, called to make some changes in the constitution, are at the very summit of modern democratic training.

California did not pass through the intermediate step of Territorial dependency. After the conquest it was occupied by a military government; but as soon as the gold-seekers poured in the population became suddenly so great that the formation of a State was necessary. In obedience to a proclamation of the military governor, the inhabitants elected delegates to a constitutional convention, and the convention was a fair picture of the curious elements of the population. It consisted of some cunning lawyers, greedily after gold and honors; some rough and ignorant fellows, from various occupations; and some Mexicans of Spanish origin, by far the best men, but at a disadvantage, owing to their ignorance of the language, and but little regarded by their American invaders. The convention met in Monterey, then a miserable village, without even a printing press, determined to finish the business in hand with the least possible delay and to return to more profitable labors, but generally quite agreed upon the main principles of their new constitution. The most extensive form of democracy was to be adopted, the latest constitutions were the best models; so that the question of the political rights of citizens was, for instance, discussed and established in one evening session, while minor matters, such as the pay of members, electoral districts, admission of free negroes, &c., required much more time to ascertain and adopt the views of the majority. The discussions were managed with due attention to forms and with characteristic knowledge of parliamentary rules. The speeches were, however, not very long, and only now and then marked by a "backwoods" stamp. The method was, of course, curiously barren; but, while thorough philosophical criticism or historical comparisons were neither appropriate nor to be looked for, still one could not help feeling surprised at the narrow views of personal experience and the manifest ignorance even of general political principles. The freshness of ignorance went sometimes a little too far, as, for instance, when the lawyer of the convention assured them that the writ of *habeas corpus* was to be found in *first Justinian!* However, these natural law-givers finished their task in a few weeks, the people adopted it, and the whole machinery of a State government went quietly into operation.

Affairs are still a little wild and unsteady in California. The newly-formed government is not in the best nor the strongest hands; but, considering the extraordinary circumstances, the improvements are gradual and decided. In short, a government was created by general agreement, with no precedents other than a few positive regulations, in a wilderness, the principle of popular representation in its broadest extent was adopted and applied. Practical taste and the use of freedom enabled uncultivated or unsuited men to accomplish a labor which has proved too much elsewhere for the most cultivated nations, hindered perhaps by greater difficulties, but supplied too with much greater facilities.

Just as important in another direction is the latest essay in Massachusetts. Twice since the separation from England had this State, the seat of highest cultivation and of most honest morality in America, changed its constitution. Still another "reform" was desired, proposed, and, after some failures, adopted so far as to call a convention to propose alterations. The vote was, indeed, very close, being 66,416 for and 54,112 against it, and Boston, rich and conservative, was decidedly opposed to it. The very numerous assemblage met on the 4th of May, 1853, and by the 1st of August completed its labors in the shape of eight elaborate amendments. But all their labor was in vain, for the whole series were rejected by a popular vote of 67,000 for and 68,000 against. In spite of this result, their debates are attractive and instructive, and fortunately they are published at length; at such length, indeed, that the work is in three volumes, double-columned pages, and 2831 pages at that, of very small print—equal to six or eight ordinary volumes. It is impossible not to speak with real respect of the great talent, political training and varied knowledge of many members; and, taken altogether, the democracy of this old and well-advanced State shows to positive advantage anywhere. Not only the art of speaking, carried to great perfection as it is, but the ripeness of thought and knowledge attract us. There is, indeed, a vast difference noticeable between the quick and mercurial leaders of the advancing ultra-democratic party, marked by a want of general and political education, and even by occasional traces of roughness and intemperance, and the well-weighed, statesmanlike speeches of the leading conservatives. Such men as Choate, Attorney-General Hallett, professors like Greenleaf and Parker, some of the governors, and

especially the gifted and courageously thoughtful lawyer, Dana, would do honor to any constitutional or legislative assembly in any part of the world.

This is not the place to discuss the questions there considered, nor did they affect the basis of political government; for besides the established fact of a representative democracy, there was an organized government already at hand, and not at all under discussion. The changes proposed were to effect, on the one hand, a more equal distribution of representation, according to numbers and not (as it now is) by towns, which are much less populous in the interior than on the coast; on the other hand, the introduction of some of the democratic developments already introduced in some of the more "progressive" States, such as the election of judges, abolition of the council of the governor, election of all the State officers directly by the people, etc., besides a list of subordinate points. The most instructive debates are those which dealt with the logical development of democratic ideas, inasmuch as these show not only the weight of the principle at stake, but quite opportunely, too, how far the fear of impracticable enactments and dangerous ones, as well as partisan views, hinder the complete and thorough adoption of all the results of this principle. Twice, for instance, this very democratic party was in great perplexity: to avoid equal distribution of the members of the House of Representatives and to maintain the choice by towns, because this, although a plain result of their own principles, would have diminished the number of representatives from the small towns, and proportionably increased that of the large towns, where they had less influence; the other case was to avoid the claim of woman's suffrage, which results from their principles, while it was contradicted by their political views.

But the conservative members were at frequent disadvantage, because they did not venture to deny the axiom that the people in a democracy were not only the source of government and entitled to participate in an administration exercised in that sense and under responsibility to it, but of right to have an immediate part in the conduct of public affairs. The question, Did they mistrust the people? was continually thrust before them, like a Medusa's head. There can be no doubt that gradually the complete development of the principle of popular government, which failed of success this time, will be adopted in Massachusetts too,

but it is not less likely that at some intermediate day the results of this principle will necessitate a thorough analysis of its chief elements. Not that any abandonment of democracy is to be expected, but that it will compel an acknowledgment of the fact that in a democracy the exercise of political functions, especially the right of suffrage, is not only a right, but a public duty, which can be exercised only by those who are competent to it; and a fair judgment of the fitness of any one for the conduct of a public office requiring a knowledge of men and business can be expected only from the body of citizens in each district.

Unfortunately it is the nature of things that either a great misfortune or a long succession of palpable evils alone can extend and strengthen the conviction of the errors of the existing doctrine and gain some improvement upon it. It is unfortunate, too, that in a democracy a peaceful limitation of the principle of government is far more difficult to effect than in any other kind of State; because it can proceed only from an insight, on the part of the great majority, of their own incapacity and their early errors. A will that carries power with it, while it is outside of the government—such, for instance, as the will of the people or the influence of an influential body in a monarchy—does not exist in a democracy. Much is necessary to convince them of their own humble worth, and to produce the sacrifice of their old rights; most of all in a popular government where the theory of a mysterious power to govern and of an eternal right to do so is made a formal article of faith by the flattery of those who seek office and influence at the hands of the majority.

This sketch is by no means complete, nor is it without many faults; but it may perhaps serve for future research, and as the beginning of a history, besides showing that beyond the Atlantic there is both a wonderful and admirable commonwealth and a growing science. We must not forget that in the United States at least the foundation for filling up a great vacancy in the general scheme of the political sciences is laid. The existing institutions in Europe are such that, with the exception of Switzerland, public law and politics are not applied to one of the leading forms of modern constitutional government; and as American literature is mainly applied to this field, it gains, besides its immediate use at home, a general scientific value abroad. The beginnings even now made show that with time it will be ripened and matured;

and it is our part not to neglect this addition to thought and knowledge, but to accept, with ready and open acknowledgment, the return with which America has begun to discharge its intellectual indebtedness to the Old World. At all events the extent of knowledge must be widened by our statesmen and bookmen both, for science is no lazy sofa, but finds its best reward in ever-living activity and onward progress; only the learned pedant thinks otherwise.

ROBERT MOLE.

THE MARI LLWYD AND OTHER CUSTOMS IN WALES.

THERE still linger in Protestant Wales many old customs, the origin of which may be traced back to the mysterious rites practised by the Druids, or those introduced by the Romans after their conquest of Britain. In the eighth and ninth centuries, when the power of the pope was dominant in the land, many Romish feasts were instituted to take the place of those pagan feasts which the people were unwilling to relinquish. Thus we see that the festivities and jollities of the Christmas season bear some resemblance to the Saturnalia and Bacchanalia of the Romans; and it is well known that about the time of the winter solstice the Druids celebrated one of their two great annual feasts, a fact which goes to show the connection between their worship and that paid to the sun-god Baal by the ancient Phœnicians and Assyrians.

The Floralia of the Roman calendar, which perhaps took the place of the midsummer ceremonies of the Druids, were in turn superseded by the festivals in honor of the Virgin, held during the month of May, "the month of Mary." In some of the rural districts of Wales they still keep up the custom of strewing flowers over the graves of their friends on Whit-Sunday, and descriptions of the May-day fetes are too common to be recapitulated here. Some authorities aver that the Beltein or Beltan (Bel and *tan*, Celtic for fire) was a floral feast held by the Druids on the first of May, but I am inclined to believe, with most authorities, that it took place nearer the summer solstice. The rites performed on that occasion strongly suggest the sacrifices offered to the god

Moloch. Many persons now living have witnessed the heathen ceremony of jumping through a fire kindled for the occasion, upon midsummer day. This custom, however, was more common among the Celts of Ireland and the Scottish Highlands.

One of the old Welsh customs which has been described to me again and again is the Mari Llwyd. This was best known in the shires of Morganwg and Gwent, (Glamorganshire and Monmouthshire.) It generally took place on Christmas eve or the night of Christmas day. A horse's head was procured, or that of an ass, if possible, which was very fancifully decked with ribbons of various colors, and then set upon the shoulders of the one who was to act the Mari Llwyd. This person was entirely concealed from view by a white sheet thrown over him, while he held in his hand a string which was in some manner attached to the horse's head. By pulling this string the lower jaw was moved up and down, and so kept up a continual snapping noise, made by the teeth of the upper and lower jaws coming together. Accompanying this person were several others, grotesquely attired in various disguises, and bearing in their hands brooms and mops, pokers and shovels. Two of these were called "*Pwnsh a Shuan*," (Punch and Susan,) and two others sergeant and corporal. All these went from house to house, singing noisy carols and acting a sort of drama, which in former days resembled in some slight degree the mediæval mysteries, but latterly it degenerated into a species of low buffoonery. They sang and danced, and performed various wild antics, and then tried to effect their entrance into the houses, the doors of which were generally closed against them. The singers sang some doggerel rhymes, invoking health and plenty upon the inmates of the house for the good cheer which was expected—nay, even demanded; and then the riotous party proceeded to another house, where the same noisy scenes were repeated.

Sometimes these scenes of hilarious mirth were marred by dreadful accidents. Upon one occasion a vessel of boiling pitch, used in fastening the ribbons on the horse's head, was overturned, and a young girl was so terribly scalded that she died in a few hours; and since this time the Mari Llwyd has been gradually discontinued. I myself have witnessed one representation of it in this country. I shall not soon forget the fright into which I was thrown one Christmas night by seeing, just outside the win-

dow, some sort of nondescript animal, grinning and gaping in the most horrid manner, and disclosing a set of most ghastly-looking teeth, all seeming more terrible on account of the darkness without.

Another custom, called "Mynwenta" or "Penwenta," was closely allied to the Mari Llwyd. It is not known what is the meaning of the term. "Bwca Llwyd" seems to have been of the same origin. This last was acted on All Saints' Day.

One of the traditions of the Mari Llwyd was that she was a noted princess in the early ages, and that the print of her foot-step is still to be seen in a rock not far from the town of Rhumni, in South Wales. Her help was invoked in behalf of diseased cattle at one of the holy wells in Wales.

It is far more probable, however, that the Mari Llwyd is the same as the Feast of the Ass, represented in Roman Catholic countries, in former times, to commemorate the Flight into Egypt. This feast was instituted in the tenth century, by Theophylact, Patriarch of Constantinople. It was celebrated on the fourteenth of January. A young girl, with an infant in her arms, was set upon an ass, gayly caparisoned with trappings of gold, and was followed through the town by a large concourse of people. When, at last, the procession reached the church, the ass had a conspicuous place near the high altar. During the service, instead of the usual responses, the people brayed, in imitation of the ass, and the senseless ceremony concluded with a hymn, each stanza of which ended with the refrain:

"Bray, Seignor Ass, and you shall have grass,
And hay and straw, too, in plenty."

Superstition attributes the cross which is seen on the back of the ass to its association with our Saviour in two prominent events of his life—the Flight into Egypt and the Triumphal Entry into Jerusalem. The ass, too, held no inconsiderable position in heathen mythology, it having once saved the goddess Vesta from insult. The Coronation of the Ass was one of the ceremonies connected with the feast of that goddess, and doubtless gave the hint for the Romish Feast of the Ass.

But to return to the Mari Llwyd. I have made diligent search for some reference to this old Welsh custom, but can find no allusion to it in any thing published in this country. My information

has been derived from those who have witnessed or taken part in the Mari Llwyd, and from a pamphlet on old Welsh traditions, published in Wales.

In Hone's *Every Day Book* there is a notice of an old custom in Cheshire, which made use of a dead horse's head, covered with a sheet, and carried around to frighten people. It was then called *Old Hob*, and took place between *All Souls'* and *Christmas*.

In the same work there is an extract from "*Busby's Concert Room and Orchestra Anecdotes*," which gives an account of a custom formerly observed in Kent and the isle of Thanet: "They begin the festivities of Christmas by a curious musical procession. A party of young people procure the head of a dead horse, which is affixed to a pole four feet in length; a string is tied to the lower jaw, and a horse-cloth is then attached to the whole. The party go about from house to house, singing carols and ringing bells." This is called, "to go a hodenning," and the figure above described is called "a hoden," or wooden horse. It is supposed that it was to commemorate the landing of the Saxons in the island of Britain.

After the Reformation, and especially during the times of the Commonwealth, customs and observances, in themselves innocent, were condemned along with those that were manifestly absurd and superstitious. The Puritans waged war against churches and works of art, May-poles and mince-pies, and every thing that savored of superstition in religion or loyalty to kings.* Here is an amusing extract from a curious old work called, "*The Welsh Levite tossed in a Blanket*," in which the writer bewails the godly zeal of the brethren. "I remember the blessed times when every thing in the world that was offensive to the brethren went under the name of horrid, abominable, Popish superstition. Organs and May-poles, bishop's courts and the bear-garden, surplices and long hair, cathedrals and play-houses, set forms and painted glass, fonts and apostle spoons, church music and bull-baiting, altar rails and rosemary on brawn; nay, fiddles, Whitsun-

* On the other hand, it ought to be remembered that Puritan rule was never hostile to innocent and healthful amusement. The Long Parliament expressly, and by statutory enactment, secured London employé's a half-holiday on Wednesday, a custom which passed away when the Stuarts returned from exile.—EDS.

ale, pig at Bartholomew fair, plum-porridge, puppet-shows, figures on gingerbread; and, at last, Moses and Aaron, the Decalogue, the Lord's Prayer. A crown, a cross, an angel or bishop's head could not be endured so much as in a sign. Our garters, bellows and warming-pans wore godly mottoes; our band-boxes were lined with wholesome instruction, and even our trunks with Assemblymen's sayings. Ribbons were converted into Bible-strings. Nay, in their zeal they visited gardens and apothecaries' shops. Unguentum Apostolicum, Carduus Benedictus, Angelica, St. John's Wort and Our Lady's Thistle were summoned before a class, and commanded to take new names. They unsainted the Apostles," &c., &c.

The Welsh, however, still deck their houses at Christmas time with ivy, holly and mistletoe; the inevitable plum-pudding has taken the place of plum-porridge, and the whole season is one of mirth and merry-making. The waits go about on Christmas Eve singing their carols, of which the Welsh have a great number that are quite celebrated. Being dissenters from the Established Church, they do not honor the day with religious observances, but I do not think they would agree to the sentiment of the minister who once said in my hearing, "We as Protestants protest against the observance of Christmas in any way, as it is Popish."

A custom which well deserves to be kept up by all those who would preserve fresh and green the memory of Cambria's chosen patron and saint is "the wearing of the leek." Even in this country it is still observed in Welsh communities on St. David's day. Benevolent societies in procession carry leeks, and if no other display is made, the countrymen of St. David decorate their hats with the national emblem.

"I like the leeke above all herbes and flowres,
When first we wore the same the field was ours;
The leeke is white and green, whereby is ment
That Britaine are both stout and eminent;
Next to the lion and the unicorne
The leeke's the finest emblyn that is worne."

The last sentiment would probably be echoed by every Englishman who would fain believe with Shakspeare that the Welsh first wore the leek at the battle of Crecy in 1346. But the fact is, that the custom is of still greater antiquity; for we are told by Giraldus Cambrensis that, in a hard-fought battle between the

Saxons and Britons under King Cadwalldar, the Britons were ordered by St. David to distinguish themselves from their enemies by putting a leek in their caps. As the Saxons were vanquished, the leek has ever since been to the Welsh the symbol of the victory gained through the bravery of the Britons and the prayers of St. David:

"Menevia's priest
 Marshalled his Britons, and the Saxon host
 Discomfited; the green leek his bands
 Distinguished, since by Britons annual worn,
 Commemorate their tutelary saint."

As far back as the seventeenth century, it seems as if the customary observances on St. David's day were falling somewhat into desuetude, for Porter remarks, "In these our unhappie daies, the greatest part of our solemnitie consisteth in wearing of a green leeke, and it is a sufficient theme for a jealous Welshman to ground a quarrel against him that doth not honour his cappe with a like ornament."

As Fluellin observes, some of the English sovereigns "took no scorn to wear leek upon St. Tavy's day," and their courtiers taking the cue from them, honored the day in like manner.

I have no patience with those who would have us believe that this ancient custom had no romantic origin whatever, but is owing entirely to the fondness of the Welsh for the leek as an article of food.

Another old custom which has almost if not entirely died out is *Coelcerthi*, fires kindled on the eve of the first of November to commemorate the massacre of the British nobles on Salisbury Plain about 472 A. D.

Vortigern, the British king, (Gwrtheyrn Gwrthenan,) had arranged a meeting between the Britons on one side and the Saxons on the other, to take place on the mount of Caer Caradwg. It was agreed that both parties should go unarmed, but the Saxons treacherously hid their knives within the sleeves of their robes, and at a preconcerted signal from their chief Hengst, they fell upon and cruelly slaughtered the very flower of the British nation. Fazio Degli Uberti, in one of his poems, says:

"And last I viewed the field at Salisbury,
 Of the great martyrdom which left the world
 Empty of honor, valor and delight."

This treachery is called *Twyll y Cyllyll Hirion*, or Plot of the Long Knives, and is characterized in the Welsh Triads as one of the "three treacherous meetings of the isle of Britain."

After Vortigern (who was a usurper of the British crown) had received his deserts, Aurelius Ambrosius ascended his lawful throne; and wishing to honor the memory of his countrymen who had fallen victims to the sanguinary fury of the Saxons, he secured the aid of the enchanter Merlin, celebrated in the Arthurian legends. By superhuman means Merlin brought over from Mt. Killard, in Ireland, a structure which the giants had set up there, and called, in consequence, *Chorea Gigantum*; or, in the Welsh, *Chor Gawhr*, Giants' Dance. This he set up on Salisbury Plain, where it stands to this day. Spenser alludes to this when he says:

"Three hundred lords he slew,
Of British blood all sitting at his borde;
Whose dolefull monuments who list to rew
The eternall marks of treason may at Stonehenge vew."

The Welsh cling with great tenacity to their language and national customs; and although much is done, a great deal more might be done to preserve the memory of old customs and traditions by the yearly meetings of the *Eisteddfod*. These meetings were placed under ban in the time of Edward I, as the bards, by their patriotic strains, incited the people to revolt against their English conquerors. During the present century this most ancient of learned institutions has again been revived in the principality, and it is frequently held in this country where the Welsh are sufficiently numerous.

At the *Eisteddfod*, (English—a sitting or session,) prizes are awarded for excellence in the composition of essays, odes, elegies, epigrams, and also to competitors in vocal and instrumental music. At these gatherings may sometimes be seen and heard the genuine old Welsh harp.

The sterling qualities and peculiar characteristics of the Welsh should be more widely known in this country, forming as they do an intelligent portion of our community. May their virtues ever flourish like their own leek, *semper vivum*, and may they ever hold fast to the ancient sentiment of the Welsh people, *Y Gwir yn erbyn y byd*—The Truth against the world.

M. A. LLOYD.

AN OLD-TIME LETTER.

WE are indebted to John B. Lynn, Esq., of Bellefonte, for a copy of the following old-time letter, which is not without interest for the Alumni of our venerable *Alma Mater*. The young man to whom it was addressed was at the time studying theology, probably under the care of some minister in the Barbadoes, as it was before the era of theological seminaries. He did not live to enter the ministry, as he died very suddenly after drinking tea, and was believed to have been poisoned by a young lady. His correspondent writes:

PHILADELPHIA, *September 6, 1761.*

DEAR SIR: I had, yesterday, the pleasure of reading your epistle to Monsieur de Estrappe, wherein you were pleased to express your kind remembrance of me; though I conceived no little satisfaction in perusing your letter, yet I cannot help saying that my joy would have been infinitely greater had I myself been favored with a pledge of your friendship. I beg, however, that you will not again forget poor Yeates, and will yet regard him as one who has travelled the path of science in your company. I cannot be very full in my account of your old class, yet I shall briefly inform you what each of us intend following. You already know, I believe, that McHenry and Houston propose following the same avocation as yourself. Billy Kinnersley's genius mounts no higher (and I commend him for it) than watchmaking. Grimes and Waddell, and, I believe, Ogden and Tilghman, will pursue merchandising—though of the two last I am not very certain; and the remainder of us, including Hindman, Hooper, Shippen, with Peters, Wilcocks and your humble servant, are studying law. And that each of us may be happy in our several professions, as well as successful in our undertakings, are the sincere wishes and desire of your old classmate and real friend,

JASPER YEATES.

To MR. WILLIAM FLEMING,
in Bermudas.

The list of the graduating class of the year 1761, as recorded in the University archives, is as follows:

William Flemming, Mark Grimes, John Huston, James Hoo-

per, William Kinnersley, Matthew McHenry, Abraham Ogden, Richard Peters, [Secretary of War of United States from 1776 to 1781, Judge United States District Court,] Joseph Shippen, [Secretary to Governor John Penn,] Tench Tilghman, Henry Waddle, Alexander Wilcocks, [Recorder of Philadelphia,] Jasper Yeates, [Judge of Supreme Court.]

Three of these names—Wilcocks, Shippen and Peters—and that of the writer himself, are illustrious in the legal annals of the State, and are still held in lively recollection by the older members of the living bar. Of two of them we read in Houston *On Land Titles* :

“The first judges of the Supreme Court, after 1790, were men of extensive and profound law knowledge. Shippen had been twenty years in full practice, and Yeates sixteen years, in courts where trials of titles to lands were the principal business. Shippen left the court in 1804 and Yeates about 1817. These men had formed a system, on which our courts have generally acted since. Yeates was admitted about 1760 (?) and died about 1817, the last twenty-five years a judge of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania. For more than thirty years he took a note in writing of every decision on land titles which came before him in the State, and to him more than to any other man we are indebted for the law respecting titles to land as it stood in 1815. It is a singular fact that although more titles were tried before Yeates *at nisi prius* than before any other judge in the State, yet only two of his decisions were reversed on appeal,” &c.

Judge Yeates, to whom we are indebted for this glimpse into the old times, died in 1817, having delivered his last opinion in January of that year, and being succeeded by Judge Duncan, March 14. He was buried in the Episcopal graveyard at Lancaster; and two of his daughters, who were still living there about 1850, were noted for their profound acquaintance with the science of their father's profession.

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA,
PHILADELPHIA, *September, 1871.*

Frequent applications are made to the Authorities of this University by gentlemen who desire to obtain Honorary Degrees. As these applications are made in evident ignorance of the rules which govern the University in conferring these Degrees, as well as of the law of the State of Pennsylvania on the subject, it has been thought best to reprint the existing regulations:

[*Extract from the Statutes of the University.*]

“OF HONORARY DEGREES IN DIVINITY, LAW, ARTS, AND
MEDICINE.”

“1. These may be conferred either at the instance of the Faculty, or in pursuance of a resolution of the Board of Trustees; but no such Degree shall be conferred unless the mandamus ordering the same be signed by two-thirds of the whole number of Trustees, nor unless the candidate shall have been nominated at the Board three months previously to taking the question on conferring the Degree.

“2. The question on conferring an Honorary Degree shall always be decided by ballot, and the candidate must receive a unanimous vote.”

“AN ACT

“TO PROHIBIT THE SALE OF ACADEMIC DEGREES.

“SECTION 1. *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania in General Assembly met, and it is hereby enacted by the authority of the same,* That it shall not be lawful for any University, College, or other Institution incorporated under the laws of this State with power to grant Academic Degrees, Honorary or otherwise, to confer the same upon any person or persons upon the payment or promise of payment by any person in consideration thereof; and any person knowingly signing a Diploma or other instrument of writing purporting to confer an Academic Degree when such consideration has been paid or promised to be paid, shall be guilty of a misde-

meanor, and on conviction thereof be sentenced to pay a fine not exceeding five hundred dollars and to undergo an imprisonment not exceeding six months, or both, or either, at the discretion of the Court.

"Approved May 19, 1871."

NEW BOOKS.

From D. Appleton & Co., New York, "MARTIN CHUZZLEWIT."
By Charles Dickens.

From J. L. Peters, New York, "SONG ECHO." By H. S. Perkins.

Received from James R. Osgood & Co., a collection of papers, many of which have already appeared in the *North American Review*. They appear under the titles of "CHAPTERS OF ERIE AND OTHER ESSAYS." By Charles Francis Adams, Jr., and Henry Adams, and will be read with a great deal of interest, even by those who are already familiar with their contents, not only on account of their subjects, but also on account of the manner in which they are treated.

For sale by Porter & Coates.

Magazines: GARDENERS' MONTHLY, THE AMERICAN AGRICULTURIST, THE NORTHWESTERN FARMER, THE ATLANTIC MONTHLY, PENNSYLVANIA SCHOOL JOURNAL, THE CATHOLIC RECORD, THE LITTLE CORPORAL, GOOD HEALTH, EVERY SATURDAY, THE JOURNAL OF EDUCATION, THE CHRISTIAN WORLD, APPLETON'S JOURNAL, weekly numbers for September.

THE
PENN MONTHLY.

NOVEMBER, 1871.

A DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE.

THE unprecedented development of American trade and commerce during the last few years has made necessary the adoption of new methods and appliances for the transaction of business. The style of procedure in vogue five-and-twenty or thirty years ago would be found altogether inadequate to the present time. Not only have warehouses and offices become much more extensive, and the number of bookkeepers, salesmen and travellers employed much larger than formerly, but the whole course of trade has been systematized and classified in a manner quite unknown until recently. Every large commercial establishment is now thoroughly organized; it is subdivided into departments, details are committed to subordinates, and the duties of the principals are chiefly executive. In this way an amount of business can be done with comparative ease, and with almost absolute promptness and correctness, which would have been utterly impracticable under the old order of things.

The tendency to organization has operated further than this. All the leading branches of trade have their associations, for promoting friendly feeling and concurrent action among the various persons or houses engaged in them, for the compilation and diffusion of trade statistics and information, and for the protection and promotion of the common interest. Among those who are thus organized are the ship-owners of New York, the shoe and leather dealers of New England, the wool-growers of the Northwest, and the iron-masters of Pennsylvania.

There have been boards of trade and chambers of commerce in

our large cities for many years. The New York Chamber was formed in 1768, the Philadelphia Board in 1833, the New Orleans Chamber in 1834, and the Cincinnati Chamber in 1839. A board of trade was organized in Baltimore in 1821, a chamber of commerce in Charleston in 1823, and another chamber in Boston in 1836; but they maintained themselves for a few years only, and the institutions which now exist in those cities are of later date. It is true, however, that a majority of these local organizations have been formed within the last ten years, while all of them have received a new impulse since the termination of the civil war, and a degree of importance and utility is conceded to them which they were never before recognized as possessing. The last step taken by them to increase their efficiency and to make their influence more widely felt (general commercial conventions failing to meet fully the wants of the business men of the country) was the confederation of themselves into a National Board of Trade, which was accomplished at a meeting called for the purpose and held in Philadelphia in the summer of 1868. This board has already held meetings in Cincinnati, Richmond and Buffalo, and its executive council has also met in New York, Baltimore, Washington and Boston. Its deliberations have included all the great commercial and financial questions of the day, and it has united its membership in support of several important measures of reform. One of these measures is the establishment of a Department of Commerce as a part of the general government at Washington. To this subject we invite our readers to give their attention at this time.

While the business men of the country have been availing themselves of the advantages of association and organization in the manner we have indicated, the machinery of the national government for the regulation of trade and commerce is almost precisely what it was a quarter of a century ago. The Treasury Department has been and is the only branch of the government having any responsibility or authority in these matters, and the many other duties pressing upon it, and especially those relating strictly to the exchequer, have of necessity absorbed most of its attention. Even before the war of the rebellion, the hardship of this was felt by many of our merchants. In the annual report of the Boston Board of Trade of 1859, the following complaint is made:

"We do not accuse the government of the United States of wilful neglect of the commercial interests of the country; but, with all deference, we do say that, as now constituted, the Treasury Department cannot devote to these interests either the time or the attention which they imperatively demand. We commenced our career as a nation with half the ports of Europe shut against our unknown flag, with but two hundred thousand tons of navigation, and with exports of only twenty millions of dollars; and the care of our commerce, rapid as was its growth, was an easy duty until after the lapse of a generation. But now, when we own five millions of tons of shipping, and send off annually surplus products of the soil, the sea, the shop and the mill worth two hundred and fifty millions of dollars; when our territories and population and means of transportation inland have multiplied in the ratio of ships and exports, we may venture to remark that the fiscal operations of that department, in which there has been a constant increase, require the attention of its officers, without any concern whatever in navigation and trade, save in matters of revenue; and that, of consequence, it has become the duty of our statesmen to form another department which shall relieve the Treasury."

If this statement of the case was correct in 1859, as undoubtedly it was, how much more strongly it may be put in 1871. In the former year the receipts of the government were about eighty millions of dollars, now they are more than four hundred millions; then the amount of the national indebtedness was about fifty-eight millions of dollars, now it is almost two and a half milliards. In the meantime, the exports and imports of the country have nearly doubled, and the internal trade, of which, unfortunately, no statistics are kept, must have much more than doubled. But who is there at Washington clothed with authority and having the time to care for this increasing trade? And, on the other hand, who is there to concern himself about our gradual withdrawal from the ocean carrying trade of the globe, our foreign tonnage during the last decade having decreased by a million of tons? The Secretary of the Treasury before the war was fully occupied as minister of finance; with such large annual revenues as it has become his duty to estimate for and to collect, and with so vast an accumulation of debt to manage, how is it possible for him now, whatever may have been the case formerly, to perform even

nominally any of the functions of a minister of commerce? With the entire banking system of the United States under his supervision, what thought can he bestow on questions of tonnage or of transportation? The law gives to the merchant, in various instances, the right of appeal to the Secretary of the Treasury; but of what value is this right when the Secretary is obliged to depend upon assistants and subordinates in forming his opinion?

So far as relates to statistics, it should be said that a bureau was created a few years ago, which, under the able management of Mr. Francis A. Walker and Dr. Edward Young, has issued tables, both monthly and annual, of great value; but these are merely an incident among the various and voluminous reports emanating from the Treasury Department, and the Secretary cannot be expected to take much personal interest in them, or to use his influence very zealously to make them more full and complete.

* All this is very unsatisfactory to the commercial classes, and very injurious to the producing interests of the country. What, then, is the remedy? Clearly, to separate the financial and the commercial duties of the Treasury, as at present constituted, from each other. The old congressional Committee on Ways and Means was divided a few years ago, in consequence of the changes which had taken place in our finances and fiscal system, and its duties were distributed among other and new committees. In like manner, the time has arrived for dividing the functions of the Treasury Department, and for transferring a portion of them to a Department of Trade and Commerce. Such a department would naturally have charge of the compilation of mercantile and industrial statistics and information; it would examine and endeavor to harmonize the various laws and usages regulating our internal trade; it would seek to promote the extension of our foreign commerce, and, at the present time especially, to revive ship-owning and ship-building among us; it would assist in diplomatic correspondence and in treaty negotiations in connection with questions of trade and commercial intercourse; in a word, it would exercise a constant and helpful supervision over every thing bearing upon the general interests of transportation by land or by water, and of traffic both within and outside of the national limits.

It need hardly be said that the voluntary commercial organiza-

tions of which we have spoken cannot fill the place of such a department as has been described, or perform all the duties which have been enumerated. Much of their time is devoted to subjects of merely local or temporary importance, yet, not the less truly, of importance; and their relation to the general government in matters of national concern is only suggestive and recommendatory. They do not desire to exercise, and it would be impolitic to confer upon them administrative authority. They may be presumed fairly to represent the prevailing commercial sentiment of the time, and it is in this regard that their service both to the government and to the public at large is most valuable; but to render this service practically useful, a governmental department charged with the oversight of our commercial interests, and constituted with especial reference to them, is indispensable. Such a department would receive the authorized expressions of mercantile opinion, would impartially weigh the arguments or statements of fact which support them, and then would act promptly, understandingly and vigorously in view of them. In several of the countries on the continent of Europe, the local chambers of commerce have a direct connection with the national government; their members must be citizens, their presidents must be nominated or approved by the Minister of Commerce, and all their proceedings are subject to the review of that officer. But any thing of this kind would be inconsistent with our established institutions in the United States; and were it otherwise, even this presupposes the existence of a Minister, and consequently of a Department of Commerce.

The Board of Trade of Great Britain furnishes an illustration of what is needed at Washington, and of what the merchants of the country are beginning earnestly to ask for. This Board dates back to the times of the Stuarts; but, as at present constituted, it was established by the second William Pitt, in 1786. It is, in fact, a Committee of the Privy Council; for, except the president and vice-president, the members of it are all heads of other departments of government, who only assemble on important occasions. The president and vice-president are both privy councillors, and must have seats in Parliament, and the former is generally a member of the cabinet. There are also a permanent secretary, a parliamentary secretary, an assistant secretary each for commercial, railway, harbor and marine affairs, a chief of the

statistical department, and other officers. The president and vice-president are political officers, and change with the administration; but all the rest are permanent. The National Board of Trade has recently published, for the information of its membership, a communication addressed to a gentleman in Cincinnati by Sir Louis Mallet, C. B., the commercial secretary of the British Board of Trade, in which a very full and interesting sketch is given of the functions of this department, and from which we shall draw for the brief account of it which we propose now to give.

Generally the duties of the board are to take cognizance of all matters relating to trade and commerce, involving an extensive correspondence with the mercantile interests of the country; to advise other departments upon such subjects—the Foreign Office, in commercial matters arising out of treaties or negotiations with foreign states,—the Home Office, with respect to the grant and provisions of charters or letters-patent by the crown,—and the Treasury, in connection with the customs and excise laws; to superintend the conduct of all bills and questions before Parliament which relate to commerce, and to exercise some control over private bills, so far as the protection of the public interests is concerned. It has large powers in connection with the railway service: it is authorized to appoint inspectors, to approve or disapprove by-laws, to require detailed returns of traffic and of the rates charged, and to decide matters in dispute between connecting lines. In 1846 these and other powers were vested in a board created exclusively for the management of railway business, of which the president and vice-president of the Board of Trade were members, taking charge of its business in Parliament; but in 1851 the powers of this commission were superseded by the repeal of the Act by which they had been conferred, and its duties and authorities were transferred to the Board of Trade, and now form part of the business of the department.

The Board of Trade is required to undertake the general superintendence of matters relating to the British mercantile marine, and to enforce the observance of the numerous provisions of the statutes relating to that service. It also superintends the enactments for the establishment of shipping offices and of Sailors' Homes, the advance of wages, such arrangements for the comfort and health of the seamen as are dependent upon their berths,

provisions and supply of medicines, and also of such matters as relate to discipline, courts-martial, the proper record in log-books, &c. It contains a department, established in 1832, for the collection and publication of statistics comprising every authentic information that can be obtained and classified, relating to the revenue, population, commerce, wealth, and moral and economical condition of the United Kingdom and its dependencies; it also prepares a selection from the statistics of foreign countries, and compiles and publishes the monthly accounts of trade and navigation.

Prior to 1850 the board had been a consultative and legislative rather than an administrative department. But in that year and subsequently no less than sixty public general Acts were passed, assigning manifold duties to it. These comprise a great variety of subjects, among which may be named copyrights, trade-marks, weights and measures, coinage, metropolitan water supply, gas and water companies, pilotage, harbors and piers, wrecks and salvage, light-houses, life-boats, quarantine, the fisheries, and all the details of the management of the mercantile marine and of railways, to which reference has already been made. Indeed, the board, as at present constituted, is open to the criticism of having too great a diversity of business on its hands, and there is danger that in the miscellaneous character of the duties laid upon it, the first great object of its organization, namely, the advancement of the general interests of trade, will not always be kept in view. It was under some apprehension of this kind that the Association of Chambers of Commerce, at their annual meeting in London last winter, unanimously agreed,

“That the existing organization of the departments of government is inconvenient and unsatisfactory to the public; and that, considering the vast extent and growing importance of the commerce of this country, it is desirable either to appoint a Minister of Commerce, whose especial functions it shall be to deal with all questions affecting trade and manufactures, or to so enlarge the powers and jurisdiction of the Board of Trade as shall enable it more directly to undertake efforts for promoting the interests of commerce.”

We see here a danger to be guarded against by us in the United States, when we come to organize our Department of Commerce. But however this may be, as we examine the history of the Brit-

ish Board of Trade, we cannot be otherwise than deeply impressed by the admirable manner in which it has performed its work. The value of its coöperation, in the interest of British commerce, it would be impossible to estimate. Some of the greatest reforms of modern times have been carried through under its auspices; some of the wisest and most liberal statesmen England has ever produced have presided over it. Of the period when it first became effective, during the interval between the Restoration and the Revolution, the historian tells us that never before, so rapidly as then, had the commerce and riches of England increased. Its own tables indicate the amazing extent of that commerce to-day; and there can be little doubt that from the first it has not only watched over, but directly contributed to the growth which has been almost uninterrupted in its progress during the last two hundred years. A somewhat similar department, as a branch of the American government, would seem to be a pressing necessity growing out of our own great material enlargement. As relates to our foreign tonnage, which is the most marked if not the only exception to the general prosperity, such a department would render conspicuous service, by searching out the precise causes of the decline which we all deplore, and by shaping a well-matured and comprehensive policy for the revival of this interest. But it would perform a no less valuable service in exercising a wise care over our mercantile marine when it shall reassume its proper place upon the ocean, and a forethought which would aim to prevent the recurrence of disastrous reverses in the future; and it would vindicate its right to exist by the healthful and stimulating influence which it would exert upon every branch of industry and enterprise. The merchants of the country are thoroughly convinced of the desirableness of forming this department without loss of time, and they ask all intelligent men in other walks of life to assist them in their endeavors to secure the appropriate legislation. Congress has been memorialized to this end, but thus far without effect. The subject will be brought again before both Houses at the approaching session, and if it shall receive the consideration to which its importance entitles it, many months will not be permitted to elapse before a Minister of Commerce shall take his seat in the cabinet of President Grant.

A CHAPTER OF IRISH HISTORY.

ONE of our popular writers* on that fruitful topic—the historical polemic between the Roman Catholic Church and Prôt-estantism—has recently startled the American public with some new readings of Irish History, especially in relation to the Irish Church and the English Conquest. The subject is so curious and interesting that it is to be regretted that Mr. Lawrence has been misled by untrustworthy authorities on some points, and on others has failed to catch sight of the principles which underlie and explain the facts. We shall therefore make no apology for going over the same ground.

The peculiar genius of the Celtic race is very remarkably illustrated in the early history of Christian civilization in Ireland, and especially in the rapidity and briefness of its development. "The Saxon grows like the oak; the Celt like the laurel." Christian civilization in Ireland

"Sprang full statured in an hour;"

and at a time when all the rest of Northern Europe was involved in darkness and anarchy, Ireland was the land of schools, the home of the arts, the mother of Christian missionaries and the Isle of Saints.† But we must not idealize the picture; the pre-

* Mr. Eugene Lawrence, in *Harper's Magazine* for October, 1871.

† Neander, speaking of the fifth and sixth centuries, represents the wild parts of Ireland as covered with monasteries that were distinguished for Christian discipline, industry, knowledge of the Scriptures and general knowledge. Henry, Bishop of Auxerre, writing to Charles the Bald, about the middle of the ninth century, informs him that Ireland, notwithstanding the dangers of the sea, was sending crowds of philosophers to their shores. Under the successors of Charlemagne, Hibernians were extensively engaged in the work of education throughout the empire, and were the chief biblical translators and commentators of Europe. Mosheim, writing concerning the ninth century, says: "The Irish were lovers of learning," and "distinguished themselves in those times of ignorance by the culture of the sciences beyond all other European nations." He adds, that "so early as the eighth century they illustrated the doctrines of religion by the principles of philosophy," and "were the first teachers of the scholastic theology in Europe." Neander, speaking of the theological teaching in the ninth century, declares the Irish monasteries to have been "the seat of science and art, whence, and for a long

eminence was only relative to the times, and not to our times. The Ireland of to-day stands far above the Ireland which was the chief—almost the only—light of Western Europe. The Ireland who taught Saxons and Normans, Franks and Germans, has been surpassed in the long run by them all, because she did not possess their capacity for growth. What she could do she could do more quickly than they, but that was the end of her doing. The laurel cannot long be the rival of the oak.

The earliest establishment of Christianity in Ireland is associated by all with the name of Patricius or Succath, now called St. Patrick, although there is some mention of a fruitless mission of Palladius at an earlier date, and not a little jangling over it. Our genuine knowledge of Patricius is mainly derived from a single document of his own authorship, generally known as his Confessions, and even this is grossly interpolated with later additions in all but a single MS. copy—that found in the “Book of Armagh.” This is slightly supplemented by an “Epistle to Coroticus,” also from his pen. The numerous Lives of the Saint, even the three oldest, known together as the “Tripartite Life,” are indeed based upon the Confessions, but are full of anachronisms, unfounded assertions, and incredible wonders of various kinds, which make their additional facts for the most part untrustworthy.* The genuineness of the Confessions and of the Epistle are attested by internal evidence. Their Latin has a rude simplicity about it which (besides indirectly refuting statements in the Lives) at once bespeaks the half-taught missionary, and not the imaginative inventor of documents and facts. The Scriptural quotations are all taken from the old Itala version of the Bible, as it was before Jerome corrected it into the Vulgate. The great miracles and most of the striking particulars with which later writers adorned the saint's life are “conspicuous by their absence.” Perhaps we may add the very ancient poem called the Hymn of Fiacc to this short list of trustworthy sources.

Patrick or Succath was born early in the fifth century, in some part of the island of Great Britain, (probably the west coast of

time afterwards, teachers in the sciences and useful arts scattered themselves in all directions.” He says, moreover, that there issued from the Irish church “a more original and free development of theology than was elsewhere to be found, and was thence propagated to other lands.”

* Mr. Lawrence has followed them by far too implicitly.

Lowland Scotland,) and in a community of British Celts who had received Christianity under the Roman rule, and who still bore the Christian name, although greatly degenerated in moral standing. He says: "I Patrick, a sinner, the rudest and least of all the faithful and the most despicable among men, had for my father Calpornius, a deacon, (son of the late Potitus, a presbyter,) who was of the town Bonavem Taberniæ; for he had a farm in the neighborhood, where I was taken captive [by pirates.] I was then nearly sixteen years old. I knew not the true God, and I was carried captive to Ireland [*Hiberio*] with many thousands of men, according to our deserts, because we had backslidden from God, and had not kept his commandments, and were not obedient to our priests, who used to warn us for our salvation. And the Lord brought upon us the wrath of his displeasure, and scattered us among many nations, even unto the ends of the earth, where now my littleness is seen among aliens. And there the Lord opened the sense of my unbelief, that even, though late, I should remember my sins, and be converted with my whole heart unto the Lord my God, who had regard to my lowliness, and had compassion on my youth and my ignorance, and had preserved me before I knew Him, and before I could understand or distinguish between good and evil, and comforted me as a father would a son."

He was employed when he came to Ireland in tending cattle daily, but was every day frequent in prayer; thus, he says, the love and fear of God and faith so grew upon him, that often in a single day he would pray a hundred times, and in the night almost as often; so that he frequently rose to prayer in the woods and mountains before daylight, in snow and frost and rain; because the Spirit was burning within him. In dreams, as he believed, he was promised a safe return to his own country; and afterwards told by the same voice that the ship was ready, but was at a great distance. Though he had never been to the place designated, and knew nothing of the people, he fled from Milchu at once, after six years of slavery; "and I went," he adds, "in the power of the Lord, who directed my way for good, and I feared nothing till I arrived at that ship." The captain roughly refused him a passage, and he turned with a heavy heart to go back to the hut where he was used to dwell, praying as he went; but his prayer was still unfinished when one of the sailors called

out to him, "Come back quickly, for these men call thee;" and they themselves added, "Come, for we will receive thee on trust; make friends with us how thou wilt." After a long voyage by sea and a dangerous expedition by land, lasting in all sixty days, he left his rough but kind friends, the pagan sailors, whose hearts God had turned to kindness in his behalf.

After a few years (how spent we are not told) we find him again in Britain with his parents, who seemed to have saved themselves by flight at the time he was taken captive. They received him as a son who had been restored to them from the dead, and earnestly besought him not to run any new risks, but to remain quietly with them for the rest of his life. But the sense of a divine call to labor in the Gospel among his former masters seems to have pervaded his whole life, and left him no peace even in sleep. God had brought him so near to himself with that strange discipline of affliction and bonds that he could not rest content that those whom he had lived among, and whose language he had learned, should live without God in the world. He says:

"In the dead of the night I saw a man coming to me as if from Hiberio, whose name was Victorius, bearing innumerable epistles. And he gave me one of them, and I read the beginning of it, which contained the words 'The Voice of the Irish.' And whilst I was repeating the epistle, I imagined that I heard in my mind the voice of those who were near the wood of Foelut, which is by the Western Sea. And thus they cried: 'We pray thee, holy youth, to come and henceforth walk among us.' And I was greatly pricked in heart, and could read no more; and so I awoke."

Another vision forcibly reminded him that he was called to do God's work not in his own strength but in the strength of Christ. In another he was encouraged to withstand the blame and reproaches of his kinsmen for undertaking the great work of an apostle, by the assurance that every reproach for Christ is shared with Christ. In obedience, therefore, to this Macedonian cry, "Come over and help us," he set himself to the work of preaching the Gospel to the heathen, and was abundantly blessed in it.

His Confessions, written in his old age, give us only the general results and not the details of his labors, being intended as a vindication against gainsayers, and not as an autobiography of the author. Later and legendary writers offer us materials to supply

the hiatus, but the statements to which they have given currency are absurdly false. Confounding him with Palladius, whose failure we have already noticed, they carry him off to Rome to receive his commission from Pope Celestine, to Italy to be educated at the feet of St. Germain, and even to Palestine. These figments are manifestly inconsistent with the whole tenor of his Confessions, which never mention Rome at all, and are written in a rude Latin, of which no graduate of an Italian seminary would ever have been guilty. He also quotes the old Latin version of the Bible, which in the Roman Church and its dependencies had been superseded by Jerome's revision, called the Vulgate. In the herd pasture of county Down he had received an education and training for his work such as no dry canonist like St. Germain could have given him.

Landing (the best authorities say) A. D. 440, at the southwest extremity of Strangford Lough, at the mouth of the Slaine, he proceeded inland to Maghinish, about two miles northeast of Downpatrick, where he made his first convert to the Christian faith—Dichu, a chief of the blood royal, who afterwards erected the church of Sabhal or Saul, a locality which continued to be his favorite residence. Thence he passed into Dalaradia, to visit his old master Milchu, and to atone by the offer of life eternal for the loss he had met with in his fugitive slave. Thence he returned to Dichu at Maghinish, and from that as a centre preached to the country lying around him. Having laid the foundation in Dalaradia, he set out for Tara, the ancient capital of Ireland, where the great *Feis Temreh*, or Feast of Tara, was about to be held—a septennial civil parliament combined with a great religious festival. Sailing to the mouth of the Boyne, he proceeded inland on foot to Tara, and preached at the great assemblage of the chieftains; and, if we may trust his biographers, encountered great opposition from the pagan priests. King Laoghaire, who then reigned in Tara, never accepted the message of life which Patrick brought; and although his younger brother, Conall MacNeill, became a Christian, yet both he and Lugaidh, who in the days of Patrick succeeded him, died pagans. From Laoghaire he only secured a reluctant toleration of his ministry.

From Tara and the territory of the southern O'Neills he passed westward to Connaught, having purchased a safe-conduct from the chiefs whom he met at the court of the king, and preached at

first in that wood of Foclut whence the cry "Come over and help us" had reached him in his dreams, and afterwards at the great assembly of the tribes of Connaught, near Killala, where (the annalists tell us) he penetrated the hearts of all, and led them to embrace cordially the Christian faith and doctrine, so that Amalgaidh, king of Connaught, with his seven sons and twelve thousand of his people, was baptized, and a Christian teacher—Manchen, surnamed the Master—was left among them. Passing northward along the Atlantic coast to the districts of Torconnell (or Donegal) he founded churches, baptized converts and ordained bishops in great numbers. Thence westward through the northern counties to Dalriada (or Antrim) and Dalaradia (or Down). Then southward through Meath to the province of Leinster, (where the tribes of the Hy Garchon, that had rejected the earlier missionary Palladius, gladly received the simpler message of this second and greater evangelist,) and, some say, on to Munster, in the south, where the king Aengus was baptized, and where, as in Connaught, he spent seven years in missionary labors. We next find him in Ulster again, where he founded, on land granted by a chieftain, the great church of Armagh, which in later days became the metropolis of the Irish Church.

Such is the story of Patrick's movements in the great work of Christianizing Ireland, as well as we can discern them through the mists which, in the course of the ages, have settled down upon the scene. His own Confessions and his Epistle were written to vindicate himself from the charges of enemies, and furnish none of the details which he took for granted as known to all. He tells us:

"I am greatly a debtor to God who hath vouchsafed me such great grace that many people by my means should be born again to God; and that clergy should be ordained everywhere for them, for the people who had lately come to the faith; for the Lord had taken them from the ends of the earth, as he had promised of old by his prophets. . . . And there I desire to wait for the promise of Him who never faileth: as He promiseth in the Gospel, 'They shall come from the east and from the west, and shall sit down with Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob,' as we believe that believers shall come from the whole world. . . . Whence comes it that in Ireland [Hiberio] those who never had any knowledge of God, and up to the present time worshipped only idols and abominations: how are they lately become the people of God, and are called the sons of God."

Indignantly repudiating the charge that he took money from his converts, he adds :

“Nay I rather expended money for you as far as I was able, and I went among you and everywhere, even to those extreme regions beyond which no man was, and whither no man had ever gone to baptize or ordain clergy or confirm the people, where, by the grace of God, I did all things diligently and most gladly, for your salvation. At the same time I gave presents to the kings, besides the cost of keeping their sons who walked with me, in order that I might not be seized with my companions. And on that day they most eagerly desired to kill me, but the time was not yet come : yet they plundered every thing they found with me, and bound me with irons ; but on the fourteenth day the Lord delivered me from their power ; and whatever was ours was restored to us, through God, and by the help of the close friends whom we had before provided. But you know how much I expended upon those who were judges throughout all the districts which I used more frequently to visit. . . . I do not repent of it, yea it is not enough for me. I still spend and will spend more. The Lord is mighty to give me more hereafter, that I may spend *myself* for your souls.”

The Christianity thus established was undoubtedly independent of the see of Rome, and indeed of all the rest of Christendom. To those to whom absence of connection with Rome is the one test and guarantee of ecclesiastical purity, the Irish Church may seem something especially worthy of our admiration and esteem. Had they possessed any close acquaintance with the actual institution their feelings would have been greatly modified,—they would probably have joined its sharpest critics, such as St. Bernard, in denouncing it as a monstrous anarchy, heathen in its utter disorder while bearing the name of Christian. It certainly was a disorderly body as compared with the Church in other countries of Europe. In these a vast ecclesiastical organization had been effected, modelled after the pattern of the Roman civil system. The very terms of the Church were often borrowed from those of the State,—such as diocese, province, &c.,—and the ideas of order which had made Rome strong, were now infused into the Christian hierarchy, and still subtly modify the church system of every church—Catholic or Protestant—throughout Christendom. A passage in Origen, which caught the keen eye of Niebuhr, indicates that this process of assimilation was begun even in the times when the State was persecuting the Church ; it was completed when, under Constantine, the State became her protector.

In Ireland the Roman had never secured a foothold; his civil system was never set up there, and Patrick probably possessed little acquaintance with it. Had he studied—as the old Lives say—under St. Germaine in Italy, he would doubtless have possessed a full acquaintance with the Church system of the rest of Europe, and conformed the Irish Church to that. As it was, the Irish Church was left free to grow into any shape, and by the very law of assimilation which moulded the Church of the Empire into conformity to the Roman civil system, the Irish Church naturally fell into a system of organization which closely resembled the Irish clan system. We have no eulogy to pronounce upon the result. The Roman Empire and its ideas of order were parts of the great education by which the world had been prepared for the establishment of Christendom. That Ireland never shared in that preparation—that her civil system in the time of Patrick still reflected the imperfect modes of life and civil order which prevailed during the great Indo-Germanic migrations—must be reckoned among her greatest historical misfortunes, and as a fruitful source of disorder during her subsequent history. The clan system was a poor model for the Christian Church. After its pattern the converts of Patrick were organized into ecclesiastical septs, with a *Co-arb*—often a woman—at the head. It was a monastic system in its isolation of the Christians from the great mass of the people, but no vows (save an implied one of obedience) were enforced upon the members. The place held by the bishops in the system gave especial offence to the rest of Christendom. They corresponded somewhat to the old heathen order of bards, rather than to what we find elsewhere throughout Europe. Several of them were generally found in a single sept, owning the *co-arb*—man or woman—as their ecclesiastical superior. Tradition assures us that Patrick ordained eighteen score of them throughout Ireland, and we learn incidentally that seven were often found in a single paltry village. These Irish bishops with no territorial jurisdiction were the horror of the Continental Churches, who detested them as persistent interlopers, and despised them as irregulars. Bernard pours out the vials of his wrath on them; synods passed special canons forbidding them to exercise any office or jurisdiction on the Continent; yet they did good service on the mission field, for they carried their lives in their hand with a true Irish audacity. They labored among

the Saxons and Anglo-Saxons with great zeal, and more than one great conventual establishment on the Continent dates its origin back to the labors of these "Scotch" missionaries, of whom Fridolin, Columbanus and Gallus were the most eminent. Not until the end of the thirteenth century did the word Scotus ever mean any thing but Irishman, and when finally it came to be wholly transferred to the inhabitants of Caledonia, and its old use to be forgotten, the new Scotch claimed the ecclesiastical property which was secured on the Continent to the *Scoti* by royal or imperial grants. The suit pended for centuries, and was finally decided in the fifteenth century, by Leo X, *in favor of the wrong Scotch*.

We can hardly say what sort of culture it was that attracted so many of other countries to the Irish schools, although we have one specimen of it in the person and the writings of John Scotus Erigena, the keenest and strongest intellect in the literary Fasti of Europe for three centuries. But Erigena (or rather *Scotigena**) was no common man, and therefore no fair sample of Irish churchmen. The most significant fact in regard to his writings is the intimate acquaintance with Greek literature and language which they evince. The man evidently *thinks in Greek*, and his Latin writings read like a Greek's translation of a Greek work into Latin. His main work is, indeed, often quoted under a Greek title,* and certainly exerted an immense influence upon the thought of Western Europe. A German translation has quite recently been published in Berlin, in a library of the great metaphysical thinkers.

Attempts were made (as we learn from some obscure intimations in an old Irish hagiologist) at various times to reform the Irish Church, and reduce it to some kind of order. The first of these is connected with the name of St. Finian and with the ancient British Church of Wales. At Bangor St. Finian studied, and an Irish Bangor—the seat of a great and energetic monastery—commemorated by its name his obligations to the disciples of St. David. Finian's name is especially associated with a revival of the study of the Scriptures, and he is even spoken of as having

* His name, Johannes Scotigena, was amplified into Johannes Scotus Erigena (Erinborn) when Scotus became *nomen ambiguum in nova tellure*.

* ΗΙΕΙ Φύσεων Μείσιμον, instead of *De Divisione Naturæ*. In a Life of Innocent III it is called *liber qui intitularur Pision*.

first brought the Gospel into Ireland. The writings of Patrick cast doubt on this statement; probably Finian was the first to bring Jerome's Vulgate Bible into Ireland, and thereby supplanted the older and less scholarly *Itala* version. Among his disciples, whom our authority calls "the saints of the second order," a high degree of deference to the Welsh Church seems to have prevailed, while "the saints of the first order"—Patrick's disciples—gave allegiance only to the see of Armagh. Columbanus and Gallus were disciples of Finian, but the best known adherent of the new movement was Columcille or Columba, the apostle of the Scottish Highlands. This remarkable man happened to pay a visit to a saint of a neighboring clan, and finding him possessed of a Latin Psalter, spent the night in copying it while his host was fast asleep. In the morning the owner of the Psalter claimed the copy as his also, by some curious law of copyright, and appealed to the chieftain in vindication of the claim. The decision was in his favor, being in the words, "Every cow owns her calf." Columcille went home in a rage, and stirred up his friends to avenge his wrongs. In the battle which followed several lives were lost, and the chief promoter of the war was at once seized with remorse and contrition. As a penance he condemned himself to perpetual exile from his native land and his beautiful city of Derry, to the Irish-Caledonian kingdom of Dalriada, in the Western Islands and Highlands of Scotland, whose people were still heathens. With a little band of followers he occupied the island of Iona, and from that centre preached through the whole kingdom, converting to Christianity the Celtic conquerors (Scots) and their Norse subjects (Picts.) The picture of him given by Count de Montalembert, in his *Monks of the West*, is one of the most beautiful and touching passages in modern literature.

Still a "third order of saints" is mentioned by our hagiologist, but we infer from his description that they were hermits, who fled to the desert places of the island to save their own souls, rather than men who in union with their fellows labored to save their Church and people from destruction.

The Irish Church long resisted the efforts of the Papal see to bring her into unity and conformity with the rest of Europe, and in the twelfth century Hadrian IV (the only English Pope) handed over the country to the most zealous servants of the Church, the Normans of England. Then began, under Papal sanction, the great

struggle between the two nationalities which has lasted to our own times. The English rule in Ireland was alternately pushed forward from the Dublin Pale to Connaught and driven back to the Pale again, as the fortunes of war changed. Wherever the English had a foothold the Church was conformed to Roman ideas of order; wherever that foothold was lost the old and looser methods regained their sway. As the line of English sovereignty was again and again driven back towards the Pale, groups and clusters of Normans were cut off from the main body, and forced to identify themselves with their Celtic neighbors in religion and manners, and to fight for the very cause that they had come to exterminate. An old Act of the Dublin Parliament denounces them as having become *Hiberniores Hibernis ipsis*. So extensively did this take place, and so sparse was the original population, that it is a matter of dispute among antiquarians whether only one-third or fully one-half the population of Connaught—that most Irish of provinces—are of the Norman stock. Many of the oldest families, and of those most closely associated in later history with the purely Irish race, are of Norman blood; thus the Macmahons are descended from that Fitzurse who gave Thomas a Beckett his *coup de grace*, and who had to fly for safety to Ireland. He or his children changed the family name by simply translating it into Irish.*

The Reformation introduced a curious complication into Irish affairs. England and her Normans—hitherto the great champions of the Holy See, and occupying Ireland by virtue of a Papal bull—had now rebelled against Rome, asserting the right of each nation to manage its own Church affairs in its own way. As Professor Maurice eloquently puts it from the Protestant point of view:

The Protest of the sixteenth century was against a hierarchy which professed to bind all Christendom in one; which really trampled upon the existence of each distinct nation of Christendom. It was a protest for German life, for Swiss life, Netherland life, English life, Scotch life, against a universal system which was crushing life in every one of its manifestations. It was no

* Some Celtic names, especially in the Highlands of Scotland, embody curious bits of history. Thus McPherson is Son of the Parson (*Persona*), and McIntaggart is Son of the Priest (*Soggarth* or *Sacerdos*.) Clerical celibacy was not known in the old British churches.

protest against divine government or order, but for divine government and order. . . . The Reformers were not setting up secular rule; they conceived that no rule was so utterly and emphatically secular as the Papacy. . . . This fight for the existence of nations was carried on successfully or unsuccessfully in all the nations of Europe. . . . In England Protestantism under Elizabeth was in the strictest sense English—a struggle for England against the Catholic League and the Society of Jesus. The arguments of divines against Papal doctrines went for very little, except so far as they appealed to the heart of the people against what they felt to be a system of foreign tyranny—a tyranny which kept them from trusting in the God of their fathers.*

If such was the general relation of England and Rome, in Ireland it was exactly reversed. There they exchanged rapiers and fought still. The Papal See there presented itself as the champion of nationality; England as its enemy and oppressor. The English hierarchy in Ireland followed the movement at home, as they had been doing for centuries; the Irish nation and its Church at once threw itself into the arms of the Pope. The most loyal adherents of Rome had at once become her most troublesome opponents; the most persistent rebels against her authority by a like revolution became her most devoted children.

Her priests became the representatives of a cherished nationality of feeling, to be shielded and cherished as dear friends, in defiance of the unjust and bloody laws of the common enemy—a fact beautifully embodied in an old song:

Loyal and brave, to you,
Soggarth Aroon,
Yet be no slave to you,
Soggarth Aroon.
Nor, out of fear to you,
Stand up so near to you,
Och! out of fear to you!
Soggarth Aroon.
Who in the winter's night,
Soggarth Aroon,
When the cold blast did bite,
Soggarth Aroon,
Came to my cabin door,
And on my earthen flure
Knelt by me, sick and poor,
Soggarth Aroon!

* *Cotemporary Review* for January, 1868.

Who, on the marriage day,
 Soggarth Aroon,
 Made the poor cabin gay,
 Soggarth Aroon;
 And did both laugh and sing,
 Making our hearts to ring,
 At the poor Christening,
 Soggarth Aroon.

Who, as friend, only met,
 Soggarth Aroon,
 Never did flout me yet,
 Soggarth Aroon?
 And when my hearth was dim,
 Gave, while his eye did brim,
 What I should give to him,
 Soggarth Aroon?

Och! you, and only you,
 Soggarth Aroon!
 And for this I was true to you,
 Soggarth Aroon.
 In love they'll never shake,
 When for ould Ireland's sake
 We a true part did take,
 Soggarth Aroon!*

It is, perhaps, the most anomalous fact in the anomalous history of that country of anomalies. It has added religious hostility to the antagonism of races, and complicated most terribly that problem of English problems—the conciliation and pacification of Ireland.

That the future of Ireland is bound up with that of England, every judicious well-wisher to the former country must hope. We do not speak against the Repeal of the Union, nor against the Irish advocates of Home Rule, but against the separation of the two countries by the Fenian or any similar party. Ireland has not within her borders the means of independence. The island is a ring of arable land around a vast bog, and even in that outer rim the rain-fall is so great that the cultivation of the cereals is—what Cato called farming in the Campagna—gambling. She contains no stores of mineral wealth—her little coal is too poor in quality to compete with that of England. Her

* Darling Priest.

people have not the skill to compete with the keen Norse-folk of Lancashire and Devonshire in manufactures; "their fingers are all thumbs"—to use their own expression—at such work. Free Trade with England has therefore kept her back and stunted her development, but with a national Parliament and Home Rule her domestic resources might be cared for and developed. To entirely separate her from England would be to precipitate her into endless civil strife—a bitter war of races, full of old enmities, and set on fire of hell through religious animosity. On the one side would be strength of numbers; on the other intelligence, wealth, organization; on both sides bitter and relentless hatred; the end would be as was the end of the cats of Kilkenny, unless annexation to France or a return to English rule brought back peace.

JOHN DYER.

NOTES IN CLASS.

SUMMARY OF THE BACONIAN PHILOSOPHY.

THE history and systems of philosophy cover three great eras—the ancient, the mediæval and the modern. The ancient moved in the sphere of the senses, and tried to construct by their aid a philosophy of the visible world. The philosophy of the middle ages, full of religious ardor, devoted itself to divine and spiritual things. Interpreting the most heavenly utterances by the most earthly canons, and taking Moses and the Prophets, misunderstood through Aristotle, (himself misunderstood,) as a guide, it developed a system which attempted to harmonize the most absolute faith with a latent but real naturalistic rationalism; a system which had an internal force nevertheless, which has stamped its results ineffaceably on the thinking of mankind. The modern philosophy, taking man as the centre, endeavored to harmonize in him and to him, the world we see, with its principles and causes which we do not see. The ancient philosophy may be said to have been cosmosophic, that of the middle ages theological, and the modern anthropological. Modern philosophy has attempted to solve its problems by two great generic methods—the first, the method of experience; the second, the method of speculation, that is, of scientific evolution from ideas. Bacon is

the great leader in the first, by his empiricism, and Descartes led in the second by rationalism. The rationalism of Descartes started with an absolute opposition between the subjective and objective—between the mind, which is the subject thinking, and the external object of which it thinks; hence it was a system of dualism. But in its evolutions, rationalism passed over into monism, and throughout this evolution was continually opposed by two tendencies, one of which may be called the mystic, which recognizes the supernatural and mysterious in philosophy; and the skeptical, which denies all certitude of knowledge.

This era may be divided into three epochs—the first, the epoch of rise; the second, of development; the third, of its most recent form. Ueberwig, in his "History of Philosophy," divides modern philosophy into three periods—first, the transitional period; second, the more recent philosophy, or the time of the development of the antithesis between empiricism, dogmatism and skepticism; third, the most recent philosophy, or the critical and speculative, from Kant to the present.

In the rise of modern philosophy—the first epoch—we meet empiricism brought into philosophy by Francis Bacon, Chancellor of England, born London 1561, died 1626. Bacon stands upon the boundary line between the transitional and modern philosophy, but as he threw off the theosophic elements of mediæval philosophy and sought a system of method for the investigation of nature, and as with him commenced a new and essentially modern course of development which culminated in Locke, he clearly belongs to modern philosophy. Bacon's great work is his "Instauratio Magna." Of this, the first two parts treat of the dignity and advancement of the sciences, (in nine books which appeared in English, 1605; in Latin, greatly enlarged, in 1623.) "Novum Organum Scientiarum" (London, 1620) is an elaboration of the "Cogitata et Visa," (1612,) and forms a part of the "Instauratio." These are the only parts of the "Instauratio" which are complete. The third part was meant to embrace the "Phenomena of the Universe;" the fourth was to be entitled the "Ladder of the Understanding;" the fifth was to be devoted to "Forerunnings or Anticipations of the Second Philosophy;" the sixth was meant to set forth the second philosophy itself, or active science. Of these four we have mere fragments.

The fundamental principle of Bacon is, that truth is not to be

sought from ideas by evolution, but through experience and induction. In sustaining his position, he lays down as a primary principle that the intellect cannot operate except upon material previously furnished by the senses. Laying down this principle, he goes on to treat, I, the impediments to method, and, II, the modes of promoting the sciences or knowledge in general. In treating of the impediments of science, he inquires into the causes of them. These he makes to be four, and calls them idols, on the ground that false science is, as it were, intellectual idolatry which renders to error the worship due to truth. These causes of error are—first, the idols of the tribe, that is, the prejudices common to all men, for he considers all mankind as simply one great tribe in the universe of beings; second, the idols of the cave, that is, individual prejudices, and he gives them this name because every man has in his soul some dark cavern into which the light of truth does not penetrate; third, the idols of the forum or marketplace, or the prejudices which men impart to each other—social, political, religious prejudices; fourth, the idols of the theatre, the prejudices which arise from the authority of philosophers or teachers, or their adherents; and he so names them because these great leaders are regarded as actors who make their successive appearances on the stage of this world.

Having indicated the causes of errors, he goes on to show the method which is to be pursued in the sciences, to wit, the observation of nature or experience, and induction. Here there are three processes—first, simply to observe the phenomena of nature, to look at them simply as facts; this lays down the sound principle not to mingle facts and theories. This mingling is the great reason why men so often have imaginary facts for groundless theories, and empty theories for imaginary facts. Bacon calls these observations “instances,” that is, examples, of nature. Second: these observations are to be arranged in popular views in an easy and natural order, and these Bacon calls comparison of instances; that is, classification of phenomena. Third, and finally: by induction, whose laws he lays down, we are to come to a real knowledge of the world. This method was imperfectly attempted by Telesius in the sixteenth century, and is, indeed, with various degrees of consciousness, as old as philosophy itself. In treating of the augmentations or modes of promoting the sciences, Bacon refers all human cognizance to three chief faculties. The first is mem-

ory; the second is phantasy, which corresponds with the active imagination of the school-men; the third is, the reason. With memory corresponds history, with phantasy corresponds poetry, with reason corresponds science, properly so called. History considers individual beings and facts, persons doing and things done. Poetry employs the things supplied by memory, to frame imaginary things. Science combines particular facts, and out of them deduces genera and explains them. History guides, Poetry dreams, Science waits and watches. He then makes the following divisions: History is divided into—A, Natural; B, Civil or Human History. A, Natural History, embraces either Nature, normal in her functions, producing regular phenomena; or, Eccentric Nature, producing monstrosities; or, the Nature of Man, which he considers as in a certain sense *subject*, over against Nature, which he holds to be *free*. From Man's subject-Nature are produced the artificial phenomena or Arts. B, Civil History, he divides into three parts—1st, Strictly Civil History, (or History of the State;) 2d, Sacred History, (or History of the Church;) 3d, Literary History. Poetry he divides into three branches—A, Narrative; B, Dramatic; C, Parabolic, that is, Fiction veiling Truth.

Science proper is twofold; for as there are some waters which spring up from the earth and others which come down from the heavens, so man himself derives one science from the earth, while the other comes down to him out of Heaven by Revelation, which Bacon says is the complement of all human sciences, the sabbath of intelligence, the day of quiet and consummation. Human Science, to which he gives the generic name Philosophy, embraces a great multitude of objects, and, by consequence, as many sciences. To unite these in one harmonious unity it is necessary that there should be a general science which comprises the principles common to all sciences. This is Ontology.

Science has three chief objects—I, Nature; II, Man; III, God. I, Nature, we know by a direct ray of light; II, Man, by a reflected ray; III, God, by a refracted ray. On this foundation Bacon treats of God briefly, but has much to say of Nature, and finally treats of man in himself and in his civil relations. In all his discussions he shows that he is not a *mere* empirist.

Very different estimates have been formed of the value of Bacon's labors and of his mental greatness. Cousin, admit-

ting the danger of the Baconian tendency, says: "Every thing begins well; the chief of the school does not at first perceive all the consequences of his principles; in the invention of principles he overlooks the extravagance of the consequences. Thus Bacon brought the modern sensualistic school into the world. But in vain would you seek in Bacon the sad theories at which this school finally arrived." Cousin concludes with these remarks: "It is acknowledged that it is the sensualistic tendency which governs in Bacon." The most elaborate attack upon Bacon is in the work of Demaistre, (1836,) of which Blakey, in his *History of Philosophy*, pp. 203-5, presents a summary. Still more severe is the judgment expressed by Draper, (*Intellectual Development in Europe*, ed. 1863, p. 515.) Over against these Lord Macaulay's *Essay on Bacon* expresses very eloquently the accepted opinion; and in consonance with it a recent writer in our own country, (Dr. Porter,) in his admirable work on the "Human Intellect," says: "Bacon was one of the most gifted benefactors of his race, and one of the greatest men of any people." And it must be conceded that, while his influence was injurious in intellectual science, it was of the highest value in the world of physical investigation.

HENRIETTA HERZ.*

THE important influence exerted in French history and literature by women has been often acknowledged. In a few instances it has been recognized in Germany, one of which is the subject of this paper. We must bear in mind here the great difference between English or American society and that of the Continent, as touching on the influence of women in politics and letters, and

* *Henriette Herz. Ihr Leben und ihre Erinnerungen. Herausgegeben von I. Fürst. Berlin, 1850. Verlag von Wilhelm Hertz. (Bessersche Buchhandlung.)* [The Life and Recollections of Henrietta Hertz. Edited by I. Fürst.] 8vo. (248 seiten.)

Briefe an Henrietta Hertz von Ludwig Börne. Leipzig, 1868. 8vo. (248 seiten.)

its recognition. Fortunately, however, the women of America have borne such a part in the conduct of their part of the war waged against the great rebellion as to put them far above all literary ladies, winning them the lasting reverence of our own country and the hearty admiration of all the world. Mere ephemeral reputation in politics or literature can do little to change their place in our social order; it is too high to be reached by the incense of empty praise; it is too much part of our daily existence, to be put away and out of reach.

Let us see what sort of work was done by the women of half a century ago. Born in 1764, Henrietta Herz lived until her eighty-third year, in 1847. Her life, therefore, covered a period of German history in many particulars like that of our own. The war that lasted in Europe for a lifetime was here compressed into four years, but in its incidents, in its antecedents and in its consequences, the German "war for freedom" (*Freiheits-Krieg*) was the prototype of our own. The life of a woman belonging to the middle class, therefore, exerting a wide influence, and enjoying a large experience, may not be without value in its lesson, nor without instruction, if only by reason of its strong contrast to our own notions of practical woman's work.

Henrietta Herz was born in Berlin in 1764. She was the daughter of a Jewish physician of Portuguese descent; her childhood was marked by little else than her rapidly developing beauty and by a devouring taste for reading, which sated itself in books of the worst sort, the bad novels of a bad age. Luckily her very childishness was her best protection against the worst results of such studies, and the early marriage to which, in common with all Jewish children of the time, she was led to look, sobered her romance. At thirteen she was betrothed to Dr. Marcus Herz, a physician in active practice, a German philosopher and a scientific writer. In her married life she learned to admire and to be a fitting helpmate for her husband, and their love and esteem were mutually heightened by their very differences, not the least of them being their ages, for he was twice as old as his girl-wife. From her fifteenth to her fortieth year she fulfilled all the duties of a devoted and affectionate wife, and her widowhood was softened by the tender recollection of the services that husband and wife had rendered to each other, in promoting their own intellec-

tual advancement and that of a large circle of men and women, many of whom became famous.

Most people were first led to seek her society by her wonderful beauty, and it is easy to see in what this consisted from the portraits of her that still exist, although it is hard to describe it. She was so tall as to be marked by all, and the queen (Louise) was one of the few who excelled her in this respect; up to a very extreme age, her figure was full and round, her face striking, so that she was oftenest likened to the tragic muse, and yet her friends never failed to find in her features the purest and mildest womanly beauty. Her profile was as perfect as that of the Greek models of the best period; her nose and forehead and the lovely oval outline of her face preserved their charm even in her last years. Her little mouth, with pearly teeth, was best seen with the gentle smile that played over her round, full, well-marked lips. Her dark eyes, under their brown arches, shone with soft fire. Her color was rarely heightened, and her deep brown hair seemed just needed to complete the picture. While artists vaunted her small head as a living proof of their canons of art, others were apt to think it too small for her body. Her friends, attracted by her beauty, remained loyal to her and firm in their admiration, in more than a few instances, for over half a century, and during all that time hers was the beauty by which all other claims were tested. In one instance, a Russian general brought to Berlin his wife, a Circassian, famous in her own country for a beauty that was unequalled even in that nursery of beautiful women. Of all who saw them, Henrietta Herz was the only one who awarded the palm to her rival. It is not wonderful that her reputation should have brought men from all parts of Europe to see her. It is not less wonderful that of those who came to worship, (among them Mirabeau fresh from his conquests in Paris,) every one left with a reverence for the purity and virtue which gave the highest charm to personal loveliness and intellectual force.

Her correspondence with her friends was destroyed, lest at any time its publication might lead to reproaches upon her unwomanly fondness for knowing and advising men famous in all the great events of her country; and the same tenderness for her reputation has lost us the few literary labors which were not

undertaken for the sake of gain in some good cause or to serve a temporary purpose. Her mental power, marked as it was before her marriage, was fast developed by her own and her husband's ambition to be upon an even footing with the best of those with whom she was thrown. But her husband's training and her own independent ability led her quite out of his strict and narrow school into full fellowship with the newer phases of literature. Her wonderful knowledge of languages alone would have established her claim, if she had ever set it up, to be a learned woman. Hebrew, Greek and Latin, French, English, Italian, Spanish and Swedish were all mastered, and that merely as a means to reach the literature of each language, although, of course, it heightened infinitely the charm of her intercourse with men of learning who were the representatives of all the leading nations. Her fondness for languages led her even to take lessons in Sanskrit from Bopp, and, very late in life, to try to learn Turkish from an attaché of the Turkish legation, and Malay from a nephew who had just returned from Java. All of these studies she pursued from the natural activity of her mind, but not with any pretence of a passion for philology, and still less from any notions of a universal philosophy based on language.

Her knowledge of English served in the only two literary labors that are permanently preserved—her translation of Mungo Park's *Journey in Africa*, and that of Weld's *Travels in the United States*. Her Hebrew was made use of to teach the Humboldts to write Hebrew, and in the Hebrew letters a long correspondence was kept up between them, in which the natural boyish humor of the two young men looked more than ever grotesque.

Among the famous men through whom Berlin was beginning to gain its present reputation, Henrietta Herz saw and knew intimately many whose names are still held dear in a far wider circle than that in which they lived. Schleiermacher was one of the nearest and most intimate friends of her house; but before him, there were Ramler, Engel, Moritz, among the representatives of a literature which had its own value, although it has been overshadowed by the greater genius of later authors. Of artists, there were Reichardt, a musician, and Schadow, a sculptor, whose fame is still more than local. Soon after her marriage, the brothers Humboldt, boys as they were, joined her circle of friends,

and their intimacy was close enough to bring into it their friends, Count Bernstorff, Gentz and Count Dohna. A little later there came Brinckmann, Fepler, the Schlegels, and finally Schleiermacher. The charm of Henrietta Herz's friendship was heightened by the large number of persons with whom she shared her own and her friends' accomplishments. Unlike most women of note among men, she liked and sought always to have a corresponding force of women friendships. It was from this there arose the *Tugendbund*, or virtue-circle, composed not only of the residents of Berlin, but of their acquaintances in other places, and the most intimate relations were established and maintained for years by letter among those who had never met. With all this love for activity, both mental and bodily, and with all the popularity with which her friends rewarded her graceful hospitality, her heart still longed for other tasks. Denied the comfort of children, she found pleasure in making frequent journeys, and became the mistress of arts in Dresden, at the feet of the great masters, while Berlin was still utterly barren of any works of a creditable sort. Her zeal helped to inspire that very longing for art which culminated in the great Berlin Museum.

The year 1803 brought with it the death of her husband, and we have the testimony of Schleiermacher (in addition to her own tearful reference to the loss, months later) to the depth of her sorrow and the earnestness of her grief. The loss of her husband, too, was followed by the loss of the large income which he had enjoyed, and her annuity enabled her only to provide for her friends, in place of the luxuries of old, "reason and an oil-lamp," —a phrase which she borrowed in Italy from a Signora Marianna Dionigi, who, in spite of age and ill-health and positive ugliness, found her learning rewarded by the constant attendance of plenty of friends. Instead of opening her own house to her friends, it was now their turn to receive her in their homes, and this new life led to many pleasant changes. She became the guest of the Duchess Dorothea of Curland, and under her roof the friend of Madame de Stael, (her acquaintance with August Wilhelm Schlegel was of an earlier date;) then, in succession, Jean Paul and Schiller. But the years 1806-7 were critical in the history of Prussia, and her anxiety for her native city led her to refuse an advantageous offer of a place in the Russian court. Her patriotism was put to the test; her slender means gradually lessened;

her friends were scattered, and she was on the point of being chosen tutor for the young Murats, as a means of livelihood, when the condition imposed by Mme. Campan, that she should exchange her too German name, "Herz," for one pleasanter to French ears, led to the breaking off of all negotiations. She then took refuge in the island of Rugen, and there taught the children of the friend who gave her shelter and protection. Here she remained until the counter revolution, started by Schill, suddenly broke out in this secluded part of the country, and then it was only by Lützow's help that she was enabled to return safely to her beloved city. Here she found all Germany concentrated, and the spirit of the nation fully aroused. The great change which followed the national reorganization was felt even in her own social circle. Society had indeed lost much of its outward show; its light, caustic, clever tone had made way for the real earnestness of the times,—for depth and feeling, hearty zeal for political events, with less of æsthetical refinement, but more sober participation in the active business of life. Official people, the *Beamten*, had ceased to be selected by reason of their quarterings; the hard necessity of the times had compelled the government to seek the best men. Then there were the professors of the new University, and, best of all, a generation of young men full of life, of action, of spirit, waiting impatiently for the opportunity to prove their patriotism, and burning for the foremost place in the ranks of those who were to renew the nation's life even at the cost of their own. Of Henrietta Herz's hearty sympathy in all this new zeal no better proof can be given than the names of her intimate associates,—Niebuhr, Nicolovius, Uhden, Phillipsborn, Chamisso, Varnhagen, Alexander von der Marwitz; Reinhardt and Reimer were the leaders. Nor were the women of her circle unknown: Schleiermacher's sisters, the wife of Ernst Moritz Arndt, were with her at their head.

At last came the year that carried in its bosom the fate of Europe. Henrietta Herz did what only a woman could do. She did not hesitate to serve the sick and the wounded, to enter the typhus wards of the hospitals, and to follow the directions of the doctors in every detail of the task assigned her. Between the battles of Jena and Leipsic she was once more obliged to seek refuge in flight, and the account of the exodus from Berlin given in her letters is not without interest even now. But peace soon brought

back her old comforts, and just when she was looking forward to renewed enjoyments of life, the death of her sister and her mother changed her habits of existence, and led to her open confession of faith as a Christian,—a step which reverence for her mother's opinions had always hitherto led her to postpone.

She then set out for Rome, and leaving nothing of interest in art or in nature unseen, her two years' journey was a busy time for her. With Jacobi at Augsburg, with Dohna at Leipsic, with Bekker at Florence, at Naples with Thorwaldsen, at Rome with Caroline Humboldt, Dorothea Schlegel, her nephews, the painters Phillip and John Veit,—her old friends all in new scenes,—much of her enjoyment was heightened. The new school of art in Rome was opened to her by Thorwaldsen, Eberhard and Koch; the treasures of the classic times were shown her by Niebuhr, Bunsen and Platner. In her own modest apartments she received all who had made their pilgrimage to Rome in the same spirit of reverence for the beautiful and of faith in the true. Among her guests were Ludwig of Bavaria, Frederick of Saxe-Gotha, Cardinal Consalvi, and others of equally various faiths and modes of life.

Her return to Germany brought her in contact with Uhland and Jean Paul, in Cotta's hospitable house at Stuttgard; but it brought her also to Bonn, where, at Arndt's house, she saw the liberty which they had so much enjoyed violated by the injustice done all who had remained "Liberals."

Her small inclination to politics grew rapidly less. Her advice and assistance were readily given to Franz Lieber,—for he who is now so great an ornament to our brief catalogue of American publicists was obliged to fly his native country, and the protection which Humboldt claimed for him at the king's hands was unavailing against the secret reactionary influences at work in the court. Her leisure was again devoted to society, and yet the claims of her growing acquaintance never were allowed to do injustice to her works of benevolence; she gave freely instructions to young women in foreign languages, and she devoted not only the little savings of her meagre income, but the fruits of her own handiwork, to the improvement and assistance of all with whom she was sure it was well used.

Her growing years were embittered by the changes in her companions, as death carried off her contemporaries; and their

children, in taking their places near her, only too poignantly reminded her of those who were taken. The tone of society, too, was changed: instead of the hopeful anticipations and the brilliant realizations of her own experiences, Germany—the Germany of her friends, of Niebuhr and of Nicolovius—looked on the French Revolution of 1830 as the source of infinite mischief; the political horizon of Prussia was full of heavy clouds, and the storm that would clear them away must (it was predicted) be full of destruction. She took little part in the war of opinions which was waged around her, but the pained look upon her still handsome features showed that her social paradise had gone forever. Death continued to thin the lessening ranks of her friends: in rapid succession she lost Göchtingk, Dohna, Niebuhr, Caroline Humboldt, Rachel Varnhagen, Schleiermacher, Carl Laroche and William von Humboldt. Her own health and strength gave way at last before age and the troubles and afflictions that surrounded her; her mind was far stronger than her body, although even that showed a wonderful force and endurance; and her intellect was spared, when her strength was gone, to enjoy the last honor done her—the generous gift pressed upon her by the king, for her comfortable provision, after her own small store was almost exhausted. In sending her word of what he had done, through Alexander von Humboldt, he added that “it was in grateful recollection of his early acquaintance, and he reminded her that it had begun when he, as a child, was brought to her house by his tutor;” he added, too, to the gift, by a visit with which he afterwards honored her, when he spoke with a royal memory of little incidents of her famous years, and showed a lively interest in preserving and perpetuating the comforts to which she had been accustomed.

Her little circle of friends was once more narrowed by death. Her relations with the Mendelssohns went back to the days of their ancestor the Jewish philosopher, and she had outlived his son, the father of the musician; his daughter, the accomplished musician Fanny Henzel, died at this time, and the blow was felt by Henrietta Herz acutely. Her strength bore her up, however, almost to the end; but after an illness of a fortnight, she died quietly, hopefully, in peaceful resignation, and gratefully receiving on her death-bed friendly help and consolation and sympathy, just as she had given it to others through her long life.

Such are the leading features of the life of this famous woman as they are handed down to us. The incidents are simple and natural; her own story, giving in greater detail the account of the events of her long career, is equally quiet and free from any straining after effect. In curious contrast are the passionate letters addressed to her by Börne, a boy of eighteen, full of oriental fire and imagination, in love madly, desperately and (to her credit) hopelessly, with a woman of twice his age. Some burrowing German Dryasdust has reprinted them; it is to be hoped that he has found as few readers as he deserves, but even those few will laugh at Börne's furious passion, and will see that the sober, genial, pure woman always bore herself so as to be above reproach even in those days of "elective affinities" and philosophical infidelities. Unlike in all her experiences of life to our American notions of domestic happiness and social enjoyment, there is still something to be learned from the story of her long life; and it is always well to find that even the great men of that day were the better for the association with women of refinement and of spirit, and that men and women both did each other good by believing in one another.

A PROPHECY OF 1786.

IN view of the great social changes and the vast material development which have characterized the recent history of the country, it may well be a matter of curiosity to look back to those who knew the Union in its earlier years, and ask what expectations they had formed in regard to its future. How did they reason and hope who lived *Consule Planco*—when George Washington was President? They were a very practical generation, mainly concerned with the mastery of nature and her powers to the service of man, bringing civilized order out of nature's disorder, with a sharp eye to "the main chance." With this was generally combined a good measure of "public spirit," the ideal virtue of the eighteenth century, and a very useful one it is at all times, but not the height of all nobleness. The fathers were not the men to burst into such raptures as Lowell puts into the

mouth of Miles Standish, making him thus apostrophize the Republic:

“Child of our travail and our woe,
Light in our day of sorrow,
In my rapt spirit I foreknow
The glories of thy morrow.”

We do not eulogize their “practical” drift of thought and action. It was, maybe, the best for the times, but it implied blindness to many of the best and highest interests of man, and left his noblest capacities all but unexercised. The development of society and the growth of man’s brain carries him safely through the “practical” period into a better one—an age of wider sympathies and nobler ideals, with far more numerous objects of desire and interest. Yet there is a tendency always in action to look back to the past as a “paradise lost.” The oldest monument of European literature—the poems of Homer—contains a lament that “there are no such men now-a-days as our fathers were.” So the newspapers a few years ago published the following contrasted couplets of doggerel, with the statement that Dr. Franklin was the author of the first of them:

1776.

“Farmer at the plow,
Wife milking cow,
Daughter spinning yarn,
Son threshing in the barn;
All happy to a charm.”

1868.

“Farmer gone to see a show,
Daughter at the piano,
Madam gayly dressed in satin,
All the boys learning Latin,
With a mortgage on the farm.”

All of which, granting the facts to be thus, is savage sarcasm on “1868,” if a man’s life “consisteth in the abundance of the things that he possesseth”—but we have very high authority for saying that it does not.

Among the worthiest men of that period was Matthew Carey, the Irish Catholic exile whose enterprise as a publisher made our city the literary centre of the Union, and did much to help us to a truly national literature by his republication of the “English Classics,” or what the eighteenth century regarded as such. In

the *Columbian Magazine* for October, 1786, he published A PROPHETICAL DREAM, which helps us somewhat to satisfy our curiosity as to what his age expected. In reprinting it in his *Miscellaneous Essays*, (Phila., 1830,) he says: "Some of the anticipations have been realized, and others doubtless will before the limited time [1850] arrives." The dream gives a curious indication of the topics which were then occupying men's minds—as, for instance, the Algerine Pirates and the Abolition of Slavery—and was written in a time when British money was still the standard of values. We give it in full:

I was highly pleased lately with a work styled "The Year 2500," in which the benevolent author portrays the situation which he hopes France will be in at that period, and shows, in a very striking point of view, the absurdity of many of the most favoured practices of the present day, in that kingdom. I felt myself strongly impressed with the idea, and threw myself on a couch, where I pursued the reflection as far as I was capable, extending my view to this country. After some time I fell asleep, and dreamed that I was transported to so distant a period as the year 1850; and that on entering a coffee house, I took up a newspaper and read some paragraphs of the following tenor, which struck me with surprise and pleasure.

Philadelphia, May, 1850. A letter received from Cadiz, dated the 10th of March, says: "We have authentic accounts that the American Admiral Beaunale, with 10 sail of the line, had a desperate engagement with a grand fleet of the Algerines, of 11 sail of the line, 6 frigates, and 4 gallees. Both fought with the utmost bravery, but two of the Algerine first-rate vessels being blown up, and a great havoc being made among the crews of the rest, three struck, and the remainder fled. The signal for chase was made, and three more captured; the rest were driven on shore, and fire ships being sent among them, were all set in flames and consumed. The brave admiral immediately sailed to Algiers, which he bombarded with such vigour that all the fortifications on that side of the town towards the sea were levelled, and the city almost entirely reduced to ashes. The Dey sent an ambassador to sue for peace, and was so terrified at the fate of the fleet, on which he had placed all his reliance, that he consented to surrender all the piratical vessels, which have so long infested the Mediterranean, and even the Atlantic."

Richmond, April 30. By authentic advices from Kentucky, we are informed "that no less than 150 vessels have been built on the river Ohio during the last year, and sent down that river and the Mississippi, laden with valuable produce, which has been carried to the West Indies, where the vessels and their cargoes have been disposed of to great advantage."

Boston, April 30. At length the canal across the Isthmus of Darien is completed. It is about sixty miles long.* First-rate vessels of war can with ease sail through. Two vessels belonging to this port, two to Philadelphia, and one to New York, sailed through on the 20th of January last, bound for Canton, in China.

Columbia, May 1. Extract from the Journals of Congress: "Ordered that there be twenty professors in the University of Columbia, in this city, viz., of Divinity, of Church History, of Hebrew, of Greek, of Humanity, of Logic, of Moral Philosophy, of Natural Philosophy, of Mathematics, of Civil History, of Natural History, of Common and Civil Law, of the Law of Nature and Nations, of Rhetoric and Belle-lettres, of Botany, of Materia Medica, of Physic, of Chemistry, of Anatomy, and of Midwifery."

Charleston, April 15. No less than 10,000 blacks have been transported from this State and Virginia, during the last two years, to Africa, where they have formed a settlement near the mouth of the river Goree. Very few blacks remain in this country now; and we sincerely hope that in a few years every vestige of the infamous traffic carried on by our ancestors in the human species will be done away.

Pittsburg, Jan. 15. The canal which is making from the river Ohio to the Susquehanna, and thence to the Delaware, will be of immense advantage to the United States. If the same progress continues to be made hereafter as has been for some time past, it will be completed in less than two years.

Delegates from the thirtieth new State, laid off a few months since by order of Congress, lately arrived at Columbia; and, on producing their credentials, were received into the Federal Council.

A splendid edition of the History of the Settlement and Increase of the European Colonies in America, in ten vols. folio, adorned with two hundred copper plates, has been just printed in this town.

The Agricultural Society of this town have offered premiums to the amount of £1,000, for the improvement of husbandry.

In the Assembly of this State it was lately ordered that the salaries of public schoolmasters shall hereafter be £200 per annum.

Ezekiel Jones was lately convicted of not sending his son to school, although five years old. The time ordered by law is at four years. He was sentenced to stand in a white sheet three successive Sundays in his parish church.

Philadelphia, October 1, 1786.

* Carey, while reprinting the rest of the article entire, here omits some prophetic estimates of the cost and width of the canal, which were made at a time when he was totally ignorant of canal matters.

DARWIN ON HIS TRAVELS.*

THE voyage described in this book of Mr. Darwin's was made in 1831-6, and the narrative of it published in 1845; a few errors were corrected in a note to the edition of 1860. The great interest excited by the author's late works has induced the Messrs. Appleton to issue a second American edition, uniform in style with their recent editions of Darwin, Mivart and Tyndall's books on the scientific questions of the day. This book has a *permanent* value, not only as the production of what Mr. Carlyle calls "a credible person with eyes," but as the result of the study of wide and various fields of natural science by one of the ablest savans and keenest observers of our century. It is not often that our very great scientific men go a-travelling—Humboldt, Lyell, Agassiz and some other exceptions to the contrary notwithstanding. They are generally content to take foreign countries at second-hand, accepting the facts gleaned by those who have more time for such expeditions. And yet only thoroughly scientific men are first-class observers. To their eyes a thousand signs are instructive, where an untrained eye sees nothing; to their ears many things are eloquent, where other men would hear nothing. Especially is this the case with Mr. Darwin, whose beetling eyebrows indicate strongly developed observative faculties, forming the most notable features in a striking face. His many enemies assert the fact with exultation, declaring that "his powers of reasoning are in an inverse ratio to his powers of observation."

The book is one of the fullest of its kind—a whole encyclopedia of facts. We shall not, therefore, attempt the impossible task of sketching its contents, but only consider the bearing of a few of its statements on the author's later theories. Mr. Darwin's name is inseparably associated with the theory of the slow and gradual evolution of mankind, under the impulses and reactions of material necessities. It might be therefore supposed that he would look upon that slow and gradual education as the single method of human progress, and that he would look with distrust

* Journal of Researches into the Natural History and Geology of the Countries Visited during the Voyage of H. M. S. Beagle Round the World. By Charles Darwin, M. A., F. R. S. New edition. Pp. 519. New York: D. Appleton & Co.

upon such attempts as are making by Christian missionaries and other civilizers to accomplish the same results by shorter methods. But any one who opens the book with this expectation will be surprised at the respectful tone in which the missionaries and their work is defended—a tone very different from that of such travellers as Read and Burton. This seems to be just because Mr. Darwin could not help seeing things as they were and reporting them as he saw them. This it is that keeps him free from one of the worst *idola tribus* of scientific anthropologists.* Writing of his exploring trips in the island of Tahiti, he says, p. 411:

From our position, almost suspended on the mountain-side, there were glimpses into the depths of the neighboring valleys. . . Thus seated it was a sublime spectacle to watch the shades of night gradually obscuring the last and highest pinnacles. Before we lay down to sleep, the elder Tahitian fell on his knees, and with closed eyes repeated a long prayer in his native tongue. He prayed as a Christian should do, with fitting reverence, and without the fear of ridicule, or any ostentation of piety. At our meals neither of the men would taste food without saying beforehand a short grace. Those travellers who think that a Tahitian prays only when the eyes of the missionary are fixed on him, should have slept with us that night on the mountain side. . . .

Unwittingly, I was the means of my companions breaking, as I afterwards learned, one of their own laws and resolutions: I

* The Anthropological Society of London has been especially offensive in this direction—Messrs. Read and Burton declaring that missions to Africa are failures, and that their only result was to transform the males [from what?] into thieves and liars, and the females into prostitutes; that there is something in the negro nature repulsive to Christianity, which they regarded not as a universal but a race religion. On the other hand even *The Saturday Review* speaks of “the silly, popular platitude that missions to the heathen are useless, and that wise men would confine themselves to our own heathen at home. It is strange that, if a man goes merely to hunt, or to make geographical discoveries, he is loudly applauded by the very people who speak slightly of missionaries. To bring home hundreds of tusks, and teeth, and skins, or to show where a river rises and what is the altitude of a mountain-range, is thought a noble achievement; but to have crossed the plains where the elephants range, and to have ascended those unknown heights in order to give the greatest of blessings to the men who live there, is thought Quixotic and derogatory to the wisdom of civilized man. The real facts are just the other way.”

took with me a flask of spirits, which they could not refuse to partake of; but as often as they drank a little, they put their fingers before their mouths, and uttered the word "missionary." About two years ago, although the use of the *ava* was prevented, drunkenness from the introduction of spirits became very prevalent. The missionaries prevailed on a few good men, who saw that their country was rapidly going to ruin, to join with them in a temperance society. From good sense or shame, all the chiefs and the queen were at last persuaded to join. Immediately a law was passed, that no spirits should be allowed to be introduced into the island, and that he who sold and he who bought the forbidden article should be punished by a fine. With remarkable justice, a certain period was allowed for stock in hand to be sold before the law came into effect. But when it did, a general search was made, in which even the houses of the missionaries were not exempted, and all the *ava* (as the natives call all ardent spirits) was poured on the ground. When one reflects on the effect of intemperance on the aborigines of the two Americas, I think it will be acknowledged that every well-wisher of Tahiti owes no common debt of gratitude to the missionaries. As long as the little island of St. Helena remained under the government of the East India Company, spirits, owing to the great injury they had produced, were not allowed to be imported; but wine was supplied from the Cape of Good Hope. It is rather a striking and not very gratifying fact, that in the same year that spirits were allowed to be sold in St. Helena, their use was banished from Tahiti by the free will of the people. . . .

From the varying accounts which I had read before reaching these islands, I was very anxious to form, from my own observation, a judgment of their moral state, although such judgment would necessarily be very imperfect. First impressions at all times very much depend on one's previously acquired ideas. My notions were drawn from Ellis's "Polynesian Researches"—an admirable and most interesting work, but naturally looking at every thing under a favorable point of view; from Beechey's "Voyage;" and from that of Kotzebue, which is strongly adverse to the whole missionary system. He who compares these three accounts will, I think, form a tolerably accurate conception of the present state of Tahiti.

One of my impressions, which I took from the last two authorities, was decidedly incorrect, viz., that the Tahitians had become a gloomy race, and lived in fear of the missionaries. Of the latter feeling I saw no trace, unless, indeed, fear and respect be confounded under one name. Instead of discontent being a common feeling, it would be difficult in Europe to pick out of a crowd half so many merry and happy faces. The prohibition of the flute and dancing is inveighed against as wrong and foolish; the more than Presbyterian manner of keeping the Sabbath is looked at in

a similar light. On these points I will not pretend to offer any opinion in opposition to men who have resided as many years as I was days on the island.

On the whole, it appears to me that the morality and religion of the inhabitants are highly creditable. There are many who attack, even more acrimoniously than Kotzebue, both the missionaries, their system, and the effects produced by it. Such reasoners never compare the present state with that of the island only twenty years ago; nor even with that of Europe at this day; but they compare it with the high standard of gospel perfection. They expect the missionaries to effect that which the Apostles themselves failed to do. Inasmuch as the condition of the people falls short of this high standard, blame is attached to the missionary, instead of credit for that which he has effected. They forget, or will not remember, that human sacrifices and the power of an idolatrous priesthood—a system of profligacy unparalleled in any other part of the world—infanticide, a consequence of that system of bloody wars, where the conquerors spared neither women nor children—that these have been abolished; and that dishonesty, intemperance and licentiousness have been greatly reduced by the introduction of Christianity. In a voyager to forget these things is base ingratitude; for should he chance to be at the point of shipwreck on some unknown coast, he will most devoutly pray that the lessons of the missionary may have extended thus far.

Of the home of Missionary Williams, at Waimate, in New Zealand, he writes:

After having passed over so many miles of an uninhabited useless country, the sudden appearance of an English farm-house, and its well-dressed fields, placed there as if by an enchanter's wand, was exceedingly pleasant. . . . At Waimate there are three large houses, where the missionary gentlemen Messrs. Williams, Davies and Clarke reside; and near them are the huts of the native laborers. On an adjoining slope, fine crops of barley and wheat were standing in full ear; and in another part, fields of potatoes and clover. But I cannot attempt to describe all I saw; there were large gardens, with every fruit and vegetable which England produces, and many belonging to a warmer clime. I may instance asparagus, kidney beans, cucumbers, rhubarb, apples, pears, figs, peaches, apricots, grapes, olives, gooseberries, currants, hops, gorse for fences, and English oaks; also many kinds of flowers. Around the farm-yard there were stables, a thrashing-barn with its winnowing machine, a blacksmith's forge, and on the ground plowshares and other tools. In the middle was that happy mixture of pigs and poultry, lying comfortably together, as in every English farm-yard. At the distance of a few hundred yards, where the water of a little rill had been

dammed up into a pool, there was a large and substantial water-mill.

All this is very surprising when it is considered that five years ago nothing but the fern flourished here. Moreover, native workmanship, taught by the missionaries, has effected this change. The lesson of the missionary is the enchanter's wand. The house had been built, the windows framed, the fields plowed, and even the trees grafted, by the New Zealander. At the mill, a New Zealander was seen powdered white with flour, like his brother miller in England. When I looked at this whole scene I thought it admirable. It was not merely that England was brought vividly before my mind; yet, as the evening drew to a close, the domestic sounds, the fields of corn, the distant undulating country with its trees might well have been mistaken for our fatherland; nor was it the triumphant feeling at seeing what Englishmen could effect; but rather the high hopes thus inspired for the future progress of this fine island.

Several young men, redeemed by the missionaries from slavery, were employed on the farm. They were dressed in a shirt, jacket and trousers, and had a respectable appearance. Judging from one trifling anecdote, I should think they must be honest. When walking in the fields, a young laborer came up to Mr. Davies, and gave him a knife and gimlet, saying that he had found them on the road, and did not know to whom they belonged! These young men and boys appeared very merry and good-humored. In the evening I saw a party of them at cricket. When I thought of the austerity of which the missionaries have been accused, I was amused by observing one of their own sons taking an active part in the game. A more decided and pleasing change was manifested in the young women, who acted as servants within the houses. Their clean, tidy and healthy appearance, like that of dairy-maids in England, formed a wonderful contrast with the women of the filthy hovels in Kororadika. The wives of the missionaries tried to persuade them not to be tattooed; but a famous operator having arrived from the south, they said: "We really must just have a few lines on our lips, else when we grow old, our lips will shrivel, and we shall be so very ugly." There is not nearly so much tattooing as formerly; but as it is a badge of distinction between the chief and the slave, it will probably long be practised. So soon does any train of ideas become habitual, that the missionaries told me that even in their eyes a plain face looked mean, and not like that of a New Zealand gentleman.

Late in the evening I went to Mr. Williams's house, where I passed the night. I found there a large party of children, collected together for Christmas-day, and all sitting round a table at tea. I never saw a nicer or more merry group; and to think that this was in the centre of the land of cannibalism, murder,

and all atrocious crimes! The cordiality and happiness so plainly pictured in the faces of the little circle appeared equally felt by the older persons of the mission.

What we have quoted from Mr. Darwin's book should be a sufficient answer to those who regard him as actuated by some irreligious feeling in his investigation—as a sort of scientific Tom Paine. He compliments Christianity but poorly who reckons among its enemies one who is so earnestly and thoroughly devoted to learning facts as they are, and who therefore regards the actual results of Christian truth with so much of real respect. It is, however, to be regretted that when religious people have taken up this subject, they have too generally dealt in rhetoric, contempt and denunciation, instead of hard logic. Of the latter there can never be too much, of the former never too little, where the facts and laws of physical science are in question.

Theology has suffered more than science in consequence. To say nothing of losing its hold upon the minds of men, this method has helped to cast discredit upon the very documents upon which it professes to be based. Great numbers in the church quietly avow their disbelief in the scientific statements of the Bible, while many of the most emphatic affirmations of belief in them borrow half their emphasis from the secret doubt that gnaws like the worm at the root of Jonah's gourd. Had not the theological opposition to scientific theories of development associated in men's minds the Mosaic records with obscurantism and prejudice, the Mosaic narrative of creation would doubtless have been seen in its true character—as a most wonderful anticipation (by what ever means) of our modern scientific conceptions. The document mediates between the conceptions of the East and of the West. To the Oriental mind emanation is the most natural theory in accounting for the origin of the universe. All things flowed forth in completeness from the essence and life of the divinity. The Occidental mind naturally conceives of the world as made or developed. Plato—the great reconciler of Asia and Europe*—struck out a middle theory: all things were created according to ideas of them which preëxisted in the mind of God. Moses anticipates even Plato: while other things were made "*after their kind*," a model which existed in the thought of the Creator, man was made in the very image and likeness of God.

* See Emerson's chapter on Plato, in his *Representative Men*.

But even Plato did not anticipate, as Moses did, the scientific doctrine of continuity. Genesis gives us the first great outline of modern classification, ranging the great orders of inanimate and animate existence in the very systematic form which the theories of geology and of development show to be correct and necessary. We fail to see how striking and wonderful this is, through being accustomed to take the conception as something of course. But if any other of the documents of ancient literature be compared with the first chapter of Genesis, the wonderful character of this anticipation will be understood.

Again, the theory of mediate creation is one which some theologians regard as especially objectionable. Yet Moses is responsible for that also. He indeed assumes—what science can never reach back to—that the beginning of creation was a bringing out of nothing. But in tracing the later parts of the process, he describes it as a mediate one. Even man himself is described as made—not out of nothing, but—out of the dust of the earth. If any one chooses to supply a possible hiatus in that statement and to trace the process—still repeated in the embryotic life of man—by which he passed through all the lower forms of animated life, he surely cannot be denounced as contradicting Moses, nor even with introducing new conceptions into the doctrine of creation. Nor can such anthropologists be fairly charged (at least by those who believe Moses) with a wilful degradation of their species, since even “the gibbering ape” is a higher form of existence than a lump of dust or clay.

Another coincidence between modern science and the Mosaic narrative is in the statement that light existed before the sun and moon. The author or authors of the Zendavesta, in copying this narrative of creation, noticed the apparent inconsistency, and took care to change it, so that the sun and other heavenly bodies were on the scene at once to give light. Voltaire and other sceptics of last century made this an especial objection to the Mosaic narrative, but modern science shows it involves no absurdity—that light is not dependent upon the sun, that it is so correlated to heat and motion that we may well suppose it to have been the result of the rapid movement of large masses of matter in the organization of our system. The nebular hypothesis especially necessitates the supposition that light and heat existed through-

out the system long before the present source of both had taken its limited position in the centre.

Let us not be construed as asserting that the faults have all been on one side in this antagonism of theology and science. Far from it. Theology in every form is based upon conceptions of which purely natural science can take no cognizance, and scientific men have too often stepped out of their own sphere to repudiate or deny them. Science knows nothing of an absolute beginning, while theology is forced to hold fast to that conception. If it holds to any kind of theism, it must maintain an absolute beginning in creation—that God made all things out of nothing. If it holds to any theory of human redemption, then it declares that a force above any of the natural forces has been born into the world. If it holds to any doctrine of regeneration, it teaches that a man who has been in a fallen state be raised out of it by a power that is greater than himself, and that gives him a new moral start. In vindication of these conceptions, it points to facts such as Mr. Darwin has here alleged, which can only be explained on the theological hypothesis. The essential difference of these ideas from those that characterize science need hardly be dwelt upon. The man whose mind has been devoted to the study of nature, until all his thinking takes the shape of cause and effect, is too apt to assume that there is nothing beyond that sphere, is too apt to speak with contemptuous indifference of conceptions that are not scientific. It is best that each branch of knowledge should stand on its own ground in relations of mutual recognition and friendship.

But Mr. Darwin's book has a still more direct bearing upon his later theories and writings. It seems, by its pictures of savage life, to somewhat confirm a theory of man's development very different from his own. Other investigators in the field of anthropology think that they discover traces of two great but opposite processes which have acted on the human race in different localities—development and degradation. They say, granting the development of man from the lower orders of animals, is there not evidence enough that a large part of the race has sunk below what man was at this beginning, while the rest have risen—a little or much—above that? The animals themselves are not as degraded in moral standing as many tribes of savages. That memory which binds man into a moral unit, and makes him a

responsible person, is far stronger in a dog than in an Australian black. No animal exhibits near so little respect for the sacred relations of kinship as do the Africans of Guinea and other regions, who sell their own children for gain. To speak of these specimens of the *genus homo* as a moral advance upon the animal kingdom, is to pervert words. Mr. Darwin gives us even more striking instances of this degradation to a lower than animal level. Describing the meeting between some natives of Terra del Fuego whom the *Beagle* had brought back from England, and their long-lost kinsmen, he says :

Jemmy's mother and brothers arrived. Jemmy recognized the stentorian voice of one of his brothers at a prodigious distance. The meeting was less interesting than that between a horse, turned out into a field, and an old companion. There was no demonstration of affection; they simply stared for a short time at each other; and the mother immediately went to look after her canoe.

Still more significant is another fact alleged in regard to the same people :

The different tribes when at war are cannibals. From the concurrent but quite independent evidence of the boy taken by Mr. Low, and of Jemmy Button, it is certainly true that when pressed in winter by hunger, they kill and devour their old women before they kill their dogs. The boy being asked by Mr. Low why they did this, answered: "Doggies catch otters, old women no." This boy described the manner in which they are killed, by being held over smoke and thus choked; he imitated their screams as a joke, and described the parts of their bodies which are considered best to eat. Horrid as such a death by the hands of their friends and relatives must be, the fears of the old women, when hunger begins to press, are more painful to think of. We were told that they then often run away into the mountains, but that they are pursued by the men and brought back to the slaughter-house at their own firesides!

In Australia Mr. Darwin met with a race of savages some grades above the Fuegians, but even here the fact of degradation was evinced by the diminished vitality of the stock. They perish by contact with people of civilized races, even without the additional agencies of rum and war. They catch the white man's diseases even from healthy persons, and lacking the *stamina vitæ* to resist them, die in multitudes—a fact which can only be explained as a merciful provision of nature to clear our earth of peoples who have fallen out of the line of man's development, by simple con-

tact with those that are in line. Writing of the agency of war and rum in New South Wales, he says:

The Rev. J. Williams says that the first intercourse between natives and Europeans "is invariably attended with the introduction of fever, dysentery, or some other disease which carries off numbers of the people." Again, he affirms: "It is certainly a fact which cannot be controverted, that most of the diseases which have raged in the islands during my residence there have been introduced by ships;* and what renders this fact remarkable is, that there might be no appearance of disease among the crew of the ship which conveyed this destructive importation." This statement is not quite so extraordinary as it at first appears; for several cases are on record of the most malignant fevers having broken out, although the parties themselves, who were the cause, were not affected. In the early part of the reign of George III, a prisoner who had been confined in a dungeon was taken in a coach with four constables before a magistrate; and, although the man himself was not ill, the four constables died from a short putrid fever; but the contagion extended to no others. From these facts it would almost appear as if the effluvia of one set of men shut up for some time together was

* Captain Beechey (chap. iv., vol. i.) states that the inhabitants of Pitcairn Island are firmly convinced that after the arrival of every ship they suffer cutaneous and other disorders. Captain Beechey attributes this to the change of diet during the time of the visit. Dr. Macculloch (*Western Isles*, vol. ii., p. 32) says, "It is asserted that on the arrival of a stranger (at St. Kilda) all the inhabitants, in the common phraseology, catch a cold." Dr. Macculloch considers the whole case, although often previously affirmed, as ludicrous. He adds, however, that "the question was put by us to the inhabitants, who unanimously agreed in the story." In Vancouver's Voyage, there is a somewhat similar statement with respect to Otaheite. Dr. Dieffenbach, in a note to his translation of this Journal, states that the same fact is universally believed by the inhabitants of the Chatham Islands, and in parts of New Zealand. It is impossible that such a belief should have become universal in the northern hemisphere, at the Antipodes, and in the Pacific, without some good foundation. Humboldt (*Polit. Essay on King. of New Spain*, vol. iv.) says that the great epidemics at Panama and Callao are "marked" by the arrival of ships from Chile, because the people from that temperate region first experience the fatal effects of the torrid zones. I may add that I have heard it stated in Shropshire, that sheep which have been imported from vessels, although themselves in a healthy condition, if placed in the same fold with others, frequently produce sickness in the flock.

[So the cattle disease was introduced in our Northern States by healthy cattle from Texas. These never themselves presented any indication or symptom of the disease, but as soon as they crossed a certain parallel of latitude (and not before) they spread infection among the cattle of the country through which they were driven.—EDS.]

poisonous when inhaled by others; and possibly more so, if the men be of different races. Mysterious as this circumstance appears to be, it is not more surprising than that the body of one's fellow-creature, directly after death, and before putrefaction has commenced, should often be of so deleterious a quality, that the mere puncture from an instrument used in its dissection should prove fatal.

In view of these facts, and unless we adopt the theory that Baal is ruler of the earth, can we avoid seeing that the present status of the earth's population is the result of two opposite processes and not of one—that degradation as well as development from some primitive type has been going on for ages past? That type the anthropologist must find for himself. If he accepts the aid of the philologist, he will probably be pointed to China, whose language is the simplest and least organic of all human tongues. The metaphysician confirms the opinion by showing that the Chinese intellect stands in closest analogy to the lowest orders of animal life, being actuated solely from without and by external motives, no man being "a law unto himself" or possessed of a free subjectivity.

ROBERT ELLIS THOMPSON.

JOHN KEBLE AND HENRY REED.

OF all the group of scholars who contributed to the *Oxford Tracts for the Times*, the late John Keble is perhaps the most widely known and beloved. Dr. Newman is a man of great breadth of mind and great kindness of heart, but the events of his life have been such as to alienate the affections of the great mass of English-speaking Christendom. Dr. Pusey's great learning and dauntless courage have never been fairly appreciated—in particular he has never had justice done him for the brave and kindly words which he spoke in defence of the theologians of Germany, when Hugh James Rose, of Oxford, first raised the outcry—so often renewed—against their unsoundness. But something in the man's manner repels the confidence of those who are not of his own party.

The poet of "The Christian Year" comes home to men's hearts

as none of the rest do. His quiet and high-toned muse wins a hearing beyond the cathedral and parish precincts of his Anglicanism. Presbyterians and Methodists, Quakers and Utilitarians, join in the quiet applause with which that work has been greeted, and libraries to which his prose tracts and pamphlets would find no access yield to this little garland of sacred poetry a place of honor. Only its author depreciated it, thought its merits overrated, was keenly alive to its slightest faults in execution and finish, and generally spoke of it with sadness and dissatisfaction, while he seldom read it. It was so because of his very conscientiousness. He thought the reader of the book would naturally ascribe to him—because of this self-display—all good qualities, and be led to form a picture of his character far above the truth. He published the work anonymously, at the urgent entreaties of friends, and wrote of it to one of them—"May it please God to preserve me from ever writing as unreal and deceitfully as I did then." Thus did this humble-minded, pure-hearted, faithful parish priest, whose ambition was to do good and to be good, and who has won the admiration of those who most differed from him in controversy—thus did he humble himself, and God has exalted him.

In America the book has been as widely circulated and as popular as in England, although the communion of its author is much less numerous here, and the feeling towards its author is certainly not less warm. "Again and again (says Sir J. T. Coleridge) my American friends, and sometimes even strangers, have sought for an introduction from me to him. I remember well a gentleman, one of the former—the son indeed to whom Mr. Binney alludes in the note below—with whom I visited Hursley Park. In the morning we walked down to the service. At the close, and as we were taking leave at the Vicarage porch, which is covered with ivy, my friend drew me apart, and asked me if I thought Mr. Keble would take it amiss if he begged of him a branch of the ivy, cut with his own hand. Keble was much amused, and cut it for him, as of course, and unsparingly. As we walked away, he said: 'You may smile at my request, but I assure you I know and could name the persons at home who would give me'—(I am afraid to mention the sum he mentioned) 'for every leaf I have in my hand.'"

Keble was one of those whom the late Prof. Henry Reed met

with during his visit to England. How deeply the brief contact of those two pure and congenial spirits excited their mutual regard, we know by the words of Keble, who writes to Coleridge of Reed's untimely death by the loss of the *Arctic* :

"John told me, what I was most deeply grieved at, the loss of our kind friends in the *Arctic*, and how much you felt it. Indeed, I suppose it must be looked upon as a public calamity; for probably there are few such as Professor Reed left in the United States. But the comfort in thinking of such as he (no doubt) was, is solid and growing."

Sir J. T. Coleridge comments upon his words with the same warmth of feeling :

"He speaks also with true feeling, and renders no more than a just tribute to the memory of Henry Reed, Professor of Rhetoric and English literature in the University of Pennsylvania. It has been my good fortune to know and to have received as my guests several citizens of the United States, especially from Pennsylvania; and I have the great honor to count among my friends, only through the medium of a long and intimate correspondence, (for we have never met,) that wise and loving-hearted old man, Horace Binney, the great citizen of Philadelphia. Taken as samples, these show me what rare and gifted men are to be found in the great Republic. Henry Reed it was impossible to know without loving him; he came with his sister-in-law, Miss Brownson, from a great distance to bid us farewell immediately before their return to America; and they came just at the time of my brother's death. They heard of this event only when within a few miles of my house, and though they still came on, it was only to shake hands with us; we could not induce them to stay. I remember that we walked on my little terrace until the light failed. Miss Brownson, who was a mother to his children, visited my grandchildren in their beds; for both were full of his own treasures at home, and she wished to describe an English nursery to them; and so we parted, he promising to bring his wife to visit us the next summer. He then went to Rydal to bid farewell to Mrs. Wordsworth, and in a few days wrote to me shortly from Liverpool. The next thing I heard of him was his death in the miserable collision of the *Arctic* steamer with a French vessel. He and his sister, it is said, were seen sitting together hand locked in hand, silent and tranquil, calmly awaiting their fate, but a few minutes before the

ship went down with nearly all the passengers, who had been left on board, and, as it is said, left shamefully on board, by a cowardly commander and crew, escaping themselves in safety."

In a note to the third edition of his "Life of Keble" Sir J. T. Coleridge adds:

"My friend, Mr. Binney, writing to me in respect of this narrative, makes this comment, which I gladly insert, and must express my sincere regret for any injustice of which I may have been guilty: 'There is a single word in your reference to Captain Luce and the *Arctic* which does not precisely exhibit our version of his part in that most deplorable case. The account you must have had in England is not ours, which my son informs me is in that part more accurate. Captain Luce behaved ill in the first stage of the collision. He did not maintain his command of the crew, and resist, as he ought to have done, to death if necessary, the cowardly seizure of the principal boat by the crew, and their desertion of the ship. Luce, however, said that he would not leave the ship, and would not permit his young son to get to the boat, though the crew offered to take him. He and his boy both went down with the ship, and when he rose to the surface of the sea he saw one of the ship's round-tops, or a part of a wheel-guard or cover, and got upon it, and so I think did the son.'

"His bad or weak conduct at first excluded him afterwards from maritime service; he left it certainly, and is no longer spoken of."

To those who have known and therefore loved Henry Reed—that true Christian gentleman whose memory is still fragrant among the children of our *Alma Mater*—we need make no apology for reproducing here these kindly words of eulogy.

GERMAN CHIPS.

TRANSLATORS are like wagoners who carry good wine to fairs but most unaccountably water it before the end of the journey.—*Jean Paul.*

Men often live like the eleventh apostle, and die like the twelfth.—*Ibid.*

What is all intercourse with nature, if by the analytical method

we merely occupy ourselves with the individual material parts, and do not feel the breath of the spirit which prescribes to every part its direction, and orders or sanctions every deviation by means of an inherent law.—*Goethe*.

The more imperfect a being [or a form of society] the more do its parts resemble each other, and the more do the parts resemble the whole. The more perfect a being, the more dissimilar the parts. In the former case the parts are more or less a repetition of the whole; in the latter they are totally unlike the whole. The more the parts resemble each other, the less is the subordination of one to the other, subordination of parts implying a high grade of organization.—*Ibid*.

One can spin, another can make shoes; and all these are gifts of the Holy Ghost. I tell you, if I were not a priest, I would esteem it a great gift that I was able to make shoes, and would try to make them so well as to be a pattern to all.—*Dr. John Tauler of Strasburg, (Circ. 1340.)*

Works of love are more acceptable to God than lofty contemplation; art thou engaged in devoutest prayer, and God wills that thou go out and preach, or carry broth to a sick brother, thou shouldst do it with joy.—*Ibid*.

NEW BOOKS.

From D. Appleton & Co., New York: **TANCRED, OR THE NEW CRUSADE**, by the Right Hon. Benjamin Disraeli. **THE DIAMOND ON THE HEARTH**, by Marian James. For sale by Porter & Coates.

From Munn & Co., publishers of the Scientific American, a volume entitled **NEW CENSUS AND PATENT LAWS**.

Magazines: GARDENERS' MONTHLY, THE AMERICAN AGRICULTURIST, THE NORTHWESTERN FARMER, THE ATLANTIC MONTHLY, PENNSYLVANIA SCHOOL JOURNAL, THE CATHOLIC RECORD, THE JOURNAL OF EDUCATION, THE CHRISTIAN WORLD, EVERY SATURDAY, GOOD HEALTH, THE NEW ENGLANDER.

THE
PENN MONTHLY.

DECEMBER, 1871.

A DEPARTMENT OF INDUSTRY.

THE Constitution of the United States makes no mention of cabinet officers, but the necessity of executive departments is recognized, and the President is empowered "to 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." Fortunately no attempt was made in the Constitution to define these duties, and they are wholly within the power of Congress.

Washington entered upon the presidency with Departments of State, Treasury, and War, and an Attorney General. There was a Post Office Department, and a Post Master General, but he was not then recognized as a cabinet officer, nor did he enter the cabinet until 1829, during the presidency of Jackson. The Navy Department was created under John Adams in 1798; and the Department of the Interior under Taylor in 1849. Since then the cabinet officers have been the Secretaries of State, War, the Navy, the Treasury, the Interior, and the Post Master General and Attorney General—officers whose names are fairly descriptive of the functions of the departments over which they preside, though it has happened that in process of time the growth of the country has obliged some of their departments to assume a burden of heterogeneous duties.

It has become impracticable for certain heads of departments to personally know any thing about important ministerial functions pertaining to their office, and these are necessarily committed to subordinates, who virtually possess absolute power without cor-

responding responsibility. In this there is opportunity for mal-administration, a loss in efficiency and also in dignity; matters which are of consequence receive but little attention, and important interests of the country have reason to feel that the government is not intelligently advised of their condition and wants.

It is suggested that the time has come to make another increase in the number of cabinet ministers, and a corresponding change in the constitution of the departments of government.

France under the Empire had, and we presume still has, ten departments of administration, having charge of the affairs of State and Household, Justice, Finance, Home or Interior, Foreign, War, Navy, Public Instruction and Worship; Agriculture, Commerce and Public Works; and Colonies.

England, whose form of government is more like our own, has twenty-five ministers, thirteen of whom are members of the cabinet and are entitled Lords of the Treasury, Exchequer, Privy Seal, and Chancellor; Presidents of Council, Board of Trade, and Board of Works; and Secretaries of Home Affairs, Foreign Affairs, Colonies, War, Admiralty, and India. The English cabinet has a customary rather than a legal existence, having originated in the necessity of casting a general and common responsibility upon the heads of the principal departments of the public service.

The example of these older countries and our own experience alike teach us the importance, even the necessity, of creating from time to time new departments of administration, to be clothed with the constantly increasing cares of government. Especially is this manifest since the extraordinary transformations caused by the war, which cast upon the federal authorities duties and responsibilities tenfold greater than those they formerly bore.

A writer in the *PENN MONTHLY*, for November last, has shown the necessity of relieving the Treasury Department of some of its cares; and suggests the appointment of a Minister of Commerce, intimating also that an effort would be made upon the meeting of Congress to secure legislation appropriate to this end.

Conceding that the magnitude of the commercial interests of the country justly entitle them to larger consideration than they can now receive, and that complete and reliable statistics of trade would be useful to our merchants, of large importance to our legislators, and a valuable contribution to the sum of human

knowledge, we are obliged to claim that there are other interests of quite as great significance, which, in the proposed reorganization of departments, should not be left out of view.

The cares of the departments have heretofore been generally confined to purely governmental business and affairs. An exception has been made in favor of Agriculture to the extent of giving it a bureau; but Agriculture is not represented in the cabinet, and indeed the cabinet does not represent any interest or business of the people.

There seem to be objections to the creation of a cabinet officer who shall be entitled Minister of Commerce, and charged with functions which will bring him specially into contact and sympathy with the mercantile classes of the community. The agricultural interest, now in possession of a bureau, might have just grounds of jealousy; and the manufacturing interest, as yet wholly without national recognition, would most certainly have reason to complain. A partial measure will not receive popular approbation, and will be lacking in utility. In enlarging the structure of government, let us be certain that the foundation be made broad and secure.

The existence of the Agricultural Bureau, its methods of administration and acknowledged usefulness, suggest the form of organization of a department which will be symmetrical and permanent. We should have a Bureau of Commerce and another Bureau of Manufactures, each charged with duties in its sphere, similar to those which the Bureau of Agriculture so well performs; and these three bureaus should constitute a new department, to be presided over by a Minister of Industry.

The writer in the *PENN MONTHLY* to whom we have alluded borrows his idea of cabinet reorganization from England, and converts its President of the Board of Trade into an American Minister of Commerce. We should prefer to go to France, and are glad to draw helpful suggestions from the Constitution of that country, which casts large cares upon the administrative departments of government.

The Bureau of Agriculture is at hand, perfectly organized, and in the full tide of successful labors, its responsible head being Commissioner of Agriculture.

The Patent Office, which is in the Interior Department, but cannot be said to be of it, should be the nucleus of a Bureau of

Manufactures, to be placed in charge of a commissioner, the present head of the Patent Office taking a different title to avoid confusion. This bureau should charge itself with the preparation of statistics of production and consumption of manufactures, the introduction of new processes, collection and preservation of specimens of machines and fabrics, the preservation of the history of industrial expositions, and in general, the knowledge of the condition and wants, and care of the interests, of this department of American industry.

The Statistical Bureau, which could be with advantage taken from the overburdened Treasury, should be the nucleus of a Bureau of Commerce, to be placed in charge of a commissioner. The statistics of governmental finance should properly remain with the Treasury. The partial and desultory efforts of the Bureau of Statistics to enter the sphere of manufacturing industry would be remitted upon the erection of a Bureau of Manufactures, and it could give ample attention to the movements and interests of trade, and assume such comprehensive proportions as would satisfy the needs of the merchants of the country. The Bureau of Commerce might be further charged with the execution of laws relating to navigable rivers, and clothed with full powers to collect statistics of internal commerce. Eventually railroads and telegraph lines might be objects of its care or authority, and the coast survey and lighthouses might be turned over to it with profit.

After losing the Patent Office, the Department of the Interior would still have enough business to attend to; or, if not, the Treasury might be further relieved by a transfer of public buildings to its control. The Secretary of the Treasury has enough to do in discharging his purely financial duties—such as the care of the revenue, the debt, the currency, &c.

The title we propose for the new department should excite no jealousy. Commerce has no better claim to representation in the cabinet than agriculture or manufactures. In giving it a separate bureau there is a guarantee that its interests will be zealously attended to; and we elevate it to its true position by associating it with agriculture and manufactures, and placing it, with them, in the Department of Industry.

APPENDIX.

There are matters of detail connected with the transfer of the Statistical Bureau and Patent Office to the new Department of Industry, which would somewhat encumber the Act creating it. This transfer, which need not be made immediately, is not essential to the measure, but is suggested as properly incident to it, and may follow after the passage of a bill which is briefly outlined in the form following:

AN ACT

To create a new Executive Department of the General Government, to be called the Department of Industry, and also a Bureau of Manufactures, and a Bureau of Commerce.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled, That there is hereby created a new Executive Department of the Government of the United States, to be called the Department of Industry, the head of which department shall be called the Secretary of Industry; he shall be appointed in the same manner as similar executive officers, shall receive the same salary, exercise the same general powers, and have the same tenure of office.

SEC. 2. *And be it further enacted,* That the Secretary of Industry shall appoint a chief clerk, at the salary of \$ per annum, and such other clerks, not exceeding in number, as he may deem necessary; and at the request of the Secretary of Industry, clerks may be transferred to his department from other departments, if the President assents thereto.

SEC. 3. *And be it further enacted,* That there is hereby established within the Department of Industry, and as a part thereof, a Bureau of Manufactures, the general duties of which shall be to acquire and diffuse among the people of the United States useful information on subjects connected with manufacturing industry.

SEC. 4. *And be it further enacted,* That there shall be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, a Commissioner of Manufactures, who shall be the chief executive officer of the Bureau of Manufactures, under and subject to the general direction of the Secretary of Industry. He shall hold his office by the same tenure as other civil officers ap-

pointed by the President, and shall receive for his compensation a salary of \$ per annum.

SEC. 5. *And be it further enacted*, That it shall be the duty of the Commissioner of Manufactures, under the supervision of the Secretary of Industry, to acquire and preserve in his bureau all information concerning manufactures which he can obtain by means of books and correspondence, by the collection of statistics of production, transportation, prices, wages, and other appropriate means within his power. He shall collect, as far as he may be able, specimens of the materials and products of manufacturing industry, and preserve the history of industrial expositions. He shall annually make a general report of his acts to the Secretary of Industry, who shall transmit the same to the President, and shall also make special reports whenever required by the President or either House of Congress, or when the Secretary of Industry may direct or allow it. He shall, under the general supervision of the Secretary of Industry, direct and control the expenditure of all money appropriated by Congress to his bureau, and render account thereof; and he shall send and receive through the mails, free of charge, all communications and other matters pertaining to his bureau, not exceeding in weight thirty-two ounces.

SEC. 6. *And be it further enacted*, That the Commissioner of Manufactures shall appoint a chief clerk, with a salary of \$, and such other employés, not exceeding in number, as he may deem necessary.

SEC. 7. *And be it further enacted*, That there is hereby established within the Department of Industry, and as a part thereof, a Bureau of Commerce, the general duties of which shall be to acquire and diffuse among the people of the United States useful information on subjects connected with the internal and foreign commerce of the country.

SEC. 8. *And be it further enacted*, That there shall be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, a Commissioner of Commerce, who shall be the chief executive officer of the Bureau of Commerce, under and subject to the general direction of the Secretary of Industry. He shall hold his office by a tenure similar to that of other civil officers appointed by the President, and shall receive as his compensation a salary of \$ per annum.

SEC. 9. *And be it further enacted*, That it shall be the duty of the Commissioner of Commerce, under the supervision of the Secretary of Industry, to acquire and preserve all information concerning internal and foreign commerce which he can obtain by means of books, reports of boards of trade, and correspondence; by the collection of statistics of the movements and exchanges of commodities within and by the United States; the traffic and tonnage of railroads, and vehicles and vessels engaged in land and water transportation, and in the coasting trade, distinguishing as far as may be the character of freights; the movements of currency, coin, and credits employed in domestic and foreign exchanges; and by other appropriate means within his power. He shall annually make a general report in writing of his acts to the Secretary of Industry, who shall transmit the same to the President, and shall make special reports whenever required so to do by the President or either House of Congress, or when the Secretary of Industry may direct or allow it. Under the general supervision of the Secretary of Industry, he shall direct and control the expenditure of all money appropriated by Congress to his bureau, and render an account thereof; and shall send and receive through the mails, free of charge, all communications and matters pertaining to his bureau, not exceeding in weight thirty-two ounces.

SEC. 10. *And be it further enacted*, That the Commissioner of Commerce shall appoint a chief clerk, with a salary of \$, and such other employés, not exceeding in number, as he may deem necessary.

SEC. 11. *And be it further enacted*, That the Department of Agriculture shall hereafter be called the Bureau of Agriculture; it is hereby transferred to and made a part of the Department of Industry, and placed under the general supervision of the Secretary of Industry. The Commissioner of Agriculture shall annually make a general report of his acts to the Secretary of Industry, who shall transmit the same to the President. He shall also make special reports whenever required by the President or either House of Congress, or when the Secretary of Industry may direct or allow it.

SEC. 12. *And be it further enacted*, That it shall be the duty of the Secretary of Industry to supervise and direct the Bureaus of Agriculture, Manufactures, and Commerce, in such way as to

promote their efficiency, and with the view of harmonizing the interests which they have in charge; he shall annually make a general report of all his acts to the President, and also make special reports whenever required by the President or either House of Congress.

This bill contains in as brief a form as they can be stated the general purposes to be accomplished by the creation of a Department of Industry. Those who are demanding a Minister of Commerce may, upon reflection, content themselves with a Commissioner, and a joint representation in the cabinet with other industries. The workingmen who have been asking for a Bureau of Labor would presently find their interests thoroughly cared for by the Commissioner of Manufactures.

CYRUS ELDER.

OF METHOD IN SCIENTIFIC INVESTIGATION.

ONE of that now numerous, but always fresh, exhilarating and pleasant class of books, the narratives of Alpine adventure, for which, during the past twenty years, we have been largely indebted to the English love of manly sports, *The Playground of Europe*, by Leslie Stephen, late President of the Alpine Club, gives us in the preliminary chapter, which treats of "The Love of Mountain Scenery, the Old School and the New," the following most felicitous presentation of certain striking and important facts:—

"Mr. Ruskin has expounded at great length," says Mr. Stephen, "and with admirable acuteness, the difference between the fulness of meaning in a mountain drawn by Turner and the vague, shapeless lumps of earlier artists. The mountains are now intensely real, and so to speak, alive to their fingers' ends; they began by being empty, metaphysical concepts, and the difference is simply due to the fact that nobody had taken the trouble to look at them, and that a great many highly skilled observers have been working at them very carefully ever since and have added their impressions to the general stock. The hasty and inaccurate outline has been slowly filled up by the labors of successive generations, and they have come into contact with our sympathies at an incomparably greater number of points."

How far from being limited to the Alps, to Alpine scenery, or even to art, these great truths are, will be quite apparent to any one with the most limited powers of observation, who has paid any attention whatsoever to science and its history. In the earlier stages it has always been too much trouble for investigators to look closely at the facts as they are, an abstract or general view being far easier and more to their relish. To the student of Political Economy, who stands upon the broad, firm and enduring foundations laid by Carey, Colwell, Elder, Peshine Smith, and Wm. D. Kelley, these statements must meet with the highest appreciation and the fullest indorsement. To him who can view politico-economic truths in their proper light, and whose mental powers are not obscured by the "empty metaphysical concepts" of Mr. John Stuart Mill and others who have given to the world the discords of "a science based upon assumptions," they are full of meaning and instruction. To such an one it is another proof, if one be wanting, of the fact that the general course in all attempts to unfold a knowledge of nature and her laws has been essentially the same in every department and among every people.

The early efforts toward scientific investigation have almost universally been made by men who enunciate so-called "principles," which are "in the strictest sense of the word hypothetical," as Mr. Mill assures us are the general propositions of his philosophy. These speculators trouble not themselves about "the fulness of meaning" to be conveyed by a particular and close examination of *things as they are*, be they mountains or men, be they land or its crops, industries or their products, or the distribution of them. Nevertheless, the questions which arise out of all of these things are "intensely real," "alive to their fingers' ends," and of vital importance to all mankind, and demand and will have solution at the hands of some one. It is the "vague, shapeless lumps" which have been presented for our consideration by the schoolmen of Political Economy, whose pictures of the Alps have been drawn while those artists have been comfortably seated in their studios, and not amid realities and difficulties, such as surround the true painter who faithfully draws each rock, peak, pass, glacier and cloud as he finds it, upon close observation of nature, and who is too honest and feels too great pride in his

profession, lazily to shirk his duty. They give us, for instance, no such pictures as our own Bierstadt would give.

Mr. Mill having actually assured us* that "it is in vain to hope that truth can be arrived at, either in Political Economy or in any other department of the social science, while we look at the facts in the concrete, clothed in all the complexity with which nature has surrounded them, and endeavor to elicit a general law by a process of induction from a comparison of details," and that "there remains no other method than the *à priori*, or that of 'abstract speculation;'" need we feel any surprise then that he gives us mere pre-Turnerite pictures, which, while he asks us to believe them true, we see upon the slightest examination of the phenomena as they actually exist, are totally void of it, as *à priori* we might have judged they would be? What wonder, then, that he and the multitude of writers of this school, both great and small, should have failed after three-quarters of a century or more to establish a single principle which is now accepted as true by all men? Failing to observe nature, as the student of every progressive science, without exception, does, what could be more natural than that the dogmas which they have presented to the world and so long and so persistently harped upon, they themselves are obliged, one by one, to abandon or withdraw? A memorable and recent instance of this kind, which may here be mentioned, is that of Mr. Mill's "wage-fund theory," a contrivance which it has been the labor of his life to establish, and which has, within the past three or four years, been successively demolished by two English writers, Mr. Longe and Mr. Thornton—the latter, strange to say, a devoted follower of Mr. Mill in nearly all of his other vagaries. These demolitions have been so thorough and complete that Mr. Mill has felt obliged to make acknowledgment of the fact.†

* "Essays on some Unsettled Questions of Political Economy," p. 148.

† In his recantation of this heresy (see *Fortnightly Review*, May and June, 1869) Mr. Mill gives the theory in the following words:

"There is supposed to be, at any given instant, a sum of wealth, which is unconditionally devoted to the payment of wages of labor. The sum is not regarded as unalterable, for it is augmented by saving, and increases with the progress of wealth, but it is reasoned upon as at any

This important concession would alone be sufficient cause for satisfaction to those who have followed the American or inductive method; but when, in addition, we find an American follower of the English school, and a large dealer in its dogmas, in a recent paper in the *Atlantic Monthly*, driven to the acceptance of one of the fundamental and far-reaching doctrines of Carey, and assuring us that "it is true that every nation, worthy of the name, must have a diversified industry," and that "it is equally true that no nation can possibly exist without it," we may well take heart, and rest in the firm conviction that the day is at hand when the entire body of this American system shall be universally accepted as true.

The disastrous failure of the attempts practically and at all hazards to apply so-called "principles" which are mere hypothetical assumptions, to the affairs of men has been depicted with great felicity and power by a recent German writer.* We here quote him with some fulness, not only because his words are those of truth and wisdom, which cannot be too often, too clearly, or too forcibly pressed upon the consideration of the people, but because they furnish additional proof that the road to progress in all knowledge and all power lies in the one direction—that of the observation of *facts*, and the establishment of real principles or laws in harmony with those facts; any departure from this proper process leading either to progress in the wrong direction or in no direction at all, be it in regard to scenery, art, political economy, government, or any other branch of knowledge.

The writer above referred to says: "It is not possible for us, when framing laws, to ignore, or refrain from making allowances for, certain theoretical conceptions of justice, equality, liberty; and it is well that it is so. It is greatly to be regretted, however,

given moment a predetermined amount. More than that amount it is assumed that the wages-receiving class cannot possibly divide among them; that amount, and no less, they cannot but obtain. So that, the sum to be divided being fixed, the wages of each depend solely on the divisor, the number of participants."

For a very able examination of this and other doctrines of Mr. Mill and his followers, see *London Quarterly Review*, July, 1871: article, "*Economic Fallacies and Labor Eutopias*."

* *The Prospects of Liberalism in Germany*. By Karl Hillebrand. *Fortnightly Review*, Oct., 1871.

when Reason considers herself justified in applying her abstract theories to the institutions of a people without the slightest regard to reality, *i. e.*, to the interests, the passions, or the habits of that people. The whole secret of the signal failure of French legislators for the last eighty-two years, when they have attempted to endow France with durable institutions, is to be found in this, and this alone. After the defeat of the Jacobinism of 1793, and of the Cæsarism of 1800, there was a return to the constitutionalism of 1790; but at the bottom the principle remained unchanged, and as this principle—abstract reason—is not gifted with creative power, its combinations ignoring all reality were necessarily doomed to a formal existence, without substance or animation, *because they were mere forms*. Still, by dint of existing, they succeeded in time in gaining some life; they were, it is true, incapable of becoming that for which their authors intended them, because they started from a wrong point; but they lent themselves to other purposes.”

He subsequently adds: “The reign of abstract theory may now be said to be drawing to a close as far as Germany is concerned. The Bundesrath, an upper house representing real tangible interests, and not mere ingenious systems hatched in the brain of *savants*, is now gaining materially in importance.”

As coming from the land of the transcendental philosophy, it would be difficult to overestimate the importance of the tendency of things here indicated. Coming also from that country which of all Europe has within the past half century made the most steady and substantial progress toward real freedom, prosperity and power, resulting in the unity of a number of petty and jarring states, it is especially worthy of our consideration. The fact is, that under the lead of Frederic List and Baron Cotta, both of whom looked solely to practical results, and threw the speculative doctrines of the schoolmen to the winds, Germany was, forty years ago, by means of the protective features of the Zollverein, and by the consequent development of her productive industries, placed upon that road which she has since travelled with such eminent success—with, indeed, results so incomprehensible and astonishing to the schoolmen. Let any candid doubter read, in the light of subsequent events, what List has said upon the subject in his *Political Economy*, and it will be impossible for him to escape this conviction.

Such being the teachings, the direction of events, and the goal reached, nothing could be more natural than to find Germany ranging herself against the "mere ingenious systems hatched in the brain of savants." When, in addition, we consider that nowhere in the world, not even in the United States itself, are the great and fundamental principles of the American system better known or more generally accepted than in that country, we find an additional and forcible reason for its people turning aside from the teachings of the school of which Mr. Mill is the great ornament. That to this circumstance is in a large measure due the decadence of the reign in that land, of mere hypotheses, does not admit of a reasonable doubt. The American, or, as Dr. Elder would prefer to call it, the Pennsylvania system, has unquestionably largely aided the German mind in learning that the one and only condition upon which man can be permitted to acquire a knowledge of nature's laws in any department is by *steadily and uninterruptedly keeping in view things in the concrete*, and requiring that every abstract idea shall be tested by the touchstone of reality before being accepted as a principle or a law. This holds good equally with man in society, and with the matter which he would control through a knowledge of the laws which govern it. This requirement by no means precludes the possibility of the advantageous use of *à priori* reasoning, it being unquestionably true, as laid down by an able writer and acute thinker, that "the vice of the *à priori* method, when it wanders from the right path, is *not* that it *goes before* the facts, and anticipates the tardy conclusions of experience, but that it rests contented with its own verdicts, or seeking only a partial, hasty confrontation with facts—what Bacon calls '*notiones temerè à rebus abstractas.*'"*

With each advance in science, men are more and more brought to a recognition of these principles, and with the growth of all true knowledge this recognition must increase; while respect for the now existing pretensions of purely abstract reason, especially in metaphysics or political economy, as steadily declines, until in time it ceases entirely. Then will these pretensions and their offspring be numbered among the many grave and unaccountable delusions of the past.

* *Westminster Review*, Oct., 1852: article *Goethe as a Man of Science*.

Only by making himself acquainted with the laws which govern matter in all its forms, and by acting in harmony with them, is it that man can become master of the forces of nature. No action which results from the acceptance of the so-called *principles*, which are "in the strictest sense of the word hypothetical," can lead to such knowledge, or advance mankind a single step in this direction—the presence of "experiment as the mediator between the object and the subject" being demanded as a prerequisite to all real and substantial progress. Had no other mode of investigation been known to the world during the past nineteen centuries than that of the purely *à priori* one, utterly discarding every test of truth but its own reasonings, the civilization of the nineteenth would have known but little if any advance upon that of the first century of the Christian era. While man is still unacquainted with a knowledge of any of the laws of nature which affect him or the world in which he lives, he remains their slave: when, however, he shall have made himself master of them, and in the direct ratio of such mastery shall he approach to a realization of the promise given to the children of men, which is, YE SHALL KNOW THE TRUTH, AND THE TRUTH SHALL MAKE YOU FREE.

HENRY CAREY BAIRD.

THE POETRY OF BYROM.*

THE continual reversal of literary judgments is perhaps the most striking fact in the history of literature. Its annals are full of the names of those who flattered cotemporary tastes and prejudices, and played "the Philistine" with greater or lesser ability, but who shine with a lesser light in the estimation of succeeding generations, or are summarily "sent to Coventry" as unworthy of regard and study. The list is somewhat less full of those who disdained popular tricks and literary demagogism, and looked into their own hearts, instead of the newspaper and the

* Miscellaneous Poems by John Byrom, M. A., F. R. S., Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, and Inventor of the Universal English Short Hand. In Two Vols. Pp. 352 and 353. Manchester, 1773.

clubs, for guidance in their high vocation, but it is not less interesting. The history of English poetry is especially striking in this respect. None of Shakespeare's cotemporaries ever thought of assigning him the supreme place in the grand muster-roll of the Elizabethan dramatists. The man and his muse were, in their eyes, too much divorced from the popular likes and dislikes—especially the latter. He never kept the pit in a roar with a caricature of the Puritans, or treated his patrons to the standard dramatic dish of applauded adultery and courtly swindling. They put him below Johnson and Fletcher, and in the same rank with Webster and Dekkar. Indeed not a single poet of the seventeenth or eighteenth centuries now takes just the rank that his cotemporaries gave him. We have very gladly forgotten the Sucklings, Cowleys, Wallers, and Denhams of the Stuart period; but have recalled from oblivion the sorely neglected but truly excellent George Herbert, George Wither, Henry Vaughan, Andrew Mar-
rall, Herrick, and others, who, with whatever faults of manner, possessed some real inspiration and poetic power. So, too, with regard to the so-called "Augustan Age of English Literature" and the Hanoverian period which followed it. Pope is not held at the modern bar to be the great and unapproachable genius that his cotemporaries thought him, while names that they despised are coming to hold places of honor. Of the long list of lesser lights that made up the secondary galaxy in the time of Pope, hardly more than Glover and John Dyer hold their places, and these—with Thomson, Gray, and some others of the first order—hold a much higher place than they did during their lifetimes. A few that were almost ignored, such as Henry Brooke and John Byrom, are returning to the recollection of men, while triflers like Roscommon are completely forgotten.

It is of good old John Byrom of Manchester that we write—the wit and scholar, Jacobite and Behmenist, Lancashireman and Nonjuror. He left Cambridge in the early part of the century, having given up his fellowship that he might marry, and accepted a degree of M. D. After a while we find him sometimes frequenting London coffee-houses, sometimes back in Manchester, living by teaching his "Universal English Short Hand" to any one who thought the acquirement worth five guineas. Quite a rivalry sprang up between himself and other stenographic teachers, and the rival schools carried on a lively but harmless warfare of squibs

and challenges. Byrom at an early age gave evidence of very considerable poetical powers. While still a student at Cambridge he wrote the beautiful "Pastoral" which forms one of the best ornaments of the eighth (or supplementary) volume of *The Spectator*. His popular reputation rests on this poem, on his Christmas hymn, "Christians, awake, salute the happy morn," and on his humorous story in verse, "The Three Black Crows"—three productions which certainly evince a considerable range of talent. The two large volumes of poems which his friends printed after his death are very largely made up of what has only the *form* of poetry, a fact which has doubtless helped to keep their author from being appreciated at his true worth. The first volume, from page 218 to the end, is filled with such productions, critical epistles in reply to Dr. Middleton's views on prophecy, on the miracle of Pentecost, on the locusts eaten by John the Baptist, on the Iliad A. 50, and on passages of Horace. The editors urge as an apology for this that "he had so accustomed himself to the Language of Poetry, that he always found it the easiest Way of expressing his Sentiments on all Occasions"—which is no excuse for printing such rhymed essays among what claim to be, and very largely are, genuine poems.

The influence of another mind is so clearly traceable throughout these poems as to call for remark. About 1729 Byrom came under the influence of William Law, one of the nonjuring clergymen who had resigned their places in the Established Church on the accession of the House of Hanover. At this time Law was known to the public as the author of two or three vigorous High Church controversial treatises, and as a powerful writer on the practical duties of Christianity. He took high ground in a lax and worldly age, and urged his arguments and persuasions with a literary power possessed by few Churchmen of his time. His "Serious Call to a Devout and Holy Life," printed that very year, has been thrice reprinted in America, and exerted a great influence over Dr. Sam. Johnson, who says of it: "When at Oxford I took up 'Law's Serious Call to a Holy Life,' expecting to find it a dull book, (as such books usually are,) and perhaps to laugh at it, but I found Law quite an overmatch for me, and this was the first occasion of my thinking in earnest of religion, after I became capable of rational inquiry." A dull book the "Serious Call" certainly is not; it is as lively and as full of

character as *The Spectator*, while as full of earnestness as a book well could be. Gibbon (who hated Law for personal reasons) says of the book, that "his precepts are rigid, but they are formed and derived from the Gospel; his satire is sharp, but his wisdom is from the knowledge of human life, and many of his portraits are not unworthy of the pen of La Bruyere. If there yet exists a spark of piety in his reader's mind, he will soon kindle it into a flame."

In Byrom's mind the spark was thus kindled, and the influence exerted by Law changed the tenor of his thoughts and largely of his life. The wit of the clubs became a man of public spirit, of Christian earnestness, of a wide and active benevolence. He records in his recently deciphered *Diary* that he bought "The Serious Call," probably just out, at Rivington's, and the effect of the purchase is quickly perceptible. He writes soon after: "I find the young folks of my acquaintance think Mr. Law an unpracticable, strange, whimsical writer, but I am not convinced by their reasons. Yesterday Mr. Mildmay bought it ['The Serious Call'] because I said so much of it; he is a very pretty young gentleman. But Mr. Law and the Christian religion and such things are mightily out of fashion at present." An intimacy sprung up between the two, and Law's pupil, the father of the historian Gibbon, became Byrom's pupil also. They had long conversations—sprightly, philosophical, and religious; and Byrom began to speak out his mind at the clubs, where Deism was "the mode"; "had much talk with Sturt, Pits, &c., about Christianity, which I defended as well as I could, Pits talking in favor of reason. . . . I exhorted Sturt to lay aside a little vanity, and to embrace Christianity. . . . I promised to go and see Sturt, who said if I could make him believe a future state, I should do him the greatest favor."

In a few years the friendship between Byrom and his new counsellor was subjected to somewhat of a strain. The rigid Non-juror, who had thought that the one duty before him was loyalty to the conservative and unenthusiastic teachings of the Anglican Church, fell in with the writings of Jacob Behmen, (as our fathers called Böhme,) and found there something that the Prayer Book and the Anglican doctors had not taught him, which yet seemed to closely concern his spiritual life. "When I first began to read

him," says Law, "he put me into a perfect sweat. But as I discerned sound truths and the glimmerings of a deep ground and sense, even in the passages not then clearly intelligible to me, and found in myself a strong impulse to dig into these writings, I followed the impulse with continual aspirations and prayer to God for his help and divine illumination, if that I was called to understand them. By patiently reading in this manner again and again, and from time to time, passing over any little objections and difficulties that stood in my way for the moment, I perceived that my heart felt well, and my understanding kept gradually opening, until at length I discovered the wonderful treasure there was hid in this field."

From this time (1732) Law became the great English exponent of the ideas of the old shoemaker of Görlitz, encountering as much obloquy in his new course as he had won praise previously. Those of his friends who continued to look up to him as a guide became of course still more warmly attached to him, but it seemed doubtful for a time whether Byrom would be one of them. He bought, read, and praised Law's new books as he had done with those previously published, but the jeers of the wits were far keener against Law the mystic, than against Law the churchman, and apparently with more reason. One admirer said "he would never read his books, nor trouble his head about him again." He fancied that his own "zeal for vindicating [Law] is too great." Doubt and hesitation wore away with time, and Byrom too became a Behmenist; many of the boldest and most striking thoughts in his poems may be traced to the Theosopher of Silesia. Some of his poems are mere versifications of Law's prose, and in one case he has versified one of Behmen's "Theosophical Epistles."

His first volume is mainly of secular poetry—pastorals, songs, occasion verses, humorous declamations, political and other squibs, and critical epistles. His best song is an imitation of Sir Philip Sidney:

I am content, I do not care,
 Wag as it will the World for me;
 When fuss and fret was all my fare,
 It got no ground, as I could see:
 So when away my caring went
 I counted cost and was content.

With more of Thanks and less of Thought
 I strive to make my matters meet;
 To seek what ancient sages sought,
 Physick and food, in sour and sweet;
 To take what passes in good part
 And keep the hiccups from the Heart.

* * * * *

If names or notions make a noise,
 Whatever hap the question hath,
 The point impartially I poise,
 And read or write, but without wrath.
 For should I burn, or break my brains,
 Pray who will pay me for my pains.

I love my neighbor as myself,
 Myself like him too, by his leave,
 Nor to his pleasure, power or pelf,
 Came I to crouch, as I conceive
 Dame Nature doubtless has designed
 A Man, the monarch of his mind.

Not quite the mood for a mystic this, but the writer was not then a mystic. But in his very next poem, he says of the vices, just as a quietist would:

We coin a world of names for them, but still
 All comes to fondness for our own dear will.

In one point he certainly abandons the leadership of Law, who was a keen politician in his earlier days, but left all such subjects alone after he ceased to be a High Churchman, and watched only the current of religious thought from his retirement at King's Cliffe. Byrom retained an interest in politics to the last, and expresses it so freely that his editors (writing "at a time when party disputes are so happily subsided") apologize for the fact that "some few pieces are inserted that seem to be tinctured with a party spirit," by alleging that these were "intended to soften the asperity and prevent the mischiefs of an overheated zeal." We cannot take just that view of it; Byrom seems to write more as a partizan than a peace-maker, although, as he was on the losing side, prudence made it advisable to affect moderation. His Jacobitism comes out pretty plainly in what has been pronounced to be the best of English epigrams:

God bless the King, I mean the Faith's Defender;
 God bless—no harm in blessing—the Pretender;
 But who the Pretender is, or who the King—
 God bless us all—that's quite another Thing.

The House of Hanover had no need to thank our poet for devising a new and safe way of drinking the Chevalier's health—a way about as ingenious as that of drinking "to the King" over the water. His opinions come out especially in a couple of poems in the Lancashire dialect, which place Byrom among the first who used the English dialects for any literary purpose. In one, Sir John Jobson (a Whig magistrate) is discussing with Harry Homespun (a Tory rustic) the invasion of Lancashire by the Highlanders in 1745. Homespun can't for the life of him see what he has to lose by any change of government, and as for protecting his country—

My country, Sur? I have, yo' understand,
 In aw the Country not one inch o' Lond:
 They that wood'n feight, and ha' mon's blood be spilt,
 May if they win, but whoy mun I be kilt.

His "gronfayther" has given him a version of the Great Rebellion and "the Glorious Revolution" very different from the Whig one, and he "was no Foo, nor Rebbil noather." Sir John tries to teach him the orthodox Whig doctrines with but small results:

Sir J.—Well but hear me now—
 Our kings are *Stewards*.

H.—Sur yo' mean they wurn,
 For things, yo' know, han tan another turn;
 The Stuarts' race is—

Sir J.—Poh! thou takes me wrong—

H.—Haoo mun I tak ee reet?

Sir J.—I say, so long

As kings are our *Protectors*—

H.—Luk ye theer!

Oud *Oliver* agen—

Sir J.—Nay, pritheer hear

And keep thy nonsense in, till I have done—

H.—Weel, weel, I'zt hear yoars first then, if I mun.

Sir J.—The people, Harry, when they all agree—

H.—Au Sur!

Sir J.—Be quiet—choose them a trustee,
 And call him King; now, if he break his trust,
 They have a right to turn him out, and must—

Unless they would be ruined; dost thou think
For one man's swimming all the rest should sink?

H.—Yo loo'n a king, sur, waintly; sink or swim,
No mon I foind, is to be dracont but him.

This chozzen king* mit happen draoon yo furst,
Then yo mit sink him after, an yo durst.

If folks may tak whot kings they han a moind,
What faut wi' aw thesee Scotchmen con yo foind.

Sir J.—Hang 'em all—have they not a king already,
That keeps his contract with the people steady?
Rebels!

H.—Whoy, ay, that's reet, for they wur bytten;
They lost the Feight; but haoo, if they had gotten,
Wou'd yo' ha' loik't it, sur, if a Heelonder
Had toud 'ee *sauce for the Goose war sauce for the Gonder.*

Sir J.—Thou'rt a sly tyke, I'll talk with thee no more—

H.—Whoy, if yo pleasen then, sur, we'en give ore,
Wishing that e'ry mon may have his reet,
Feight as feight winn, and so, Sur John, good neet.

In the next poem the same characters are discussing the wholesale way in which oaths of allegiance were exacted from suspected persons after the affair of '45. One of Harry's neighbors has been "summonsed" by Sir John, and the rustic expostulates with true Lancashire staunchness and shrewdness against the magistrate's action. The latter pleads—

If we should suffer these nonjuring knaves,
We shall in time be Papists all and slaves.

H.—Papists and slaves, whoy good Sur John, the Pope,
The Deel himsel, con do no more, I hope,
Then tempt a mon to utter with his tung,
I' th' name o' God, whot he believes is rung.
Mun we be Papists, if we dunnot make
A mon belye his Maker, for aoor sake?
Mun we be slaves, except we forecn foke
To come, and put their necks into aoor yoke?

Sir John's father was a staunch Jacobite, and the common people speak very freely of the son's course—

Aoor Justicez—they sen
That tan themselves to be sich loyal men
Makken moor enemies to th' King and Craoon
Till onny twenty men besoide i' th' taaon;

* George II. of course.

They praisen mich this Government of aors,
 Becose it has no *harbitrary paors* :
 For *trade, religion, liberty* enjoyed
 It sheds aw th' Governments i' th' ward besoid:
 His *ooan oppinion* e'ry man may take;
 Noa *parsecution* int for *conciencie* sake:
 Monny sich *words* they han, as smooth as oyl,
 And *deeds* as sharp as alegar au th' whoile;
 They getten to a corner by 'umsels,
 And there they done, i' th' ward o' God, nowt elz,
 But tan their books, their 'bacco and their beer,
 And conjurn up poor fellows to appear;
 And the gost'ring—what'n ye caw it—*corum*
 Mun puff and ding, and carry aw before 'um.

Sir John had been an old friend of his, and now asks whether he had let all this abuse pass without a word of reply or defence—

Yoi, sur, I said as much as e'er I coud,
 But whaint ado* I had to mak it good.
 This *summons*, sur, this *summons* ! fie upon 't!
 Whot arguf'd my tung agen yoar hondt?
 Whene'r they thrutten that into my dish,
 It strick me dumb aootreet as onny fish.
 Had I gooan on, I know, sur, what I know,
 They'd soon ha said I wur as bad as yo.
 Yo conno think, if I may be believed,
 Yo conno think, sur, haoo my heart wus grieved.
 I'd fain ha' yo belov'd, sur, in your turn,
 As aw your anciters before ye wurn.

Harry persists in his home thrusts until he brings Sir John to a better mind. A third poem in the Lancashire dialect is aimed not at the squires but the parsons. Two rustics speak their mind about reading sermons as distinguished from preaching, the occasion being the absence of "the paper" from the pulpit of the parish church on a recent Sunday. John calls to mind the vigorous extemporaneous speaking of a shrewd and eloquent lawyer, and says:

I shid no grutch at takking a lung wauk
 To hyear a clargyman, that cou'd bu' tauk
 As that mon did—cou'd sarch a thing to th' booan,
 And in good yarnest mak the coaze his ooan.

* What an ado.

I seeldom miss a Sunday hyearing thoos
 At preechen weel enough, as preeaching gooas;
 But I ha' thought, sometimes, haooever good,
 A sarmon might be better if it woud:
 'At if it cou'd no mak folks e'en to weep
 It sartinly mit keep 'um aw fro sleep;
 Yet I ha' seen 'um nodding toimes eno,
 Not oonly childer but church wairdens too.
 Could yoar foine preecher—morning was too soon—
 Ha' kept folks wakken, John, i' th' afternoon.

John.—He must ha' ta'en a pratty dose, I think
 'At cou'd ha' gen that afternoon a wink.
 Sich looking! and sich list'ning! one mit read
 In e'ry feeace—' ay, heer's a mon indeed!
 Some meight ha' slept, if he had come agen,
 Befoor he spoak—I'm sure they cou'd no then.
 Aw they that listened, when he first begun,
 Kept listning moor and moor till he had done.
 Had he gone eend away—I gi' my word—
 He had me fast by th' ears—I had not stirred.

The question is raised why lawyers speak so cleverly and never think of using notes. John accounts for it thus:

The hoirn it aoot to oather reeght or wrung
 A diff'rent kease to that o' Parsons woide,
 They ar'—or sh'ld be—au o' the same soide.
 It makes, mayhap, aoor Lawyers reeadier far
 To plead withaoot a book, till aoor Pairsons are.

James.—It's loike it duz—for folks will larn to speeak
 Sanner by hauf fer contradickshun seepak.

The Lancashire of this poem is much broader than that of the other two, which, if intentional, was very proper, because the rustics are not here talking to "their betters," but among themselves. This first volume closes with some brief epigrammatic poems, one of which we have quoted. Here are three others:

In truths that nobody can miss,
 It is the *quid* that makes the *quis*:
 In such as lie more deeply hid,
 It is the *quis* that make the *quid*.

To give reproof in anger, to be sure,
 Whate'er the fault, is not the way to cure:
 Would a wise doctor offer, dost thou think,
 The sick his potion scalding hot to drink?

Safer to reconcile a foe than make
 A conquest of him for the conquest's sake;
 This tames his *power* of doing present ill,
 But disarms him of the very will.

The second volume is mainly occupied with poems of a religious character, which seem to have been written when their author was more advanced in years. The transition from the clear, keen good sense of the first volume to the mysticism of the second is a very marked one. It is as if a stream that bubbled over the stones and through the cornfields of the uplands had descended to the stillness and shades of the valley, where it broadened and deepened into a pool. Light and shade dance upon its surface still, but the eye does not reach the depth so quickly; broader and loftier images of nature are reflected from the more placid surface, and a thrill of awe consorts well with the peace and silence of the dell. For our own part we believe that Law and Behmen helped Byrom to be a better man and a truer poet, though now, as at all times, his power of thought far outruns his power of poetical expression. The younger Byrom never could have written such a hymn as this, in which Christ addresses one who is oppressed by doubts and fears:

Cheer up, desponding soul;
 Thy longing pleased I see;
'Tis part of that great whole
Wherewith I longed for thee.
 Wherewith I longed for thee,
 And left my Father's throne
 From sin and death to free
 And claim thee for mine own.
 To claim thee for mine own
 I suffered on the cross:
 Oh! were my love but known,
 No soul could fear its loss.
 No soul could fear its loss,
 But, filled with love divine,
 Would *die* on its own cross,
 And rise forever mine.

Here is another, in which the soul aspires after divine rest and grace:

My spirit longeth for Thee,
 Within my troubled breast,
 Although I be unworthy
 Of so divine a guest.

Of so divine a guest
 Unworthy though I be,
 Yet has my heart no rest
 Unless it come from Thee.
 Unless it come from Thee
 In vain I look around,
 In all that I can see
 No rest is to be found.
 No rest is to be found
 But in Thy blessed love;
 Oh! let my wish be crowned,
 And send it from above.

Here is one that has still more of the true fire, and reflects yet more of Behmen's ideas:

Stones towards the Earth descend;
 Rivers to the Ocean roll;
 Every Motion has some End:
 What is thine, beloved Soul?

Mine is, where my Saviour is;
 There with him I hope to dwell:
 JESU is the central Bliss;
 Love the Force that doth impel.

Truly, thou hast answer'd right:
 Now may Heav'n's attractive Grace,
 Tow'rds the Source of thy Delight,
 Speed along thy quick'ning Pace!

Thank thee for thy gen'rous Care:
 Heav'n that did the Wish inspire,
 Through thy instrumental Pray'r,
 Plumes the Wings of my Desire.

Now, methinks, aloft I fly:
 Now, with Angels bear a Part:
Glory be to God on High!
Peace to ev'ry Christian Heart!

From Behmen he derives this account of the fall of the angels that kept not their first estate:

Thinking to rise above the GOD of ALL
 The Wretches fell, with an eternal Fall;
 In Depths of Slavery, without a Shelf:
 There is no Stop in self-tormenting *Self*.

For down their own Proclivity to wrong,
Urg'd by impetuous Pride, they whirl along:
Their own dark, fiery, working Spirits tend
Farther from God, and farther to descend.

He made no *Hell* to place his Angels in;
They stirr'd the Fire that burnt them, by their Sin:
The Bounds of Nature, and of Order, broke,
And all the Wrath that follow'd them awoke:
Their own disorder'd Raging was their Pain;
Their own unbending harden'd *Strength* their Chain:
Renouncing God with their eternal Might,
They sunk their Legions into endless Night.

In a poem on Enthusiasm he follows Law in opposing Bishop Warburton's paradoxical argument for "the divine legation (or mission) of Moses," from the supposed absence of any revelation of a future state in the great law-giver's writings. Warburton argued that, in the absence of that motive, society could only be held together by an extraordinary dispensation of the divine government; and, in proof of his hypothesis, raked together learning of all kinds, into what is one of the strangest, wittiest, and most sarcastic books in the range of theological literature. He made the "Divine Legation" a sort of prose and theological Dunciad, by annotations as spicy as those with which he flogged literary enemies in his editions of Pope's Poems. To be "whipped at the cart's-tail in a note to the 'Divine Legation'" was the learned and eloquent Bishop Lowth's description of the vengeance that awaited such opponents of Warburton as himself. Law wrote against him fearlessly and vigorously, and was repaid by a filthy sneer, (worthy of Swift,) in one of his then half-public and now published letters to Hurd. Byrom followed his master in verse, or, indeed, seems to have anticipated Law, as in a poem of his first volume he likens Warburton's attempt to the Centaur of Zeuxis. In his second volume is a poem which was suggested by Law's "Short but Sufficient Confutation of the Divine Legation," and which Byrom published separately at the time of the controversy. The subject is Enthusiasm, and the Bishop is thus handled:

Another's *heated Brain* is painted o'er
With ancient *Hieroglyphic* Marks of yore:
He old *Egyptian Mummies* can explain,
And raise 'em up almost to Life again;

Can into deep antique Recesses pry,
 And tell, of all, the *Wherefore* and the *Why*;
 How this *Philosopher*, and that, has thought,
 Believ'd one Thing, and quite another taught;
 Can Rules, of *Grecian* Sages long forgot,
 Clear up, as if they liv'd upon the Spot.

What Bounds to *Nostrum*? *Moses*, and the *Jews*,
 Observ'd this learned *Legislator's* Views,
 While *Israel's* Leader purposely conceal'd
 Truths, which his whole *Oeconomy* reveal'd;
 No Heav'n disclos'd, but *Canaan's* fertile Stage,
 And no *For-ever* but a good *old Age*;
 Whilst the well untaught People, kept in Awe
 By meanless Types, and unexplained Law,
 Pray'd to their *local God* to grant a while
 The *Future State*, of Corn, and Wine, and Oil;
 Till, by a late *Captivity* set free,
 Their destin'd Error they began to see;
 Dropt the *Mosaic* Scheme, to teach their Youth
Dramatic Job, and *Babylonish* Truth.

Warburton, instead of impaling the author, wrote to complain of undue severity; and Byrom, in a spirited letter, disclaimed the meaning which the Bishop affixed to his words. But it is not by his controversial efforts that he best deserves to be known. In an age when religious poetry (Charles Wesley's excepted) was shallow, stilted, and full of the literary affectation of the times, he wrote with a keen apprehension of the truly poetical aspects of Christian truth. Thus he sets forth, in a hymn on the Annunciation, what Coleridge calls "the mystery of the alien ground:"

Salvation is, if rightly we define,
 Union of human Nature with divine.

What Way to this, unless it had been trod
 By the new Birth of an incarnate God?
 Birth of a Life, that triumphs over Death,
 A Life inspir'd by God's immortal Breath;
 For which Himself, to save us from the Tomb,
 Did not abhor the Virgin Mother's Womb.

O may this Infant Saviour's Birth inspire
 Of real Life an humble, chaste Desire!

Raise it up in us! form it in our Mind,
Like the blest Virgin's, totally resign'd!
A mortal Life from Adam we derive;
We are, in Christ, eternally alive.

Bolder yet are his thoughts in his "Meditations on Passion Week:"

The Wrath is God's; but in himself unfelt;
As Ice, and Frost are his, and Pow'r to melt:
Not even Man could any Wrath, as such,
Till he had lost his first Perfection, touch:
God has but one immutable good Will,
To bless his Creatures, and to save from Ill.

Cordial, or bitter a Physician's Draught,
The Patient's Health is in his ord'ring Thought:
God's Mercies, or God's Judgments be the Name,
Eternal Health is his all-saving Aim.
Vengeance belongs to God—and so it should—
For Love alone can turn it all to Good.

All that, in Nature, by his Act is done
Is to give Life; and Life is in his Son:
When his Humility, his Meekness finds
Healing Admission, into willing minds,
All Wrath disperses, like a gath'ring Sore;
Pain is its Cure, and it exists no more.

Justice demandeth Satisfaction—Yes;
And ought to have it where Injustice is:
But—there is none in God—it cannot mean
Demand of Justice where it has full Reign:
To dwell in Man it rightfully demands,
Such as he came from his Creator's Hands.

Man had departed from a righteous State,
Which he, at first, must have, if God create:
'Tis therefore call'd God's Righteousness; and must
Be satisfy'd by Man's becoming just:
Must exercise good Vengeance upon Men,
'Till it regain its Rights in them again.

This was the Justice, for which *Christ* became
A Man, to satisfy its righteous Claim;
Became Redeemer of the Human Race,
That Sin, in them, to Justice might give Place:
To satisfy a just, and righteous Will
Is neither more, nor less, than to fulfill:

Life natural, and Life divine possess'd,
 Must needs unite, to make a Creature bless'd :
 The first, a feeling Hunger, and Desire
 Of what it cannot of itself acquire ;
 Wherein the second, entering to dwell,
 Makes all an Heav'n, that would be else an Hell.

As only Light all Darkness can expell,
 So was his Conquest over Death, and Hell,
 The only possible, effectual Way
 To raise to Life what *Adam's* Sin could slay :
 Death by the falling, by the rising Man
 The Resurrection of the Dead began.

But we must desist from our too lengthy quotations, closing with a few from the epigrams with which he closes this second volume :

With peaceful Mind thy Race of Duty run ;
 God Nothing does, or suffers to be done,
 But what thou wouldst Thyself, if thou couldst see
 Through all Events of Things, as well as He.

Think, and be *careful* what thou art within ;
 For there is Sin in the Desire of Sin :
 Think, and be *thankful*, in a diff'rent Case ;
 For there is Grace in the Desire of Grace.

Faith is the burning Ardor of Desire ;
 Hope is the Light arising from its Fire ;
 Love is the Spirit that, proceeding thence,
 Compleats all Virtue in a Christian Sense.

Pray'r and Thanksgiving is the vital Breath,
 That keeps the Spirit of a Man from Death ;
 For Pray'r attracts into the living Soul
 The Life, that fills the universal Whole ;
 And giving Thanks is breathing forth again
 The Praise of him, who is the Life of Men.

To own a God, who does not speak to Men,
 Is first to own and then disown again ;
 Of all Idolatry the total Sum
 Is having Gods that are both deaf and dumb.

We are not ignorant nor unaware of the literary defects of these poems; the thought outruns the expression in nearly all of them; and so, when judged by the true standards of art, they come short. But they have the merit of thought, which is rare in *religious* poetry, and which to most people atones for lack of finish.

Their author belongs to a great host of mystic poets: St. Bernard, St. Francis of Assisi, Theresa a Jesu, Madame Guyon, Tauler, Ruysbrock, Gerhard Tersteegen, Gottfried Arnold, Johann Scheffler, Knorr Von Rosenoth, Fouque, Novalis, Phil. Mich, Hahn, our own George Herbert, Henry Vaughan, Henry Brooke, William Blake, and many others, being of the number. The mystics have always had a true turn for poetry; they have invariably been among the first to revive it when dead, and (as Wendell Phillips said of oratory among the Abolitionists) it has always been "dog-cheap" with them. This is natural, for true mysticism, like true poetry, is a glorification of common life, common duties, and common sights. It apprehends divine meanings in what seems trifling things—sees miracles in the growing corn, the Infinite in a dew-drop, and the parables of the kingdom of God in man's simplest acts and relations. Above all, it cherishes that noble enthusiasm which is the very life of true poetry—of poetry that deserves to take higher rank than the merest *vers de societe*. And the true poet, unless his circumstances cramp his growth and nature, always tends toward mysticism, as may be seen in Milton, Tennyson, Wordsworth, Goethe, and a host of others. Byrom may not take high rank in either class—mystic or poet; but he forms (as does Law) one of the curious phenomena of a superstitious yet unbelieving age—a man of a clear head, a public spirit, and a believing heart.

JOHN DYER.

NOTES IN CLASS.

SUMMARY OF THE VIEWS OF HOBBS.

CLOSELY associated with the name of Bacon is that of Thomas Hobbes, a name which has been pronounced great in Philosophy, on account both of the value of what he taught, and the extraordinary impulse which he communicated to the spirit of true

inquiry in Europe. He was born in 1588, died 1679. He is essentially Baconian, and the forerunner of the results of that philosophy both for evil and good.

Hobbes defines philosophy as the knowledge of operations or phenomena drawn from causes, and on the other hand, of causes deduced from the operations, observed by processes which justify their conclusions. The object of philosophy is to foresee operations so as to make use of this foresight in life. Hobbes consequently concurs with Bacon in accepting the practical as the aim of philosophy; but, while Bacon was most interested in applying his principles to nature and the arts, Hobbes applies them to political questions. He accepts Bacon's mechanical view of the world; reasoning he considers as mere adding and subtracting. While with Bacon he attaches great importance to the resolute or analytic method, in contrast with Bacon he attaches great importance to the compositive or synthetic method, the value of which he had learned in his mathematical studies, whose principles and processes he attempts to parallel in speculation.

The object of philosophy is body of every kind. Body he considers as identical with substance, and incorporeal substance he holds to be a contradiction in terms. Bodies are natural or artificial; among artificial bodies, the body or organism of the state is the most important; he consequently divides philosophy into natural and civil. He begins with the *philosophia prima*, which he reduces to a summary of definitions of the fundamental conceptions, such as space and time, entity and quality, cause and operation. He brings in physics and anthropology. Bodies consist of corpuscles, which are not however absolutely indivisible. There is no such thing as absolutely indeterminate matter. The general conception of matter is a pure abstraction from determinate, particular bodies. In this position Hobbes shows the influence of nominalism, which he early adopted. Hobbes reduces all real processes to movements. What moves another thing must also itself be moved, at least in its corpuscles. The movements of these can only communicate themselves to remote bodies by media. An immediate operation on that which is remote cannot be. The senses of animals and men are affected through movements which propagate themselves to the brain and from thence to the heart. From the heart there proceeds a reactive process which produces sensation.

The qualities which address themselves to sensation, as, for example, color and musical sounds, are consequently, as such, only in the sentient being. In the bodies which produce these sensations in us, there are not qualities like the sensations, but merely movements. Hobbes has not attempted to explain how it is at all conceivable that there are sentient beings, while according to him all beings are mere conglomerates of corpuscles which are moved, but which are not endowed with sensation. All knowledge he said is derived from sensations. The recollection of the sensation remains, and, as he expresses it, can come again, but he acknowledges the difficulty of memory on his system by calling it a sixth sense, an internal one. Remembrance of that which has been perceived is promoted, and the imparting of it to others rendered possible, by signs which we connect with the conception of the object. To this end words especially are of service. The particular word in each case may serve as a sign for a number of objects which resemble each other, and may thus attain the character of universality—a quality which always pertains to words, never to things. It depends upon us what object we mean to designate in any particular case by any particular word; we explain our meaning by definition. All thinking is a uniting and a separating, an addition and subtraction.

The ethical views of Hobbes are equally bold and original. He did not regard man as a social by natural instinct, as bees and ants are. He did not accept the old definition of man as the *zōon politikon*, but regarded the natural condition of man as that of war, either in fact or feeling, of all against all. As this condition, however, can secure no repose, but working by itself must be interminable, man is to come forth out of it by means of a compact or contract, in which there is to be a subjection of all under one absolute ruler, to whom all are to render obedience; and from whom, on the other hand, all are to obtain protection. Only in this way is it possible to win a genuinely human life. Outside of the state, predominate only the passions, war, fear, poverty, filth, isolation, barbarism, ignorance, and savagery. In the state we find the rule of reason, peace, security, wealth, the ornamental arts, social enjoyment, elegance, science, and benevolence. This catalogue shows that the charge is overstated that the commonwealth of Hobbes is one which excludes all that

is ideal and moral, and that the sole aims he acknowledges are security of life and material well-being.

Hobbes holds that the ruler or supreme authority may be a monarch or a body of men. Monarchy, however, as involving the stricter unity, is the more perfect form. The wars that rise under government are a return or remnant of the original condition. To the common life in the state is linked the distinction between right and wrong, virtue and vice, good and evil. What is sanctioned by the absolute authority of the state is good. What is opposed to this is blamable. The right of the state to inflict punishment is a result of its right to self-preservation. Punishment is not inflicted on account of the evil that is past, but for the sake of the good which is to come. The fear of punishment is to be a counterpoise to the influence of the pleasure to be derived from that which the state has forbidden; and it is on this principle the measure of the penalty is to be determined. The punishment is to create a fear which is stronger than the desire. Religion and superstition rest upon this common basis that they fear invisible powers, either imaginary or taught by tradition. Religion is the fear of those invisible powers which the state acknowledges; superstition is the fear of those which the state does not acknowledge. To oppose private convictions on religion to the faith sanctioned by the state is revolutionary, and dissolves the bond of the state.

Conscientiousness consists in obedience to rulers. The theory of compact was meant by Hobbes not so much to define historically how the state arose, as to present a normal principle for the estimate of existing relations. It was developed in the interest of the reigning house of England. The theory of compact or contract has been carried out far more logically to exactly opposite results by Spinoza, Locke, Rousseau, and several distinguished American writers on Political Science.

Hobbes has been frequently called an atheist, but nowhere in his works does he specifically deny the existence of a Supreme Being as the Creator of the world. But neither God nor religion has any proper place in his system. Religion is a mere means in the hands of the sovereign for holding in check the passions of the people. Hobbes' system was a return to the subjectivism of the old Sophists, the sensualism of the Epicureans, and the nominalism of the middle ages, freed, however, from the control

of the Church. It was a system of sensualistic empiricism. Thoroughly materialistic, it bore in its consequences, speculative, civil, and moral, its own annihilation.

The chief works of Hobbes are his "Elements of Philosophy," 1642; "Leviathan: concerning the Matter, Form, and Power of Church and State," 1668; "Human Nature: or, the fundamental elements of policy," 1650; "Elements of Philosophy, first of body, second of man," 1668; "Of the Body Politic," 1659; "Questions concerning Liberty, Necessity, and Chance," 1659. His complete works are to be found in the Amsterdam edition, 1668; London edition, 1750; Halle, 1793; last and best, Molesworth's, with notes, 1839-1845, XI vol. Eng., V vol. Lat.

The most popular judgments of Hobbes are the unfavorable ones. We meet them so frequently that it is not necessary to quote them. We shall quote, therefore, in justice to the name of Hobbes, the estimate of Professor Nichols, of Glasgow:

"The subjects occupying him were the most solemn that engage the human mind; and for the first time had they engrossed the thoughts of a great man in England. Loving truth, in the sense of coveting the grounds of it—not in that of accepting without grounds, and averring without understanding—he sought in an analysis of the human intellect and affections the basis of man's duties, personal, social, and political: in other words, he longed to discern his place in the universe as a reasonable being, and, like a brave and conscientious man, to assert it. The enterprise was novel, bold, and hazardous: novel, for in psychology he had not one predecessor; hazardous, because no mind, save one of the first order, would have preserved the necessary freedom, under pressure of the enthroned and inveterate ignorance amid which he lived, and of influences insidious and therefore more alarming, springing from his social attachments. But Hobbes surmounted all dangers. It can be said of him with perfect truth that neither in his life nor writings did he fail in integrity; of effect on him of circumstances we discern not a trace; he thought as a freeman, irrespective of seductions or frowns; nay, the chances of life having given him Charles II as a temporary pupil, he perilled the royal favor as if he made no sacrifice; to the honor of Charles be it recorded, that the philosopher's uprightness did not cost him the monarch's regard. It is easy to see that a long life of such a kind, thrown into the midst of those

ages, could be no welcome apparition; nor need Cromwell himself have dreaded a more unjust contemporary appreciation than Hobbes; but it is our grief and shame that contemporary slander has its voices still; that men in modern times who never read one page of this illustrious thinker, but who desire their criticisms to be palatable, persist in making him a bugbear. Surely something more than evil lay at the root of his extraordinary power. No man ever excited a wider and more lasting commotion. Clarendon, Cudworth, Bramhall, Bishop Tenison, Harrington, Henry More—nay, in the words of Warburton, ‘every young churchman militant—would try his arms in thundering on Hobbes’ steel cap.’ Now, as then, men will repudiate many of his opinions: that searcher for truth had no helps, and he erred like others. Few thoughts are pure—unaffected by much that will perish; but beneath all abides the Thinker—a veritable force of Nature, formidable, incorruptible, fresh still after all these centuries, gnarled it may be like an English oak, but also with roots profound—holding by the earth, while slighter generations fall and disappear. Hobbes’ style is a model of the didactic, clear and deep as the pen of an engraver. Hallam says truly, that one could no more change a word or expression in it than in the exactest mathematical formula. It does its duty in distinctly expressing distinct thought; and duty alone is its aim.”

RECOLLECTIONS OF A PHILADELPHIA LAWYER.—No. I.

THE LOTTERY TICKET.

THE system of raising money by means of lotteries was adopted at an early day in the American colonies. It is both amusing and surprising to observe in the newspapers of the last century the variety of objects which the lottery was called upon to aid. If a canal was to be dug, a bridge to be built, or a town hall, college, or church to be erected, this demoralizing game of chance was the selected method for extracting the necessary funds from the pockets of the public; the most respectable citizens came

forward to officiate as managers and superintend the drawings, and when the lottery was for the purpose of building or repairing a church, it was not unusual to advertise that tickets could be purchased at the residence of the clergyman! In a very large portion of the Union the system has now happily become a thing of the past.

The Union Canal Company was the last corporation which enjoyed the privilege of drawing lotteries in Pennsylvania. To enable it to make the canal from opposite Reading to the Susquehanna river, a monopoly of the lottery business was conferred on it, all other lotteries being declared illegal and prohibited. Its last lottery was drawn about thirty years ago. None have since that time been permitted by our Legislature. In this respect, at least, the tone of public sentiment shows some improvement over "the good old times."

About forty years ago, Joseph Simmons was a hard-working mechanic in Philadelphia, barely able, with the greatest industry, to support his wife and a growing family. Mrs. Simmons, as frugal and industrious as himself, managed to add something to their income by plain sewing. One morning, as she was reading the newspaper, her eye fell upon a lottery advertisement, wherein a Mr. Mayfield summoned all the enterprising to try their fortunes in the next Union Canal Lottery. A tempting list was added of the tickets recently sold by him which had drawn prizes in other schemes, and his readers were most pressingly invited to purchase tickets nowhere else than at his "lucky lottery office" in Chestnut street near Fourth street.

Mrs. Simmons had never owned a lottery ticket; she knew no more of the system of "combination and permutation," according to which the tickets were numbered and the lotteries drawn, than she did of conic sections or fluxions; but she comprehended that some of the purchasers of the tickets must be the future owners of the "\$50,000, \$30,000, two prizes of \$20,000," and a brilliant galaxy of smaller sums, any of which, even after the "deduction of fifteen per cent.," would be most acceptable to her and her family. She did not pause long to consider the question, but having a small sum in hand of her own earning, for which she had no immediate need, she put it into her purse, and on her way home from market called upon the benevolent Mr. Mayfield, who offered to distribute these glittering prizes among the purchasers

of tickets at the managers' prices. He welcomed Mrs. Simmons with one of his blandest smiles and informed her, for her encouragement, that the capital prizes of the three preceding lotteries had all been sold at his office, an assurance which convinced her that she had called at "the right shop" for a ticket. Had she known any thing of "the doctrine of chances" she would have come to a different conclusion.

A novice finds the choice of a ticket puzzling; but, finally, she pitched upon one numbered 4, 17, 25, being a half-ticket, which was as much as she could afford to purchase.

She returned home filled with sensations to which she had hitherto been a stranger. In a few weeks she and her family might be placed beyond the reach of want, above the necessity of labor, and her maternal heart found pleasure in considering various schemes for the education and advancement of her children, schemes occasionally interrupted by a passing thought that, perhaps, her ticket might, after all, turn out a blank; for the managers had to admit that there were blanks, although "not two blanks to a prize." If there had been ten more blanks there would have been exactly two blanks to a prize, and a large majority of the prizes only paid back the price of the ticket, after fifteen per cent. had been deducted from the amount. Mrs. Simmons thought but little of the blanks and not at all of the minor prizes; the figures which danced before her eyes, in the red and green letters of the show-bills, were \$50,000, \$30,000, \$20,000—yes, two of \$20,000! She had a double chance of obtaining the half of a prize of \$20,000.

On reflection, she concluded to say nothing of her purchase to her husband. If her ticket drew a handsome prize, his good fortune would be the more enjoyed for being unexpected, and if it proved a blank she would be spared the storm of ridicule which would, in that case, await her for throwing away her money. Therefore, on returning home, she went up to her chamber, opened a small closet, threw the ticket upon the top shelf, and said nothing of her purchase to any one.

Never did two weeks seem so long to her as those which preceded the day for the drawing of the lottery. This acquisition of a ticket completely unsettled her. She could no longer attend to her household duties with the gay light-heartedness which had always distinguished her; if she took up her sewing, she almost

immediately laid it down again to indulge in reveries and castle-buildings ; even the presence of her children ceased to afford her the usual delight, and the little ones, perceiving that something weighed on their mother's mind, sought for amusement away from her.

The day most anxiously expected must come ; the day of the drawing arrived. She would gladly have witnessed the drawing, but a mixture of shame and fear deterred her. She spent an uneasy night, and so soon as the morning paper appeared, she seized it and turned to the place where the lottery advertisements were printed. She now knew well where to look for them. Mr. Mayfield's advertisement was found, and with a swimming head she read the announcement that he had sold, in a half and two quarters, ticket No. 4, 17, 25, which had drawn a prize of \$20,000. A flood of tears came to her relief, and it was some time before she found strength to acquaint her husband with their good fortune.

She had never looked at the ticket since she had thrown it into the closet, but the numbers were indelibly burnt into her memory ; she had thought by day of 4, 17, 25, and had dreamt of 4, 17, 25 by night. The ticket was soon found, but a cry of consternation broke from her lips when she beheld it. Upon the shelf on which she had thrown it stood a cup ; the ticket had fallen into this cup, in the bottom of which was a little whiskey, which had considerably dimmed the 17 and almost entirely obliterated the 25. Almost in the same minute, her husband heard of their fortune and their misfortune. He went immediately with the ticket to Mr. Mayfield's office, where that personage without a moment's hesitation refused to recognize it as the lucky ticket which had drawn the half of a prize of \$20,000. He denied that the numbers were 4, 17, 25, as represented by Mr. Simmons.

It should be mentioned, for the information of those who are not old enough to remember the working of the lottery system, that the managers of the lotteries sold only whole tickets to the brokers, who retained them and issued wholes, halves, quarters, and eighths for them, according to the demands of purchasers. One broker, of an original and ingenious turn of mind, who kept a little office in Market street near Eleventh street, invented a new system of division unknown to the mathematicians, selling four halves, eight quarters and sixteen eighths. This was a prof-

itable system for him so long as these tickets drew blanks or the smallest prizes; but one morning his shop was found closed, without any notice as to the time when it would be reopened, and, although some of his customers called repeatedly, they never again found it open. He had sold an extra number of shares of a ticket which had drawn a large prize, and had found it convenient to leave town, the climate of which threatened to become too hot for him.

Mr. Mayfield, of course, perceived at a glance that if he could avoid paying half of the prize which the ticket had drawn, the amount would be clear gain to his pocket, as his right to call upon the managers for the prize which the ticket had drawn was unquestionable. As we have said, he promptly refused to pay the prize.

Mr. Simmons consulted his counsel, Mr. D——, who soon after retired from the bar. I believe that this was the last case which he tried. By his advice, the ticket was taken to Professor Hare, of the University of Pennsylvania, one of the most eminent chemists in the United States. He succeeded in perfectly restoring the 17 and the 2 of the 25, and in improving the appearance of the last figure, the 5.

The ticket was again taken to Mr. Mayfield, who appeared much staggered by its improved appearance, but he still refused to admit that it was 4, 17, 25. He now denied that he had sold any half ticket containing these numbers; he said that he had disposed of the ticket in four quarters. He was reminded of the advertisement which he had put forth on the day after the drawing, and the very natural question was asked, "If you did not sell this ticket in a half and two quarters, why did you announce that you had done so?" "Oh!" was the cool reply, "you lawyers sometimes say things that are not true."

There appeared to be nothing left but to bring suit against Mayfield for the \$10,000, less the fifteen per cent., a great sum to our mechanic and his family, far more than he could hope to lay by during a life of toil. The conscience of Mr. Mayfield, if he owned so troublesome a commodity, could not be moved, and proceedings were commenced in the District Court for the City and County of Philadelphia, the court having jurisdiction in suits for more than a hundred dollars.

About eighteen months afterwards the case was reached, which

was considered early at that time. A reasonably intelligent jury was selected to try the case, which was both novel and interesting. The pleadings were explained to the jury, the ticket was produced, and Mr. Mayfield's signature to it was properly proved. The ticket was perfectly legible except a portion of the figures, dimmed by the unfortunate fall of the end of the ticket into the whiskey in the cup.

Mr. Mayfield was ably represented by one of the most intelligent and respectable members of a bar which has enjoyed a reputation for a century which has now become proverbial. Whether he believed in the truth of his client's assertion that the ticket was not 4, 17, 25, we cannot tell. Some writers on professional ethics maintain that his knowledge or ignorance upon this point would have made no difference in his duty to his client, or in his duty to the community. We cannot pause to consider this question, even if we had the ability to do so.

Mr. McAllister, the eminent optician, kindly furnished a large supply of magnifying glasses for the use of the jury. The ticket was handed from one to another and duly scrutinized. There was no doubt as to the figures 4 and 17, and none that the third number represented some number between 19 and 30. Was it 25? The plaintiff's counsel contended that it was; on the part of the defendant it was said to be 23, the three being in the old form 3. The arguments turned upon this point. The charge of the judge was clear and impartial, properly leaving the question, as one of fact, to the jury.

They retired and remained out for several hours. It was evident that they must be puzzled. Was the uncertain figure a 3 or a 5? They were to give their decision, on oath, upon that question, and although it was most unusual to write a 3 in the old form 3, yet as there was some slight possibility that it might have been written thus, the defendant, the virtuous Mr. Mayfield, obtained the benefit of the doubt, and the verdict was in his favor.

As No. 23 had not been one of the drawn numbers, tickets having on them only 4 and 17, of the numbers drawn, were entitled to some of the minor prizes, but I believe that no claim for such a prize was made on behalf of this ticket.

The whiskey had been purchased for some housekeeping purpose, for both Mr. and Mrs. Simmons were very sober people,

although not belonging, at that time, to the temperance society. But ever afterwards Mrs. Simmons hated to hear the word whiskey named, and when it was mentioned, would tell her story in proof that there was more mischief in that particular liquid than the most thoroughgoing temperance advocate had ever imagined.

THE ORIGIN OF FREE MASONRY.*

THE sad prominence which fell to the lot of Strasburgh, during the recent conquest of Alsace by the Germans, awakened a thousand tender and painful recollections in the minds of educated readers. Some recalled Johann Tauler and the Friends of God, who made this ancient German city a centre of light and truth for all the Rhine valley during the calamitous and tumultuous times of the fourteenth century. Others remembered the place which it, next to Metz, held in the early history of the *ars artium conservatrix*—printing; and mourned the destruction of its great and utterly irreplaceable public library. Some remembered the place held by Strasburgh in the later annals of France and Germany; while others went back in imagination to its glorious record in the days of chivalry and poetry, when its citizens and knights poured out gold like water for the adornment of their civic home, and especially for the erection of the great unfinished *Dom-Kirch*, so sadly torn by shot and shell during the siege. A curious interest, not generally known even to those whom it concerns, gathers around the erection of this *Dom-Kirch* or cathedral. Its builders first organized the greatest of modern secret societies, and its architect—Erwin, of Steinbach—was the first grand master of the masonic order.

Theories in regard to the origin of the order of Free Masons are as plenty as blackberries. One zealous brother, an English clergyman, traces it back to the period before the creation; another of the same cloth more modestly fixes it at Adam himself, and describes Moses as the grand master of his times, to

* The Origin and Early History of Masonry. By G. W. Steinbrenner, Past Master. New York: 1864.

whom Joshua acted as deputy, with Aholiab and Bezaleel as grand wardens. Another writer of our own times and country is not sure about being able to trace it back farther than to Noah and his sons. More numerous authors trace it to the building of Solomon's temple, by the aid of King Hiram of Tyre, and some claim that the quarry marks found on the surviving portions of its foundation walls are symbols of Free Masonry. The story as given by the Jewish historians is supplemented by these writers with many curious particulars for which they allege no documentary evidence. The great body of French writers on masonry trace it to the Greek, Indian, and Egyptian mysteries, especially the latter; while a few of that nation follow the German K. C. F. Krause, (1820,) in dating its origin from the establishment of Roman colleges of builders by Numa Pompilius, 700 B. C. One Frenchman finds traces of its existence in the ruins of Herculaneum, while several others derive it from the Templars and other military orders of the middle ages.

The first who hit the mark even approximately was the Abbe Grandidier, who wrote an historical and topographical essay on the cathedral of Strasburgh. He consulted for that purpose the ancient archives of the cathedral, and found there documents which threw a flood of light on the subject. He wrote of his discovery first to a lady, (1778,) then to the *Journal de Nancy*, (1779,) then to the *Journal de Monsieur*, and lastly in his published *Essai*, (1782.) In the first of these documents he says: "But I hold in my profane hand authentic documents and real records, dating more than three centuries back, which enable us to see that this much boasted society of Free Masons is but a servile imitation of an ancient and useful fraternity of actual masons, whose headquarters were formerly at Strasburgh." After alluding to the erection of the cathedrals of Vienna, Cologne, &c., he proceeds: "The masons of those edifices and their pupils—spread over the whole of Germany—in order to distinguish themselves from the common workmen, formed themselves into the fraternity of Masons, to which they gave the name of *hütten*, which signifies lodges, but they all agreed to recognize the authority of the original one at Strasburgh, which was called *haupt-hütte*, or grand lodge." He proceeds to describe the consolidation of the order, and to specify the imperial charters granted to it, (1459, 1498, &c.,) and then adds: "The members of

the society had no communication with other masons, who merely knew the use of the trowel and mortar. They adopted for characteristic marks all that belonged to the profession, which they regarded as an art far superior to that of the simple laboring mason. The square, level, and compasses became their insignia. Resolved to form a body distinct from the common herd of workmen, they invented for use among themselves rallying words and tokens of recognition, and other distinguishing signs. This they called the signs of words, (*das wortzeichen, der gruss.*) The apprentices, companions, and masters were received with ceremonies conducted in secret. . . . You will doubtless recognize, Madame, in these particulars, the Free Masons of modern times. In fact the resemblance is plain—the same name, ‘lodges,’ for the place of assembly; the same order in their distribution; the same division into masters, companions, and apprentices; both are presided over by a grand master; both have particular signs, secret laws and statutes against the profane.” Two German writers, Vogel in 1785, and Albrecht in 1792, adopted the Abbe’s conclusions without further development or investigation.

So far as the Abbe follows his documents he is right enough, but where he attempts to construct particulars and give reasons not furnished by the archives he goes wrong. The mediæval free masons were simply a great guild or trade’s union of the operative masons who covered Europe with Gothic cathedrals—a guild not organized until Gothic architecture had passed into the ornate period. These guilds lived in *hütten* or lodges of wood pitched around the site of the edifice they were erecting, because the masons were, at that time, become a nomad class, passing from city to city at the call of the municipalities. They became a closely organized order from professional jealousy, because they desired to keep their art a secret from those who had not served a due apprenticeship to its mysteries. They had no intention of enabling every on-looker to become as expert as themselves, and so to underbid them in the architectural market. As it was, they were often, if not generally, given a *carte blanche* as regards all questions of outlay—told to do their best, and the city that employed them would provide the funds. The first mention of a guild of masons is traditional, and connected with the foundation of the cathedral of Magdeburg, in 1241. In the time when Erwin of Steinbach laid the foundation of Strasburgh

cathedral, (1248,) either the necessity for close organization had culminated, or a special gift for organization disclosed itself in that architect. The order upon which he impressed his genius, however, was no isolated fact, but part of a great system of guilds which overspread all Europe, furnishing to the trader and artizan more efficient protection than that of the weak governments of the feudal age, and securing to the newly enfranchised citizen nearly as much personal immunity as fell to the lot of his feudal superior. These guilds were more or less religious in their character—some of them so highly so that they rank with the semi-monastical institutions of the Beguines. The monks themselves, on the other hand, were adept at many arts which were taught at first exclusively in the monasteries as well as philosophy, divinity, and music. Tradition points to Albert the Great, of the Dominican order, and Archbishop of Cologne, as the first to put masonry upon a scientific basis. For three centuries the masonic and the religious orders stood in very close relations to each other, and the masonic method of initiation is or was imitated from that of the Benedictine order. The line which divided the monastery from the mass of the people was never strictly drawn; "the third order," in connection with the Benedictine "rule," was made up of pious laymen. Thus what the monks knew passed over to the people at large, and, when the close of the eleventh century brought a great revival of national life and various kinds of learning, these guilds made their appearance in all directions. They had something of the hereditary character of the Hindoo caste system, but were never, like that, a closely organized monopoly. The free religious sentiment of the common people manifested itself in the assertion of the sacredness of these fraternities, which they traced to the Scriptures and divine institution. They felt that the monastic life was not alone Christian and fruitful of good works; that they also were co-workers with God, the Maker and Fashioner of all things. Especially in the masonic guilds this popular and independent religious sentiment made itself visible. Men worked "as seeing Him who is invisible," crystallizing their devotion in forms of grace and beauty, singing of the Infinite "in obedient stone." Here are the greatest annals of the masonic order, the vast and still unrivalled cathedrals of Europe.

When our Abbe makes a difference between the Free Mason

and the common working mason, he outruns the record, and transfers the ideas of a later to an earlier period. The free mason was a common working mason, and at the same time an artist; for, while the builders of the ancient cathedrals worked in subordination to one common head and in carrying out a common plan, a certain scope was given to the play of taste and genius in the mind of every companion mason. Up to a certain point he must conform to the general design, but he was expected to use brains in his work as well as hands. The transition to our modern system, in which one brain does all the thinking, and the rest of the workers are confined to the merest mechanical activity, marks the decay and death of Gothic architecture, nor will it ever be truly revived under our present system. Not until, in the words of Cardinal Wiseman, "every artizan becomes an artist," will the great secret, the true masonic password, be discovered.

The Abbe's mistake is often repeated nowadays in a slightly different form. We are told that there was then, and there has always been, an organization devoted to "speculative masonry," in connection with the practical operations of the craft. This is an idea of the eighteenth century transferred to the thirteenth, and with a view, in this instance, to find a *raison d'être* for the modern masonic order. No trace of "speculative masonry" is discoverable in the oldest documents of the order. The rules adopted by the Regensburg Chapter, in 1459, show that their masonry was thoroughly practical—busied about actual edifices of stone, not ideal ones of principles. Even when purely mythical stories are introduced, it is with a view to constructing a history of actual architecture, and to vindicate *its* claims to divine institution or Scripture warrant.

From Germany the order of Free Masons spread into other countries, as the German workmen were in especial demand for the erection of sacred edifices. The lists of workmen employed on great buildings in mediæval England are full of German names. The first two edifices erected in Scotland and England respectively, after the full organization of the order on the Continent, were the Abbey of Kilwinning and York Minster. This fact was long perpetuated in the tradition that gave the masonic lodges of Kilwinning and York precedence over all others in those two kingdoms, and in the title Ancient York Masons which

still survives in our own country. In all countries the brethren of the confraternity lived on terms of equality, under an elective head called the Master, and were required to instruct the apprentices in the "mystery of the craft." Their monthly meetings, which discussed all affairs and punished offenders, were, like those of all other guilds and secret orders, (including the dreaded *Vehmgericht*, of Westphalia,) and even of the public courts of justice, opened with a sort of catechism or dialogue between the chief and subordinate officers. Like all other guilds, they had a peculiar costume, which was not changed for three centuries. A travelling brother approached a lodge according to fixed forms, was received by the brethren drawn up in a masonic figure, and, if work could not be given him, was helped on to the next lodge. Companies of Masons travelled from monastery to monastery, often under the guidance of a monk, and with their tools and insignia borne on pack-horses.

In the degenerate period that preceded the Reformation, various disorders arose, and the masters of Middle and South Germany met in a chapter at Regensburg and drew up a new code of statutes, in which Strasburgh was acknowledged as the grand lodge. These were approved by the emperor, but his sanction was never given to a similar code, drawn up by the masters of Lower Saxony, at Torgau, in 1462. As the Reformation drew near, the Gothic style of architecture fell more and more into disuse, and the order in England largely ceased to have any practical connection with architecture, while it devoted itself to the perpetuation of its ancient ritual and constitution. The actual masons left it and joined new guilds of Masons, who were working in accordance with the new tastes of the new period. Hence arose what is now called "speculative masonry," when only the usages were left and cherished, and these received new explanations.

German churches contain evidence of the fact that the Masons helped on the great revolution which superseded their craft, and that the lodge was often a place of refuge for bold and critical spirits who would have fared ill had the Church got hold of them. Some churches of the grotesque period of Gothic art are like a page from the *Colloquia* of Erasmus or the *Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum*, in their bold satire of the ecclesiastical authorities, of whom a wolf in the garb of a monk is the standing type. Others

bear traces of masonic symbolism. Thus in a representation of the Last Supper in a Mecklenburg church, the apostles are represented in masonic attitudes.

The last German chapter of Free Masons was held in 1563, and the people of the troublous periods that followed were too much bent upon destruction to pay much attention to the constructive arts. Near the close of a disastrous century, in 1681, Strasburgh was conquered by the French; and an imperial edict severed the connection between the grand lodge of Strasburgh and the minor lodges of operative masons who still held by the guild. The attempt to establish a new German grand lodge failed, and the whole guild was abolished by the Viennese authorities, but continued its connection secretly.

In the meantime, English Free Masonry had become simply a secret society, retaining the old usages of the operative masons of the Gothic period, but assigning the strangest explanations of them. The members were in no way connected with architectural undertakings of any kind. Thus, we read of Thomas Boswell, Esquire, of Auchinleck, (an ancestor of "Bozzy,") as chosen warden in 1600, and a quartermaster general of the Scotch army made a master in 1641. Elias Ashmole, the antiquarian, records his own initiation into a Lancashire lodge in 1646. These new members took the title of accepted Masons, and were still associated with real masons; for when they, in 1663, held a general assembly, which chose the Earl of St. Albans the grand master, while they adopted rules which limited membership only to persons "of able body, honest parentage, good reputation, and observers of the laws of the land," they still required that one in each lodge should be "of the trade of free masonry," *i. e.*, an operative mason. Plot, in his "History of Staffordshire," (1686,) notes that "persons of the most eminent quality did not disdain to be of this fellowship." The burning of London revived the order by causing a greater demand for builders, and Sir Christopher Wren became a brother of the fraternity. After the Revolution, the order decayed so much that its annual festivals were utterly neglected; and, to secure its perpetuation, it was formally thrown open "to men of various professions, provided they were regularly approved and initiated into the order." The transformation from a workingmen's guild to such a secret society as it is at present was thus formally completed in England. In France,

the guild had been suppressed by the government; in Germany, the transformation was never effected. To the last the genuine and native German lodges were simply branches of a great trade's union of real builders.

English Free Masonry was now carried to the Continent by the Jacobites who fled to France with the vanquished Stuarts. In their hands the order became a secret political society in the interests of that house, with the Pretender at its head. The masonic ritual and myths received a corresponding explanation; the assassinated "Master" Adoniram became Charles I.; the lost watchword, "royalty;" the unfaithful and murderous "companions," Cromwell and his associates. One lodge of this "Scotch Jacobite rite" was founded at Arras, under the presidency of a Robespierre, father of "the sea-green incorruptible." The order outlived the Jacobites, to become the tool of the Jacobins, who made the lost password "liberty." It flourished in this new and still more congenial soil, and received yet a new explanation, being traced historically to the Knights Templar of the middle ages. Adoniram was now Jacques Molay; the "companion"-assassins, Philip the Handsome of France, Pope Clement V, and the iniquitous judiciary. The number of grades was increased to seven, the ritual enlarged and made more impressive, and the formal catechism or dialogue of the lodge connected with current political and philosophical ideas of "the period of enlightenment." The old traditions of the Rosicrucian fraternity* were adopted as part of the

*The origin of this fraternity (if we may speak of the origin of what never existed save in a book) is well known to students of the writings of J. Valentine Andrea, a Lutheran clergyman, poet, and satirist, in the beginning of the seventeenth century. His pretended description of the fraternity was a satire (in the manner of Sir Thomas More's *Utopia*, or Bishop Berkeley's *Gaudentia di Lucca*) upon the actual state of Christendom and its dissensions. He was taken in good earnest by the mystery-mongers of his times, and a furious hubbub between them and the orthodox ensued. In many parts of Europe, fools published descriptions of their own qualifications for membership and applications for initiation. Andrea was so dismayed at the dust raised by his harmless squib that he resolved to keep his secret, but it came out when his autobiography was discovered and published. The Englishman, Robert Fludd, (who was a bit of a quack,) professed to belong to the society, and expound its principles, and this gave the fiction wider currency.

traditions of masonry. The order met a great need of the times, although in a very imperfect way. At a time when the entire intellect of Europe seemed to have exhausted itself in the work of analysis and destruction of all things once held sacred, men's minds turned in utter weariness and disgust to an institution which met their scepticism with defiance, and threw around itself a veil of mystery and awe. The instinctive desire for something higher and grander than the conceptions of the understanding found some degree of satisfaction in new and sham mysteries. Multitudes who had given up faith in prophets and apostles, the Church and the Bible, bowed in awe before the arch-quack Cagliostro and his "Egyptian rite," which was his contribution to "speculative masonry."* In the same spirit, masonry was welcomed in Germany, at a time when French intelligence and French superstition had hold of the minds of the Teutons. Frederick the Great was initiated at the risk of his royal father's wrath, but did not continue an active member.

One keen intellect saw in the order a possibility of higher things; Lessing hoped to make of it a sort of lay church of humanity, in which men could realize the brotherhood of man and the sacredness of universal duty, without the intervention of priests, sacraments, or historical beliefs. Confessing that he attached no idea to the word patriotism but a bad one—political egotism—he longed for an organization of men on the simple basis of human brotherhood, an organization which should know nothing of social ranks or national boundaries, but should be based on what is the final basis of all religion—brotherly love. He would have men taught to be above all things cosmopolitan—citizens of the world—and so put an end to international wranglings and brutal wars. Here was the "religion in which all men can agree," which would shame all human strifes into peace. The order was never more influential or widely extended than at the time when these words found charmed listeners; a time when all Europe was trembling on the verge of social convulsions and international wars; yet Lessing's "Letters to Free Masons" form the highest and noblest book in masonic literature. His scholar Goethe, who like his master had no sympathy with patriotism, seems to have inherited something of Lessing's views. So, at least, we inter-

* Where the gods are not, spectres rule.—*Novalis*.

pret his beautiful poem, *Mason Lodge*, which Carlyle has translated in *Past and Present*, in which he interprets the ritual of masonry :

The Mason's ways are
A type of existence,
And his persistence
Is as the days are
Of men in this world.

The future hides in it
Good hap and sorrow ;
We press still thorow,
Naught that abides in it
Daunting us, onward.

Silent before us
Veiled the dark portal,
Goal of all mortal ;
Stars silent rest o'er us,
Graves under us silent.

But heard are the voices—
Voices of sages,
The world and the ages—
"Choose well ; your choice is
"Brief and yet endless.

"Here eyes do regard you
"In Eternity's stillness ;
"Here is all fulness,
"Ye brave, to reward you.
"Work, and despair not."

ROBT. ELLIS THOMPSON.

NEW BOOKS.

THE INDIAN MUSALMANS: ARE THEY BOUND IN CONSCIENCE TO REBEL AGAINST THE QUEEN? By W. W. HUNTER, LL.D., of Her Majesty's Bengal Civil Service. London: Trübner. 1871. Pp. 215.

This volume with its astonishing title is one of the most striking evidences of the extraordinary changes in British government of India. In former volumes—"The Annals of Rural Bengal" particularly—Mr. Hunter surprised the world by showing that in India there was a history other than that commonly received, the wonderful story of British conquest. Following up the advantage of his priority, if not in discovery at least in advocacy of the claims of the native population to some consideration, Mr. Hunter here gives us a sketch of the rise and progress of a Mahommedan sect, whose faith requires rebellion against the existing government of India as infidel, and sure to entail destruction on those who submit to it. To the interest of novelty which belongs to the sub-

ject, now for the first time treated as the fitting task for historical literature, Mr. Hunter lends the charm of a style which seems to have borrowed something of its luxuriance from the Eastern scenery in which he has spent so many years of his life. Unlike most of his fellow civil servants, Mr. Hunter has apparently lost none of his British love of fair play; and he tells the story of the Mahommedan subjects of the Indian empire—their wrongs, their hardships, and their feeble efforts to secure redress—in a way that must come home to those who live in the sight of such stupendous blunders, and that may serve to throw more light on the existing condition of affairs in British India than many volumes of antiquated history.

It is hardly fair to wrench from their place in a story told with admirable art the bits of glowing word color which Mr. Hunter uses to set off his pictures; and, indeed, it is only by following alike the dry details of theological and ethical discussions among the Mahommedan doctors, and the characteristic recital of British influences, good and bad, on the Mahommedans in India, that one can get a true view of the subject in hand and of its importance. Yet while we do this, we shall, we hope, induce our readers to go to this volume for a better appreciation of the real sources of knowledge of East India. The extraordinary change which has come over that great tributary empire of Great Britain since "The Civil Service Reform" gave it new officers, and gave to these officers new life and new zeal, is one that commends itself specially to our study. After nearly a hundred years of government purely with a view to British interests and these often of the most mercenary kind, a revolution has begun in behalf of the native subjects, but in pursuit of their happiness and well-being, the vast majority of Hindoos have been considered, and the thirty millions of Mahommedans are nearly at the bottom of the political empire, which was one of the creations of their greatest triumphs. To restore them to a better place in British rule, to show the hardship inflicted on them, and to prove their fitness for office—these are the main purposes of Mr. Hunter's book. Little as we may care for his zeal in behalf of a race to whom we are utter strangers, it gives an insight into modern India, and it does it in a way that may not be without its useful effect here, where the question of political supremacy is yet to be settled in the Southern States, as between men of culture and training who were in rebellion, and men without either, who were perhaps deprived of both by being slaves, or who were strangers to the soil and its inhabitants, until the attraction of cheap political power and preferment brought them thither. Let us point the moral, then, of our notice, and adorn its tale with the dramatic sketch given by Mr. Hunter of the decay of the once great families of Indian Mahommedans, strongly suggestive of a somewhat similar state of affairs to be found among the first families of the South now.

"The remains of a once powerful and grasping Musalman aristocracy dot the whole province, [of Lower Bengal,] visible monuments of their departed greatness. At Murshidabad, a Mahommedan court still plays its farce of mimic state; and in every district, the descendant of some line of princes sullenly and proudly eats his heart out among the roofless palaces and weed-choked tanks. Of such families I have known several. Their houses swarm with grown-up sons and daughters, with grandchildren and nephews and nieces; and not one of the hungry crowd has a chance of doing any thing for himself in life. They drag on a listless existence in patched-up verandahs or leaky outhouses, sinking deeper and deeper into a hopeless abyss of debt, till the neighboring Hindu

money-lender fixes a quarrel on them, and then in a moment a host of mortgages foreclose, and the ancient Musalman family is suddenly swallowed up and disappears forever. If an individual instance is demanded, I would cite the Rajas of Nagar. When the British first came into contact with them, their yearly revenues, after two centuries of folly and waste, amounted to fifty thousand pounds. From the pillared gallery of their palace the Rajas looked across a principality, which now makes up two English districts. Their mosques and countless summer pavilions glittered round the margin of an artificial lake, and cast their reflections on its surface, unbroken by a single water-weed. A gilded barge proudly cuts its way between the private staircases and an island in the centre covered with flowering shrubs. Soldiers relieved guard on the citadel, and ever as the sun declined the laugh of many children and the tinkling of ladies' lutes rose from behind the wall of the princesses' garden. Of the citadel nothing now remains but the massive entrance. From the roofless walls of the mosque the last stucco ornament has long since tumbled down. The broad gardens with their trim canals have returned to jungle or been converted into rice-fields. Their well-stocked fish-ponds are now dank, filthy hollows. The sites of the summer pavilions are marked by mounds of brick-dust, with here and there a fragmentary wall, whose slightly arched Moorish window looks down desolately on the scene. But most melancholy of all is the ancient royal lake. The palace rises from its margin, not as of yore a fairy pillared edifice, but a dungeon-looking building, whose weather-stained walls form a fitting continuation to the green scum which petrifies on the water below. The gallery is a tottering, deserted place. The wretched women who bedeck themselves with the title of princesses no more go forth in the covered barge at evening. Their luxurious zenana is roofless, and its inhabitants have been removed to a mean tenement overlooking a decayed stable-yard. Of all the by-gone grandeur of the House of Nagar, a little watercourse alone remains unchanged, holding its way through the dark solitude in the same channel by which it flowed amid the ancient palaces. In a corner of the dilapidated palace the representative of the race mopes away his miserable days, chewing drugged sweetmeats and looking dreamily out on the weed-choked lake.⁵

Here perhaps we see Mr. Hunter at his best, as a new light in the Anglo-Indian literature of to-day, recalling Burke's splendor in the famous episodes of Warren Hastings and the reform of British rule in India in its then early days of growth. It is not without a suggestion, too, of Macaulay, who was never so eloquent as when his subject mastered him, and carried him he knew not whither and his reader little cared. But Mr. Hunter writes with a purpose and a guiding aim and direction, the result of ripe experience and trained study of Indian affairs, and this beyond any charm of style gives value to his book.

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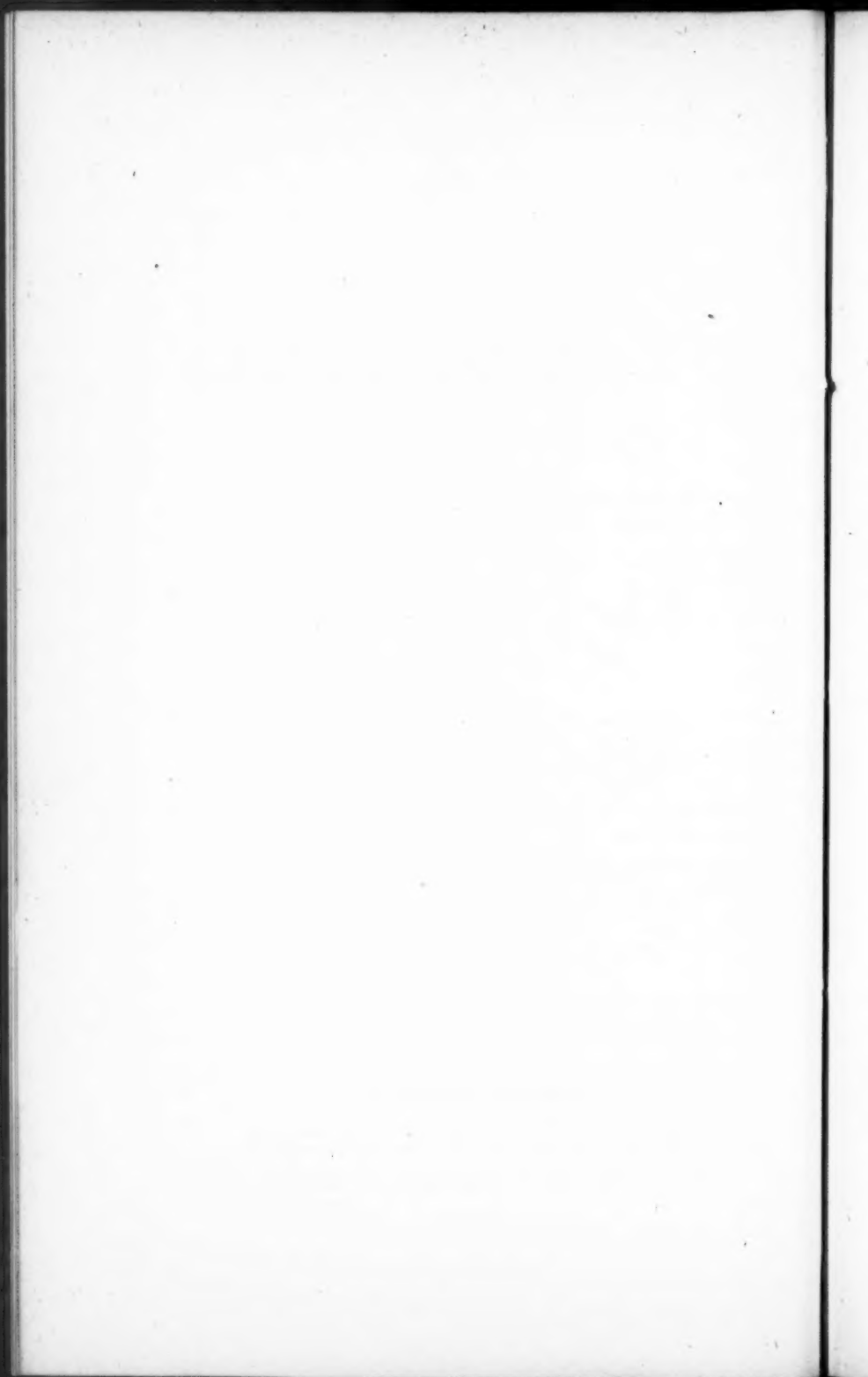
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CONTENTS OF VOLUME II.

JANUARY.

RUSSIA VERSUS EUROPE.....	1
THE TOILETTE OF CONSTANCE.....	16
GERMAN NOVELS AND NOVELISTS.....	17
INTERNATIONAL INDUSTRIAL COMPETITION (Continued).....	28
THE REVISION OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.....	44

FEBRUARY.

COMPULSORY EDUCATION.....	53
A SUNSET IDYL.....	73
ALBERT BARNES.....	75
SPAIN AND PROTECTION.....	84
MODERN MUSIC.....	88
ZEISBERGER'S MISSION TO THE INDIANS.....	97
STARTING ON A PILGRIMAGE.....	106

MARCH.

BOARDS OF CONCILIATION AND ARBITRATION— <i>By Eckley B. Coxe.</i> ..	109
THE RING— <i>By E. W. Watson</i>	128
A SUNDAY IN GREAT SALT LAKE CITY— <i>By Hamilton A. Hill.</i>	129
THE VARIORUM SHAKESPEARE— <i>By R. L. A.</i>	140
"THE GRAY LUIK O' LIFE"— <i>By John Dyer.</i>	151
BOOKS REVIEWED: Longfellow's Poets and Poetry of Europe; Bab Ballads; Keim's Sketches of San Domingo.....	164

APRIL.

AMERICAN BIOGRAPHY— <i>By J. G. Rosengarten</i>	167
THE FOUNTAIN UNCOVERED— <i>By E. W. Watson</i>	179
THE CHINESE IN CALIFORNIA— <i>By Hamilton A. Hill</i>	181
ZEISBERGER'S MISSION TO THE INDIANS— <i>By Robert Ellis Thompson</i> , 188	
THE LIFELESS KINGDOM— <i>By Persifor Frazer, Jr</i>	197
BOOKS REVIEWED: The Prose Writers of America; Poetical Works of Mrs. Browning; Heavenward Led; Topics of the Time; The Silent Partner; Reginald Archer; A Manual of Ancient History; The Mutineers of the Bounty; The Artist's Married Life; The Apple Culturist; Glimpses of Sea and Land; "What She Could," and "Opportunities".....	215

MAY.

LOCAL TAXATION— <i>By Thomas Cochran</i>	221
BIOGRAPHY OF A SALMON— <i>By Thaddeus Norris</i>	245
THE RACE AND THE INDIVIDUAL IN THEIR PARALLEL DEVELOP- MENT— <i>By Robert Ellis Thompson</i>	250
HOW NOT TO DO IT— <i>By J. D.</i>	263
BOOKS REVIEWED: Sterne's Representative Government; Yeaman's Study of Government; The Daughter of an Egyptian King; Mivart's Genesis of Species; Whipple's Literature and Life, and Success and its Conditions; Mechanism in Thought and Morals; My Summer in a Garden; William Winston Seaton; The Daisy Chain.....	267

JUNE.

THE SLAUGHTER OF THE INNOCENTS— <i>By John S. Parry, M.D.</i>	275
THE ARCHITECT AN ARTIST— <i>By William H. Furness, D.D.</i>	295
A TRIP TO THE YOSEMITE (Continued)— <i>By Hamilton A. Hill</i>	309
COMMENCEMENT A CENTURY AGO.....	315

Contents of Volume II.

v

BOOKS REVIEWED: Ginx's Baby; The Prose Writers of Germany;
 My Study Windows; John Woolman's Journal; World Essays;
 The Heathen Chinese; Gabrielle Andre; A Siren; Earl's Dene;
 Daisy Nichol..... 319

JULY.

JOHN ADAMS—By *George D. Budd*..... 325
 A TRIP TO THE YOSEMITE VALLEY (Concluded)—By *Hamilton A.
 Hill*..... 339
 SIC ITUR AD ASTRA—By *J. G. R. McElroy*..... 346
 AN IDYL OF CHILDHOOD—By *E. W. Watson*..... 357
 AN ESSAY ON HIEROGLYPHS—By *H. R.*..... 360
 BOOKS REVIEWED: Village Communities in the East and West; Lord
 Brougham's Autobiography; Fragments of Science for Unscien-
 tific People; Charlotte Ackerman; The Comprehensive Speaker;
 Pickwick Papers; Reminiscences of Fifty Years; Marquis and
 Merchant..... 371

AUGUST.

THE POLITICAL LITERATURE OF THE UNITED STATES: I—By *Robert
 Mole*..... 375
 THE GERMAN MYSTICS AS AMERICAN COLONISTS: I—By *Robert Ellis
 Thompson*..... 391
 THE FUNCTIONS OF THE POET AND OF POETRY IN MODERN TIMES—
 By *Charles Carver*..... 403
 CHARACTERISTICS OF THE COMMONWEALTH..... 412
 POST-MORTEM EXAMINATION OF A SALMON—By *Thaddeus Norris*.. 416
 BOOKS REVIEWED: Vivia; The New Englander; The Gardener's
 Monthly; Appleton's Journal; Pennsylvania School Journal; The
 American Agriculturist; The Catholic Record..... 420

SEPTEMBER.

THE POLITICAL LITERATURE OF THE UNITED STATES: II—By <i>Robert Mole</i>	421
THE GERMAN MYSTICS AS AMERICAN COLONISTS: II—By <i>Robert Ellis Thompson</i>	448
THE GERMAN PULPIT OF THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY—By <i>John Dyer</i> .	451
ORANGE AND GREEN—By <i>Uttoniensis</i>	464
DARWIN.....	469
NEW PUBLICATIONS: <i>Oliver Twist</i> ; <i>Christmas Stories</i> ; <i>Dombey and Son</i> ; <i>Sarchedon</i> ; <i>My Heroine</i> ; <i>Report on the System of Public Instruction in Sweden and Norway</i> ; <i>Gardener's Monthly</i> ; <i>The American Exchange and Review</i> ; <i>The Ohio Farmer</i> ; <i>The Christian World</i> ; <i>The Journal of Education</i> ; <i>The Atlantic Monthly</i> ; <i>The Catholic Record</i> ; <i>Every Saturday</i>	473

OCTOBER.

A SCIENCE BASED UPON ASSUMPTIONS—By <i>H. C. Carey</i>	473
THE GERMAN MYSTICS AS AMERICAN COLONISTS: III—By <i>Robert Ellis Thompson</i>	487
THE POLITICAL LITERATURE OF THE UNITED STATES: III—By <i>Robert Mole</i>	497
THE MARI LLWYD AND OTHER CUSTOMS IN WALES—By <i>M. A. Lloyd</i> , 514	
AN OLD-TIME LETTER.....	524
NEW PUBLICATIONS: <i>Martin Chuzzlewit</i> ; <i>Song Echo</i> ; <i>Chapters of Erie</i> , and other <i>Essays</i> ; <i>Gardener's Monthly</i> ; <i>The American Agriculturist</i> ; <i>The Northwestern Farmer</i> ; <i>The Atlantic Monthly</i> ; <i>Pennsylvania School Journal</i> ; <i>The Catholic Record</i> ; <i>The Little Corporal</i> ; <i>Good Health</i> ; <i>Every Saturday</i> ; <i>The Journal of Education</i> ; <i>The Christian World</i> ; <i>Appleton's Journal</i> , weekly numbers for September... ..	524

Contents of Volume II.

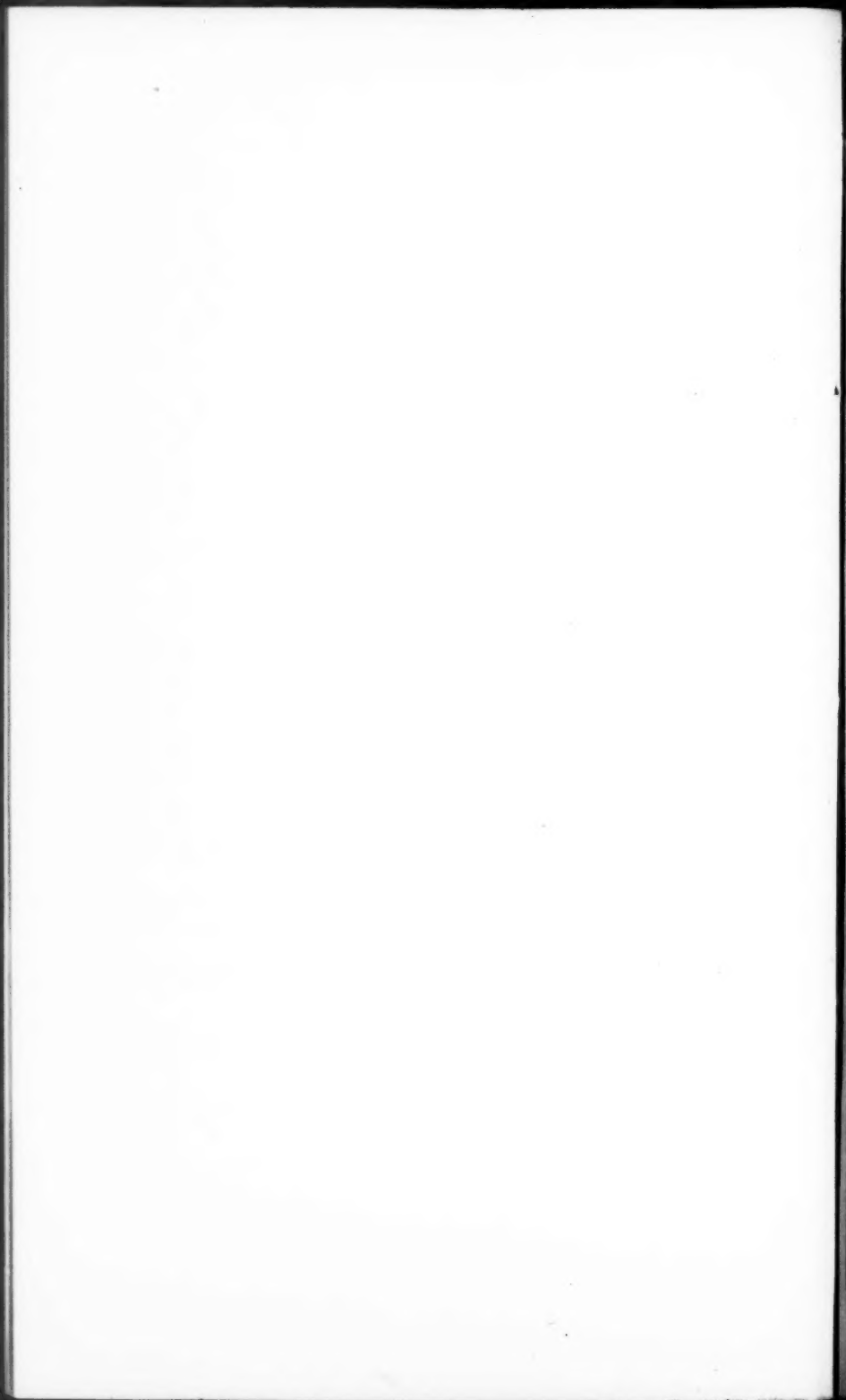
vii

NOVEMBER.

A DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE.....	525
A CHAPTER OF IRISH HISTORY— <i>By John Dyer</i>	538
NOTES IN CLASS.....	546
HENRIETTA HERZ.....	550
A PROPHECY OF 1786— <i>By Matthew Carey</i>	558
DARWIN ON HIS TRAVELS— <i>By Robert Ellis Thompson</i>	562
JOHN KEEBLE AND HENRY REED.....	572
GERMAN CHIPS.....	575
NEW PUBLICATIONS.....	576

DECEMBER.

A DEPARTMENT OF INDUSTRY— <i>By Cyrus Elder</i>	577
OF METHOD IN SCIENTIFIC INVESTIGATION— <i>By Henry Carey Baird</i> , 584	
THE POETRY OF BYROM— <i>By John Dyer</i>	590
NOTES IN CLASS.....	606
RECOLLECTIONS OF A PHILADELPHIA LAWYER, No. 1.....	611
THE ORIGIN OF FREE MASONRY— <i>By Robert Ellis Thompson</i>	617
NEW PUBLICATIONS: The Indian Musalmans; Our Mutual Friend; Old Curiosity Shop, and American Notes.....	626



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CONTENTS.

A DEPARTMENT OF INDUSTRY—By <i>Cyrus Elder</i>	577
OF METHOD IN SCIENTIFIC INVESTIGATION—By <i>Henry Carey Baird</i>	584
THE POETRY OF BYRON—By <i>John Dyer</i>	596
NOTES IN CLASS.....	606
RECOLLECTIONS OF A PHILADELPHIA LAWYER, NO. 1.....	611
THE ORIGIN OF FREE MASONRY—By <i>Robert Ellis Thompson</i>	617
NEW PUBLICATIONS—The Indian Musalmans; Our Mutual Friend; Old Curiosity Shop, and American Notes.....	626

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